

ASTROLOGICAL LORE AND SPENSER'S
THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER

"THE SIGNES OF HEAVEN TO KEN": ASTROLOGICAL
LORE AND SPENSER'S THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that Spenser's handling of character, situation, and theme throughout The Shepheardes Calender corresponds to the traditional significations of the planetary and zodiacal governors of the twelve eclogues. The introductory chapter outlines some fundamental principles of the two astrological traditions relevant to the present study, traditions that I have loosely called Ptolemaic or "scientific" and Neoplatonic, and explains that the lack of horoscopic information about the characters constitutes no serious barrier to my approach. To avoid the repetition that would result from organizing the study around zodiacal signs, I have used a planet-by-planet approach. Chapter I analyses Colin Clout's past achievements and his present predicament in terms of two distinct but related conceptions of Saturn and melancholy: its main argument is that Colin's early accomplishments align him with a benevolent Saturn and with what Yates calls inspired melancholy (based ultimately on the "Aristotelian" Physical Problems XXX), the earthly Venus leads him in a contrary direction, and the frustration of this Venerean impulse makes him a victim of the malevolent Saturn of popular astrology. Chapter II argues that in "Februarie", ruled by Jupiter, a mean between Saturn and Venus, the conflict between the malevolent Saturn and the earthly Venus reappears in the debate between a Saturnian Thenot and a Venerean Cuddie, and that since all figures in the debate and the tale are "failed Jupiters", the conflict ends in a deadlock aptly corresponding to the fact that

the fish of Pisces move in opposite directions, but within the same element, and are bound by a common cord. In "November", however, Dido is a true Jovial figure, and the Jovial aspects of the eclogue's context temporarily dispel Colin's Saturnian gloom and cooperate with the benevolent Saturn to lift Colin's mind "above the starry skie", a movement appropriate to the significations of the centaur figure Sagittarius.

Chapter III shows that Spenser accommodates Mars in his Calender: by parodic reduction in "March" and by evoking Mars in "October" to point beyond the pastoral to his projected epic. The Venus inherited by the Renaissance represents a vast range of ideas about love and beauty, from the basest carnality through to the principles of cosmic harmony and the most mystical expressions of love for God. Chapter IV discusses the correspondences between several of these significations and the eclogues for Venus' two signs, Taurus ("Aprill") and Libra ("September"): in addition to discussing Colin's misadventure in love, this chapter demonstrates "Aprill's" suitability for a celebration of the encomiastic poet; discusses the manifestations of Venus that are in harmony with the benevolent Saturn; examines Eliza's role as a Venus figure presiding over an idyllic natural, political, and poetic environment in contrast to the iron age of the framing dialogue; and shows that although the world Diggon describes in "September" is the antithesis of that depicted in the "Aprill" ode, Roffyn in actuality, and Hobbinoll and Diggon in potentiality, represent the forces (seen as another Saturn-Venus combination) that can effectively reconstruct the world in imitation of the peace, harmony, justice, mercy, friendship, and

liberality of the "Aprill" ode. Chapter V examines Mercurial motifs in "Maye" and August": the stress in "Maye's" debate on the duties and responsibilities of the clergy, particularly with respect to worldly wealth and to preaching ability and debating skills, is suitable to Mercury's rulership, as is the emphasis on fraud, deceit, and wealth in Piers' tale; Mercury's gift of verbal skill and dexterity is manifested in both the roundelay and the sestina in "August". Since the sun signifies things spiritual, while the moon is an age-old symbol of material mutability, "Julye" appropriately deals with ecclesiastical matters and "June" with secular; the two eclogues are complementary discussions of the moral and practical problems for the poet and priest of prominence or aspiration. Chapter VI shows that Spenser handles the themes of prominence and aspiration in ways suitable to the celestial governors of these eclogues: the sun and Leo are consistently associated with the ambitious or pre-eminent and with the perils and temptations besetting them, so "Julye's" debate covers these subjects and provides a catalogue of notable men; the most well-known properties of the moon and Cancer (e.g., the moon's inconstancy and its shining by borrowed light and the sun's reversal of direction in Cancer) do not augur well for any ambitious impulse, so in "June" neither speaker is ambitious and Colin provides a bewildering series of rationalizations to justify his loss of aspiration. The concluding chapter suggests some possibilities for further study.

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Introduction

In his epistle to Gabriel Harvey, E.K. Says of The Shepheardes Calender that "these xij Aeglogues, which for that they be proportioned to the state of the xij Monethes, he termeth the SHEPHEARDS CALENDAR, applying an olde name to a new worke".¹ This "olde name" is The Kalender of Sheepehards, a French almanac and household encyclopedia first translated in 1503.² Parmenter and Cullen have shown that Spenser utilizes the descriptions of the months, their labours, and their representations of the stages of man's life from this popular work (some 17 editions in Britain before 1656) as a general guide to the content and disposition of his eclogues.³ But both Parmenter and Cullen, while demonstrating Spenser's interest in the "state of the xij monethes", overlook the real significance of his choice of title: for the Renaissance reader, the chief importance of The Kalender of Sheepehards was that it includes a compendium of astrological lore. Harvey himself lists it as an important work in the occultist's library: "These be their great masters and in this manner their whole library, with some old parchment rolls, tables and instruments...Erra Pater, their horn-book; the Shepherd's Kalendar, their primer; the Compost of Ptolomeus, their Bible; Arcandam, their New Testament".⁴ Harvey is echoed, 41 years after the publication of Spenser's eclogues, by John Melton who, in his Astrologaster (1620), ranks the old Kalender of Sheepehards equally with the Cabala, the Talmud, and books of chiromancy as works for the superstitious.⁵ Thus, more than a century after its arrival in

England, the original Kalender remained both popular and notorious for its astrological content. Furthermore, although its full title was Le Grand Kalendrier et Compost des Bergiers avec leur Astrologie, the natural tendency towards abbreviation is evident even in the first English edition of 1503 which bore the title Kalendayr of Shyppars. Hence, for the next century and a half it was referred to simply as the Kalender of Sheepehards or the Shepherd's Kalender.

Spenser was not ignorant of the astrological associations of his title, and indeed, he himself reminds us of them when he tells us that his is "a Calender for every yeare" which will be permanent if he has "marked well the starres revolution" (envoy, 1-4). In addition to this there are three astrological/astronomical allusions in the poem itself ("Julye", 17-26; "November", 13-16; and "December", 55-60). These passages identify times of the year and the corresponding stages in human life, and except for the confusing and notorious passage in "November", are accurate within their contexts.⁶ The Kalender of Sheepehards stresses the need for the shepherd to know his astrology, a recurrent motif in Renaissance pastoral as well,⁷ and in "December" Colin Clout (one of Spenser's personae) claims to have "learned als the signes of heaven to ken,/How Phoebe fayles, where Venus sittes and when" (83-4). Furthermore, each woodcut contains two symbols of the appropriate zodiacal sign: a pictorial representation of the creature or object that gives the sign its name, and the more esoteric glyph of the sign.

There is, then, ample reason to expect astrological learning to play as significant a role in The Shepheardes Calender as studies such as Fowler's⁸ show it to do in The Faerie Queene, a poem that, unlike the Calender, does not by virtue of its form openly invite such an approach. Surprisingly, a detailed study of astrological lore in relation to the Calender has not hitherto been undertaken,⁹ although the remarks of several scholars imply the need for one. Heninger discusses the traditions from which Spenser's calendar framework emerged and points out that the calendar is an image of cosmic harmony that provides an all-inclusive unity in which the individuality of each month is subsumed within the completed annual cycle;¹⁰ however, the scope of his study does not permit him to correlate the eclogues' individuality with the significations of their planetary and zodiacal rulers. Fowler indicates that the notion that the duodecad represents a completed cycle is essentially astronomical in origin, and that "Epics were in twelve books because they imitated the entire zodiac of life--a symbolism also exhibited, in a more obvious way, by Spenser's Shepheardes Calender".¹¹ Norma Ann Greco similarly argues that "Spenser's mature astrological symbolism" is "incipient in the Calender's zodiac form and the planetary numerology of the envoy"¹² (it has 12 lines of 12 syllables each), but, like Fowler, does not offer a fully worked out astrological reading of the poem. Finally, Frances Yates clearly intimates the need for such a study:

The poem is in fact truly a calendar with a learned background. It is surely significant that, at about the same time that Spenser was writing his Shepherd's

Calendar, John Dee was exercising his mathematical, astronomical, and astrological knowledge on the project of the reform of the calendar. It seems probable that Spenser was in contact with Dee or members of his circle when composing his Shepherd's Calendar, absorbing the fund of scientific knowledge which he was to use in The Faerie Queene, and evolving its astral and numero-logical allegories....Spenser's philosophy was based on the Neoplatonic Christian Cabala of Giorgi and Agrippa, but...modified by passage through the influences of the Tudor Reformation. Basically, it was a reflex of the philosophy of John Dee who had expanded these influences in new scientific and politico-religious directions. Dee was the true philosopher of the Elizabethan age, and Spenser, as its epic poet, reflected that philosophy.¹³

Astrology and the medicine and magic based on it are crucial components in the thought of the Neoplatonic Christian Cabalists with whom Yates associates Spenser and his Calender. I propose that, in addition to what Parmenter and Cullen have discovered (see note 3), Spenser's handling of character, circumstance, and theme throughout the Calender corresponds to the traditional significations of the planetary and zodiacal governors of the twelve eclogues, that the poem is, as Yates says, "truly a calendar with a learned background", and that Spenser's mature astrologically based composition is incipient in more than the calendar framework alone.

Before proceeding further, I will outline some of the basic principles of the astrological traditions relevant to this study. For the sake of clarity and conceptual simplification, I will make a rough and somewhat arbitrary distinction between two main lines of thought: the "Ptolemaic" or "scientific" and the "Neoplatonic". I use the term "Ptolemaic" as a loose but convenient term to designate those astrologers who treat the subject largely as a natural science.

I do not intend to imply that all I say in that section can be found in Ptolemy himself. He does not, for example, deal with elections and horary questions, both of which came to fruition in medieval Arabic astrology. Representatives of what I call the "Neoplatonic" tradition do not totally reject the "Ptolemaic" ideas, but rather supplement and recast them in the light of their own metaphysics. Of the effects attributed to the planets, those relevant to the present study are much the same in both traditions, but the explanations of how these effects come about are different. It should also be noted that some astrologers do not fit neatly into either of these rough divisions. Firmicus, for instance, is usually "Ptolemaic" in bias, but does include things like a prayer to the planets at the end of Book I which seem more appropriate in a "Neoplatonic" tradition. There are others, like Arcandam or Godfridus, who are probably basically in the "Ptolemaic" tradition, but who omit most of what makes that approach seem respectable and hence appear to be merely superstitious.

The "Ptolemaic" or "Scientific" Tradition

"Ptolemaic" astrology, as Thorndike indicates,¹⁴ was the most ambitious pre-Newtonian attempt to reduce the baffling diversity and complexity of earthly affairs to an intelligible order based entirely on natural law. The natural laws of astrology are based on a geocentric cosmology, humoural psychology, and Aristotelian physics. All bodies below the moon, including man's, are compounded of the four elements: earth, air, fire, and water. The elements themselves

are names for combinations of the four basic qualities: hot, cold, moist, and dry. Elemental earth is the name for the cold and dry properties of matter; water, the cold and moist; air, the hot and moist; and fire, the hot and dry. Man is sustained and given his individual character by the four humours, and these humours correspond to the elements: melancholy corresponds to earth, choler to fire, phlegm to water, and blood to air. In most men one humour predominates and produces a distinctive personality type: the sanguine man, dominated by blood, tends to be courageous, hopeful, confident and amorous; the choleric, rash and irascible; the phlegmatic, sluggish and apathetic; the melancholic, prone to pensive sadness, ill-grounded fears, solitude, and madness. As Thomas explains, it "was generally accepted that the four elements constituting the sublunary region... were kept in their state of ceaseless permutation by the movement of the heavenly bodies. The various planets transmitted different quantities of the four physiological qualities....In the resulting interaction was comprised all physical change".¹⁵ Since prevailing medical theory taught that not only temperament but also all diseases of both body and mind are caused by a superabundance or a deficiency of heat, cold, dryness, or moisture, and since fluctuation in these qualities could be plausibly attributed to the actions and interactions of heavenly bodies, it was not too much to believe that character and health are determined by the stars.

The astrologers' universe is comprised of a series of spheres, one within another, roughly concentric around the immobile earth. The

number of spheres posited varied from writer to writer, but a minimum of eight is required, one for the fixed stars and, within that, one for each of the seven planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the sun, Venus, Mercury, and the moon (listed from most to least distant). The sphere of the fixed stars revolves around the earth once a day from east to west, as do the planets. Although in theory all the fixed stars are capable of effecting sublunar change, practicing astrologers seldom make use of any of them and prefer instead to use the signs of the zodiac. The zodiac is a circular band in the sphere of the fixed stars; it is approximately 12° to 16° in width (6° - 8° on either side of the ecliptic--an imaginary line designating the apparent annual path of the sun); is inclined to the celestial equator at an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and is divided into twelve signs, each occupying 30° of the circle (see figs. 1, 2, and 3 at end of introduction). The signs of the zodiac are not the constellations that bear the same names. The ecliptic intersects the celestial equator at the vernal and autumnal equinoctial points, and, following Ptolemy,¹⁶ the astrologer identifies the first point of Aries with the vernal equinox and starts his zodiac there. But because of a complicated phenomenon called the precession of the equinoxes (discovered by Hipparchus in the 2nd century B.C. and well-known to Ptolemy), the stellar backdrop of the sun's crossing of the equator is not identical every year: the vernal equinoctial point moves slowly backward (i.e. in the direction opposite to the sun's annual path through the zodiacal signs--beginning with Aries and ending with Pisces) through the constellations. In

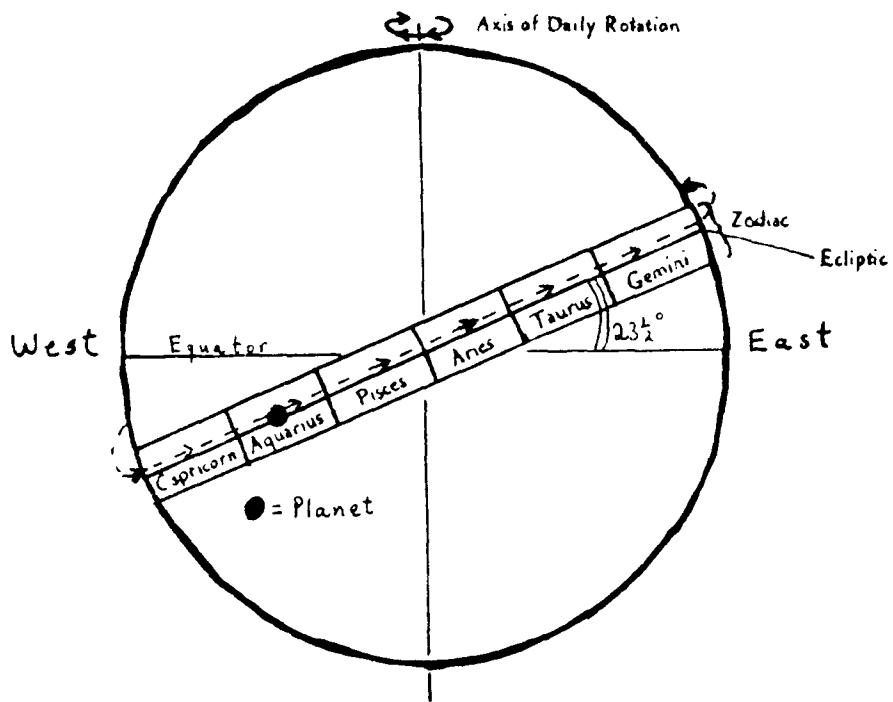
Spenser's time, for example, the sun was in approximately five degrees of the constellation Pisces at the vernal equinox, but to the astrologer this was still the first point of the sign Aries. Equinoctial precession thus gives us an odd situation in which a pure abstraction, a symbol having no physical existence, is credited not only with producing physical effects explained in physical terms, but also overrules the influences of the actual heavenly bodies present.

The remaining points to be made about the zodiac are much simpler, and deal with a few matters of terminology. Each sign has its own essential nature, which is a compound of many things. Each sign is analogous to one of the four elements; hence there are three fire signs (Aries, Leo, Sagittarius), three earth signs (Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn), three air signs (Gemini, Libra, Aquarius), and three water signs (Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces). The signs thus linked to the elements also correspond to the four bodily humours. The three signs assigned to one element/humour are distinguished as follows: those lying on the equinoctial or solstitial points (Aries, Cancer, Libra, Capricorn) are called movable (modern astrologers call them cardinal) and the person born under them (usually called a "native" or "child" of the sign) is said to be "of no resolution, easily mutable,...a wavering unconstant man",¹⁷ and such signs on the ascendant signify that it is good "to take in hand such...things that require sodain or hasty accomplishment" because "whatsoever is begun,...it commeth swiftly and in short time to an end";¹⁸ the signs succeeding the movable are called fixed (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Aquarius), produce men of firm

resolution;¹⁹ and when ascending bring "stability and continuance unto things";²⁰ the remaining four (Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, Pisces) are called common or mean (mutable by modern astrologers), produce men who are "neither very wilfull, or easily variable but between both",²¹ and when rising are propitious for socializing, and profitseeking, "for those things done under them are subject to mutation".²² Joining together a sign's affinities with its triplicity (element/humour) and its quadruplicity (movable, etc.) individualizes the sign. Thus, for example, Aries is a movable fire sign so its natives have considerable energy in initiating enterprises but seldom persevere in them; Leo is fixed fire so its natives stubbornly persist in what they have once begun; and Sagittarius is common fire so its natives have more strength of purpose than do those of Aries and more flexibility than do those of Leo. The signs are further individualized by the drawing of analogies from the mythology or supposed natural history associated with whatever gives the sign its identity; hence, for example natives of Leo are said to have the lion's ferocity and pride, those of Virgo to be just (because Virgo is identified with Astraea), and those of Aquarius to be good bartenders (because the sign is associated with Ganymede, the cupbearer of Zeus). There are several other ways of individualizing a sign, but the foregoing suffices to indicate the kind of reasoning involved. For other terms associated with the zodiac, see the glossary at the end of this introduction.

Whereas the motion of the fixed stars is, on the whole, regular and uniform, the motions of the planets as seen from the earth are

highly erratic. Like the fixed stars and the imaginary zodiac superimposed on it, the planets rise in the east and set in the west once a day; however, they constantly shift position in relation both to one another and to the fixed stars. All planets remain within about eight degrees of the ecliptic, and hence do not leave the zodiacal band, and like the sun (the sun and moon are considered to be planets in astrology) move through the signs of the zodiac in the order Aries, Taurus, Gemini,...Pisces. But to do this they must have their own motion, not only independent from the daily motion but actually contrary to it, for the motion of the planets through the zodiac is from west to east. This motion of a planet can be likened to an insect's crawling around a wheel--the insect crawls in one direction while the wheel turns in the other²³ (see fig. 4, next page). The planets crawl at different speeds and these speeds are dependent upon the distance a planet is from the outer sphere (or spheres)²⁴ from which it derives its daily motion. Since Saturn is closest to the outer sphere and hence can resist its east-west motion only with great difficulty, it creeps through the zodiac once every thirty years or so. Jupiter, less constrained by the outer sphere, takes only about twelve years; Mars, two; the sun, one year; Venus, one year; Mercury, one year; and the moon, 27 days, 8 hours.²⁵ Not only do the planets all move at different speeds, but the astrologers cannot even count on any planet's moving at a constant rate: sometimes they accelerate, sometimes decelerate, sometimes stop, and sometimes seem to go in reverse for a few days. So the astrologer has a formidable task before him in



Solid arrow = diurnal east-to-west rotation of the sphere of the fixed stars (including the zodiac) and of the planetary spheres (which are enclosed by that of the fixed stars).

Dotted arrow = a planet's own west-to-east motion through the zodiac.
Each planet progresses through the zodiac at its own rate. See previous page of the text for these rates in geocentric astronomy.

Diagram adapted from Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, pl. 31a.

Fig. 4: The Two Motions of the Planets

keeping all these motions sorted out.²⁶ Like the zodiacal signs, the planets are individualized through correspondences with the qualities, elements, and humours, and through mythological associations.

While all these various motions are being performed in the heavens, the earth sits passively still and is continually bombarded by the elemental influences radiated by the signs and planets. Twelve signs and seven planets seem hardly sufficient to account for the observed variety of terrestrial affairs; however, it is the motions and constantly changing relations among them that count, not their number alone. The influences radiated by the signs and planets get mixed together in various ways: the beams of a sign mingle with those of the planets in it and as a result both types of influence are modified. Similarly, the beams of one planet might collide head-on with those of another, or, depending upon the angular distance between them (called aspects), mingle in various subtle ways. Again the interaction modifies the influences of all celestial bodies involved. Since all planets and signs radiate influence continuously and since the essential nature of these influences is continuously altered, what actually reaches earth is not an unadulterated dose of, for example, Saturnian rays, but a complex of "impure" beams coming from all directions. The job of the astrologer, after he has constructed his chart, which is like a snapshot of the astrologer's heavens at any given moment, is to disentangle the threads and to ascertain their significances with respect to whatever problem he has cast the chart for.²⁷ What the astrologer requires is a workable system of cal-

culation and interpretation. I will not go into the details, because they are rather complicated and not essential to the present study, since Spenser does not provide the kind of information requisite to constructing even a partial chart for his characters. Figure 5 (at end of introduction) is an example of the final product--the natal chart of Elizabeth I as rectified by John Gadbury.²⁸ The twelve triangular divisions are called houses. A natal chart is cast for a specific time, which is a function of the longitude of the birth place. Not wanting everyone born at the same time on the same longitude to have an identical chart, astrologers invented houses, which vary with latitude and thus individualize the chart. Houses are purely arbitrary divisions of the earth's surface that are then projected into the heavens. For any given latitude and time of day the house divisions remain fixed for all time and the planets and signs move through them. It is rather like a clock: the houses correspond to the numbers and the planets and signs to the hands. Although there are several ways of calculating the sizes of the houses, the areas of life over which they preside remain constant. For example, the ninth house presides over long journeys, so if one consulted an astrologer about the advisability of commencing such a trip at a specific time, he would draw up a chart for the planned time of departure and compare it to one's natal chart, paying particularly close attention to the planets and signs in the ninth house. If in the birth chart Saturn dominates this house, long journeys may be hazardous to the native, and should Saturn or Mars dominate this house in the chart for the planned

departure time, the astrologer would advise the client to cancel the trip or pick a more suitable time. In this sort of astrology, called elections, the compatibility of the two charts is paramount.

These houses are not the only interpretive tool the astrologer uses. The handbooks list the essential natures of the planets and signs (i.e. the kind of influence they radiate in isolation). In addition each planet is assigned rulership over two zodiacal signs (except the sun and moon, which rule one each); each sign is divided into three equal decans, each ruled by a planet; each sign is divided into five unequal terms, each ruled by a planet; each house is ruled by both a sign and a planet; each planet has special positions in which it is either particularly strong or particularly weak (dignities and debilities); various planets rule the four elemental triplicities, and so forth. There are, of course, elaborate, if not entirely consistent, rules for manipulating all these variables. Elizabeth's horoscope and Gadbury's remarks on it show some of the complexities astrology involves and give a clear idea why poets seldom if ever give their characters real horoscopes.

It now remains to be shown what, in the "Ptolemaic" tradition, astral beams do after they arrive on earth, to what extent they affect man, and why a number of men, particularly clergymen, objected to astrology. Because the signs and planets beam down elemental influences, they exert great control over the activities and motions of everything composed of them, including the human body. Up to this point there was little or no dissension throughout Renaissance Europe.²⁹ The

problem is that man, unique among sublunary creatures, has a soul as well as a body, and it was the relation of the soul to the heavens that was controversial: if man's soul is governed by the stars there will be little room for free will and if this is lost traditional morality perishes with it. Hence it comes about that the chief opponents of astrology were men of the cloth and its chief defenders were the scientists and physicians. It makes no great theological or ethical difference at all if every piece of sublunary matter is ruled by the stars, so long as man's will remains untouched; hence theologians granted natural astrology (astral influence on purely physical things such as the weather) but vigorously assailed judicial astrology (astrological divination). The fragmentation of astrology has three major implications. First, it makes little sense to say that Calvin or Pico, for instance, did not believe in astrology unless one specifies judicial astrology. Even then problems arise because there are several branches of judicial astrology ranging from character analysis, to general predictions such as of the fall of empires and the fates of countries, to highly particularized predictions, questions, and elections and various degrees of belief and unbelief are possible along the whole range. Second, the virtually universal acceptance of natural astrology meant that the anti-astrological arguments could touch only the periphery of what to us is the real problem with astrology. The only way to fully counter astrology is to prove either that the stars have no influence whatever on human character or that, even if they do, these influences are in principle impossible to

uncover. The opponents of astrology never really confronted these issues: if the soul were totally independent of the body there would be no problem, but since the theologians recognized that there is indeed interaction between body and soul, and accepted natural astrology, they could question only the degree of astral influence on character and the amount of knowledge man can have of it, not its very existence.³⁰ This brings us to the third implication: since natural astrology was so widely accepted and since the soul and body interact through the humours (physiological determinants of character) natural astrology fades almost imperceptibly into some form of judicial astrology. By accepting natural astrology, the theologians played into the hands of the astrologers.

Nonetheless, the astrologer is still in somewhat of a bind. Since most of his income comes from various kinds of judicial astrology, he wants to be sure that his system encompasses human behaviour. But as a Christian adhering to traditional Christian ethics he too wishes to leave the will free from a purely physical determinism that would lower man to the level of the beasts. Moreover, by leaving the will free, he can make his predictions contingent rather than necessary and so have a ready-made excuse should they fail. The astrologer attains this double goal of being able to deal with human behaviour while still preserving free will by the deft manoeuvre of softening any language that suggests strict causation when discussing man, and then multiplying the channels through which influence must pass on its way to the soul so that it can appear weak by the time it gets there. The

following account of the sublunary propagation of astral influence is taken from a tract against judicial astrology, Four Great Lyers, Striving who shall win the silver Whetsone, but it is a formulation that appears in most pro- and anti-astrological pieces:

Constellations worke upon the Elementes by the foure first qualties. Elementes worke upon, and alter the compound bodies and humors. Compounde bodies by their qualties change the senses. The senses beyng altered, the understandyng is altered. The understanding lastly altereth and inclineth the wil of man. Therefore Constellations incline the will.³¹

Formulations like this are so common that one can tentatively conclude that to some extent most Elizabethans believed in a form of judicial astrology. This conclusion must be stated in such a hedging manner because the formulation itself is quite ambiguous. The stellar influence has been so thoroughly filtered that it is a matter of merely personal choice whether one wishes to regard the resulting inclination as virtually negligible, and thus mock astrologers, or whether one wants to regard it as powerful enough to require active resistance by the will.

Two maxims appear frequently in the works of both astrologers and their opponents: (1) the stars do not compel, but incline, and (2) the wise man rules the stars. The following passage from St. Thomas Aquinas expresses both these ideas and, although written a few centuries earlier, characterizes the attitudes of most Elizabethans to the "Ptolemaic" astrological tradition:

The majority of men, in fact, are governed by their passions, which are dependent upon bodily appetites; in these the influence of the stars is clearly felt. Few indeed are the wise who are capable of resisting

their animal instincts. Astrologers, consequently, are able to foretell the truth in the majority of cases, especially when they undertake general predictions. In particular predictions, they do not attain certainty, for nothing prevents a man from resisting the dictates of his lower faculties. Wherefore the astrologers themselves are wont to say that "the wise man rules the stars", forasmuch, namely, as he rules his own passions.³²

The "Neoplatonic" Tradition

The chief difference between what I have called the "Ptolemaic" and "Neoplatonic" astrological traditions concerns the relationship said to exist between celestial phenomena and terrestrial phenomena (especially men). While the "Ptolemaic" tradition in astrology can, if the practitioner is so inclined, accommodate free will, the metaphysical and cosmological stance of the "Neoplatonic" tradition precludes astral determinism (and thus reduces the conclusions of judicial astrology to, at best, judgements of the merely possible or probable), but can, in some of its developments, accommodate a measure of causation. Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky inform us that

When Neoplatonism made use of the same mythical and scientific data as astrology, it did so not in order to subordinate this world as a whole to the determinative influence of the stars, but in order to find a metaphysical unity which could give meaning to all physical existence. While this supreme unity gradually descends and branches out into the multiplicity of earthly things, phenomena are ranged in vertical series...which by degrees reach down to the motionless minerals. The principle governing these "chains of being" was now symbolised by the heavenly bodies, which occupied a position midway between this world and "the place above the heavens". Hence the Neoplatonic series were comparable with the astrological categories, since both associated certain groups of earthly phenomena with

certain planets, as well as with certain signs of the zodiac. But the Neoplatonic categories did not at first imply any causal relationship in the sense of astral predestination.³³

Two features of the rich and complex "Neoplatonic" astrological tradition are especially relevant to the present study. First, the "Ptolemaic" tradition posits two malefic, or generally evil, planets (Saturn and Mars), but for the Neoplatonists no star could possess a intrinsically evil influence. According to Iamblicus, for example,

all the visible gods in heaven [i.e. the stars] are in a certain sense incorporeal. The further question is in doubt as to how some of these can work good, others evil. This notion is taken from the astrologers, but misses completely the real state of affairs. For, in truth, all the astral divinities are good and are the cause of good, since they all equally gaze upon the good and complete their courses according to the good and the beautiful alone....The world of becoming, however, since it is itself multiform and composed of different parts, can because of its own inconsistency and fragmentation, absorb these uniform and homogeneous forces only in a contradictory and fragmentary way.³⁴

Centuries later, thinkers such as Agrippa, Giorgio, and Pierre de la Primaudaye present the same argument. Agrippa's comments will suffice to represent the Renaissance version of Iamblicus' position:

Seeing every power and vertue is from above, from God, from the Intelligences and Stars, who can neither erre nor do evill, it is necessary, that all evill, and whatsoever is found disagreeing and dissonant in these inferiour things, do proceed, not from the malice of the Influence, but from the evill disposition of the receiver....When therefore the perversity of the subject receiveth the Influences of the perverse, or its debility cannot endure the efficacy of the superiors, then by the influence of the heavens thus received into a matter full of discords, doth result something dissonant, deformed and evill; yet the celestiall powers alwaies remain good...but then when it is received in a viler subject, it also is vilified....Therefore we

being well disposed, the celestial influences cooperate all things for good; but being evill disposed, and having for our sins, that divine good, which was in us, departed from us, all things work for evill: therefore the cause of all our evills is sinne, which is the disorder and distemper of our soul; from the which then, thus evilly governing, or falling down or declining from that which the celestial influences require, all things rebel, and are distempered for our destruction....[Agrippa then enumerates the evil effects the various planets have on an ill-disposed man, and concludes] by this means man himself by reason of his unlikeness with the heavenly things receiveth hurt, whence he ought to reap benefit.³⁵

The second main feature of the "Neoplatonic" astrological tradition to which I wish to draw attention is a corollary of the first. If the evil attributed in the "Ptolemaic" tradition to the essential natures of the stars really proceeds from the influences' being perverted by an imperfect or corrupted recipient, then the causal relationships between man and the stars become a two-way street. Like astrologers in the "Ptolemaic" tradition, Renaissance Neoplatonists assume that the stars are fundamentally responsible for the physical properties of all things, including the human body, but that the human soul is essentially free and hence can only be inclined, not determined, by them.³⁶ But the Neoplatonists' greater emphasis on free will and the stress on the disposition or condition of the recipient imply that man can by consciously (or unconsciously) altering his qualities as a recipient control these influences in a much more direct and effective manner than anything envisaged by those in the "Ptolemaic" tradition.

Hence Ficino advises man to

Always remember that already by the inclinations and desires of our mind and by the mere capacity of our "spiritus" we can come easily and rapidly under the

influence of those stars which denote these inclinations, desires and capacities; hence by withdrawal from earthly things, by leisure, solitude, constancy, esoteric theology and philosophy, by superstition, magic, agriculture and grief, we come under the influence of Saturn.³⁷

Agrippa elaborates on the subject:

The countenance, gesture, the motion, settling, and figure of the body, being accidentall to us, conduce to the receiving of Celestiall gifts, and expose us to the superior bodies, and produce certain effects in us.... Whosoever therefore doth the more exactly imitate the Celestiall bodies, either in nature, study, action, motion, gesture, countenance, passions of the mind, and opportunity of the season, is so much the more like to the heavenly bodies, and can receive larger gifts from them.³⁸

and

It conduceth therefore very much for the receiving the benefit of the Heavens, in any work, if we shall by the Heaven make our selves suitable to it in our thoughts, affections, imaginations, elections, deliberations, contemplations, and the like. For such like passions do vehemently stir up our spirit to their likeness, and suddenly expose us, and ours to the superior significators of such like passions....For our mind can through imaginations, or reason by a kind of imitation, be so conformed to any Star, as suddenly to be filled with the virtues of that Star, as if it were a proper receptacle of the influence thereof.³⁹

The "Neoplatonic" perspective, then, asserts with greater vehemence the "Ptolemaic" astrologer's claims that the stars merely incline and that the wise man rules the stars. For the "Neoplatonic" astrologer, the natal chart indicates one's basic nature and the celestial influences to which this nature makes one most prone; he does not regard it as a basis for divination, nor as the ultimate summation of one's personality. The knowledgeable and wise can become subject to or deliberately solicit completely different influences by regulating their diet,

activities, thoughts, moods, and environment--anything, in short, that alters their qualities as receptors of astral radiations. The "Neoplatonic" viewpoint signals a significant victory for free will since it implies that man can manipulate stellar influences to his own advantage.

The Status of the Sun and Moon

One final segment of the background picture remains to be filled--the special status accorded the sun and moon. Paradoxically, they are central, crucial planets with what seem initially to be strangely truncated powers. Given their overwhelming presence in the sky and their obvious effects on earthly life, it is expected that they will be central in astrology; what is not expected is that when Ptolemy, for example, discusses the development of bodily form and temperament and the qualities of the soul, he specifies that the actual rulers are the other five planets while it is the business of the luminaries (sun and moon) to assist, adding their own influences to those of the others.⁴⁰ Similarly, the effects of eclipses, says Ptolemy, are deduced not directly from the luminaries involved but "from the nature of the activity of the planets which rule the dominant places and from their combination both with one another and with the places in which they happen to be".⁴¹ A similar limitation in the power of the luminaries appears in the claims of Firmicus and Indagine that neither can be ruler of the chart, but both can assist the ruler.⁴² The reason for these apparent limitations on the effects of the luminaries (these

distinctions are not consistently maintained by later astrologers, though) is that, as Firmicus says, "as rulers of the whole they disdain individual rulerships".⁴³ The general rule that Firmicus assigns both luminaries, Ptolemy assigns largely to the sun: "For though the sun's power prevails in the general ordering of quality, the other heavenly bodies aid or oppose it in particular details, the moon more obviously and continuously,...and the stars at greater intervals and more obscurely".⁴⁴ Ptolemy, in effect, posits a reciprocal relationship between the sun (and to some extent the moon, see note 44) and the other planets: in terms of causation of large scale and generalized events (e.g. climate), the sun is the chief source of things with the moon as its chief aid or opponent and the other planets as lesser agents or opponents presiding over specific details (e.g. daily weather); in terms of the causation of small scale and specific events (e.g. individual personality), the planets proper preside over the details, while both luminaries exercise a generalized power for or against the tendencies signified by the planets proper but do not supplant their effects.⁴⁵

When explaining why the positions of the planets are so important in assessing the effects of eclipses, Ptolemy argues that the luminaries "are the marshals and, as it were, leaders of the others; for they are themselves responsible for the entirety of the power, and are causes of the rulership of the planets, and, moreover, the causes of the strength or weakness of the ruling planets".⁴⁶ Although Ptolemy clearly intends this remark to apply only to eclipses,⁴⁷ there follows a long

tradition that sees the sun as the vital spirit of the universe and king of the planets, regulating and delegating power to the other planets, and the moon, moving on the border between the corruptible earth and the incorruptible heavens, as a stellar receiver-transmitter that collects the influences of the other planets and communicates them to the terrestrial sphere. A few quotations will suffice to illustrate this tradition. I will begin with the sun. Firmicus addresses the sun as follows: "O Sun, best and greatest, who holds the middle place in the heavens, Mind and Moderator of the universe, leader and Princeps of all who kindle forever the fires of the other stars".⁴⁸ Macrobius notes that "if the sun, as men of old believed, 'guides and directs the rest of the heavenly lights' and alone presides over the planets in their courses, and if the movements of the planets themselves have power...to determine or...foretell the sequence of human destinies, then we have to admit that the sun, as directing the powers that direct our affairs, is the author of all that goes on around us".⁴⁹ John Maplet, after likening the sun to a "Kinge in the midst of his Throne, Trayne, and Guarde" (because there are three planets above it and three below it), says it is "the most universall cause, and the very beginning and fountayne of light and influence, and also of vitall heat, of whom all the other starres do receave their light, and al things lyving their life".⁵⁰ Cartari, citing Macrobius, claims that "the sunne continually standeth amidst the planets, commanding them to hasten or enslacke their revolutions, in manner as in efficient vigor and strength they receive from him their vertues and operations",⁵¹

and later that all the celestial orbs "have their motions according as they receive their severall powers from the sun, which commandeth absolutely both above him, here with us, and in the lower center".⁵² And, finally, Agrippa claims that the sun "sits as King in the middle of the other Planets, excelling all in light, greatness, fairness, enlightening all, distributing vertue to them to dispose inferior bodies, and regulating and disposing of their motions....The Sun therefore as it possesseth the middle Region of the world, and as the heart is in Animals to the whole body, So the Sun is over the heaven, and the world, ruling over the whole Universe, and those things which are in it".⁵³

Next in power after the sun is the moon, the actions of which are complementary to those of the sun. Because the moon is on the interface between the purely celestial and the purely mundane realms, and hence partakes of both,⁵⁴ it is the ideal planet to serve as a link between the two. While the sun is the source of planetary and stellar powers, the moon is in charge of transmitting them to earth. Agrippa explains this role most fully:

the Moon, the nighest to the Earth, the receptacle of all the heavenly Influences, by the swiftness of her course is joyned to the Sun, and the other Planets and Stars every month, and being made as it were the wife of all the Stars, is the most fruitful of the Stars, and receiving the beams and influences of all the other planets and Stars as a conception, bringing them forth to the inferior world as being next to it self; for all the Stars have influence on it being the last receiver, which afterwards communicateth the influences of all the superiors to these inferiors, and pours them forth on the Earth....Therefore her motion is to be observed before the others...[for] without the Moone intermediately, we cannot at any time attract the power of the superiors.⁵⁵

While the sun's virtue animates and regulates all the other heavens, the moon's sphere of influence is limited to the realm of terrestrial matter, over which it bears more sway than any other planet. Of particular importance for medical astrology is the fact that the moon is assigned a general rule over the human body. Firmicus explains:

The whole essence of the human body is related to the power of that divinity. For after life-giving breath has entered the completed human being and the spirit of the Divine Mind [analogically related to the sun] has poured itself into the body, the Moon by her course maintains the shape of the already formed body. Therefore we must carefully observe the movements of the Moon in order to explain the whole essence of the human body....We must know how the Moon undertakes the care of the human body and what has been allotted to the power of the Moon. For we feel in our bodies the increases of the waxing Moon and the losses of her waning....Since she is located in the lower regions of the heavens, because of her nearness she has been allotted power over the Earth and all the bodies animated by the breath of the Divine Mind. She maintains her course with infinite variety and runs with speed through all the signs, joining herself to all the planets. From different elements she builds up the human body, once conceived, and dissolves it again into its elements.⁵⁶

Thus, whether or not a particular astrologer allows the luminaries to be rulers of the chart or of one's character, there is ample evidence that they were widely seen as ultimately responsible for the abilities of the planets proper and the signs to exercise an influence on terrestrial matter. However, I must say a little more about the relationship between the luminaries and the signs, as it has a direct bearing on the methodology of this study. The majority of the handbooks I have examined have been manuals of solar astrology, i.e., ones in which the sun, as chief luminary, determines the power of the

signs. Hence when one says, even today, that he was born in Aries or Taurus, etc., he usually means he was born when the sun occupied that sign. It is this notion that underlies such crude efforts as newspaper horoscopes and the astrological computers sometimes found in fairgrounds. It also underlies the descriptions of the powers of the signs in such works as The Kalender of Sheepehards and any system that correlates the zodiacal signs with the months of the year, as in, for example, the woodcuts to The Shephearde's Calender. In this system, it is assumed that although the signs emit influence continuously, the presence of the sun in a sign gives the sign extra force and energy in transmitting its peculiar influence, for, as Agrippa says, when the sun "comes unto the place of any Star, it stirs up the power thereof which it hath in the Aire".⁵⁷ There are also systems of lunar astrology in which the sidereal revolution of the moon is paramount.⁵⁸ In these systems, the effects of a sign are defined in terms of the moon's presence, rather than that of the sun, in the sign. Here it appears that the natural and continuous radiations of the signs remain somewhat muted in their effects until the moon enters the sign, collects the influences, and communicates them to earth more powerfully than when the moon is elsewhere. Despite the use of a different luminary and, consequently, the different time periods involved (the moon remains in a sign c. 2½ days, the sun, c. 30 days), the solar and lunar systems seem to be analogous, then, to the extent that the sign's full expression of its essential nature is dependent on the activating force of the relevant luminary; hence, the influences that lunaria attribute to

the signs are essentially the same as those found in the more familiar handbooks of solar astrology, and my occasional use of a writer's comments on the effects of the moon in a sign is not contradictory.⁵⁹

There is yet another way in which signs are said to exercise their essential natures more strongly than usual, a way not directly dependent on either luminary. As noted above, astrologers divide the celestial sphere into twelve houses in accordance with both the time of day and the latitude for which a chart is cast. The cusps (starting point) of four of these houses are of special importance and are called angles: the ascendant (cusp of first house, the horoscopic point proper),⁶⁰ the *Imnum Coeli* (IMC, lower midheaven, cusp of fourth house), the descendant (cusp of seventh house), and the *Medium Coeli* (MC, upper Midheaven, cusp of tenth house). Of these four angles, the ascendant (degree of the ecliptic rising above the eastern horizon at the moment for which the chart is cast) is most efficacious, so the natural power of a sign or planet in this position is increased. Although the luminaries do not play a direct role when one considers the four angles, their significance clearly derives from an analogy with the sun's diurnal motion: the ascendant is analogous to sunrise; the *Medium Coeli*, to noon; the descendant, to sunset; and the *Imnum Coeli*, to midnight. Several astrologers (e.g. Firmicus, Indagine, and Manilius⁶¹) lay great stress on the planets or signs on the ascendant, while several others (e.g. The Kalender of Sheepehards, Dariot and Ferrier⁶²) either place more stress on the position of the sun in a sign or do not specify which they mean when they discuss the natives

of the signs in general terms.⁶³ Because the ascendant is just a position of augmented power for a sign or planet, not something that alters its essential nature, the effects attributed to signs and planets in this position are the same as those attributed to them when they are treated in isolation. Consequently, I have freely utilized all such accounts of planetary and zodiacal influence. It must be noted that when a zodiacal sign is on the ascendant, the signs on the other angles fall into place automatically; for example, Aquarius on the ascendant means that Scorpio is on the Medium Coeli; Leo, on the descendant; and Taurus, on the Immum Coeli. Thus, when explaining the effects of an ascending sign, both Firmicus and Indagine take into account the implications of all four angles, and I have freely utilized these comments.⁶⁴

A Note on Methodology

I have selected most of my interpretations of planetary and zodiacal influences from genethlialogical (natal) astrology because human personality, behaviour, and destiny are among the Calender's primary concerns, and this is a branch of astrology that provides Spenser with a universally known symbolic framework that does not require actual natal charts to be used meaningfully. For Spenser's poetic purposes, natal charts for the characters would do more harm than good. In the first place, a real birth chart (see fig. 5) is too complicated for effective poetic expression; hence literary birth charts (e.g. those of Belphebe and Phantastes in The Faerie Queene)

are fragmentary and thus tend toward allegory. In the second place, a birth chart is highly particularized and so stresses the individual rather than the general case: not only does it particularize the person, but it also specifies the time down to the exact hour and minute. It was believed in the Renaissance that a given configuration of the heavens cannot be duplicated for about another 36,000 years (the period of the Great Year). In a calendar for every year the narrow focus of a natal chart would be self-contradictory. Thus, any relationship Spenser wishes to establish between personality and the stars will be largely symbolic.

It is easy to see that birth charts would prove awkward in the Calender; it is not so easy, at first, to see that they are also unnecessary. However, the discussion, above, of the Neoplatonic extensions of astrological theory show this to be the case. One enters the world as a tabula rasa, but instantaneously receives an imprint from the precise configuration of signs and planets obtaining at birth. Two important aspects of this character stamp must be stressed again:

- (1) it involves all the planets and all the signs, and the essential natures of their radiations are already altered in strength, and perhaps in kind (by virtue of aspects), before the rays reach earth; and
- (2) this initial imprint inclines, without compelling, one in a certain direction. Thus, since one's birth chart does not force one into a certain pattern of behaviour nor ultimately determines how one will respond to later and different celestial influences, one's post-natal receptivity to particular planets and signs depends upon a number of

factors: time of year, diet, location, activities, moods, and the exercise of free will. Hence, for example, since Thomalin in "March" tries to behave in a Martial manner, he exposes himself to the influence of Mars and in that context can be considered a temporary native of Mars, whatever his natal chart may be and wherever the planet he imitates may be positioned.⁶⁵ Similarly, since Aries is rendered more powerful than usual during March, by virtue of the sun's presence in it, it will have some discernible effect on a man whatever his natal sign. If, in addition, he should, for some other reason altogether, be occupied with activities, thoughts, or feelings appropriate to Aries, he will make himself still more susceptible to this sign's influence. Hence, the Neoplatonic elaboration of point (2), above, provides a theoretical justification for one's being undeterred by the lack of natal charts when examining the correspondences between Spenser's eclogues and their planetary and zodiacal governors.

Point (1), above, provides a further justification. Genethliological astrology itself invites allegorization in isolation from actual birth charts: because astral influences ab origine, if not by the time they reach earth, embody the essential natures of their celestial sources, they are easily transformed into archetypal personality traits, activities, and destinies. Many of these allegorizations are still with us in terms such as "jovial" and "mercurial", and in virtually all handbooks of genethliology, ancient and modern, the celestial influences are treated symbolically. For example, The Kalender of Sheepehards treats both the signs and planets in the

abstract with no consideration of the aspects, houses, or any other details required for individualized interpretation of natal charts. More sophisticated texts treat signs and planets in isolation (the one way they cannot exist in a chart) to clarify their essential natures and then proceed to the more "realistic" matters. In short, to label someone a "child of Saturn", for instance, is already to speak at a generalized, more or less symbolic, level since the complexity of a real chart implies that all children of Saturn are in subtle ways different from one another. I am proposing that in order to free his Calender from the particularity that would be implied by even a partial horoscope Spenser correlates his characters, themes, and situations to "the particular properties [and]...proper formes of the starres themselves"⁶⁶ governing his eclogues.

In essence, then, the approach of the present study is more like that of Fowler in the astrological sections of Spenser and the Numbers of Time than it is like those of C. Wood and J. D. North⁶⁷ on Chaucer's use of astrology and astronomy. This study tests in detail the hypothesis that Spenser, though without devising birth charts for his characters, fashioned his eclogues in accordance with the motifs, character types, and destinies that astrologers traditionally attribute to the natives of the sign and planet governing each eclogue's month. Since if only a few eclogues clearly correspond to their celestial rulers one would need to assume the correlation to be coincidental or designed for some special and limited purpose, the hypothesis is valid only if every eclogue contains significant material

appropriate to the traditional significations of its celestial rulers. Since each planet except the luminaries rules two signs, I have sought to avoid excessive repetition and cumbersome cross-referencing by organizing the study around the planets rather than around the signs: Chapter I deals with Saturn ("Januariye" and "December"); Chapter II with Jupiter ("Februarie" and "November"); Chapter III with Mars ("March" and "October"); Chapter IV with Venus ("Aprill" and "September"); Chapter V with Mercury ("Maye" and "August"); and Chapter VI with the Luminaries ("June" and "Julye"). With the exceptions of Chapters I and VI, this arrangement requires examining the eclogues in rather odd pairs not usually found in studies of the Calender. This study shows that this pairing does in fact make more sense than would at first appear.

In each chapter I examine, using a number of sources, from crude handbooks through to sophisticated "Neoplatonic" treatises (see addendum on sources), the traditional significations of the planets and signs and discuss to what extent and in what ways Spenser incorporates such material in the appropriate eclogues. I call "traditional" those significations that appear with greatest frequency in my sources, or that appear in sources bearing the greatest authority in the Renaissance (e.g. Ptolemy, Firmicus, and Abraham Ibn Ezra⁶⁸). I have omitted astrological interpretations appearing in only one of my sources, unless such a comment is so singularly apt for the Calender that Spenser may have actually consulted that source. As astrologers attribute a diversity of effects (not always internally consistent) to

the planets and signs, it is to be expected that some are quite irrelevant to the Calender (e.g. that natives of Sagittarius will become good horsemen⁶⁹). I have found less of this irrelevancy than I expected (more with the signs than with the planets) and have generally omitted such material without comment. I have found no significant contradictions between the Calender and traditional astrological lore.

The supposed influences of the heavens are inextricably entwined with classical mythology; for example, just as Venus and Mars had an adulterous relationship, so a conjunction of these two planets inclines the native to adultery (see Chapter III).⁷⁰ Hence, I have followed Fowler's lead in drawing material from mythographers as well as from astrologers.

Introduction

Notes

¹Edmund Spenser, Spenser's Minor Poems, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), p. 8. All references to The Shephearde's Calender are to this edition.

²Throughout this study I will be using The Kalender of Sheepehards (c. 1585), a facsimile reproduction edited and with an introduction by S. K. Heninger, Jr. (Delmar, New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1979). The original Short Title Catalogue dates this edition at c. 1560 while the revised Short Title Catalogue adjusts the date to c. 1585. However, as Heninger notes (p. v), this edition or one much like it would have been in Spenser's hands at the time he wrote his Shephearde's Calender. The material I use from The Kalender of Sheepehards can be found in editions both prior to and subsequent to Spenser's Calender. I have adopted the spelling of the title used on Heninger's title page: the spine of the book reads The Kalender of Sheepehards (1503) and the running title of the facsimile reads The Shephearde's Kalender. The edition entitled The Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds, ed. G.C. Heseltine (London: Peter Davis, 1930) omits the section on the signs of the zodiac.

³Mary Parmenter, "Spenser['s] Twelve Aeglogues Proportional to the Twelve Monethes", English Literary History, 3 (1936), 190-217; and Patrick Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 120-48.

⁴Quoted by Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973), p. 351. Erra Pater was a prognostication giving a table forecasting the weather according to the day of the week on which New Year fell and a list of unlucky days. Thomas (p. 350) points out that this "crude brochure" was issued at least a dozen times between 1536 and 1640. The Compost of Ptolomeus was a pirated version of the astrological sections of The Kalender of Sheepehards. For Arcandam see my addendum on sources.

⁵John Melton, Astrologaster, or the Figure-Caster (London, 1620), ed. by H.C. Dick (Augustan Reprint Society, Special Publication #174, 1975), p. 6.

⁶See appendix II for a discussion of the passage in "November".

⁷The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 139. For astrological/astro-nomical studies as a shepherdly duty in pastoral poetry, see Helen Cooper, Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance (Ipswich: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), pp. 78-9, 91, 110, 119, 136, 160, 169, 173, 181, 182, 186-7, and 205.

⁸A. Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

⁹Hugh de Lacy, "Astrology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 33 (1934), 520-43, limits his study to Spenser's use of astrological lore for "figures of speech, descriptions, and allusions of one sort or another" (520), i.e. to explicitly astrological passages.

¹⁰S.K. Heninger, Jr., "The Implications of Form for The Shephearde Calender", Studies in the Renaissance, 10 (1962), 309-21.

¹¹Fowler, p. 51.

¹²N.A. Greco, Magic and Vision in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser with Particular Reference to "The Shephearde Calender", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1978.

¹³F. Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 104.

¹⁴L. Thorndike, "The True Place of Astrology in the History of Science", ISIS, 46 (1955), 273-8.

¹⁵K. Thomas, Decline of Magic, p. 337.

¹⁶Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos, ed. and trans. F.E. Robbins (London: William Heinemann Ltd., and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 109-11.

¹⁷W. Lilly, Christian Astrology Modestly Treated of in Three Books (London, 1647), p. 89.

¹⁸Claude Dariot, A Brief and Most Easy Introduction to the Astrological Judgement of the Starres (London, 1598), R₃v - R₄r.

¹⁹Lilly, p. 89.

²⁰Dariot, R₃v.

²¹Lilly, p. 89.

²²Dariot, R₄r.

²³See C. Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 301.

²⁴Ptolemy posited only eight spheres, but medieval astronomers usually added a ninth--the Primum Mobile--to account for the daily motion of the stars and planets.

²⁵The figures given here are those for a geocentric cosmology. Of course each astronomer or astrologer gives slightly different figures, so the figures given cannot be exact. Cf. The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 161-9; Thomas Hood, The Use of Both the Globes, Celestiall and Terrestriall, London, 1592, B5r-v (rpt. as no. 389 of the English Experience series [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971]); Thomas Hill, The Schoole of Skil, London, 1599, pp. 25-7 (rpt. as no. 607 of the English Experience series [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and New York: Da Capo Press, 1973]); and John Blagrave, The Mathematicall Jewell, London, 1585, p. 9 (rpt. as no. 294 of the English Experience series [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971]). The figures given by Copernicus in his heliocentric cosmology differ from those in geocentric cosmologies only for Venus (9 months in Copernicus) and Mercury (80 days in Copernicus): see N. Copernicus, On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres, trans. by A. M. Duncan (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1976), pp. 49-50.

²⁶Although a number of the astrologers I have used (especially Manilius, Vettius Valens, and Ibn Ezra) comment on the personalities produced by the zodiacal signs, most of them have relatively little to say on this subject and concentrate instead on the effects of the planets. Albumasar (like most astrologers not paying much attention to equinoctial procession) provides the probable explanation for such relative neglect: "The fixed stars govern what is stable in the world, or what suffers gradual change. The celestial sphere of the fixed stars encircles the earth with a perpetual motion; the stars never alter their pace, and maintain invariably their relative distances from the earth. The seven planets, on the contrary, move more rapidly and with diverse motions, each running its own variable

course....As the motions of these wandering stars are never interrupted, so the generations and alterations of earthly things never have an end. Only by observing the great diversity of planetary motions can one comprehend the unnumbered varieties of change in this world". Quoted by W. C. Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1960), pp. 247-8.

27 The procedures for erecting a chart are the same whether the chart is for predicting the weather, interpreting the character and destiny of the native, choosing the time for a coronation, catching a thief, finding lost property, curing an illness, choosing a wife, betting on a horse, etc. What will vary in accordance with the chart's purposes are the segments given most attention and the additional interpretive tools used.

28 Rectification is the process of adjusting the natal chart when the native's exact time or place of birth is unknown, so that the chart will come out "correct". It frequently involves selecting notable events in the native's life thus far (illnesses or accidents, for instance) and trying to generate, within the parameters set by the known birth data, a chart that will account for these events. Needless to say, the practice is one of the more suspect facets of the astrologer's art.

29 The problem of the nature and extent of astrological belief is too vast and multifaceted to be explored in detail here. Consequently, my remarks on it will be general and rather over-simplified. For more complete studies of this subject and the problems it entails see K. Thomas, pp. 335-458; W. Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1941); B. Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press (London: Faber and Faber, 1979); M. Graubard, "Astrology's Demise and its Bearing on the Decline and Death of Beliefs", OSIRIS, 13 (1958), 210-61; Carroll Camden, Jr., "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day", ISIS, 19 (1933), 26-73; Carroll Camden, Jr., "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications", The Library, New Series, 12 (1931), 83-108 and 194-207; Carroll Camden, Jr., "Elizabethan Astrological Medicine", Annals of Medical History, New Series, 2 (1930), 217-226; M. Sondheim, "Shakespeare and the Astrology of his Time", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 2 (1939), 243-59; J. H. Smith, "John Foxe on Astrology", English Literary Renaissance, 1 (1971), 210-25; P. H. Kocher, Science and Religion in Elizabethan England (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1953), pp. 201-24; S. V. Larkey, "Astrology and Politics in the First Years of Elizabeth's Reign", Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine, 3 (1935), 171-86; M. E. Bowden, The Scientific Revolution in Astrology: The English Reformers, 1558-1686, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974; and H. Rusche, "Merlini Anglici: Astrology and Propaganda from 1644 to 1651", English Historical Review, 80 (1965), 322-33. For medieval attitudes

see C. Wood, pp. 3-50; and T. O. Wedel, The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920, reprinted by Archon Books, 1968).

³⁰ The opponents of judicial astrology usually raised only practical problems that were solvable in theory: why do identical twins, who must have virtually the same natal chart, often differ in character and destiny? Does everyone who perishes in a shipwreck or a battle have the same natal chart? Does it not make more sense to use the time of conception, which is difficult to ascertain, rather than the birth time as the basis for a chart? Since the world has existed for only about 6,000 years, astrologers cannot have collected enough data (since a given configuration of stars appears only once every 36,000 years or so). Many predictions fail to come true; astrology is not approved of by the Bible, famous philosophers, or church fathers; if the son of a king and that of a pauper are born in the same room at the same time, they will, despite the identical charts, have totally different destinies, and so forth. Most of these arguments date back to Cicero and Sextus Empiricus and had been raised and refuted several times before the sixteenth century.

³¹ W. P., Four Great Lyers, Striving who shal win the silver Whetstone (London, 1585(?)), E₆r.

³² Quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 288.

³³ R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 151. For a more complete account of Renaissance Neoplatonic theories of astrology and magic than I can give here, see Greco, pp. 1-121; Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age, pp. 9-108; Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964), passim; and Shumaker, pp. 108-59.

³⁴ Quoted by Klibansky et al., p. 152.

³⁵ Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, trans. J. F. (London, 1651), pp. 469-71. See also Giorgio, L'Harmonie du Monde, Divisée en Trois Cantiques, trans. Guy le fevre de la Boderie (Paris, 1579), pp. 84-92; and Pierre de la Primaudaye, The Third Volume of the French Academie, trans. R. Dolman (London, 1601), pp. 132-47. Although claiming that the influence of stars must be intrinsically good, some Neoplatonists frequently slip into language more appropriate to the Ptolemaic tradition, as when Agrippa refers to the "Influences of the perverse" (p. 469) and la Primaudaye to "the naughtines of the stars" (III, 132). Such phrases are presumably merely a convenient and brief way of referring to the influences of

the stars having been rendered malevolent due to the improper disposition of man or some other earthly recipient. I occasionally use a similar shorthand, especially in Chapter I in which I frequently contrast a good and a bad Saturn. For example, in a Ptolemaic context, the phrase "good Saturn" simply means those good influences this planet can have either of itself or by virtue of its position in the sky; in a Neoplatonic context the same phrase means Saturnian influences as manifested in a recipient so disposed as to preserve their essential goodness.

³⁶ See, for example, Agrippa, pp. 26-31; *la Primaudaye*, III, 85-93, 132; Giorgio, pp. 84-94; and, for Ficino, Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 263-7.

³⁷ Quoted by Klibansky *et al.*, p. 261.

³⁸ Agrippa, pp. 105-8.

³⁹ Agrippa, p. 148.

⁴⁰ See Ptolemy, pp. 313 and 361.

⁴¹ Ptolemy, p. 177. Ptolemy uses the term "luminaries" to distinguish the sun and moon from the five planets proper. Most later astrologers are not so scrupulous and simply treat the sun and moon as planets like the others.

⁴² Julius Firmicus Maternus, Ancient Astrology: Theory and Practice, a translation of Matheseos Libri VIII by J. R. Bram (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1975), p. 138; and J. Indagine, Briefe Introductions...in the Arte of Chiromancy, Physiognomy, Natural Astrology, trans. F. Withers (London, 1558), P₇r.

⁴³ Firmicus, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Ptolemy, p. 9. I say Ptolemy "largely" assigns this general rule to the sun alone because on p. 7 he almost expressed Firmicus' later view of the general rule of both; after outlining the generalized rule of the sun (over climate, etc.), he enlarges on the moon's effects on tides and on the waxing and waning of all plants and animals. For Ptolemy, the moon seems to be in a rather ambiguous position between the general rule of the sun and the domination over particular details characteristic of the planets proper. In the passage quoted from p. 9, "stars" denotes primarily planets.

⁴⁵ Neither Ptolemy nor Firmicus is able to keep the influence of the luminaries consistently generalized, for when, in the sections cited above, they discuss how the luminaries assist the other planets, the influences they assign the luminaries are every bit as specific as those assigned to other planets. So while the extent of their rule may be general, their actual effects are specific. When he discusses the effects of the luminaries on the ascendant, Firmicus treats them as he does the other planets (cf. pp. 88-9, 113).

⁴⁶ Ptolemy, pp. 177-9.

⁴⁷ An anonymous commentator explains that the luminaries exert this power because "they are the ones which submit to eclipse and thereby determine the places of eclipses and the rulers of these places" (Ptolemy, p. 178, n. 1).

⁴⁸ Firmicus, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Macrobius, The Saturnalia, trans. and introduced by P.V. Davies (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 114. See also, Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, trans. W.H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 168-9.

⁵⁰ Maplet, The Diall of Destiny (1581), in J. Winny, ed. The Frame of Order (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1957), p. 187. The copy reproduced by University Microfilms is faulty at this point (23r-v)--see Chapter III, n. 11, below.

⁵¹ Vincenzo Cartari, The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction, trans. R. Linch (London: 1599), E₃r-v.

⁵² Cartari, E₄r.

⁵³ Agrippa, pp. 283-4. I return to the subject of the sun's special status in Chapter VI.

⁵⁴ For example, like the other planets, the moon is indestructible and has a calculatable orbit, but its phases (one of the things that give rise to the traditional epithet of inconstant) indicate a mutability analogous to that on earth, but yet more regular.

⁵⁵ Agrippa, pp. 284-5. See also Giorgio, pp. 131, 149, 208, 320, and 702; and *la Primaudaye*, III, 190.

⁵⁶ Firmicus, pp. 118-19. See also Agrippa, p. 61; Maplet, in Winny, pp. 181-4; W. Ramesey, Astrologia Restaurata (London, 1653), p. 63; and A. Fowler, pp. 140-43 (discussing The Faerie Queene, III. vi.).

⁵⁷ Agrippa, p. 284.

⁵⁸ See L. Braswell, "Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages", University of Ottawa Quarterly, 48 (1978), 187-94.

⁵⁹ Of course, the presence of a luminary in a sign is more complicated than my stress on the luminaries' activating power suggests. As Braswell points out, "For each of its months or each of its mansions [each of the 28 days of the lunar month is a mansion] the properties of the moon are augmented or negated by properties of the signs and mansions through which it passes" (189). The same can be said of the sun's progress through the signs. Since the luminaries possess their own individualized qualities in addition to their general powers of stimulating (sun) and transmitting (moon) those of the planets and signs, it is to be expected that when a luminary (like a planet) is present in a sign, the influences of both would be altered by the other before the rays reach earth. Nonetheless, the similarities between the effects attributed to signs in the lunaria that Braswell quotes and those in the manuals of solar astrology I have consulted, suggest that when such mutual modification occurs it is heavily weighted in favour of augmenting the power of the sign. It should also be noted that even in systems of solar astrology, the moon is extremely important in iatromathematics (astrological medicine), elections, and horary questions. The moon's motions and positions are crucial in these areas because they all deal with specific actions or situations spanning a relatively short time period (usually much less than a month), and the moon both moves and changes more rapidly than any other planet and, as noted above, because of its propinquity to earth, exercises a particularly powerful influence over sublunar matter.

⁶⁰ Popular usage has extended the meaning of the term "horoscope" to cover the entire chart.

⁶¹ Manilius, Astronomica, trans. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1977), pp. 263-9.

⁶² Auger Ferrier, A Learned Astronomical Discourse of the Judgement of Nativities, trans. T. Kelway (London, 1593).

⁶³ When astrologers wish to make detailed prognostications based on a natal chart, though, they take into account the positions of the luminaries, what is on all four angles, and several other things as indicated above. The ascendant can be very useful when the astrologer is making predictions, etc. that require fine discriminations, for a sign will be on the ascendant for only two hours a day. Firmicus (pp. 282-300) has gone so far as to devise significations for each degree of the ecliptic (a degree of the ecliptic will be on the ascendant for four minutes a day). Methods such as these avoid the problem of the too-generalized and too broadly applicable meanings involved when one considers only the luminaries within a sign.

⁶⁴ For the sake of brevity, I have usually not indicated when Firmicus and Indagine move from discussing the sign on the ascendant to discussing those simultaneously found on the other angles. Since all four angles affect the native at once, the effects of the IMC, the MC, and the descendant can be properly considered constitutive of the character and destiny of the native of the ascending sign.

⁶⁵ Of course these two factors would, in astrological theory, be important in judging how successful he will be in imitating Mars. Spenser, however, provides no information on these matters, and the most one could conclude from Thomalin's ill-success as a Martial figure (see chapter III) is that either he has a totally unsuitable natal chart or that Mars is unfavourably positioned, or both.

⁶⁶ Christopher Heydon, A Defense of Judicial Astrology (Cambridge, 1603), p. 292.

⁶⁷ J. D. North, "Kalenderes Enlumyned Ben They: Some Astronomical Themes in Chaucer", Review of English Studies, New Series, 20 (1969), 129-54, 257-83, and 418-44.

⁶⁸ Abraham Ibn Ezra, The Beginning of Wisdom, ed. and trans. R. Levy and F. Cantera (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1939).

⁶⁹ Manilius, p. 241.

⁷⁰ See Wood, pp. 62-9, and Klibansky et al., pp. 140-51, for a discussion of the interaction between astrology and mythology.

Addendum I: Definitions

The following terms appear occasionally throughout this study and require definition. This list includes only those terms not discussed sufficiently in the introduction proper.

Aspect:

"Angular relationship between two planets or important points on the zodiac; one of a set of specific angles. In a birth chart, aspects are the building blocks of character, and the interpretation of a chart depends to a great extent on the study of aspects. It is worth noting that the archaic meaning of aspect was 'glance', 'gaze', or 'appearance'. Its use in astrology is part of an anthropomorphic legacy in which planets are 'lords' and 'rulers' and have 'domiciles' and 'mansions'. Thus the planets' aspects were how they 'looked at' each other--that is, in a friendly or unfriendly manner".¹ Planets separated by 180° of the ecliptic are said to be in opposition; those by 90°, in quartile or square; those by 120°, in trine; and those by 60°, in sextile. Opposition and square are unfriendly or malefic aspects; trine and sextile are friendly or benefic. In practice, though not formally, Ptolemy also recognized conjunction (planets on the same degree of the ecliptic). Later astrologers freely accept conjunction and assign it benefic or malefic effects depending upon the planets involved and upon the point on the ecliptic at which the conjunction occurs. Modern astrologers use several other aspects as well, many of them attributed to Kepler.

Decans:

"A term applied to a subdivision of Sign into 10° arcs, referred to as the first, second and third decanates or decans. The interpretation of Decans is based upon a system of rulerships, of which two are in common use. One method ascribed Mars to the first Decan of Aries and thence carried a fixed series throughout the 36 Decans, ending again with Mars ruling the third Decan of Pisces. The series is Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter....The other method employs the Ruler of the Sign as specifically the Ruler of the First Decan, with the Second and Third Decans associated with the Rulers of the other two Signs of the same triplicity. Thus the first or Aries Decan of Aries is ruled by Mars; the second or Leo Decan, by the Sun; and the Third or Sagittarian Decan by Jupiter".² The decans,

like most of the other elaborate ways of categorizing segments of the chart, are designed to permit greater variety and subtlety of interpretation. Thus, for example, a planet in a sign in which it is weak may find its power increased if it is in one of its own decans.

Dignities and Debilities:

"Conditions of placement wherein a planet's influence is strengthened, are termed Dignities; if weakened they are termed Debilities. These are of two varieties: Essential and Accidental".³ Essential dignities and debilities result from the planet's sign-placement; accidental, from its house-placement. Only the essential dignities and debilities are relevant to the present study. There are three major essential dignities: (1) when a planet is in a sign it rules; (2) when a planet is in its exaltation (a sign, or specific degree of this sign, in which the planet's strength is augmented); and (3) when a planet is in a sign belonging to the triplicity ruled by the planet. Many astrologers also grant essential dignities to planets in their own faces (q.v.) or terms (q.v.). Astrologers used a point system to designate the relative values of the dignities and to compute the degree of dignity possessed by a planet: Sign = 5; Exaltation = 4; Triplicity = 3; Term = 2; and Face = 1. There are two major essential debilities: detriment (a sign opposite (180° from) to a sign ruled by the planet; worth 5 debility points) and fall (the sign, or specific degree of that sign, opposite to that of the planet's exaltation; worth 4 debility points). It is to the dignities and debilities (essential and accidental) that astrologers allude when they say that a planet is favourably or unfavourably, well or ill, placed, dignified, or positioned. Strictly speaking, the dignities and debilities refer only to the strength of planetary influence, not to its quality; that is, the influence of a well-placed or essentially-dignified planet is simply stronger, but not necessarily better or more desirable. However, this strict distinction between quantitative and qualitative judgements is usually apparent only when astrologers discuss specific dignities or debilities. When a term like well-placed is used in a more general sense, it usually designates those factors (dignities, aspects, etc.) that increase the planet's desirable or beneficial influences.

Faces:

According to Ptolemy, the "planets are said to be in their 'proper face' when an individual planet keeps to the sun or moon the same aspect which its house has to their houses; as, for example, when Venus is in sextile to the luminaries, provided that she is occidental to the sun and oriental to the moon, in accordance with the original arrangement of their houses".⁴ The scholiast on Ptolemy adds to the original conditions that the planet must be in its own house and in the necessary aspect with both luminaries.⁵ However,

J.D. North implies that by Chaucer's time the term face was synonymous with decan (q.v.)⁶ as it is in Lilly.⁷ Some modern astrologers, following Alan Leo, define a face as half a decan.⁸ Most modern practitioners have responded to the confusion of meaning attending this term by dropping it from their vocabularies.

Houses:

"In a horoscope, twelve pie-shaped sections, usually unequal in size, into which the circle representing the celestial sphere is divided, and whose boundaries intersect the ecliptic at points called cusps. In most systems of house division, the houses are regarded as fixed with respect to the horizon and are numbered from I to XII, starting at the eastern horizon or ascendant and proceeding downward and counter-clockwise, in the direction of the earth's rotation, the planets passing through them in clockwise direction every 24 hours. Thus the houses are divisions of a daily cycle resulting from the Earth's rotation on its axis, whereas the signs are divisions of a yearly cycle resulting from the Earth's revolution around the Sun (or the Sun's apparent revolution around the Earth along the ecliptic)".⁴ There are numerous ways of computing the house divisions (and they all produce different results), but the houses themselves have consistent significations. In genethliology, each house represents a department of the native's life and rules all activities and experiences associated with that department: I (Vita), personality, physical appearance, and childhood; II (Lucrum), material possessions; III (Fratres), family, relatives, communication, short journeys, education; IV (Genitor), parents, childhood home; V (Nati), children, sexual activities, creative self-expression; VI (Valetudo), health and employment; VII (Uxor), marriage, friends, business partners, and relationships with other people in general; VIII (Mors), death, moments of crisis, taxes; IX (Pietas), higher education, long journeys, religious and intellectual searching for meaning; X (Regnum), honours, fame, success, ambition, attainments; XI (Benefacta), ideals, political parties, social organizations, societies; and XII (Carcer), restrictions, sorrow, evil, hidden enemies, long illness, imprisonment, solitude.¹⁰

Ruler (or Lord) of the Chart:

According to Firmicus, the ruler of the chart "controls the sum of the whole chart and from him the individual planets take their power of forecasting".¹¹ Astrologers differ widely in how they determine the ruler of the chart: some say it is whichever planet in the first house (q.v.) is closest to the Ascendant, but if no planets are in the first house then the ruler of the ascending sign is ruler of the chart; others claim it is the planet that shows itself strongest after the dignities and debilities (q.v.) have been computed; others argue that it is the planet in whose terms (q.v.) the sun is found (for a day-time chart) or in whose terms the moon is

found (for a night-time chart); still others maintain that it is the ruler of the sign the moon enters upon leaving the one that it was found in at the time for which the chart was cast. The last is the method Firmicus prefers, but he adds that since neither the sun nor the moon can be ruler of the chart, if the moon should happen to be in Gemini in the chart then one must bypass Cancer and Leo and make the ruler of Virgo, Mercury, ruler of the chart.¹² Someone said to be a native of Saturn, for example, will have Saturn either as ruler of the chart or on the ascendant (or both).

Ruler of Time (Chronocrator):

Each planet rules a certain period of time in the native's life. In a diurnal chart, the sun rules the first period and then passes the rulership to the other planets in turn, following the order Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, moon. In a nocturnal chart, the moon begins the series. Each planet is ruler of time for 129 months, but delegates periods of this time to the other planets. Although the order of these smaller periods varies in accordance with the planet ruling the larger period, the duration of the smaller periods is always as follows: Saturn, 30 months; Jupiter, 12 months; Mars, 15 months; the sun, 19 months; Venus, 8 months; Mercury, 20 months; and the moon, 25 months.¹³

Terms:

Each sign is subdivided into five unequal sections called terms. Each term in the sign is ruled by a different planet (but the Tuminares are excluded from rulership of terms). A planet occupying a term ruled by another planet alters its own nature in order to resemble that of the planet whose term it is in.¹⁴

Thema Mundi:

The Thema Mundi is the natal chart of the universe. Firmicus, attributing the chart ultimately to Hermes Tresmegistus, describes it as follows: 15° of Cancer on the Ascendant with the moon, the sun in 15° of Leo, Mercury in 15° of Virgo, Venus in 15° of Libra, Mars in 15° of Scorpio, Jupiter in 15° of Sagittarius, and Saturn in 15° of Capricorn.¹⁵ Firmicus denies that the Thema Mundi is literally true;¹⁶ instead, he regards it as an allegorical representation of the history of the human race, a history divided into ages each ruled by a different planet. Man began in a Saturnian state of "uncivilized ferocity", developed a "more cultivated mode of life" under the aegis of Jupiter, learned arts and skills under Mars, cultivated learned speech and individual sciences under Venus, and invented institutions, customs, and wicked crimes under Mercury.¹⁷

Notes on Addendum I

¹J.L. Brau, H. Weaver, and A. Edmands, Larousse Encyclopedia of Astrology, ed. H. Weaver (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980), p. 15. The complete discussion of aspects occupies pp. 15-18. See also, A. Leo, The Complete Dictionary of Astrology, ed. V.E. Robson (New York: Astrologer's Library, 1978. Rpt. of 1929 edition), pp. 6-7; and N. de Vore, Encyclopedia of Astrology (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams, and Co., 1980), pp. 18-26.

²De Vore, pp. 87-8. See also Brau et al., p. 90; and Leo, pp. 22-4.

³De Vore, p. 111. See also Brau et al., pp. 89, 93; and Leo, pp. 22, 34. These sources also contain separate entries for each dignity or debility.

⁴Ptolemy, p. 111.

⁵Ptolemy, p. 110, n. 2.

⁶North, 137.

⁷Lilly, pp. 103, 104.

⁸See Leo, pp. 62-7; Brau et al., p. 111, and de Vore, p. 183.

⁹Brau et al., p. 148. For detailed discussion of some of the methods of house division (approximately 20 are currently in use) see Brau et al., 137-48. See also de Vore, pp. 203-24; and Leo, pp. 138-43.

¹⁰See also Shumaker, p. 5.

¹¹Firmicus, p. 138.

¹²Firmicus, p. 138.

¹³See Firmicus, pp. 226-32. Firmicus is not entirely consistent: on p. 226 he claims that the longer period is 10 years,

11 months (131 months), while on p. 227 he says it is only 10 years. However, he is consistent about the smaller periods, the sum of which is 129 months.

¹⁴For a full discussion of the assignment of terms, see Ptolemy, pp. 91-107.

¹⁵Firmicus, pp. 71-2.

¹⁶Firmicus, p. 72.

¹⁷Firmicus, p. 74.

Addendum II: Notes on Sources

Since many of my sources of information about the significations of the zodiacal signs and the planetary deities may be unfamiliar to students of the Calender, I append the following notes on the more important and/or obscure of them. For the sake of convenience and ease of reference, I have incorporated reference material in the entries themselves rather than in notes.

Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535)--Henry Cornelius Agrippa strove to reconcile various magical doctrines and to unite Neoplatonism with Cabala. This, in brief, is the aim of his De Occulta Philosophia, a draft of which he completed by 1510 but publication of the whole was delayed until 1533. The English version used in this study (Three Books of Occult Philosophy, trans. J.F.) appeared in London in 1651. In his recantation, On the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Sciences (1530), he argues that nothing but religious faith is certain or reliable. Both works provoked considerable controversy. For further information, see C. Naurert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), V, 127-38; K. Seligman, Magic, Supernaturalism, and Religion (London: the Penguin Press, 1971), pp. 211-15; Shumaker, pp. 134-57; Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, pp. 130-43; and Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age, pp. 37-47.

Albertus Magnus (1193-1280)--Dominican philosopher, theologian, and teacher. Albertus wrote a series of encyclopedic treatises dealing with most questions in the natural sciences as well as with theology and philosophy. The work used in the present study, The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, ed. M.R. Best and F.H. Brightman (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), was attributed to Albertus by the Renaissance, but is most probably a compilation from several sources. For further information, see the introduction to the edition of Best and Brightman (xi-xlviii); Seligman, pp. 140-45; G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1931), II, pt. 2, 934-44; and The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Universal Jewish Encyclopedia Co., Inc., 1948), I, 160.

Al-Bīrūnī (973-c.1048)--Moslem philosopher, traveler, mathematician, astronomer, geographer, historian, and encyclopedist. He was one of the greatest scientists of medieval Islam, having done important work on Hindu numerals, geometric problems that cannot be solved with a ruler and compass alone (Albirunic problems), stereographic projection, determination of latitude and longitude, specific gravity, and botany. The work used here is The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology, trans. R.R. Wright (London: Luzac and Co., 1934). For further information, see G. Sarton (1927), I, 707-9; The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, I, 160-1; and H.M. Said, ed. Al-Biruni: Commemorative Volume (Karachi: Hamdard National Foundation, 1979).

Arcandam (pseud.)--The Most Excellent Booke to Fynde the Fatal Desteny of Every Man, trans. W. Warde (London, 1630). A handbook of divination which went into seven English editions between 1562 and 1637. Although the English version is William Warde's translation from the French, the earliest known edition (Paris, 1542) is in Latin. The 1626 English edition gives as a variant of the author's name Alchandrin. The divinatory techniques used (e.g., gematria, nativities in terms of lunar mansions) are ancient, and similar books by authors with similar names (e.g., Alchandrus) are found in the tenth century. See Thorndike, I, 712-16; V, 291, and VI, 148; and K. Thomas, pp. 283-4.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus (fl. 1230-1240)--a Franciscan who wrote an enormously popular encyclopedia entitled De Proprietatibus Rerum. Although in many ways it was out of date when composed, it was frequently re-issued and translated during the subsequent three centuries. See G. Sarton, II, pt. 2, 586-8. The present study uses On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum, a Critical Text, ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

Cattan, Christopher--The Geomancie of Maister Christopher Cattan, Gentleman (London, 1591). I have been able to find little information about Cattan. He himself says he was a soldier and servant to "my Lord Thais" for whom he composed this work (C₁v). The anonymous translator (into French) says Cattan was a gentleman "and man of armes in Campion countrey of the Lorde Thais departed" (A₃r). This translator also complains that since Cattan was an Italian who spoke little French his attempts to write French read more like Italian (A₃r-v). Thorndike (VI, 472) points out that the French edition originally appeared in Paris in 1558 and was reprinted in 1567, 1572, and 1577.

Cartari, Vincenzo (c.1520-c.1570)--The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction, trans. Richard Linche (London, 1599), reprinted in The English Experience series (no. 577), (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo

Press Inc., and *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* Ltd., 1973). This work is a truncated version of Cartari's *De Imagini...degli Dei* (Venice, 1556 and 1571). Cartari is a mythographer whose dominant aim is to provide an iconographical description of the gods. For further information on Cartari, see J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. B.F. Sessions (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 232-3, 313-14.

Comes (or Conti), Natalis (c.1520-1582)--the most famous and influential of the Renaissance mythographers. Author of *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (Venice, 1551), which was translated into French by Jean Baudouin (Paris, 1627), reprinted as no. 26 of *The Renaissance and the Gods* series (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976). For further information on Comes, see Seznec, pp. 231-2, 248-50.

Dariot, Claude (1533-1594)--French calvinist physician and astrologer. In 1557 he published his *Ad astrorum judicia facilis introductio*. A French version, *L'Introduction au jugement des astres*, appeared in 1558. The present study uses the English version, *A Briefe and most easie Introduction to the Astrologicall Iudgement of the Starres*, trans. F. W. (London, 1598). For further information about Dariot, see *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1975), pp. 192-3.

Dorotheus Sidonius (fl.c.75 A.D.)--a writer of astrological verse much quoted by the Arabian astrologers. I use his *Carmen Astrologicum*, ed. and trans. D. Pingree (Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1976). In his work we find out what may be the earliest form of some refinements in genethliology: the system of lots (points as distant from some specified points in the chart as two planets are from each other), the prorogator (a point on the ecliptic that determines the native's length of life), and a system of transits (a system used in continuous horoscopy in which a new chart is cast at the beginning of every year, month, week, day, or hour and compared with the natal chart).

Ferrier, Augier (1513-1588)--French physician and astrologer. In 1549 he dedicated his *Jugements astronomiques sur les nativités* to Catherine de Medici who immediately made him her chief physician. He returned to his native Toulouse c. 1564 and was named Professor of the faculty of medicine there in 1581. When Jean Bodin called him "l'un des plus ridicules astrologues de son temps", Ferrier wrote an apologia in which he claims to have practised astrology only as a recreation. See *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, p. 1120. The present study uses *A Learned Astronomical Discourse of the Judgement of Nativities*, trans. T. Kelway (London, 1593).

Finé, Oronce (1494-1555)--French mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, and inventor of astronomical instruments. See Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, pp. 1370-1, and Thorndike, V, 290-3. Among his voluminous writings is a handbook containing rules for the use of almanacs and a brief introduction to astrology (Latin edition, 1538, French editions 1543 and 1556). I have used Humphrey Baker's translation, The Rules and righte ample Documentes, touching the use and practise of the common Almanackes, which are named Ephemerides (London, c.1558).

Firmicus Maternus, Julius (fl.c.330-340 A.D.)--Sicilian astrologer and Neoplatonist. Between 334 and 337 he composed his Matheseos libri VIII, the most comprehensive astrological textbook of antiquity. After his conversion to Christianity he wrote a violent attack on paganism (De errore profanarum religionum, c. 346). See Sarton, I, 354, and Thordike, I, 525-38. I have used Ancient Astrology, Theory and Practice: The Mathesis of Firmicus Maternus, trans. J.R. Bram (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1975).

Fraunce, Abraham (fl. 1587-1633)--poet, familiar with the Sidney circle, sought to naturalise classical metres in English, dedicated nearly all his works to Sidney's sister Mary, the countess of Pembroke. His major works include The Arcadian Rhetorike (1588), and The Lawiers Logike (1588). I have used The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch, entituled Amintas Dale, wherein are the most conceited tales of the Pagan Gods in English Hexameters, together with the ancient descriptions and philosophical explications (1592). For further information about Fraunce see The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1949-50), VII, 607-9.

Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades (c.467-532 A.D.)--mythographer, etymologist, allegorizer. All his works were widely read in the Middle Ages. After years of monastic life, Fulgentius became the bishop of Ruspe in 507, and was such an effective champion of catholicism that the Vandal King Thrasamund twice banished him to Sardinia. See The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 449. I have used Fulgentius the Mythographer, trans. L.G. Whitbread (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971).

Giorgio (or Giorgi, or Zorzi), Francesco (1466-1540)--Venetian, Franciscan friar, Christian cabalist strongly influenced by the Florentine Neoplatonists. His major works are De harmonia mundi (1525) and Problemata (1536). For more information, see Thorndike, VI, 450-3; and Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age, pp. 29-36. I have used L'Harmonie du Monde Divisée en trois cantiques, trans. Guy le fevre de la Boderie (Paris, 1579).

Godfridus--Here begynneth the boke of knowledge of thynges unknownen apperteynyng to astronomye (London, 1616). As Keith Thomas points out, this work "included a system of long-range weather forecasting, based on the day of the week on which Christmas fell, and a prediction of the fate of persons born on different days of the week or phases of the moon. There were at least twelve editions of this work in the second half of the seventeenth century" (p. 351).

Ibn Ezra, Abraham ben Meir (c.1092-1167)--Hispano-Jewish philosopher, astrologer, Hebrew grammarian, poet, scholar, and translator from Arabic into Hebrew. He was, says Sarton, one of the greatest medieval biblical commentators and much admired by Spinoza on that account. He wrote books on the calendar, the astrolabe, mathematics, and eight influential treatises on astrology. See Sarton, II, pt. 1, 187-9; and The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, V, 523-5. I have used The Beginning of Wisdom, ed. Raphael Levy and F. Cantera (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1939).

Indagine, Joannes ab (fl.c.1520-30)--a priest at Steinheim near Frankfurt. His Introductiones apotelesmaticae (1522) combines astrology, physiognomy, and chiromancy in a single volume. It is, in effect, a collection of treatises bound as a single volume. He attempts to distinguish between what he calls natural and artificial astrology: the practitioner of natural astrology observes in detail the movements of only the sun and moon. However, he follows Firmicus in not permitting the luminaries to be lords of the chart; hence the other planets play a role in chart-interpretation, but not in chart-calculation. His work was enormously popular: there were three Latin printings in 1522 and subsequent editions in 1531, 1534, 1541, 1543, 1547, 1556, 1582, 1603, 1630, 1663, 1664, and 1672. Moreover, there were translations into German, English, and French, and these were frequently reprinted. For more detail, see Thorndike, V, 65-6, 175-6. I have used Briefe Introductions...unto the Art of Chiromancy..., trans. F. Withers (London, 1558).

The Kalender of Sheepehards--a compendium of popular astrology and simple religion. It consists of five sections: (1) the calendar proper, with indications of saints' days and explanations of how to calculate the golden number (used for determining the date of Easter), the dominical letter (denotes the Sundays in any particular year) and the tabular letter (used in tables that set the date of moveable feasts); (2) a discussion of vices and the pains of hell; (3) a discussion of virtues; (4) a discussion of the governance of health; and (5) a discussion of astrology and physiognomy. The first printed edition is Paris, 1493; the first English version appeared in Paris, 1503. As Heninger points out, The Kalender of Sheepehards was "notably successful in England:

at least nineteen distinct editions are still extant" (p. vi), spanning the period 1506-1656. For more detail, see the introduction by S.K. Heninger, Jr. to his edition of a facsimile reprint, The Kalender of Sheepehards (c.1585) (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1979). This is the edition I have used throughout. The date of this copy is uncertain: the S.T.C. originally dated it c. 1560, but the revised S.T.C. alters this to c. 1585, without explanation. Both the spine of the book and the Library of Congress publication data on the reverse of the title page incorrectly identify it as the 1503 edition.

La Primaudaye, Pierre de (1546-1619)--French Protestant writer, author of L'Académie Francoise (c.1577-1608), published first in several parts and finally collected as a whole. This encyclopedic work purports to be an account of the conversations of four young men in Anjou who founded a private academy and debated before their fathers. It is not known whether such an academy existed or whether it is merely a fictional setting devised by la Primaudaye for presenting his ideas. The work was very popular in England. For further information, see F. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947; Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1973), pp. 123-7, 130-1, 134, 214 and 295; and H. Burson, Le Rationalisme dans la Littérature Française de la Renaissance (1533-1601) (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Urin, 1957), pp. 493-4. I have used mainly The Third Volume of the French Academie, trans. R. Dolman (London, 1601). The original French version of this volume appeared c.1594-6. The material I use from la Primaudaye is largely a paraphrase of ideas from Giorgio, often with only slight alterations in phrasing.

Lilly, William (1602-1681)--first turned his attention to astrology in 1632. He published numerous almanacs and astrological pamphlets and was very active in making political predictions during the civil war. For a detailed account of his colourful career, see The Dictionary of National Biography, XI, 1137-41. I have used Lilly's Christian Astrology modestly treated in three Books (London, 1647).

Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius (fl.c.410 A.D.)--Roman grammarian and philosopher. I have used his Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, trans. W.H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), a Neoplatonic exposition of Cicero's Somnium, and his The Saturnalia, trans. and introduced by P.V. Davies (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), a miscellany of discussions rich in philological, historical, antiquarian, and scientific lore that are a framework for a commentary on Virgil. See The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 635.

Manilius, Marcus (fl.c.10-30 A.D.)--author of the Astronomica, a didactic poem on astrology written during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Nothing else is known of the man himself. Manilius does not discuss the movements or influences of the planets, and much of what he says is eccentric in the history of astrology. I have used the translation of G.P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1977). For more detailed information about the poem as a whole, see Goold's lengthy introduction; The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 644; and Sarton, I, 237-8.

Maplet, John (d.1592)--miscellaneous writer, commenced M.A. (Cambridge) in 1567, held vicarage of Northall, Middlesex from 1576. See The Dictionary of National Biography, XII, 997-8. I have used his The Diall of Destiny (London, 1581) which discusses the influence of the seven planets on all kinds of creatures.

Middleton, Christopher (1560?-1628)--translator and poet. Little else is known of his life (See The Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, 341-2). The present study uses The Historie of Heaven: containing the Poetical Fictions of all the Starres in the Firmament, gathered from amongst all the Poets and Astronomers (London, 1596), reprinted as no. 816 of The English Experience series (Norwood, N.J.: W.J. Johnson, Inc., and Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., 1976).

Middleton, John--Practical Astrology (London, 1679). I have been able to find out nothing about this astrologer; The Dictionary of National Biography contains no entry for him. The sections of his work that I use appear to depend heavily on Lilly for their phrasing.

The Principles of Astronomy (London, 1640)--an anonymous astrological handbook. The copy microfilmed by University Microfilms is very worn.

Ptolemy, Claudius (fl.c.121-151 A.D.)--Alexandrian astronomer, mathematician, geographer, physicist, and chronologist. His main work is the Almagest, an encyclopedia of astronomy based largely on Hipparchus. Pre-eminent among astrological writings until well into the Renaissance is Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos or Quadripartitum. In contrast to Manilius, Ptolemy puts greatest stress on the planets and says relatively little about the influences of the signs. I have used Tetrabiblos, ed. and trans. F.E. Robbins (London: William Heinemann Ltd., and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971). For more detailed information on Ptolemy see The Oxford Classical Dictionary, pp. 746-7; Sarton, I, 272-8; and Thorndike, I, 110-16.

Ramesey, William (fl.1660)--Physician and astrologer, born 1626-7.

According to The Dictionary of National Biography, XVI, 705, he spelled "his name Ramesey (which, he said, meant 'joy and delight'), because he thought his ancestors came from Egypt". He was physician in ordinary to Charles II when he was admitted M.D. at Cambridge by royal mandate in 1668. We hear nothing of Ramesey after 1676. I have used his Astrologia Restaurata...An Introduction to the Knowledge of the Stars (London, 1653).

Ross, Alexander (1591-1654)--miscellaneous writer, born in Aberdeen.

By 1622 he had been appointed one of Charles I's chaplains and later made vicar of Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight by Charles I. He wrote prolifically on a number of subjects, especially theology, history, and philosophy, and produced a considerable quantity of verse. See The Dictionary of National Biography, XVII, 251-2. I have used his Mystagogus Poeticus, or the Muses' Interpreter (London, 1648), reprinted as no. 30 of The Renaissance and the Gods series (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976).

Vettius Valens (2nd century A.D.)--practicing astrologer and astrological writer. He is one of the few whose work, a lengthy casebook, has almost entirely survived. See J.R. Bram's trans. of Firmicus, p. 325, and The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 1117. His work is the Anthologiarum Libri, ed. W. Kroll (Berlin, 1908, rpt. Zurich: Weidmann, 1973).



Fig. 1: Armillary Sphere,
reproduced from C. Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pt. 30.

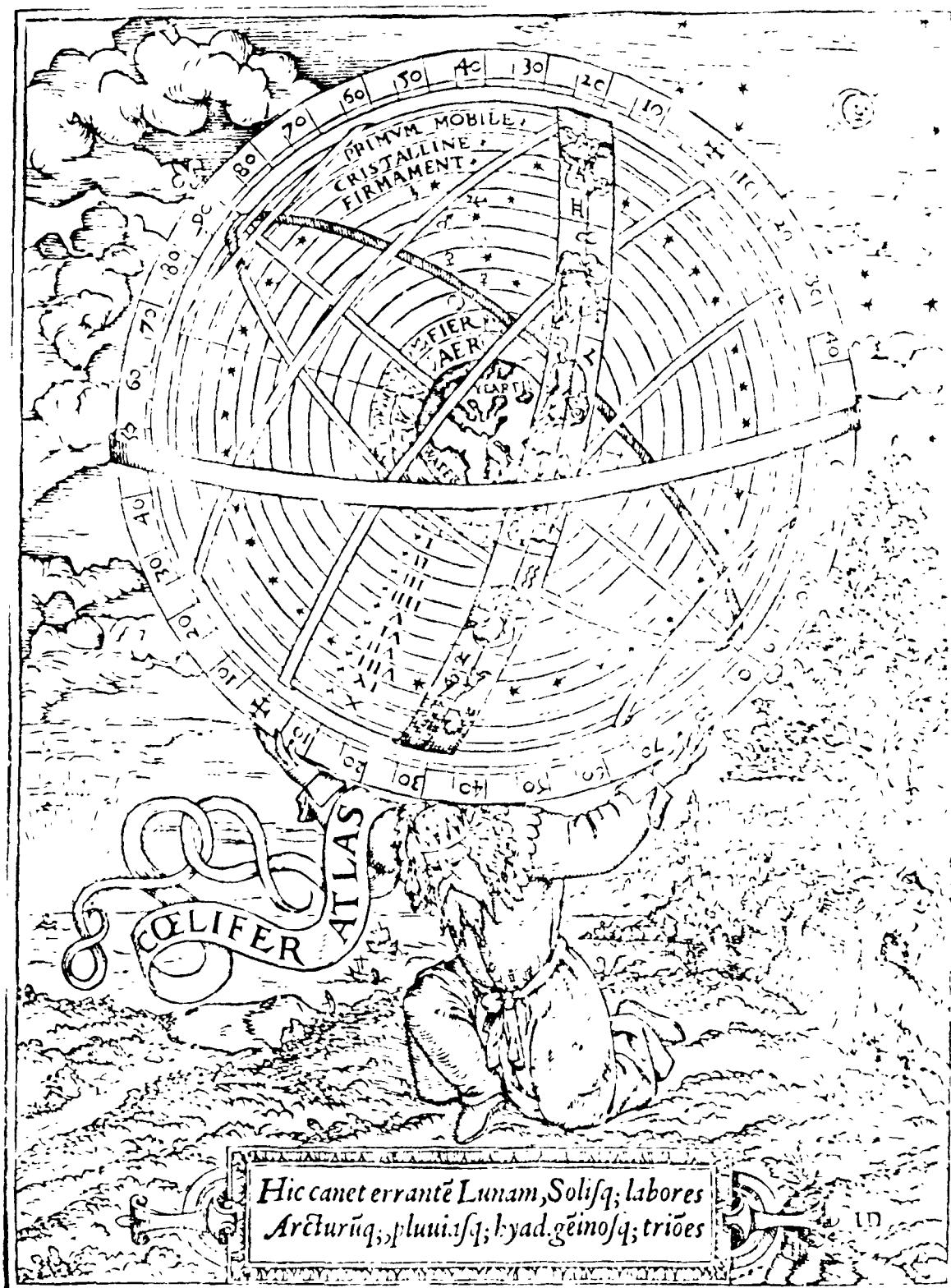


Fig. 2: Atlas Bearing the Heavens on his Shoulders
From W. Cunningham, The Cosmographical Glasse (London, 1559), fol. 50.

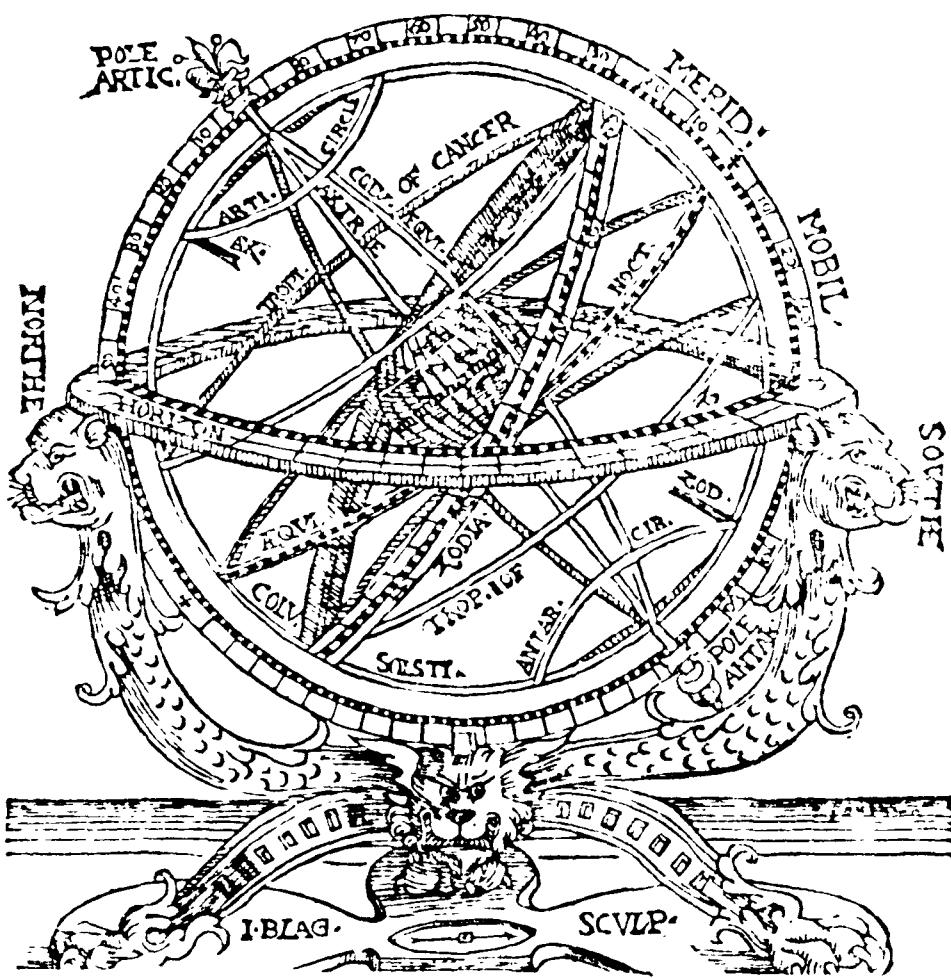


Fig. 3: Armillary Sphere
From J. Blagrave, The Mathematicall Jewell (London, 1585), title page.

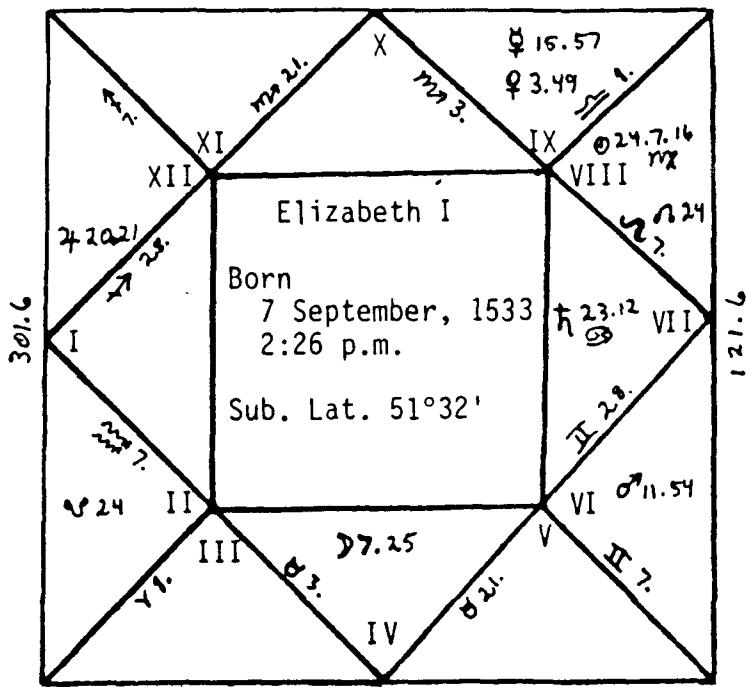


Fig. 5: Natal Chart of Elizabeth I

Most Astrologers that have published this excellent Princesses Nativity formerly, were notoriously mistaken: for they make **Ve** (a cold, dull, earthly, feminine Signe) to ascend on the East-Angle at Birth; when every one, that hath left anything in print behinde them concerning this magnanimous Lady, report her to have been a most Masculine spirited Princess; endued with a high, lofty, and undaunted Resolution: One that feared not the Face or Fury of any Man. Which Princely Qualities are most excellently well portended by the Regal Signe Sagittary, Horoscopating at the time of her Intrat into the World; and Jupiter, Lord thereof, his Position therein (though Virtually and Locally in duodecima domo) the degrees ascending being the Dignities of the Planet Mars.

One in England some years since, pretending to present unto the World this illustrious Queens true Nativity, tells his Readers, that she died when the Ascendent came to the Pleiades by Direction; and after a confident manner, (as if it had been impossible for him to have erred) he subjoyns these words: ----- I know no Reason (saith he) why she should have been angry with any Astrologer that should have said, -----Madam, about the sixty-ninth year of your Age, the Ascendent comes to the Pleiades, which denotes not onely sickness to your Person, but disturbance in your Government. But I know no Reason but that she might well have been angry at any one threatening her with so false a Fear: for she must have lived many more years then sixty nine, before ever that Direction could have happened. But besides, if it could have touched in her Life-time, and at the same time that mistaken

Fig. 5 cont.

Person would have had it, there is no Astrologer that I know of, (except himself) that ever averred such a Direction to portend Death: for the Pleiades, though appearing to us but as seven Stars, are four great Constellations, containing 126 Stars in number, that are (by the Assistance of good Optical Glasses) to be plainly seen; and to which of these the Ascendent should be directed to have such a fatal Effect, (for sure he intends not all at once) requires his better Explication. But I pass by this, as a point too nice for an ignorant in Astronomy.

To prove this Nativity the true one, I shall verifie it by these three grand Accidents which happened to this eminent Princess in her Life-time: Viz.

1. In the 21 year of her Age, she was imprisoned, and laboured under many Crosses and Afflictions: she had then operating the Sun ad Quadratum Saturni, and this in the ninth House; exactly denoting the Cause for which she suffered, viz. Religion.
2. In the 25th year of her Age, this illustrious Native was crowned Queen of Great Britain, etc. and at this time the Ascendent was directed ad Trinum Solis; the onely Patron of Honour and Sovereignty.
3. Being 69 years old, she died: at which time she had the Ascendent directed ad Quartilum Saturni, in Ariete; a Signe that Saturn most mischievously hates.

In the Revolutionary Figure for that year, there was a conjunction of the two Infortunes in the opposite place of the Moon in her Nativity, and the Figure itself nearly in Quartile to that Birth; the Lord of the Ascendent was in the Eighth, and the Sun was falling into the sixth House: And the very day of her death, viz. 24 of March, 1602 the Sun and Mars were in the place of the Direction, and the Moon was in Quadrature Aspect of them both.

From J. Gadbury, Collectio Geniturarum, London, 1661, pp. 12-13

Chapter I. Saturn, Melancholy, and Colin Clout

Saturn, which astrologers have long called the "grand malefic" or "greater infortune" (see pp. 4-6 below), plays a vital but paradoxical role in The Shepheardes Calender. Spenser chooses to begin and end his year with the two months under Saturn's astrological rulership rather than to follow the natural zodiacal year, beginning with Aries (March) and finishing with Pisces (February), a choice that contributes to the sombre mood of the poem as a whole. Patrick Cullen notes this mood: "The elegiac mood that characterizes 'November', and indeed the Calender's overall movement from spring to winter, climaxes in 'December'."¹ Cullen is correct in pointing to the elegiac mood, but errs in calling the poem's overall movement one from spring to winter. Colin Clout moves from spring to winter, but the Calender itself ends as it begins, in winter. The form of the Calender does not imply a decline into winter; rather it depicts a winter from which escape or refuge is difficult. John W. Moore, Jr. makes the point:

The image of winter is a major one in the Calender and its presence looms over every eclogue, for it defines both Colin's inner state, the condition in which he finds himself throughout the Calender, and the chief element of the external world in which he must live, chief because the most vexing and inexplicable.... Winter means the death of the fresh beauty of spring, the victory of waste over fertility, the extinction of youthful genius by early death, physical or spiritual....Winter asserts the fragility and transience of terrestrial excellence and its domination by mutability.²

The early part of this chapter is devoted to showing that the significations of winter, so aptly set forth by Moore, correspond precisely to the effects that astrologers traditionally attribute to Saturn, and that Spenser's decision to open and close his Calender in a Saturnian³ context has important ramifications for our reading of the poem as a whole.

Although the presence of winter "looms over every eclogue" in one way or another,⁴ the chief source of this atmosphere is the continued presence of Colin Clout, either actual as in "Januarye", "June", "November", and "December", or influential as in "Aprill", and "August", in which other shepherds recite his poems, and "October", in which he is discussed. However, if reminders of Colin's current distress and its effects on the other shepherds create many of the poem's darker moments, his literary triumphs constitute its most glorious ones. In order to analyse Colin's poetic achievements and his current inactivity, the bulk of this chapter will utilize two distinct but related conceptions of Saturn: a benevolent Saturn, associated with a beneficial form of the humour melancholy, and the more familiar malevolent Saturn of popular astrology, associated with pathological melancholy. Colin's unrequited love for Rosalind is a major reason for his abandonment of his poetic vocation,⁵ and the "terrestrial" Venus⁶ that is the astrological source of this love ("December", 55-60)⁷ is incompatible with both Satrns. This chapter's main argument is that Colin's early accomplishments align him with the benevolent Saturn, the terrestrial Venus leads him in a contrary direction, and the frustration of this Venerean

impulse makes him a victim of the malevolent Saturn. The final section of the chapter discusses the correspondences between Saturn's two signs, Aquarius and Capricorn, and "Januarye" and "December", respectively.

I. The January to December Format

Mutabilitie begins her pageant of the months with "sturdy March" who fills earth's womb "with fruitfull hope of nourishment" (The Faerie Queene, VII.vii.32) and concludes it with "cold February" who brings with him

His plough and harnesse fit to till the ground,
And tooles to prune the trees, before the pride
Of hasting Prime did make them burgein round.

(The Faerie Queene, VII.vii.43)

The pattern that Mutabilitie exhibits is (quite contrary to her intent) not only coherent and orderly, but also essentially optimistic and reassuring as far as nature is concerned, for it begins with a world being born and concludes with a dead world being reborn. Nature's rebirth in spring readily suggests an analogy with man's spiritual rebirth into an eternal spring. In The Shepheardes Calender, however, Spenser deliberately avoids this inherently optimistic structure. He not only begins and ends the poem in the dead of winter, but he places Dido's ascent to paradise in "November" rather than in "Februarie". The location of the elegy for Dido is significant: if it had been placed in February (and Spenser's allusion to the "Fishes haske" in "November", (16) invites us to think of February and its signification) it would have marked the end of the natural year with precisely those optimistic implications referred to above. As it is, however, the elegy does not

mark the end of either the natural or the ecclesiastical year:

"December" remains to bring us back to the spectacle of nature's and Colin's dying. Both the placement of the elegy in "November" and the January-to-December calendar form imply that man as a spiritual being follows a pattern that cannot be reduced to or deduced from nature's patterns and that he who leads his life according to nature, as Moore shows that Colin does, must perish in nature.⁸

Since Saturn rules winter, all that Moore has said concerning the significance of the image of winter in the Calender is also true of Saturn. But a full picture of the principal features of the malevolent Saturn and its zodiacal signs is necessary if one is to perceive the full impact of Spenser's beginning and ending with its months and if one is to appreciate his skill in presenting only a narrow range of Colin's characteristics in these two eclogues. The following account of the evil Saturn is a compendium of those qualities which recur most often in astrologers such as Ptolemy, Firmicus Maternus, Christopher Cattan, John Maplet, Johanne Indagine, Oger Ferrier, Oronce Finé, Claude Dariot, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Al-Bīrūnī, Alchabitius, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, William Lilly, Albertus Magnus, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and the author of the Kalender of Sheepehardes.

Because Saturn is a cold, dry, and slow planet, it corresponds to melancholy, old age, and winter, and is, in general, "the auctoure of all miseries, calamities, laboures, and sickenesse".⁹ These miseries and calamities include, according to Ptolemy, "destruction by cold, and in particular, when the event concerns men...long illnesses, consump-

tions, withering, disturbances caused by fluids...exile, poverty, imprisonment, mourning, fears, and deaths, especially among those advanced in age...storms, the wreck of fleets, disastrous voyages....As for the crops of the earth, he brings about want, scarcity, and loss, especially of those grown for necessary uses".¹⁰ Saturn is, says Maplet, "fully bent and geven to accelerate and hasten the ruine and decay of all living things; and were it not but that Jupiter placed betwixt him and us, did temperate and bridle him much in his aforesayd heavy qualities, and conditions: nothing here beneath almost coulde eyther lyve longe, or prosperously endure".¹¹ Since Saturn is "mortal enemy to the sun",¹² the weather it causes is "fearful cold, freezing, misty, and pestilential...multitudes of snowstorms, not beneficial but destructive",¹³ and its children prefer dark, dreary, and desolate places such as woods, obscure valleys, caves, grottos, graveyards, and uninhabitable places of all sorts.¹⁴

The natives of the malevolent Saturn are both unpleasant and unfortunate: they are introspective, gloomy, solitary, pensive, dull-witted, frequently malicious, pale, wan, covetous, taciturn, jealous, stubborn, and sluggish. Saturnians sleep poorly, walk with head down and eyes cast to the ground, neglect their bodies and appearance, complain, mutter, muse or murmur to themselves, and (because they do not know what is good for them) reject the counsel of others. Although hard-working, they do not meet with success in any undertaking, and a troubled mind, in combination with their cold and dry physical constitution, constantly threatens to "accelerate and hasten" their "ruin"

and decay". A full account of these qualities, even if based only on the astrologers referred to above would fill many pages. John Maplet's description of the "Saturnystes" is thorough and vivid and so will suffice as an example of the tradition. (Citations of the other astrologers, with some illustrative quotations, will be found in note 16.)

According to Maplet "Saturne is a Planet cold and dry, masculine, malicious and hurtfull in many such effects as hee worketh: for when he Raygneth, lyghtlye those that bee borne under hym, either dye shortly, livinge no longe time to account of, or els if they live any long time, they have for the most part an heavy and hard fortune".¹⁵

After a few pages containing some mythographical information and the discussion of Saturn's virtually universal deadliness alluded to in note 11, Maplet describes the natives of Saturn:

Such as are borne under Saturne, commonly called Saturnystes, are lumpish, heavy, and sad, dull-witted, full of Melancholy, hard and straunge....Their Phisognomy is altogether blockish...theyr head hanging downe, theyr eyes ever bent and caste upon the ground, Theyr property is such that they be ever almost either musing or murmuring with themselves. And in their sleepe they are much troubled. [he outlines the nightmares of Saturnians]....All which and for many moe horrible cogitations, do often assault the melancholike complexioned men....Their faces leane, warped or wrynkled much...they be naturally gieven to deceipt...to feare and fray, and oftentimes to murder and slea: to consume and pine away within themselves through wrath, ire and cancred malice...they be also for the most part short lifed, because the exceeding cold in them is a shortener of their Dayes....The Saturnistes also are gieven to great sadness, because that being withoute hope of good sucesse: in such thynges as they desire...they doe descende in a certayne kinde of desperation thereof, wythyn themselves. And they also are gieven to bee sodainely moved and angered...And solitarynes is a great part of their desire, and the pryvate kind of life.¹⁶

This Saturn is indeed the "enemy to all things that groweth and beareth life of nature",¹⁷ and although its zodiacal signs, Aquarius and Capricorn, which mark the beginning and ending of Spenser's Calender, do have their own distinct significations,¹⁸ they also reflect much of the dismal nature of their ruler. Since Aquarius is an air sign, and thus corresponds to the sanguine humour, it is better able than is the earthly, melancholy Capricorn to resist the destructive influences of Saturn. Hence Firmicus informs us that even though Aquarius in the ascendant will give its native a life "troubled with harsh experiences", cause whatever he attains to be "lost and ruined", and put him in "great danger so that his life is despaired of", yet "whatever he has lost he will regain easily", and he will be freed from danger "by protection of the gods". If the native is fortunate he will have a long life, but even then "he will die oppressed with the weight of old age".¹⁹ Indagine outlines a similar history of great misfortune from which the native is freed through forces external to himself and softens Firmicus' final comment to the statement that the native will "live longe".²⁰ Both writers prognosticate that the native will not fare well with women.²¹ Although Firmicus and Indagine afford some astrological support for Colin's "Januarye" emblem (Anchôra Speme), other astrologers are not so optimistic about the effects of Aquarius. Abraham Ibn Ezra, for example, says Aquarius is warm and moist but destructive, its natives are either impotent or have few children, and that the sign denotes "every downcast and afflicted individual";²² Al-Bîrûnî indicates that its natives are "inert, in-

dolent...too anxious about worldly affairs" and have a "downcast look";²³ and Macrobius calls it a sign "contrary and hostile to human life".²⁴

With regard to Capricorn, Firmicus and Indagine agree that this earth sign "is not altogether an ill signe" and assign its native a fortune rather like that they describe for the native of Aquarius: a life full of troubles from which he may at length be relieved.²⁵

Again, other astrologers are not so optimistic. The Kalender of Sheepehardes points out that the child of Capricorn "shall suffer much sorowe and hevinesse in his youth" and that he "shall have a great perill at xvi yeare", but does not indicate that he will later prosper;²⁶ Arcandam prognosticates early adversity and says that it is only with great difficulty that the native can "return to his former quiet";²⁷ Abraham Ibn Ezra says Capricorn is cold, dry and destructive, rules the melancholy humour, and produces natives who are destructive and endowed with great sorrow, whose actions are futile, and who suffer a serious mishap because of women;²⁸ and Vettius Valens says Capricorn is a cold, destructive, barren sign whose natives are, like Colin, planners of great works, but make mistakes, and are full of cares.²⁹

Spenser's decision to begin and end his cycle of eclogues with Saturn's zodiacal signs, rather than to follow the natural astrological year as he does in the Mutabilitie Cantos, tells us much about the meaning of the Calender. This framing of the poem by the most dismal months reinforces its "elegiac mood" by creating an intense awareness of time, mutability, loss, and waste. Much of this mood can be attri-

buted merely to the winter setting and its symbolic associations with old age and death, quite apart from any consideration of Saturn. What makes "Januarye" and "December" truly Saturnian is the element of "hasty death", of which Saturn is the cause.³⁰ Colin Clout's entire life span is telescoped into the single archetypal year of the Calender in an intriguing manner: in "Januarye" he psychologically assimilates the attributes of Saturnian old age,³¹ and in "December" he sees himself as physically stricken with its characteristics (cf. 133-6) and prepares for "dreerie death" (144): it is almost as though it is simply a matter of waiting for his body to catch up to his spirit. That this deterioration is indeed unnaturally rapid is implied by the fact that none of the other characters in the poem think of Colin as having aged (e.g., in "September" (176) Hobbinoll calls Colin a "boye", and in "November" Thenot calls Colin a "swayne" (47) and Rosalind a "lass" (7)).

The sense of Colin's "ruin and decay" being "accelerated and hastened" is particularly strong in "Januarye" when Colin "compareth his carefull case to the sadde season of the yeare".³² Nature has arrived at winter in the normal fashion, as Colin says:

Whilome thy fresh spring flowrd, and after hasted
Thy sommer proude with Daffadillies dight.
And now is come thy wynters stormy state.
("Januarye", 21-3)

Colin sees himself, however, as precipitated from spring into winter with no opportunity of experiencing a summer or an autumn:

Such stormy stowres do breede my balefull smart,
As if my yeare were wast, and woxen old,

And yet alas, but now my spring begonne,
 And yet alas, yt is already donne.
 ("Januarye", 27-30)

In "December", when Colin again resorts to the analogy between life and the seasons and includes the seasons he omitted in "Januarye", the seemingly more balanced account should not blind us to the fact that Colin is still chronologically young. The spectacle of the young man viewing his own life as wasted with age is a startling image of the kind of rapid decline associated with Saturn.

The Calender's beginning and ending in the zodiacal signs governed by the slowest moving planet is a structural embodiment of the essential stasis underlying pastoral poetry. Stasis of various kinds is evident throughout the Calender: Colin's immobility in "Januarye"; the unresolved debates of "Februarie", "Maye", and "Julye"; the failure of Willy and Thomalin to advance their knowledge in "March"; the paralysis of poetry in "October"; the stasis of artistic permanence in "Aprill"; that of eternal spring in "November"; and the final stasis of Colin's imminent death in "December".³³ By opening and closing the poem under the aegis of Saturn, Spenser makes stasis a quality of the poem as whole as well as of individual eclogues, for there is a strong sense that even after twelve eclogues no progress has been made, the wheel has come full circle.³⁴ Since in a series poems arranged in a calendrical cycle the final poem will inevitably suggest the first in some way, and since January and December are the only two successive months ruled by the same planet, and this planet is inimical to progressive movement, Spenser can readily emphasize the unprogressiveness of the

poem by the simple expedient of making "Januarye" and "December" as much alike as possible. And this he has done: both are monologues spoken by Colin, and the fact that they are the only monologues in the Calender stresses both the centrality and the Saturnian solitariness of Colin Clout; in both Colin laments the havoc wreaked by his unrequited love for Rosalind, assumes the attributes of old age while still young, aligns his life to the course of the seasons and hence uses similar imagery, and symbolically renounces his poetic vocation; Immeritô introduces both; and both use the same verse form.³⁵ Furthermore, "December" is exactly twice the length of "Januarye", so that in reading "December" we get a vivid impression not only of ending where we began, but also that the whole cycle of wintry misery is beginning again.

Colin Clout himself is an essentially static and Saturnian figure as we see him in "Januarye" and "December". For example, his "corporature", as many astrologers call it, remains Saturnian. In "Januarye" Colin's sheep are faint and feeble, and "All as the Sheepe, such was the shepheardes looke,/For pale and wan he was" ("Januarye", 5-7); Colin himself feels his "life blood friesing with unkindly cold" ("Januarye", 26), and finds that his "lustfull leafe is drye and sere" ("Januarye", 37). Maplet reminds us how inimical to life and vigour the qualities of cold and dry are. Saturnians, he says

be also for the most part shorte lifed, because the exceeding cold in them is a shortener of their Dayes, as we see it cometh to passe in old men, which through coldnes of nature are chopte up of a sodaine, for old men as they grow towards death becom very

colde and dry, all heate and moysture whych are the preservatives of Lyfe then forsaking them and bidding them farewell, Whereupon it followeth, that these qualties of Saturnus, that is colde and drynesse are the very hie wayes, Messengers, and harbengours of death and ennemis unto life. Whereupon thys kinde of complexyoned men can not endure longe, whyche lacke the mayntenaunce and nurserye of the vittayle and lyfe qualities.³⁶

In "December" Colin's coldness and dryness exact their full physical toll. His summer is "burnt up quite" ("December", 128) and

The carefull colde hath nypt my rugged rynde,
And in my face deepe furrowes eld hath pight
My head besprent with hoary frost I fynd,
And by mine eie the Crow his clawe dooth wright....

Winter is come, that blowes the bitter blaste,
And after Winter dreerie death does hast.

("December", 133-44)

Saturnians are solitary, gloomy, pensive, introspective, taciturn, sluggish and engrossed in their own affairs, and walk with their heads down, eyes fixed to the ground. Natives of Aquarius are downcast, afflicted, and inert; those of Capricorn are full of cares and lack energy. Appropriately, in "Januarie" Colin is a solitary "pensive boy" (76) in a dreary landscape, who looks to the "barrein ground" as a "myrrhour" (19-20) that reflects the afflicted state of his affairs and spirit; he silences his muse and lies motionless on the ground before making his weary way home. Similarly, in "December" the Saturnian shepherd sits listlessly "in secrete shade alone" (5), stares at the ground (in the woodcut), and poors out a "piteous mone" (6) in which he is again engrossed in mournful self-examination that terminates in his retiring his "hoarse and weary" muse (140). Indeed,

Colin's "musing mynd" ("Januarye", 70) produces complaints distinctly Saturnian even in tone, for Saturn "hath sad, hoarse, heavy, and slow words and sounds, as it were pressed to the Center".³⁷

The natives of Aquarius, Capricorn, and Saturn are all prone to devastating misfortunes, particularly where, as in Colin's case, women are concerned; the children of these zodiacal signs may with luck, external assistance, and much difficulty recover, but those strongly dominated by Saturn are more likely to descend to desperation and obstinately persist in a self-destructive course. This is what Colin does in both "Januarye" and "December", because the dull-witted Saturnian is unable to discern what is in his best interest. Colin acknowledges this Saturnian defect:

But ah unwise and witlesse Colin cloute,
That kydst the hidden kinds of many a wede:
Yet kydst not ene to cure thy sore hart roote,
Whose rankling wound as yet does rifelye bleede.
("December", 91-4)

Persisting in his hopeless passion for Rosalind, having wasted much of his poetic talent in misguided efforts to win her or console himself,³⁸ rejecting both the counsel and company of others ("June", and "August"), Colin condemns himself to self-consuming grief.

Pierre de la Primaudaye points out that such misery is all the greater if it is caused by one's abusing the gifts of the good Saturn (precisely what Colin has done as will be shown below), for guilt makes the anguish intolerable:

then full of melancholie, he feeleth himselfe so
oppressed with anxiety and tediousnes, that he
supposeth that most good and profitable, which

is most noisome and dommageable; and as he findeth himselfe more oppressed with the often remembrance of his wicked life, many visions do often times present themselves unto him, like semblances of the dea', shadows of the deceased....to the inner eie of his thought presenteth it selfe the wrath of God, the assaults of the devel, despaire and hate of salvation.³⁹

Although the other shepherds pity Colin, they do not absolve him of responsibility for his "carefull case". For example, when Thenot asks "hath he skill to make so excellent,/Yet hath so little skill to brydle love?" ("Aprill", 19-20), he assumes that love can and should be bridled, and concludes that Colin is a "foolish boy, that is with love yblent" ("Aprill", 155). Hobbinoll also has a clear idea of where the fault lies, for he considers Colin "a greater fon,/That loves the thing, he cannot purchase" ("Aprill", 158-9). Colin, however, is often reluctant to acknowledge his own guilt; he continually depicts himself as a helpless victim of love, of time, of Rosalind, or of the stars. Such rationalizations may make guilt easier to live with, but they do not alter the facts of the case, and despite his attempts to appear innocent, he accuses himself of neglecting his flock ("Januarye", 45-6), admits that he was a poor therapist for himself ("December", 91-4), and his recollection that Hobbinoll "was so true" ("December", 155) is a rueful reminder of Colin's treatment of him in "Januarye" (55-60).

Although in his oppressive remembrance of his wasted life Colin is not regularly afflicted with the ghastly apparitions and visions of divine wrath that de la Primaudaye writes of,⁴⁰ Colin's perceptions

of his environment are coloured in dark Saturnian hues. In "Januarye" he sees the naked trees as places that birds used to haunt (32), but does not envisage the birds' return in the spring. In "December" his selective perception is even more emphatically Saturnian:

Where I was wont to seeke the honey Bee,
Working her formall rowmes in Wexen frame:
The grieslie Todestoole growne there mought I see
And loathed Paddockes lording on the same.
And where the chaunting birds luld me a sleepe,
The ghastlie Owle her grievous ynne doth keepe.
("December", 67-72)

This transformation of the landscape as seen by Colin is Saturnian not only because it is dismal and threatening, but also because the creatures he singles out are under Saturn's dominion. Among Saturn's birds, Abraham Ibn Ezra lists owls, ravens, every black bird, and every bird with a terrible voice.⁴¹ Ramesey specifies toads and "all manner of creeping creatures breeding of putrefaction"⁴² as among Saturn's beasts, while Ibn Ezra refers to "any creeping thing within the earth which is destructive and mephitic".⁴³ None of the astrologers I have consulted singles out toadstools for special mention, but Ibn Ezra's claim that Saturn rules "any plant producing a deadly poison...and in general any black plant"⁴⁴ is representative and broad enough to support the contention that the environment Colin perceives in "December" is Saturnian even in its details.

Saturn causes storms that destroy crops and livestock;⁴⁵ Aquarius "denotes every air annihilating the living and any devastating, exterminating wind",⁴⁶ and such are the limits of Colin's vision in "Januarye". He speaks this monologue on a sunny day that presages the

end of winter (1-4),⁴⁷ but in his apostrophe to nature he perversely includes only the "barrein ground whome winters wrath hath wasted" (19), the "naked trees, whose shady leaves are lost" (31), and the "feeble flocke, whose fleece is rough and rent" (43). His perceptions have not expanded in "December". The true native of the malevolent Saturn likes dark, obscure, inhospitable places, so Colin deliberately avoids the sun in order to sit in "secreate shade alone" (5) in "the shadowe of a bushye brere" (2), and complains that as far as his life goes "no sonne now shines, cloudes han all overcast" (138). His vision of his immediate environment, then, is essentially the same in both "Januarie" and "December", and just as Saturn is "mortal enemy to the sun",⁴⁸ so Colin in his present state is anti-solar and hence life-denying.⁴⁹

An examination of one final affliction sent by the malevolent Saturn, intellectual obtuseness, will further confirm that Colin remains a static Saturnian from "Januarie" to "December" and is, if anything, more fully mired in that immobility by the end of the poem. As noted above, Colin admits to being "unwise and witlesse" as far as curing his lovesickness is concerned ("December", 91-4), but Moore's thorough analysis of "Januarie" shows Colin's intellectual failings to be more profound and fundamental than Colin himself realizes.⁵⁰ Although Moore mistakenly envisions the Calender as ultimately a narrative in which "Januarie" is "the first canto in the story of Colin's quest to become a truly effective and responsible shepherd-poet",⁵¹ he leaves open the question of whether Colin's alleged quest ever prog-

resses. In "June" and "August" Colin is not even engaged in such a quest, and the terms in which Moore describes Colin's intellectual shortcomings in "Januarye" still apply in "December".

Moore correctly maintains that "a consensus has emerged that a major theme [of the Calender] asserts the necessity to behave in the finite, mutable, and terrestrial order of nature according to values derived from the infinite, immutable, and heavenly order of a non-literal, invisible reality",⁵² and equally correctly argues that the ultimate source of Colin's woes in "Januarye" is his adherence to a conception of Pan as the amorous nature god who protects flocks and herdsmen, rather than to Pan as God or Christ. Moore explains that

Colin's language reveals his basic problem. By using the metaphors of nature as a mirror of his soul, winter as the state of old age, and spring as youth, he demonstrates how thoroughly he is a disciple of the nature god, Pan. Colin looks to the external, visible world for answers about his humanity. Using nature as the source of his values, he has constructed a set of expectations in which his life will move from spring to summer to autumn to winter. Like other natural growths, he expects to progress from bud to blossom to harvest to decay, but that has not happened. Using the seasonal metaphors, he concludes that an unnatural disaster has befallen him.⁵³

Colin's intellectual failings are evident since even though his sudden decline from spring to winter with no intervening summer and fall shows that his life-seasons metaphor

ceases to describe events accurately, Colin does not suspect and disregard the metaphor: he applies it more rigorously and drives himself further into misery. The collapse of the metaphor should be an opportunity for him to discover that he can in fact

read nothing in that book which will reveal comprehensive and accurate truths about being human.⁵⁴

Moore cites as evidence of Colin's more rigorous application of his intellectually inadequate metaphor his refusal to acknowledge the promise of spring in the sunny day: "Not only does he insist on a false metaphor; he also applies that metaphor in such a way that it blinds him to the very answer he wants".⁵⁵

"December" shows that despite his vision in "November" Colin does not progress intellectually just as he has not altered in any of his other Saturnian qualities. First, as noted above, he still does not acknowledge the implications of the presence of the sunlight. Second, his conception of Pan is at best confused, at worst (and more likely), unchanged. Colin addresses "soveraigne Pan" as

thou God of shepheards all,
Which of our tender Lambkins takest keepe:
And when our flocks into mischaunce mought fall,
Doest save from mischiefe the unwary sheepe:
Als of their masters hast no lesse regarde,
Then of the flocks, which thou doest watch and ward.

("December", 7-12)

The terms of this apostrophe apply to Pan both as Christ and as the nature God who protects flocks and herdsmen, although the omission of reference to Pan's suffering the pains of love (cf. "Januarye", 17-18) may tempt one to regard Pan here as Christ.⁵⁶ Whichever Pan he is addressing, Colin claims it is the "God of shepheards all", but at the same time is uncertain whether this Pan will "deigne to heare/Rude ditties tund to shepheards Oaten reede" (13-14), just as in "Januarye" (13-14) he is uncertain whether the "Gods of love" he addresses will be

responsive. Furthermore, if he is addressing Pan-Christ, it is odd that Colin thinks he may be heard "if [he] ever sonet song so cleare,/ As it with pleasaunce mought [Pan's] fancie feede" ("December", 15-16), rather than on the basis of religious poetry like the "November" elegy. Certainly, the Pan Colin refers to later in the eclogue cannot be Christ;

And if that Hobbinol right iudgement bare,
To Pan his owne selfe pype I neede not yield.
For if the flocking Nymphes did follow Pan
The wiser Muses after Colin ranne.
("December", 45-8)

The similarity between the literary tastes of the Pan addressed and the aptitudes of the other implies that Colin both appeals to and compares himself to one and the same Pan, and that it is the nature deity as in "Januarye". Colin has little to hope for from a god he himself can surpass in some matters; nor is it a wise rhetorical strategy to point out the limitations of a deity while seeking a hearing from him.

A third indication of Colin's continuing obtuseness is the fact that rather than abandoning or overhauling the life-seasons analogy that signals his adherence to a purely naturalistic view of man's life in "Januarye", in "December" he applies it to himself with renewed rigor, and reinterprets his life to make it fit the analogy more closely. In "Januarye" he regards himself as the victim of an unnatural catastrophe and expresses his shock by eliminating summer and autumn from his account and stressing his chronological youth. In "December", though, when his physical condition matches his psychological state, he no longer remembers that he is chronologically young and refashions his biography to make his life span appear protracted. He devotes several lines to

each season and thoroughly details his activities during each to create the impression of a lifetime crowded with events if not ultimately successful. He reinforces the impression of duration with various words and phrases implying a substantial passage of time: "Whilome in youth" (19), "joyed oft" (27), "Tho deemed I, my spring would ever last" (30), "How often have I scaled the craggy Oke" (31), "I was in thilke some looser yeaeres" (37), "such pryde at length was ill repayde" (49), "tho gan my lovely Spring bid me farewell" (55), "not as I wont afore" (61), "All so my age now passed youngthly pryme,/To things of ryper reason selfe applyed" (75-6), "And tryed time yet taught me greater things" (85), "Thus is my sommer worne away and wasted" (97), "So now my yeare drawes to his latter terme" (127), etc. After such a list of terms suggesting considerable duration, expressions such as Colin's complaint that his harvest is "hastened all to rathe" (98), serve both to express the normal human lament that life is too short and to remind us that Colin is still young in years. In recasting his rapid decline as the events of a complete life span, still conceived in terms of the seasons' terminating in a sunless winter, Colin has not overcome the Saturnian dull-wittedness shown in "Januarye"; he has instead stubbornly persisted in that hopeless world-view,⁵⁷ intensified his misery, and perversely acquiesced in his unnaturally hasty death.

On many counts, then--solitariness, obstinacy, sluggishness, sad and heavy pensiveness, engrossment in his own troubles, bad luck that leads to despair, cold and dry complexion, and intellectual short-

comings--Colin is, in "Januarye" and "December" both, a child of the malevolent Saturn.⁵⁸ These static elements of Colin's character are of a piece with the overall similarity of the first and last eclogues, contribute to the way that the Aquarius-to-Capricorn ordering of the Calender's zodiac mirrors pastoral stasis, and preclude any optimistic reading of Colin's career.⁵⁹

If Spenser had begun with "March" and ended with "Februarie", he could not have achieved all the effects discussed above. Since March is the beginning of spring, its eclogue is appropriately light and cheerful; February is traditionally a transitional month between the gloom of winter and the gaiety of spring, so its eclogue with the debate between youth and age expresses this modulation. There would be, in the optimistic attitude suggested by the natural astrological year, no structural way of emphasizing the tragedy of Colin's submission to nature (including the stars) and the continuity of his gloom and despair by opening and closing the poem with his mournful monologues. Colin's melancholy stagnation, self-imposed solitude, confused intellect, and accelerated aging are best represented by Saturn, the only planet that rules two consecutive months. The January to December calendar, then, is singularly apt for Spenser's purposes.

II. Colin Clout and the Two SatURNS

Ficino's observation that Saturn "seldom denotes ordinary characters and destinies, but rather people set apart from the rest, divine or bestial, blissful, or bowed down by the deepest sorrow"⁶⁰ shows that

the Saturn inherited by the Renaissance is a planet of paradoxes and contradictions. It is virtually synonymous with melancholy (as both a humour and a disease), but, as the work of Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, Babb, and Yates⁶¹ has shown, melancholy itself is a complex phenomenon that, broadly speaking, developed in two distinct traditions: the "Galenic", which sees melancholy as the most devastating disease or temperament that can afflict man; and the "Aristotelian" (called by Yates "inspired melancholy")⁶² which sees the melancholic as the most enviable of men. This section discusses these two types of melancholy and their correspondence to Saturn, and argues that Colin Clout was, before his enamourment, an inspired melancholic. While his participation in intellectual pursuits such as serious poetry brings him under the influence of the benevolent Saturn (whatever his horoscope), his love for Rosalind subjects him to the contrary effects of the terrestrial Venus and cannot bode well; rejection by Rosalind throws him into a love melancholy, for which he is now too "unwise and witless" to devise and implement a cure. Instead, he wilfully pursues a course that serves only to activate the malevolent Saturn. Through Colin, then, Saturn is the symbolic source of the Calender's most exalted moments as well as of its darkest.

With the notable exception of the elegy in "November" (of which, more below), Colin's present condition and behaviour discussed in the previous section correspond to the effects of the malevolent Saturn. A glance at the causes and symptoms of melancholy disorders in general shows that the disease, and temperament, in the Galenic tradition, and

the planet are inseparable.⁶³ Since pathological melancholy is caused by "the presence of a melancholy humor abnormal in quantity or quality",⁶⁴ anything that may engender a melancholy humour contributes to producing the ailment. Typical causes include such Saturnian things as cold and dry food, cold and dry weather, and gloomy and desolate places of residence. Both idleness and over-exertion can engender natural melancholy, "the one causing the blood to be thicke through setling: and the other by spending the bodie overmuch, & drying it excessively".⁶⁵ Hot passions like anger, love, and joy may, if excessive, lead to adust melancholy by burning the humours to ashes that become cold and dry. Cold and dry Saturnian passions engender natural melancholy by preventing the production and distribution of vital spirit.⁶⁶ Sorrow, especially, is the great "ennemye to lyfe... for it exhausteth bothe naturall heate and moysture of the bodye, and dothe extenuate or make the body leane, dulleth the wytte, and darkneneth the spirites".⁶⁷ Another cause of melancholy is intense thinking: "he that desireth health of body, must eschew and avoid great charges [of] thought and care. For thought dryeth up man's body."⁶⁸ The typical victim of pathological melancholy, like the native of the malevolent Saturn, is "the most caitife and miserable creature that is in the world, spoyld of all his graces, deprived of judgement, reason and counsaile, enemie of men and of the Sun, straying and wandring in solitarie places".⁶⁹ He too is emaciated, grumbling, sluggish, and obstinate, has "a drop of words, and a flood of cogitations"⁷⁰ that reflect torment of mind, sleeps poorly, and if no remedy is found

will not live long. As Colin's present condition reflects the influences of the malevolent Saturn, he, therefore, also has numerous symptoms of pathological melancholy.

While the man afflicted with Galenic melancholy and its pernicious Saturn is the most wretched of creatures, he who is endowed with "Aristotelian" or "inspired" melancholy and has the patronage of its benevolent Saturn is, provided he can escape the dangers of Galenic melancholy, a man of outstanding genius.⁷¹ The locus classicus of this tradition is a problem attributed to Aristotle that begins with the question: "Why is it that all men who have become outstanding in philosophy, statesmanship, poetry or the arts are melancholic, and some to such an extent that they are infected by the diseases arising from black bile...?"⁷² In answering the question, "Aristotle" draws a distinction between "normal" men whose supply of melancholy could be qualitatively, but only temporarily, altered by immoderate heat or cold or by digestive disturbances, and the permanently "abnormal" who have a "constitutional and quantitative preponderance of the melancholy humour over the others". While the "normal" man is subject to the occasional melancholy disease, he can "never acquire the qualities proper to the natural melancholic thanks to his habitual disposition". The natural melancholic, on the other hand, is certainly subject to particularly virulent forms of melancholy diseases, but if conditions are suitable he manifests extraordinary abilities:

those for instance in whom the bile is considerable and cold become sluggish and stupid, while those with whom it is excessive and hot become mad,

clever or amorous and easily moved to passion and desire, and some become more talkative. But many, because this heat is near to the seat of the mind are affected by the diseases of madness or frenzy, which accounts for the Sibyls, soothsayers, and all inspired persons, when their condition is due not to disease but to a natural mixture....But those with whom the excessive heat has sunk to a moderate amount are melancholic, though more intelligent and less eccentric, but they are superior to the rest of the world in many ways, some in education, some in the arts, and others again in statesmanship.⁷³

The natural melancholy of the gifted individual, then, operates within strict limits: its quantity must be sufficient to raise the character above the average, but not so great as to generate pathological melancholy; and it must be moderately warm, for excessive heating leads to passion or madness, excessive cooling to overwhelming despondency and the other miseries of Galenic melancholy.⁷⁴

Although the "Aristotelian" conception of melancholy survived in various forms throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, it was Ficino "who really gave shape to the idea of the melancholy of man of genius and revealed it to the rest of Europe".⁷⁵ Ficino felt strongly the "bitterness of melancholy and the malevolence of Saturn" (his horoscope had Saturn in the ascendant and in its own house, Aquarius) and wrote his De vita triplici "to show the Saturnine man some possibility of escaping the baneful influence of his temperament (and its celestial patron), and of enjoying its benefits".⁷⁶ Ficino's account of the operations of inspired melancholy was both highly influential and typical of Renaissance treatments, in those aspects relevant to this study, and so will stand as representative. Lawrence Babb summarizes

Ficino's description as follows:

natural melancholy, if it is properly mixed with warmer humours, is kindled--without burning--and shines brilliantly....The spirit which arises from it is the ideal instrument for thought--subtle, hot, lucent, agile, and yet stable and capable of long-continued and arduous service to the mind. With an instrument or a spur of this sort, which has affinity with the centre of the world and concentrates the mind in its own center, the intellect continually seeks the fundamental natures of all things and penetrates their innermost recesses....It has affinity also with Saturn, highest of all the planets, and carries the searcher to the loftiest truths.⁷⁷

However, Ficino was convinced that "the scholar's sedentary life and arduous mental endeavour breed the melancholic humor"⁷⁸ and its attendant diseases, that a kind of "selective affinity" subjects all "studiosi" to the influence of Saturn even if this planet does not dominate their birth chart.⁷⁹ The Saturnian intellectual "must take every precaution to counteract the astral danger to his health",⁸⁰ so Ficino details various means to solicit beneficial astral influences, particularly from the sun and Jupiter, and, to a lesser extent, from Venus and Mercury: talismans, an astrologically regulated diet, suitable odours, the hearing or chanting of songs accommodated to specific planets, clothing, places of residence, gestures, behavioural patterns, and associating with people who have suitable horoscopes.⁸¹ But, if Saturn is the source of the scholar's miseries through Galenic melancholy, it is also crucial to his success: "It is Mercury who attracts us to inquire after learning, and Saturn who causes us to persevere in acquiring it, and to preserve our discoveries."⁸² So,

however useful the preceding list of palliatives may be, the best course for the intellectual is to turn, with a mind purified of mundane concerns, to inspired melancholy and the benevolent Saturn, the very sources of his abilities, for "those who escape the baneful influence of Saturn, and enjoy his benevolent influences, are not only those who flee to Jupiter but also those who give themselves over with heart and soul to divine contemplation....Instead of earthly life, from which he is himself cut off, Saturn confers heavenly and eternal life on you."⁸³

The inspired melancholic turns the restricting and constricting nature of Saturn all to good. As Alastair Fowler points out, "even the coldness and dryness and conglutination, which were sterifying and contrary to life, contributed the centripetal concentration on which thought depended".⁸⁴ The inspired melancholic looks inward, not with the morbid self-absorption of the pathological melancholic, but to enjoy "the contemplation of the innermost secrets of nature and the highest truths of heaven",⁸⁵ and, as Jacques Du Bosc explains, such melancholics can calmly bear the vicissitudes of the fallen world:

they alwayes reserve in themselves a privat room,
where to the tempests of Fortune cannot reach.
There it is, where the soule retires, to maintaine
her selfe in an eternall serenity: where she gains
an absolute command upon her judgements, and where
she solitarily entertaines her self, even in the
midst of companies, without interruption of the
tumults of the world, to breake her rest or silence.
Here finally it is, where wee conserving the image
of things delightfull, shall have means to have
nought but goodly thoughts;...wee may...give con-
tentment to our minde, while our senses are on the
rack, and entertaine our Idea on beauty, at such
time as foulnes shalbe the object of our eyes.

But who can praise enough this noble musing
of the Melancholy, since by it the soule seemes
to abandon when she list, the clamorous commerce
of the senses.⁸⁶

Moreover, this withdrawal "from mundane disturbances and from the body itself" allows the soul to become "allied intimately with heavenly essences", to become "an instrument of the divine", and in this happy state "it forms ideas never before conceived and predicts events yet to come".⁸⁷ In short, the creative contemplation promoted by "Aristotelian" melancholy is the prerequisite for excellence in philosophy, statesmanship, poetry, and prophecy, but it must not be forgotten that success is contingent on avoiding the ever-present threat the malevolent Saturn poses for intellectuals.

Ficino, as seen above, explicitly links Saturn with inspired melancholy. Although popular astrology generally depicts Saturn as the celestial counterpart of Galenic melancholy, there is a strong undercurrent of good influences assigned to Saturn that correspond to crucial elements in "Aristotelian" melancholy. Many of these good qualities are positive manifestations of those influences that are usually said to produce ill effects. For example, because Saturn is cold and dry, its natives are frequently sad and heavy in spirit, slow, and pensive, but if this planet is well-placed, these elemental qualities can be moderated so as to produce the seriousness and thoughtful deliberation requisite to inspired melancholy. Hence, Firmicus says that Saturnians are "serious, of good counsel. Their work is respected in judgement and they will fulfill all their duties correctly and

prudently."⁸⁸ Similarly, Ferrier characterizes Saturnians as "of good counsel and of good gravitie";⁸⁹ Albertus Magnus says they are "upright in counsel";⁹⁰ and Lilly says they are "grave persons, with a certain austerity" and "advised".⁹¹ The malevolent Saturn makes one inflexible and stubborn; the benevolent Saturn gives the stability and perseverance stressed by Ficino and other writers on "Aristotelian" melancholy. Thus Ptolemy claims Saturnians are laborious and of single purpose;⁹² Abu Ma'sar says Saturn rules over "persistence in a course";⁹³ Lilly says natives of Saturn are patient in labour;⁹⁴ de la Primaudaye credits them with "firm and stable prudence";⁹⁵ and Abraham Fraunce grants Saturn "constancy of minde and perseverance".⁹⁶ Saturn's association with the centripetal element earth gives it a "marvellous power of collecting, gathering, and containing",⁹⁷ the negative manifestation of which is covetousness. One of the positive forms of this power is the Saturnian's prodigious memory, a quality invaluable to the inspired melancholic who wishes to preserve and communicate his insights.⁹⁸

Fowler points out that "Ficino was fond of describing the process of thought as the mind's withdrawal from peripheral involvements to its stable centre, where it could focus with maximum concentration" and that this concentration is a positive aspect of Saturn's power of gathering.⁹⁹ And indeed many astrologers grant Saturnians powerful intellectual qualities. According to Ptolemy, for example, Saturn well-placed in the birth chart makes its natives "strong-minded" and "deep thinkers";¹⁰⁰ Ibn Ezra says that "To its part of the nature of

man corresponds the mental faculty...astuteness...concatenation of ideas, [and] knowledge of secrets"¹⁰¹; Abu Ma'sar claims it presides over "reflection, understanding, testing, pondering...[and] much thinking";¹⁰² Alchabitius gives Saturn "understanding and the faculty of distinguishing...[and] comprehension";¹⁰³ and claims that from a combination of the cold and dry qualities under its influence "is produced and fostered the wise man of melancholic complexion";¹⁰⁴ Ferrier affirms that the Saturnian is "of a deepe cogitation"¹⁰⁵ and a "man of great and profound knowledge";¹⁰⁶ Dariot gives him "deepe cogitation...[and] experience and knowledge of many things";¹⁰⁷ Cattan says that Saturn is "sage, prudent, wise, foreseeing, and wittie... and of great profoundnesse in knowledge and understanding";¹⁰⁸ and Lilly credits the Saturnian with a profound imagination and with "excogitating profound matters".¹⁰⁹

Most of the writers just cited, while acknowledging the benevolent side of Saturn, lay considerably more stress on its malevolent qualities. However, some writers, especially those who maintained that no celestial body could itself be the source of evil effects (e.g., Giorgio, de la Primaudaye, William of Auvergne, and Agrippa), became quite enthusiastic about Saturn's virtues. Giorgio, for example, links Saturn with the angelic order of Thrones who are "familiers à Dieu"¹¹⁰ and therefore "Saturne s'efforce de faire ses Saturniens imprimez de la forme de Dieu".¹¹¹ He remarks that Saturnians "séparez de la société humaine & receuillis en soy en silence & esprit élevé sondent vivement les secrets de Dieu et de nature, afin qu'avec les thrones ils soient faict siège de Dieu vivant...Saturne favorise au haut entendement,

à la profonde science des choses, à la plus secrete Filosofie, & Théologie...Et Saturne est Porte-Dieu recevant les inspirations divines, qu'il repand en ses Saturniens.¹¹² Similarly, Pierre de la Primaudaye says that by Saturn "as by a most grave and sublime fautor, men are induced to the most profound mysteries of all divine and naturall Philosophie".¹¹³ If one's body or mind is so disposed as to turn Saturn's influence to ill, he says, "one may correct every such evill influence" by turning "himselfe to studie and contemplation of high and divine things, which are the delights of him, who leadeth a solitarie life, and doubtlesse he shall perceive that Saturne is not evill, but doth rather favour him with a good influence".¹¹⁴ William of Auvergne believed that "Saturn on his own merits had the power to supply and direct intelligence, and if he led to fraud, deceit, and the diseases of melancholy, that was due only to the unworthiness which belonged to the human mind 'a parte materiae'. Saturn's true purpose was directed to 'enlightening and guiding the "virtus intellectiva" and leading it to a knowledge of what was right and useful, sometimes as far as the light of prophecy'."¹¹⁵ According to Agrippa, from Saturn man receives "sublime contemplation and profound understanding".¹¹⁶ In his discussion of how "Aristotelian" melancholy produces prophets and poets, he explains that this humour

When it is stirred up, burns, and stirs up a madness conducing to knowledge, and divination, especially if it be helped by any Celestiall influx, especially of Saturn, who seeing he is cold, and dry, as is a melancholy humor, hath his influence upon it, increaseth, and preserveth

it. Besides, seeing he is the Author of secret contemplation, and estranged from all public affairs, and the highest of the planets, does alwaies...with call his mind from outward businesses, so also he makes it ascend higher, and bestows upon him the Knowledge, and passages of future things.¹¹⁷

This line of thought posits, as Fowler says of Ficino's work, "the saturnian condition as the necessary way of intellectual life: the way by which man is withdrawn from the animal life of the senses to a higher life within".¹¹⁸

Colin Clout's account of his life's activities in "December", the testimony of other shepherds, especially in "October", and Colin's songs in "Aprill" and "November" show that he was, before we meet him in "Januarye", an inspired native of the benevolent Saturn.

A number of details in Colin's review of his life in "December" link him to the good Saturn. The Saturnian intellectual studies assiduously and "seeks the fundamental natures of all things". Hence Colin studies a wide range of arts, crafts, and sciences that require him to penetrate the innermost recesses of nature and man: poetry (37-48), carpentry and basket-weaving (77-80), hunting and fishing (81-2), astrology and astronomy (57-70, 83-4), the study of tides (86), the "soothe of byrds" (87), and herbal medicine (88-90, 92). The mastery of such an array of often intricate and difficult subjects requires that Colin possess the Saturnian's capacity for hard work and perseverance and his prodigious memory. Furthermore, Colin's participation in such demanding mental labours exposes him to the influences, both good and bad, of Saturn: the intellectual motivation behind such

studies is compatible with the good Saturn, but Colin's grief over failing to win Rosalind is conducive to Saturn's malevolent influences.¹¹⁹ As noted above, the inspired melancholic is able to surpass other men because he has a "constitutional and quantitative preponderance of the melancholy humour over the others"; that is, his remarkable abilities result from an innate and permanent condition and may be stimulated by a variety of internal and external things, including the emotions of the individual, his diet, the stars, anything that will warm the dominant melancholy. Hence Colin suggests that his talents may be inborn but adorned by labour and learning:

And for I was in thilke same looser yeares,
(Whether the Muse so wrought me from my birth,
Or I to much beleaved my shepherd peres)
Somdele ybent to song and musicks mirth.
A goode olde shephearde, Wrenock was his name,
Made me by arte more cunning in the same.
("December", 37-42)¹²⁰

The diligent study of poetics Colin refers to is a Saturnian activity that, while necessary to the greatest achievements of the inspired melancholic, may also engender the ill effects of Galenic melancholy. However, sanguine passions such as joy, pleasure, and enthusiasm, which are hot and related to benefic planets, can counteract Galenic melancholy and aid the "Aristotelian", so if Colin had been able to maintain his youthful exuberance and love for "song and musicks mirth" as well as Saturnian seriousness, he could have remained a productive rather than a thwarted genius.

In "December" Colin lets it be known that his early verse was far from trivial: "For if the flocking Nymphes did follow Pan,/The wiser

Muses after Colin ranne" (47-8), an apt, if brief, characterization of the poetry expected from a devotee of the good Saturn. Moreover, it is an evaluation borne out by the testimony of the Calender's other shepherds. T. H. Cain has discussed in detail how the "idea that Colin prefigures the poet who will culminate Orpheus's line appears not only in Aprill but also in June, August, October, and November, where shepherds recognize Colin's genius as too great for the shepherd world".¹²¹ When one views the Calender from an astrological perspective, the way Piers and Cuddie in "October" express this universal praise for Colin becomes particularly interesting because both shepherds and E. K. discuss poetic genius in terms derived from the tradition of inspired melancholy. In the argument, E. K. claims that true poetry is a "divine gift and heavenly instinct...poured into the witte by a certaine enthusiasmos and celestiall inspiration". Similarly, Walkington calls melancholy the "enthusiasticall breath of poetry";¹²² du Laurens claims that melancholy properly mingled with blood and warmed "causeth...a kinde of divine ravishment, commonly called Enthousiasma, which stirreth man up to plaine the Philosophers, Poets, and also to prophesie: in such manner, as it may seeme to containe in it some divine parts";¹²³ and Burton says melancholy "causeth many times divine ravishment, and a kind of enthusiasmus...which stirreth [men] up to be excellent Philosophers, Poets, Prophets, etc."¹²⁴ Piers maintains that the "immortal mirrhor" that Colin admires "liftes him up out of the loathsome myre" and "would rayse ones mynd above the starry skie" (91-4).¹²⁵ "Above the starry skie" is not a loose and

trite expression of height as it would be today: it refers specifically to the "coelum stellatum, or sphere of fixed stars beyond the planetary spheres and, in Ptolemaic cosmology, adjacent to the empyrean and divine primum mobile itself".¹²⁶ Piers is, then, asserting Colin's former ability to transcend the world of matter altogether and contemplate divine things directly, a gift of the benevolent Saturn and its melancholy according to its most enthusiastic proponents.

Again, the language as well as the thought parallels discussions of inspired melancholy. Ficino, for example, claims that "philosophers in solitude ascend in spirit, for the mind withdrawn from mundane disturbances and from the body itself and allied intimately with heavenly essences, becomes an instrument of the divine".¹²⁷ Jean Bodin explains that "melancholike men, which have their spirits settled and given to contemplation, the which is called by the Hebrewes and Accademiks a pretious death, for that it drawes the soule out of this earthlie bodie unto spirituall things" may have "their soules ravished up into heaven" and there purified.¹²⁸ Edward Reynolds says that a melancholic mind "not steeped in the humours of carnall and grosse affections...but more raysed and soaring to its originall, by divine contemplations, is always endued with the greater wisdome".¹²⁹ Jason Van der Velde, along with Ficino and Agrippa, believes that heavenly spirits enter the minds of melancholics and live there "as if they were in the revolving sphere of the brightest stars", and that these spirits when active "excite the mind and affect it marvelously" producing men who are "authors of the most sacred laws, explorers of natural phenomena,

interpreters of heavenly mysteries, poets, prophets, seers".¹³⁰

Both Piers and Cuddie use an image of flight to express the soaring of the poetic wit to its "originall" above the "revolving sphere of the brightest stars". Piers addresses poetry as follows: "Then make thee winges of thine aspiring wit,/and, whence thou camst, flye back to heaven apace" (83-4). Cuddie responds with a bleak assessment of the current state of the art:

Ah Percy it is all to weake and wanne,
So high to sore, and make so large a flight:
Her peeced pyneons bene not so in plight,
For Colin fittes such famous flight to scanne:
He, were he not with love so ill bedight,
Would mount as high, and sing as soote as Swanne. (85-90)

The idea of a winged wit aptly represents the Saturnian's transcendence of the "humours of carnall and grosse affections" and has a foundation in the mythography of Saturn. Cartari indicates that in art Saturn is depicted with two wings on his head

demonstrating thereby by one of them the excellencie and perfection of the mind, and by the other...mans
sence and understanding. For say the Naturalists, the soule of man when she entreth into the humane
body, bringeth with her from the spheare of Saturne
the force of knowledge and discourse, so that the
Platonickes understand by Saturne, the mind, and the
inward contemplation of things celestiall.¹³¹

The melancholy intellectual, then, has the potential to be the most brilliant and happy of men provided that he can avoid the mental and physical ailments to which his occupation makes him prone. Flight from the bad Saturn to the good is possible, however, only if the melancholic's mind is free from "the humours of carnall and grosse affections",¹³² if his spirits are "settled and given to contempla-

tion",¹³³ or, to use Agrippa's term, if his mind is vacat.¹³⁴ When explaining how "lordly love" ("October", 98) has so disastrously unsettled Colin's spirits Cuddie gives as a precondition for inspired poetry the same requirement that the mind be unencumbered, and uses similar language:

The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,
Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell.
Unwisely weaves, that takes two webbes in hand.
("October", 100-2)¹³⁵

Cuddie's own failure to scale the heights of poetry is explicable in terms of inspired melancholy. First, his deference to Colin's abilities (88-90) implies that he lacks the requisite constitutional preponderance of natural melancholy. This is confirmed by the fact that his poetry does not ascend beyond mere technical expertise to the visionary: Cuddie himself characterizes his verse as delightful but not profound "dapper ditties" (9-15), and although Piers hyperbolically likens its effects to those of Orpheus, he limits its substance to "rymes", "ridles", and "good advice" (5, 22), and suggests that Cuddie is in need of a worthy source of inspiration (37-54). Second, although like a Saturnian he has "pyped erst so long with Payne" that all his "Oten reedes bene rent and wore" (7-8), the cooling and drying effects of such work, together with his frustration in seeking material rewards, seem to have exposed him to the malevolent Saturn rather than to the good Saturn, for he appears with a "heavye head" (1) and grumbles and complains like a native of the bad Saturn. Third, as Colin is preoccupied with his unrequited love, so Cuddie's head is not "vacant":

he is disturbed about his financial status and by the lack of an earthly source of inspiration. Finally, for the melancholic to become inspired his abundant supply of melancholy must be warmed. Cuddie, probably not a natural melancholic, has had his supply of this humour adventitiously increased by his labour and frustration, and promptly attempts to heat it up with "lavish cups and thriftie bitts of meate" (105). If he is not a natural melancholic, such efforts can produce only temporary effects. Cuddie's newly winged wit never leaves the ground and he describes his failure in language appropriate to the tradition of "Aristotelian" melancholy: "My corage cooles ere it be warme" (115).

Several key concepts and images in "October"--enthusiasmos, the flight of the wit beyond the "starry skie" to the Godhead itself, the idea that talent is itself God-given even if labour can perfect it, the need for the mind to be free from disruptive concerns, and the need to warm one's "corage"--imply that the idea of the melancholic genius informs Spenser's depiction of the "perfecte paterne of a Poete" (argument to "October"). Cuddie is unequal to the demands of the vocation, but he assures us that Colin, "were he not with love so ill bedight" (89), would fulfill all expectations.

"Aprill" and "November" allow us to assess for ourselves the truth of the other shepherds' estimation of Colin's poetry. Although Colin composed the ode to Eliza before meeting Rosalind, and the elegy for Dido after this encounter, in each case he is able to transcend mundane disturbances in two distinctly Saturnian ways. First, Saturn

presides over the "permanent continuation of all things",¹³⁶ over memorials as well as over memory, and Colin creates verse that, once composed, is impervious to the disasters that befall him personally. Thus, in "Aprill", the fact that Hobbinoll can "recorde" (i.e., remember, from Latin recordari)¹³⁷ the ode compensates for the apparent loss of future poetry from Colin. Similarly, in "November" Thenot is confident that if Colin can reawaken his muse, he will sing a song of "endles souenaunce" (3-6), and at the end of the eclogue he finds this confidence justified (203-6). Second, in these two compositions Colin is able to achieve the grace that exceeds the reach of art and to free his intellect from its bondage to nature as a source of meaning and value.

The transcendence of mere art or artifice is particularly evident in "Aprill", where, as Cain shows in detail, Colin first constructs, as poeta, a verbal icon of Eliza in accordance with the Aphthonian topoi of praise (stanzas 1-6), and then experiences, as vates, a visionary state in which he sees muses, nymphs, and shepherds' daughters adorn this icon with a seasonably impossible array of flowers, thereby "hinting that Eliza's regime recalls the unfallen and seasonless Eden"¹³⁸ (stanzas 8-13). As Colin concludes the central seventh stanza the ode seems to be drawing to a close: he has worked through the textbook topoi, making them express the highest praise possible, asserted his fealty to his "goddesse", and is now "forswonck and forswatt" (99). Then suddenly he sees Calliope and the poem seems to take off without his conscious artistic manipulation. What we are

here witnessing is the operation of inspired melancholy: the Saturnian activity of studying the rules of rhetoric and applying them carefully and methodically to Eliza mentally and physically exhausts Colin; however, his love for Eliza warms the resultant melancholy humours, and they shine brilliantly, producing the ode's visionary continuation.

Colin's performance in "November" is a glorious fulfillment of Piers' hope in "October" that poetry will "flye backe to heaven apace". As in "Aprill", the Saturnian mental exertion involved in meeting the requirements of the genre is coupled with Colin's soaring above the "trustlesse state of earthly things" ("November", 153). As Richard Mallette explains:

"November" is the most patently "literary" eclogue in the collection....It abides by virtually every convention of its mode.... More than anywhere else in the Calender, then, Colin proves that by rigorous observance of the demands of his craft, and by discipline over his human frailties, he is capable of a visionary utterance that helps explain to his peers the mysteries of life and death.¹³⁹

Saturnian mental labour is not of itself sufficient to generate enthusiasmos, for given Colin's morbidly egocentric state in the Calender's narrative present, the cooling and drying effects of such labour are likely to lead to the stagnant melancholy of the "August" sestina. The elegy appears as even more wondrous when one recalls that in order to compose it Colin has had to overcome his "human frailties" in two important emotional and intellectual areas: his debilitating slavery to his passion for Rosalind, and his narrow view of the relation between man and nature. In "Aprill" his pure, non-

erotic love for Eliza warms the melancholy engendered by mental exertion, and a similarly chaste affection for Dido will do the same in "November" and take Colin's mind off Rosalind.¹⁴⁰ With his mind temporarily withdrawn from his mundane preoccupations, Colin is also able to see beyond the limitations of his life-seasons analogy. As early as the elegy's fourth stanza Colin becomes aware that this analogy as he had used it in "Januarye" is suspect, for now he acknowledges that although "the flowret of the field doth fade" in winter, when spring returns "it flowreth fresh" ("November", 83-6). He now sees man and nature as utterly incommensurable since men "Reliven not for any good" (89). By stanza 11 he has relinquished nature as a source of value and meaning: "Now have I learnd (a lesson derely bought)/That nys on earth assuraunce to be sought" (156-7). As L. A. Montrose points out, "'O heavie herse...O carefull verse' is transformed into 'O happye herse...O joyfull verse' at the point...at which the poet's spirit is liberated from the lure of the mutable earthly things that have held it in its ceaseless cycle of desire and frustration".¹⁴¹ Since "what might be in earthlie mould,/That did her buried body hould" (158-9), Dido's death signals the end of whatever measure of perfection can be found in nature alone. Having recognized the limits of "earthlie mould", Colin is finally able (in stanza 12) to make the crucial distinction between body and soul, a distinction which puts strict qualifications on the life-seasons analogy. In "Januarye" Colin had used the analogy only partially (by ignoring its cyclic nature), and had interpreted it literally. Now he can see that the partial and literal

reading of the analogy applies only to the body. His vision of Dido in "The fieldes ay fresh, the grasse ay greene" (189) shows that when fulfilling his role as a Saturnian visionary, Colin can see this analogy as a metaphor that actually implies man's potential transcendence of nature.

Although in "November" Colin resumes the role of the inspired Saturnian and glimpses heavenly matters, his success is only partial and temporary. Ficino explains that only those who "give themselves over with heart and soul to divine contemplation" can enjoy the benevolent influences of Saturn, and Saturn is "most inimical of all...to those whose contemplative life is a mere pretence and no reality" and to those "who, though they flee the company of vulgar people, yet do not lay aside their vulgar thoughts".¹⁴² It is clear from "November" itself, as well as from "December", that Colin has not laid aside the "vulgar thoughts" that preoccupy him in "Janurye", "June", and "August". For example, Thenot reminds us that at the beginning of the eclogue Colin is still paralyzed by "loves misgovernaunce" ("November", 4), a subject that still obsesses him in "December". Moreover, if Colin is able to attain a more comprehensive vision of man's relation to nature in the elegy, in the opening dialogue (9-20), and yet again in "December", he persists in his partial and literal interpretation of the life-seasons analogy, and anticipates only "dreerie death", not a death which has its own "decorous place in the harmony of the universe".¹⁴³

The elegy is not only unable to expel Colin's pathological melancholy and permanently plant inspired melancholy in its place; it is itself partly tainted by the unhealthy condition. Colin composes the elegy not so much because of his regard for Dido as because it gives him an opportunity to indulge his Saturnian obsession with death and his own misery. Colin rejects Thenot's request for cheerful songs because he feels both the year and he himself are too old to "mask in mirth" (9-20). But when Thenot suggests that he "sing of sorrowe and deathes dreeriment" (36), Colin replies: "Thenot to that I choose, thou doest me tempt" (49). In the elegy itself, as Cullen points out,¹⁴⁴ Colin's grief for the loss of Dido mingles with his despair over the loss of Rosalind. Dido is, says Cullen, "an image of Rosalind as Colin would have liked her to be",¹⁴⁵ for Dido, unlike Rosalind, never treated Colin and his songs with disdain (cf. "November", 93-102 and "Januarye", 63-6). Both Rosalind's scorn of him and Dido's death create in Colin a sense of "unjust deprivation" and "we would be mistaken to think that his feelings for Rosalind...do not carry over into his feeling for Dido".¹⁴⁶ Finally, rather like the Red Cross Knight on Contemplation's mountain (Faerie Queene, I.x.), he expresses what amounts to a death-wish, an unseemly haste to join Dido in paradise without completing his "quest" (or his natural life span) when it is far from clear that her happy fate would also be his (178-81).¹⁴⁷ The "November" elegy, then, is a temporary resurgence of Colin's former inspired melancholy, intermixed with his current pathological melancholy, and is more poignant when we recall that it is the swan

song foreshadowed in "October". Although it comforts Thenot (203-6), the elegy cannot help Colin, for the swan sings only when prophesying its own death.

The frontier between inspired and pathological melancholy is, as Ficino's concern with arming scholars against the malevolent Saturn shows, unstable at best, and Colin's susceptibility to the bad Saturn is a result not only of the unhealthy effects of mental exertion, but also of his insufficient dedication to the austere values implied by the good Saturn. Ficino warns the scholar: "in this more removed and too assiduous pleasure of the contemplative mind, beware of Saturn; for often he devours his own children".¹⁴⁸ As Fowler explains, "Carrying away his devotees with ever more sublime contemplations, Saturn will 'steal earthly life from those who are not careful'."¹⁴⁹ That is, both Satrns are contrary in principle to man's physical nature: the bad Saturn is actively hostile to bodily life; the good is at best neglectful of it. However, as Ficino indicates, Saturn is a friend to those whose minds are truly withdrawn from worldly concerns.¹⁵⁰ In the narrative present of the Calender, Colin's mind is, except for the brief interlude in "November", firmly rivetted to life in nature and this world, and he is thus exposed to Saturn's enmity. His depiction, in "December", of his life before Rosalind entered it implies that his original vulnerability to the bad Saturn has a similar cause. Although at this time the "wiser Muses after Colin ranne" ("December", 48), his devotion to Saturnian contemplation was not total. He describes (11. 19-36) an unthinking, carefree life of physical activity and pleasure much like that of the young shepherds

depicted in "Februarie", "March", and "Maye": he wandered in the woods heedless of "doubted danger" (20-24), gathered nuts for game (25-6), chased the "trembling Pricket" (27), assumed his spring would last forever (29-30), climbed trees to disturb birds' nests (31-2), and felt that "ylike to me was libertee and lyfe" (36). He also used to "hunt the hartlesse hare" (28), an activity with clearly erotic implications.¹⁵¹ So despite poetic flights like that "recorded" in "Aprill", Colin, was on his own testimony, quite a "worldes childe"¹⁵² and this rather undisciplined indulgence of physical desires and impulses increases his susceptibility to stellar influences in general and to the harmful effects of Venus and Saturn in particular.

Since the Venus that inspires Colin's passion for Rosalind presides over the preservation and propagation of physical life and over sensual pleasures in general,¹⁵³ it is tempting to see in Venus the ideal planetary antidote to the harm caused by either Saturn. This is not, however, quite the case. Saturn, in its total separation from physical life, and the earthly Venus, in its total immersion in it, are simply too disparate to be mutually beneficial in most circumstances. The mutual hostility of Saturn and Venus implies that when a basically Saturnian figure like Colin comes under Venus' influence, trouble will ensue. Virtually all combinations of these two planets augure ill in matters related to love. For example, Firmicus Maternus says that Venus in the terms of Saturn on the ascendant causes the natives to become involved in "sordid love affairs" and makes them "always passionately desire strange things",¹⁵⁴ while Saturn in the

terms of Venus on the ascendant makes them "hate women and marriage" if the chart is diurnal, and to be impure, unchaste and unable to accomplish normal sexual intercourse, if the chart is nocturnal.¹⁵⁵ He claims if Saturn and Venus form a square aspect with Saturn dominant, the native will have "bitter experiences with women; there is no pleasure in love nor successful results from their desires".¹⁵⁶ Venus and Saturn in opposition make the native become addicted to brothels and as a result become the victim of scandal. If the native marries, his wife will be either unchaste or diseased and the native himself will be denied all pleasure in love.¹⁵⁷ If, says Firmicus, Venus is the ruler of the chart and is found in the house or terms of Saturn, the native will be "impure, unchaste, over-sexed, involved in continual calamities, [and] objects of scandal for their amorous desires".¹⁵⁸ A conjunction of Saturn and Venus, he claims, always indicates "misfortunes in matrimony and marriage with unworthy women". The wives of the native will be sickly, deformed, scandalized or sterile, while he himself will be frigid in love and have an unstable mind.¹⁵⁹ Spenser's love-lorn Saturnian poet appears in the eclogues for Aquarius and Capricorn, and Firmicus indicates that the disastrous consequences of a Saturn-Venus conjunction are magnified in both these signs, for "these signs always affect Venus badly, especially if she is in aspect to Saturn. For then the malice of his influence cannot be mitigated by the presence of Jupiter."¹⁶⁰ We cannot ascertain the relative positions of Saturn and Venus at Colin's birth, at the time of his falling in love, or indeed at any other time, but as indicated

in the introduction, one's activities, behaviour, mood, physical location, etc. can all serve to bring one under the influence of the corresponding planet or star. Colin by his vocation is Saturnian, and by his passion for Rosalind invites Venerean influences. So he combines in himself the influences of both planets and, as is to be expected, has "bitter experiences with women".¹⁶¹

A combination of Saturn and Venus augurs no better for the personality of the native than it does for his fortunes in love. Ptolemy's account shows that even in favourable positions such an alliance produces a variety of often inconsistent effects. Moreover, Colin manifests a substantial number of these. For example, Ptolemy says this combination produces solitary, unambitious men who hate the beautiful but love antiquity. Similarly, Colin is a solitary figure who abandons his literary ambitions and (in "June" and "August" deliberately seeks out ugly and inhospitable environments, but who also admires the old poet Tityrus ("June", 81-94). Saturn and Venus together in favourable positions make one envious, easily offended, and faithful in marriage but jealous. Likewise, in "June" (97-104) Colin, jealous and fixed in his passion, wishes to avenge himself on both Rosalind and Menalcas because he feels wronged by Rosalind's preference for Menalcas. Finally, Ptolemy says the favourably placed alliance of Saturn and Venus produces men who are philosophical, religious, prophetic, and mystical, but of fixed opinions. Similarly, Colin, despite the elevation he achieves in the poems in "November" and "Aprill" is ultimately unable to abandon his narrow interpretation of the life-seasons analogy.¹⁶² When a combination of Saturn

and Venus is in an unfavourable position, the effects are of course much worse: "hating the beautiful" reappears; the native is unsound and servile (Colin has lost his soundness and become a slave to his passion); he is undiscriminating in sexual relations (Hobbinoll considers Colin foolish for loving "the thing, he cannot purchase" "April", 159); he is slanderous, fault-finding, evil-speaking, and a rogue who will stop at nothing (Colin desires to use his verse to publicize Menalcas' alleged villainy, "June", 104); and the native is impious and contemptuous of the gods (with the exception of "November", Colin rejects service to gods or God because he is too preoccupied with his personal concerns).¹⁶³ Colin does not exhibit most of the evil effects of a Saturn-Venus combination until after Rosalind's rejection of him reduces him to such misery that he invites the malice of Saturn. But a type of impiety appears much earlier, for as Moore points out,¹⁶⁴ upon becoming infatuated with Rosalind, Colin tries to win her with a pipe designed for divine service to Pan, or, to transpose into the idiom of the present study, he misuses the talents given by the good Saturn in an attempt to satisfy worldly desires to which both Satrns are inimical.

In most circumstances, then interactions between Saturn and Venus are apt to accentuate the undesirable influences of each, and this is certainly true of the effects of the earthly Venus on Colin's Saturnian nature. The astrologers quoted above are commenting on actual planetary configurations. Ficino, however, enlarges the perspective to include the individual's cultivation of Saturnian and Venerean traits as cor-

rectives to each other, and although, as Yates and Shumaker indicate,¹⁶⁵ he does not dismiss the idea, he has significant reservations about its advisability. Fowler explains:

When astrologers call Venus and Saturn mutually hostile, he tells us, this is to be interpreted as meaning 'diverse in their effects' Saturn posits pleasure, our spiritual food, at our centre; but Venus, at our periphery:
 'Thus Venus and Saturn await the movement of our spirit on opposite sides. She through her pleasure attracts towards external things, while he through his recalls to the world within. And so they pull the spirit asunder and dissipate it....Nothing can be more destructive to the contemplative man or the careful enquirer, than the venereal act'.¹⁶⁶

Burton elaborates on the medical aspects of the dissipation of spirit that the venereal act effects in melancholics: "Galen...reckons up Melancholy amongst those diseases which are exasperated by Venery, so doth Avicenna...Oribasius...Ficinus...Marsilius Cagnatus...[and] Guatinerius. Magninus...gives the reason because it infrigidates and dries up the body consumes the spirits; and would therefore have all such as are cold and dry, to take heed of it and avoid it as a mortall enemy."¹⁶⁷ Later he tells us that "Montaltus...will not allow of moderate Venus to such as have...Melancholy, except they be very lusty and full of blood",¹⁶⁸ and that "Ficinus and Marsilius Cagnatus put Venus one of the five mortal enemies of a student: it consumes the spirits, and weakeneth the braine".¹⁶⁹ Cuddie's analysis of the damage Venerean impulses do to the poet's aspiring wit echoes these opinions. In "October", after Piers praises the glories achieved by the poet who admires an "immortall mirrhor" (91-6), Cuddie explains Colin's problems:

All otherwise the state of Poet stands,
 For lordly love is such a Tyranne fell:
 That where he rules, all power he doth expell. (97-99)

Because the scholar or poet can so easily slide from inspired into pathological melancholy, and since the mingling of Saturnian and Venerean inclinations is so treacherous, even when the "venereal act" can be accomplished, Colin's frustration in love virtually inevitably pushes him into a Saturn-dominated love melancholy.¹⁷⁰

Since love is a warm and moist passion, people of a sanguine complexion are the most susceptible to it; however, those of other complexions can develop an amorous disposition if their supply of blood is increased. A number of factors in addition to his reluctance to withdraw completely from the world for the sake of contemplation make Colin receptive to Venerean influence. Because idleness and ease engender blood that does not get consumed in exercise or study, pastoral otium is favourable to the development of love.¹⁷¹ Colin normally exhausts such redundant blood in the physical exercise he outlines in "December" (19-36) and in the mental labour of poetic composition, but when he met Rosalind he had taken the day off from the minimal work required of shepherds and, rather than cultivate the "wiser muses", had decided to visit the "neighbour towne" ("Janurye", 50), just as Thomalin in "March" (61-2) and Perigot in "August" (53-4) fell in love on holidays, when "shephearde groomes han leave to playe" ("March", 62). Moreover, otium is under the dominion of Venus as are the main components of the traditional pastoral locus amoenus: delectable and fragrant flowers, pleasant fountains, green meadows,

flourishing gardens, and temperate and fruitful weather.¹⁷² The locus amoenus is not the dominant feature in Spenser's landscape, but it is the environmental analogue of the carefree, unrealistically optimistic world-view of his young shepherds who delude themselves into thinking that their spring will last forever (cf. "December", 30), and such a sanguine frame of mind, engendering warm and moist passions like joy, is conducive to love.¹⁷³

Colin's youth makes him automatically vulnerable since youth or adolescence is sanguine¹⁷⁴ and is generally said to be dominated by Venus, even by those who do not consider Venus a sanguine planet.

For example, John Davies of Hereford says that

youth (our third age) Love's Queene, Venus swaies
Bee'ng hot and dry, but yet more hot, then drie;
In this we Wantons play, in Venus' plaires
And offer Incense to a rowling eie.¹⁷⁵

Ptolemy claims that Venus, in ruling youth "begins, as is natural, to inspire, at their maturity, an activity of the seminal passages and to implant an impulse toward the embrace of love. At this time particularly a kind of frenzy enters the soul, incontinence, desire for any chance sexual gratification, burning passion, guile, and the blindness of the impetuous lover."¹⁷⁶

In addition to his being young and idle at the time of meeting Rosalind, and to the mingling of the warm passion joy with his natural melancholy (a mixture which gives the melancholy the right amount of heat to stimulate poetic creativity) Colin was, at the time of his enamourment, exposed to a celestial configuration fiery enough to

ignite anyone's passions:

Tho gan my lovely spring bid me farewell,
 And sommer season sped him to display
 (For love then in the Lyon's house did dwell)
 The raging fyre, that kindled at his ray.
 A comett stird up that unkindly heate,
 That raigned (as men sayd) in Venus seate.
 ("December", 55-60)¹⁷⁷

The emphasis is clearly on a heat much in excess of the moderate warmth that is beneficial to the "Aristotelian" melancholic: Venus (a hot planet according to some astrologers) is in Leo (a fire sign--hot, dry, barren, ruled by the sun) in the "raging fyre" of summer, and a comet adds its scorching influence. This configuration promises nothing but trouble for Colin. Ficino claims that people born when Venus is in Leo are apt to be ensnared by love.¹⁷⁸ Ferrier says that Venus in Leo or "under the beames of the Sunne...maketh that the man shal be suddainly striken in love",¹⁷⁹ and later he claims that Venus in Leo causes "great love, great covetousnes, and impudent life, when Jupiter dooth not regard her".¹⁸⁰ The ominous comet¹⁸¹ in "Venus seate" is in either Libra or Taurus. If it is in Libra, it forms an approximate sextile aspect with Venus, an aspect that would mitigate its harmfulness. If it is in Taurus, on the other hand, it forms an approximate square aspect with Venus, a position that would augment its destructiveness. Furthermore, Taurus, being a spring sign and frequently said to be the bull that bore off Europa, is more frequently and naturally associated with love than is Libra.¹⁸² These two considerations, and the fact that Spenser reminds us of Colin's unfortunate love in "Aprill" (Taurus) and does not do so in "September" (Libra),

imply that Taurus is the more likely location of the comet. The event's occurrence in the "raging fyre" of summer suggests that the sun may be in its own house, Leo, a position that would increase its natural heat and put it into proximity and perhaps conjunction with Venus. This too would bode ill. Ibn Ezra says that the "conjunction of the planets with the Sun is detrimental to them, the worst of all being the one affecting Venus and the Moon".¹⁸³ Firmicus claims that "nearness to the Sun is harmful to all planets",¹⁸⁴ and that if the sun and Venus are in the same sign, the result is "a miserable marriage or a difficult wife".¹⁸⁵ Although Colin's astrological explanation of his love's origin is sketchy, and ambiguous in some of the details, its meaning is clear enough and astrologically accurate. Given such a stellar impetus even a melancholic will fall in love, but the comet signifies that it will be a destructive experience.

"Melancholy people", says Ficino, "are seldom caught [in love's snares]...but once trapped, they are never released".¹⁸⁶ Colin is, whether he likes it or not, physically predisposed to fall in love by virtue of his age, environment (including the heavens), and leisure, and he is trapped in the usual way: by the sight of the beloved. Hence he says, quite unable to release himself:

tenne thousand sithes I blesse the stoure,
Wherein I sawe so fayre a sight as shee
Yet all for naught: such sight hath bred my bane.
("Januarye", 51-3)

As Babb explains, "falling in love...is a rude and painful shock which throws into confusion all the normal processes of body and mind".¹⁸⁷

After the infection has entered through the eyes, and passed through the liver and heart, it

assailleth and setteth upon reason, and all
the other principall powers of the minde...
and maketh them her vassals and slaves...the
man is quite undone and cast away, the sences
are wandring...reason is confounded, the
imagination corrupted, the talke fond and
sencelesse.¹⁸⁸

This passage is an excellent account of Colin's "madding mynde" ("Aprill", 25), and of the following lines from "December" in which Colin admits that passion has enslaved his reason, and will, and imagination:

Forth was I ledde, not as I wont afore,
When choise I had to choose my wandring waye;
But whether luck and loves unbridled lore
Would leade me forth on Fancies bitte to playe.
("December", 61-4)

The love malady, as Babb explains, has a sanguine stage, in which the lover is hot and moist and hence full of energetic extravagance, but if the lover is not relieved "either by consummation or by medical intervention, his physical and mental distresses" will lead to "a melancholy stage, in which he is cold and dry, weak and woebegone, and subject to all the physical debilities, the dependencies, and the mental vagaries which the medical writers attribute to a superabundance of the melancholy humour".¹⁸⁹ Thomalin in "March", Tityrus in "June", and Perigot in "August" are in the sanguine stage of the ailment, while Colin is clearly in the melancholy stage as a result of his love's remaining unsatisfied.¹⁹⁰

Thwarted love breeds melancholy in a number of ways.¹⁹¹ The lover's mind is constantly busy with thoughts of the beloved and of his own hopes, fears, and miseries, and his continual mental activity, like that of the scholar, cools and dries the humours. His hot passions (desire, hope, joy, anger) could produce melancholy adust by burning the humours; the residue from such combustion then becomes black, heavy, cold, and dry. His cold passions (sorrow, grief, fear) engender natural melancholy. Insomnia, poor digestion, and unevacuated seed add to the sufferer's wretchedness. As with other forms of melancholy, symptom and cause are so nearly identical that the disease is self-perpetuating: for example, brooding breeds melancholy, melancholy leads to brooding, the increased brooding augments melancholy.

The outward signs of love melancholy, once a few minor adjustments are made to take the immediate cause into account, are the same as those of melancholy disorders in general, and are fully exhibited by Colin in "Januarye", "December", "June", and "August". One finds melancholy lovers like Colin "drowned in teares, making the ayre to sounde with their cryes, sighs, plaints, murmurings and imprecations".¹⁹² Like all love melancholics, Colin is utterly incapable of driving thoughts of his beloved and his own agonies from his mind. The physicians inform us that the lover is careless of his personal appearance, as are all Saturnians, and neglects all normal and practical concerns.¹⁹³ Likewise, in "Januarye" Colin attributes the half-starved condition of his sheep to his own "ill government" of them (45), and in "Aprill" Hobbinoll indicates that Colin has not only wilfully broken his pipe

but also that he tears his hair (12) and ignores his friends (25-8), while Thenot generalizes appropriately: "Great pittie is, he be in such taking,/For naught caren, that bene so lewdly bent" (156-7).

Melancholy lovers avoid company and love solitude "the better to feed and follow [their] foolish imaginations",¹⁹⁴ suffer from insomnia, and often break out in "passionate soliloquy".¹⁹⁵ Colin, of course, frequently engages in soliloquies, and in his "foolish imagination" decides that since "resort of people" augments his grief ("August", 157), he should dwell apart in "gastfull grove" ("August", 170) and encourage both insomnia and sorrow:

Let stremes of teares supply the place of sleepe:
Let all that sweete is, voyd: and all that may augment
My doole, drawe neare.
("August", 163-5)

The melancholy lover acquires the Saturnian physical characteristics Colin exhibits in "Januarie" and "December": he is lean, weak, pale and wan; his eyes are sunken, hollow, and fixed on the ground.¹⁹⁶ Just as in "Januarie" Colin experiences both joy and pain and alternately blesses and curses his condition (44-54), so the typical victim of love melancholy "is assailed successively by diverse passions".¹⁹⁷ Finally, those "that are in Love have their imagination depraved, and their judgement corrupted", for "a Lover cannot give a right judgement of the thing he loves".¹⁹⁸ Typical is Colin's view of Rosalind as a paragon in "Januarie", "August", and "December", but as faithless and wicked in "June" (97-112).

The selection of remedies for love depends upon the stage of the malady. If the patient is in the sanguine stage, the physician will

prescribe measures for reducing the blood supply: bloodletting, adopting a spare diet with plenty of cold foods, performing hard labour, taking up "hard lodgings", and earnestly studying and contemplating.¹⁹⁹ The treatment for the melancholy stage consists of the same anti-Saturn strategies used for relieving most ailments caused by melancholy. The patient needs to be warmed and moistened by suitable foods and beverages. His surroundings should be pleasant; his friends should strive to make him as merry as possible and ensure that he is never left alone. Music to enliven his dull spirits may prove helpful. The patient must at all times be occupied at something that will prevent thoughts of love, and must under no circumstances read love poetry. His friends should attempt to reason with him, pointing out the folly of his ways; they should make him fully aware of the shortcomings of women in general and of his beloved in particular. If these methods fail, the lover may be introduced to other women, for a new love drives out an old. The lover himself should try to rule his passion with reason and may find assistance in religion.²⁰⁰

The melancholy lover's corrupted judgement, however, makes it difficult to cure him, for he rejects good advice and adamantly persists in following the wrong course. Colin seems to know that Venus and Saturn are opposites, so he behaves in perfectly Saturnian ways and cannot understand why his prescriptions are backfiring ("December", 91-6). He does not grasp the fact that since he is in the second, melancholy, stage of lovesickness, his immediate enemy is not Venus but Saturn. Some of his Saturnian remedies, such as wailing his woes

in intellectually demanding sestinas ("August"), are effective medicine for those in the sanguine stage (e.g., Tityrus and Perigot) since they diminish blood, the very humour Colin needs more of. Because they also sing merry songs and remain in the company of other shepherds, Tityrus and Perigot, unlike Colin, are not thrown into sterile melancholy by their mental labours.²⁰¹ In "November", Colin is nearly able to expel the bad Saturn with the good by diverting his attention to Dido, but his obsession with Rosalind still dominates him and prevents this transcendence from becoming permanent. Colin's partial success here, though, is possible only because of factors that mitigate Saturn's malevolence: first, November is ruled by Jupiter, the most benefic planet; second, this is a public performance, not one of Colin's solitary broodings; and third, Colin did not select the subject himself. The technically masterful but morbidly self-indulgent sestina of "August" represents the kind of poetry Colin is reduced to when removed from such healthful influences. Saturnian activities and places, indulged moderately, may aid the properly functioning inspired melancholy, but can only aggravate the pathological variety by cooling and drying the body even further. What Colin needs, as the physicians indicate, and Spenser's other shepherds suggest in "June" and "November", is more of the very "follies of youth" he explicitly spurns ("June", 33-40; "December", 115-20)--lively songs and music, merry tales, cheerful company, pleasant surroundings--anything, in short, that will refresh his spirits, engender blood, and distract his thoughts from his failure with Rosalind. Not understanding the finer points of his

disease, he blunders in his efforts to alleviate it: thinking that he is pitting Saturn against Venus, he in fact adds Saturn to Saturn, contributing to his own misfortune, and as lovers often do, wastes away and dies in a parody of the aging process.

III. Aquarius and Capricorn

The planets play a more decisive role than do the zodiacal signs in governing the characters and fortunes of men, but the influences of the signs can reinforce or modify those of the planets. An earlier section of this chapter noted three ways in which the associations of Saturn's signs correspond to Spenser's presentation of Colin in "Januarye" and "December": both Aquarius and Capricorn generally denote inert, downcast, and afflicted individuals; the natives of neither sign fare well with women; and natives of both signs are subject to great misfortune, although Firmicus and Indagine suggest that recovery, through the good graces of God or of other people, may be possible.²⁰² The present section discusses other ways in which "Januarye" and "December" echo what the astrologers write about these signs. (One cannot, of course, be a native of more than one sign. But cf. Introduction pp. 30-31.)

One encounters some glaring inconsistencies in the effects attributed to Aquarius. For example, Ferrier claims, on the one hand, that Aquarius rules "close places, Caves, Sepulchers and infamous houses" and that its natives are "given to the actes of Saturnins", and, on the other, that its natives are courteous and sociable.²⁰³ Similarly, Dariot calls Aquarius the "ioy of Saturn", but also says that it is a good sign under which to diminish melancholy.²⁰⁴ These contradictions

arise because Aquarius and its planetary ruler are opposite in their essential natures: Aquarius is an air sign (warm, moist, sanguine), while Saturn corresponds to earth (cold, dry, melancholy). Moreover, while Saturn is usually depicted as an old man, Aquarius is frequently said to be the stellified Ganymede, and is always depicted as a young man.²⁰⁵ Since even though it is a winter sign ruled by a planet denoting old age, Aquarius by its own nature suggests youth, "Januarye" is the appropriate place for Spenser to present Colin's simultaneous youth and age in its most visible form--spring and winter juxtaposed by Colin's elimination of summer and autumn from his account of his decline. Capricorn, however, is an earth sign and is thus in harmony with Saturn's elemental nature; hence, in "December" Colin sees himself as having aged naturally and accommodates the previously omitted seasons to blur the sharp contrast he presented in "Januarye".

Aquarius promotes a number of unpleasant Saturnian traits that Colin exhibits in "Januarye". For example, just as Colin's "lustfull leafe is drye and sere" and his "timely buds with wayling all are wasted" (37-8), so Aquarius causes barrenness or infertility.²⁰⁶ An Aquarian tendency to be grudging and accusatory²⁰⁷ is apparent in his feeling cheated out of part of his life and his blaming his pipe and his Muse. Aquarius is said to make one inflexible and excessively reliant on one's own ideas²⁰⁸ just as Colin can neither rethink his life-seasons analogy nor relinquish his passion for Rosalind.

In addition to the general Saturnian proneness to misfortune and to poor relations with women, Aquarius brings its natives two other fairly specific forms of bad luck. First, according to Firmicus, the

native of Aquarius will be the victim of ingratitude: "He will do favors for many and help them with means of subsistence, but they will always be ungrateful".²⁰⁹ Similarly, although Colin gives Rosalind "means of subsistence" (kids, "cracknelles", and early fruit in "Januarye" (58), and in "June", (43) "Queene apples unrype") as well as laudatory poems, she expresses no gratitude. Second, the native of Aquarius, like that of Saturn, has a propensity to travel beyond his native environment.²¹⁰ However, says Indagine, his long journeys will not "turne him to any greate lucre or gaine".²¹¹ Similarly, in "Januarye" Colin describes how he left his wonted rural surroundings to visit the "neighbour towne" where he had his ill-starred encounter with Rosalind.

Aquarius is, nonetheless, a sanguine sign by its own nature, and a number of astrologers assign it characteristics related to those of the good Saturn, and these are applicable to Colin before he met Rosalind and to his temporary rehabilitation in "November". Manilius, for example, says that the person born when the first portions of Aquarius are in the ascendant will be "pious, pure, and good".²¹² Colin was once the chief poet of his society and was capable of producing great works to honour God and his queen. Similarly, Vettius Valens says that the native of Aquarius is industrious and employed in public services;²¹³ Firmicus says he "will work with divine or religious writings and will be known to many for his good deeds... [and] will be great and a familiar of many powerful men; he will have fame...and have many projects entrusted to him because of his upright

character";²¹⁴ and Arcandam claims that "he shall be skilfull in art and knowledge, whereby he shall attaine to preferment".²¹⁵ "Januarye", then, is an appropriate eclogue in which to introduce Colin who once fulfilled the promise of the good Saturn. Aquarius is, moreover, a suitable sign, as the preceding references to fame, preferment, excellency of art, and public service show, in which to begin the promotion of "Immeritô" who intends to become the English Vergil.²¹⁶

As indicated in an earlier section, Capricorn is an earth sign, the influences of which tend in general to reinforce those of Saturn, and, particularly relevant to Colin, is associated with old age, great sorrow, futile actions, great mistakes, and bad luck from which the native recovers only with difficulty and external aid. Still, like Aquarius it is "not altogether an ill sign"²¹⁷ nor as straightforward as at first it appears. Although nominally an earth sign, Capricorn is in fact double-natured: its upper half is in the form of a goat, its lower the tail of a fish, so the sign partakes of both earth and water. Manilius interprets this paradoxical combination of fixity and fluidity as follows: "the first half of the sign is the slave of Venus, and that with guilt involved, but a more virtuous old age is promised by the conjoined fish below".²¹⁸ Manilius explains this aspect of Capricorn, then, in the same way that Colin describes his life in "December": a youth wasted in the bonds of Venus, but succeeded by a wiser Saturnian old age that scorns the vices and follies of youth.

Manilius also explains that since Capricorn brings the nights to their greatest length and then enlarges the daylight hours, its

natives have "a restless quality in their lives and a mind which is often changed and floats this way and that".²¹⁹ Colin Clout has just a restless mind in "December" and that, in addition of course to his actual youth, prevents his fully possessing a virtuous old age. First, although he can deride his futile passion for Rosalind (54), he cannot subdue it, and despite the partial escape in "November", his floating mind ever returns to Rosalind. Second, in "December" his assessment of his poetry is inconsistent: he first trivializes his early achievement by saying that in his "looser yeares" (37) he was "somedele ybent to song" (40) and underwent formal training; after this schooling, his pastoral songs become "derring doe" (43) in which he outdid Pan himself by enchanting the "wiser Muses" (45-8); he then characterizes such an evaluation as "pryde" (49) and later rejects his songs as "rotten and unsoote" follies (115-118); and finally, while hanging up his pipe, admits "Was never pype of reede did better sounde" (142). In both seeing his passion as destructive but still wanting Rosalind, and in wishing both to praise and to reject his poetry, Colin alternates between attitudes but can reject neither. His floating mind is only apparently fluid, for he simply moves from one point of fixity to another. In Manilius the goat and fish portions of Capricorn are sequential; in Colin they are simultaneous despite his efforts to depict them as successive stages.

Capricorn, though on the whole not a very promising sign, can reinforce the intellectual qualities given by the good Saturn. According to Rhetorios, natives of Capricorn are "worshippers of the gods"

and good speakers;²²⁰ Ibn Ezra says they are "endowed with education";²²¹ Arcandam claims they are "prosperous in...all kinde of workes possible to be done with great and painefull labour";²²² Firmicus maintains that they will know the "secrets of sacred rites" or "a hidden religion" and that they are "pious, learned, of good repute, and endowed with pleasing speech";²²³ Indagine says they are eloquent and learned;²²⁴ and Ferrier claims they are subtle, secret, and prudent.²²⁵ These are the traits that "Aprill", "November", and the testimony of other shepherds show Colin to have been able to cultivate were he not afflicted by love melancholy. "August" shows that Colin is eloquent even in defeat, but the full development of the more elevated gifts of the good Saturn and its signs is a task left to Immeritô.

The various traditional associations of Saturn are pivotal to the meaning of The Shepheardes Calender. Spenser has chosen to begin and end his year with the two months ruled by this planet, a choice that allows him to reinforce the poem's elegiac mood and to stress the stasis of the pastoral genre, and that of his principal character, by opening and closing the poem with markedly similar eclogues. Moreover, the character and fortunes of Colin Clout can only be fully understood with reference to the complexities and contradictions of Saturn. However, the failing Colin is only one of Spenser's personae. Immeritô introduces both "Januarye" and "December" to prevent us from going too far in identifying Colin with Spenser, and hence to remind

us that, although Colin succumbs to the malign Saturn, Immerito fulfills the promise of the good Saturn and composes the "calender for every yeare".

Notes

Chapter I

¹Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 92-3.

²J. W. Moore, Jr., "Colin Breaks his Pipe: A Reading of the 'January' Eclogue", English Literary Renaissance, 5 (1975), 12.

³I have chosen to capitalize the adjectival forms derived from the names of the planetary deities to emphasize that I am referring to the qualities of planets. In common discourse terms such as "jovial" and "mercurial", while derived from astrological uses, are generally limited to a few characteristic traits of the planets and do not imply the complete range of their meanings.

⁴For example, "Januarye" introduces a protagonist who is defeated before the poem even begins. In succeeding eclogues almost every optimistic or spring-like impulse is counterbalanced by pain, destruction, or misery (e.g., the destruction of both the oak and the briar in "Februarie", Thomalin's wound in "March", the death of the kid in "Maye", Algrind's mishap in "Julye", Diggon Davie's vicissitudes in "September", and the sorry state of poetry in "October"). Moreover, the past glories of Colin's poetry are continually seen in the context of his present stagnation. Finally, in "December" Colin presents a chronicle of his frustrated life and dies.

⁵Moore, pp. 3-24, demonstrates that this is not the only factor, that Colin, in effect, breaks his pipe because poetry does not guarantee temporal happiness.

⁶The terrestrial or earthly Venus is that Venus, in both astrology and mythography, which is responsible for or corresponds to man's carnal affections. The celestial or heavenly Venus presides over love of God. The latter Venus, which is not in conflict with the benevolent Saturn, is discussed in chapter IV.

⁷This explanation, the astrological content of which is examined below, is Colin's own testimony, and may be only a post hoc rationalization and an indication of the extent to which he has submitted himself to domination by nature. There is insufficient evidence for deciding

to what extent, if any, Spenser accepted astrological claims as literal truth. This passage does indicate that he wished us to see Venus, at least metaphorically, as a source of Colin's troubles.

⁸The fact that Christ was born in the month in which Colin dies is a powerful reminder that an escape from the cycles of nature is possible. "December" would thus seem to be a logical eclogue in which to place the elegy for Dido. By assigning it to "November" instead, Spenser allows the purely naturalistic implications of "December" to dominate the Calender. The contrast between Dido's final destiny and the "dreerie death" Colin awaits is made the more poignant by the coincidence of Colin's death and the celebration of Christ's birth.

⁹Indagine, L₇r.

¹⁰Ptolemy, pp. 179-81. Ibn Ezra provides a similar list of evils: "Saturn is cold and dry; its nature is very pernicious; it denotes destruction, ruin, death, affliction, weeping, grief, complaint, and ancient things" (p. 193). See also Al-Bīrūnī (p. 251): "exile and poverty...failure in business, vehemence, confusion, seeking solitariness, enslaving people by violence or treachery, fraud, weeping and wailing and lamentation".

Chaucer's Saturn takes credit for the same general effects:

My cours, that hath so wyde for to turne,
Hath moore power than woot any man.
Myn is the drenchyng in the see so wan;
Myn is the prison in the darke cote;
Myn is the stranglyng and hangyng by the throte,
The murmure and the cherles rebellyng,
The groynyng, and the pryve empoysonyng;
I do vengeance and pleyn correcciooun,
Whil I dwelle in the signe of the leoun.
Myn is the ruyne of the hye halles,
The fallynge of the toures and of the walles
Upon the mynour or the carpenter.
I slow Sampson, shakynge the piler;
And myn be the maladyes cold.
The derke tresons, and the castes olde;
My lookyng is the fader of pestilence.

(Knight's Tale, 2454-69)

¹¹Maplet, 59r. Maplet then points out that we can see divine wisdom in the fact that that "enemy of life so earnestly labouring the death and decay of all thinges should have hys place appoynted him there so far off from the earth, where all creatures lyving make

their abode". Most astrologers depict Saturn as an enemy to human life in general. For example, The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 162) says that "this planet is cause of hasty death, for because that he is colde and dry of nature"; Dariot (C4v) calls Saturn "an enemy and destroyer of the nature and life of man"; Finé (D7v) refers to it as the "enemye of nature, malitious and envious, destroyer of life"; Albertus Magnus (p. 66) labels it an "enemy to mankind"; Bartholomaeus Anglicus (p. 479) says Saturn is "an yvel-willid planete" and that "his cercle is most ferre fro þe erþe, and neþeles it is most noyfulle to be erþe"; and the anonymous Principles of Astronomy (B4v) claims that Saturn is "envious to the life of man", for it is an "enemy to nature".

¹²Cattan, p. 31.

¹³Ptolemy, p. 181.

¹⁴See, for example, Ibn Ezra, p. 194; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 242; Agrrippa, p. 96; Ramesey, p. 51; Lilly, p. 60; and Ferrier, 29v.

¹⁵Maplet, 59r.

¹⁶Maplet, 62r-63v. Maplet's account of the malevolent Saturn is typical. The following are citations, with illustrative quotations, of several astrologers who say many of the same things Maplet does and/or mention qualities pointed out in my summary that Maplet omitted: according to Ptolemy, Saturn poorly placed in the birth chart makes its children "sordid, petty, mean-spirited, indifferent, mean-minded, malignant, cowardly, solitary, tearful, shameless, superstitious, fond of toil, unfeeling, devisers of plots against their friends, gloomy, taking no care of the body"; even when well-placed, Saturn can make the native "dictatorial, ready to punish, lovers of property, avaricious, violent and jealous" (p. 341). Firmicus Maternus (p. 14) says Saturn "makes men careful, serious, dull, miserly, and silent". As ruler of the chart, according to Firmicus, it produces men who are pale, sluggish, malevolent, anxious, hard-working, troubled in mind, at odds with their wives and children, and subject to attack by malignant humours (p. 138). He also claims that if the ascendant is in the terms of Saturn, "this will make the natives always sluggish and slow, with thoughts hidden in deep silence; they are wicked and malevolent, alien to all grace and charm; their plans are slow to take effect" (p. 163). Ibn Ezra (p. 194) claims Saturnians are characterized by "paucity of words...isolation from human beings...[and] contrariness", that they tend "to be afraid, to tremble...[and] to meditate upon subjects of death and anything which has lasted for years", and that they are afflicted with poverty, wandering, occupations

that require much work but yield little reward, menial tasks, humiliation, and failure in all things. Al-Bīrūnī says they are fearful, timid, anxious, suspicious, miserly, sullen and proud, melancholy, engrossed in their own affairs, and have a downcast look (pp. 249-50). Indagine (P5r-v) says that Saturn as lord of the birth causes the native to be stubborn, malicious, pale, sickly, lean and able "to discerne that which is iust and true in all matiers but in his owne, in the whiche he shal not be so circumspect". Nevertheless, "he shall truste much unto him selfe and his owne witte". According to Alchabitius (see Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 129), Saturn moves men to complaints, muttering, and long wanderings. Ferrier claims that the Saturnian will "laugh or murmur to himself alone", reject the counsel of others, and be sad, jealous, envious, solitary, faint-hearted, and railing (13r and 20v). Dariot (D2r) describes the native of the malevolent Saturn as lean, crooked, covetous, envious, mournful, taciturn, and keeping his eyes fixed on the ground. Cattan (p. 31) characterizes the Saturnian as melancholy, envious, sluggish, of few words, keeping little company, fearful, and pensive. He also notes that "that thing which he doth, commeth oftener to his losse than to his profite". Lilly (pp. 58, 84, 539) says children of the evil Saturn are of abject spirit, envious, covetous, stubborn, jealous, mistrustful, murmuring, taciturn, never contented, ever repining, looking downward, solitary, sluggish, and full of revenge and malice. See also Agrippa (pp. 50, 106, 259, 460), J. Middleton (p. 20), Ramesey (pp. 49-51), Comes (II.iii, pp. 119-20), R. Greene, Planetomachia, in Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1881-6 (rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), V, 40-1, 45-51, The Kalender of Sheepehards (pp. 161-2), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (p. 479), Albertus Magnus (pp. 65-6), and Godfridus (pp. 17-18, 26-7).

¹⁷ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 162.

¹⁸ These are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

¹⁹ Firmicus, pp. 161-2.

²⁰ Indagine (N4r-v) says that the ascendant in Aquarius casts the natives "into many daungers, out of the which, even in the midst of desperation, he shal be releved by the help of god", and that the native will have a "harde and vyle lyfe, never permanent or abidyng in one place...But last of al, he shalbe delivered out of al these evils by the helpe of good men". When a zodiacal sign is in the ascendant, the signs on the other cardinal points (descendant, upper midheaven, and lower midheaven) fall into place automatically (for example, Aquarius on the ascendant implies that Scorpio is on the upper mid-heaven, Leo is on the descendant, and Taurus is on the

lower midheaven). Both Firmicus and Indagine discuss the implications of all the cardinal points when they explain the effects of the ascending sign.

²¹Firmicus (p. 161) says: "He will have misfortunes in early life concerning wife and children...he will quarrel with his wife; he will be married to an old or an unworthy woman, or one who has been detected in various love affairs". Indagine (N_{4r}-v) claims that the person born when Aquarius is ascending will have "ill fortune by his wives" and will "be often at variance with his wife or concubine, he shal also mary with an olde woman, whyche shall flatter hym, promisyng him great giftes, but in her hart she shal love other better than him". When discussing the misfortune caused by the sun in Aquarius, Indagine claims the native "shalbe vexed with sondry incommodities, losses and pearils, and especially with his wife and other women" (O_{8r}).

²²Ibn Ezra, pp. 183-4.

²³Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217-18.

²⁴Macrobius, Commentary, p. 134.

²⁵See Firmicus, p. 161: "His activities will be prosperous in the beginning, but he will later be overcome with evil deeds... After trouble, a restful life will be allotted him, but his life will be changeable. At one time he will be on the highest step of honour, the next cast down from his position". Indagine (N_{3r}-N_{4r}) says the native of the ascending Capricorn will be "very superstitious in prayers", and "in his necessitie wowyng and praiyng unto God, whereby after all evils and misfortunes, he shall obteine a prosperous and happye age. Cancer in the occident...increaseth innumerable perilles and daungers towardes him. The same thing also Aries doth thretten in the bottome of the heven, for al his substance, dignities, and offices shal be tossed to and fro, now up, now down, until at length... Libra shal moderate the same".

²⁶The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 196.

²⁷Arcandam, G_{2v}-G_{3r}.

²⁸Ibn Ezra, pp. 180-81. Indagine says that the sun in Capricorn causes the native to be "distracte and vexed with diverse variances, the whiche adversities he shal boldely and stoutlye beare out and sustaine. He shall be readye to dye for the love of some pore

and simple maide, the which at length shal cast hym into some disease and sickenes" (06v). None of the astrologers I have consulted grants the native of Capricorn normal and beneficial relations with women: most claim that he will be a fornicator who merely exploits women (see, e.g., Firmicus, p. 161, *Indagine N3r*; Vettius Valens, p. 11; Dariot, C3r; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 196), and that he will have few or no children.

²⁹ Vettius Valens, p. 11. Firmicus Maternus (p. 161) says that, because of the effects of Aries in the lower midheaven, the natives of an ascending Capricorn make great mistakes.

³⁰ See note 11. Saturn's malicious acceleration of the "ruin and decay" of living things results from its cold and dry nature and also from Saturn the deity's being frequently equated with Kronos, god of time, as in Maplet (59r), Cartari (D2r-v), Fraunce (6v-8r), Agrippa (p. 334), Fulgentius (p. 49), and Comes (II.iii).

³¹ Colin's assumption of the attributes of old age has been noted by several students of the Calender. Moore describes the situation succinctly: "Winter first invades Colin's life with the grief that results from Rosalind's rejection; it comes to dominate his soul when he cannot stop either loving or grieving. Knowing that his continued love for her is futile, he nevertheless persists and his persistence fuels his grief and transforms him into a figure of winter. Still a young man, he now feels old and barren" (pp. 12-13). See also Cullen (pp. 80-3, 92-8, 123-5, 148).

³² E. K., argument for "Januarye".

³³ For a more thorough account, see J. N. Brown, "Stasis and Art in The Shepheardes Calender", Massachusetts Studies in English, 3 (1973), 7-16.

³⁴ The extent to which the poem is non-narrative is evident in the fact that any action in the poem occurs prior to the time we learn of it. We witness no action whatever; all we see is singing and talking, in a discontinuous series of situations. Similarly the Colin-Rosalind "plot" occurs before the poem begins, and Spenser frustrates any attempt to see a narrative governing the time covered in the Calender by having Colin break his pipe in "Januarye", use it in "November", and hang it on a tree in "December". In Colin's four appearances in the poem Spenser provides a series of explorations of Colin's psychological state bound together by the fact that they are all set after Rosalind has rejected him.

³⁵In "Januarye" we see an instance of Saturn's tendency to cut things off before their due time: Colin breaks his pipe and casts himself to the ground before completing the final stanza of his complaint (71-2). Colin's pipe and song are broken simultaneously, so Immeritô must pick up where Colin leaves off and give the stanza and the eclogue their formal conclusions. Something similar happens in "December": Colin completes his "piteous moan" (6), but his final emblem is missing. Immeritô steps in and supplies an envoi that is able to convey the meaning E. K. attributes to the emblem (i.e. "that all things perish and come to their last end, but workes of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for ever") and to comment on and conclude the Calender as a whole.

³⁶Maplet, 63r-v.

³⁷Agrippa, p. 259.

³⁸See Moore, 3-24, for a thorough and perceptive analysis of Colin's abuse of this talent in order to gain temporal happiness.

³⁹De la Primaudaye, III, 147. Agrippa (p. 470) and Maplet (62r) among others, also attribute ghastly visions and nightmares to a malevolent Saturn.

⁴⁰However, in "June" Colin does feel pursued by angry gods (15), and Hobbinoll implies that Colin's environment consists of such Saturnian creatures as "night ravens", "elvish ghosts", and "ghastly owles" (23-4).

⁴¹Ibn Ezra, p. 194. See also Ramesey, p. 50; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 247; Agrippa, p. 56; and Lilly, p. 60.

⁴²Ramesey, p. 50. See also Agrippa, p. 56 and Lilly, p. 60.

⁴³Ibn Ezra, p. 194.

⁴⁴Ibn Ezra, p. 194. See also Agrippa (p. 56), Lilly (p. 59), and Ramesey (p. 50) for standard lists of funereal, poisonous, and generally unpleasant plants ruled by Saturn.

⁴⁵See, for example, Ptolemy, pp. 179-81.

⁴⁶Ibn Ezra, p. 183.

⁴⁷Cf. de la Primaudaye when explaining how various phenomena produced by the sun's motion reflect times of adversity and prosperity in human life: "Wherefore as we expect day after the night; the springtime and sommer after autumne and winter: so in the time of adversitie we must attend in good confidence the time of prosperitie, as we are assured to have light after darknes" (III, 165).

⁴⁸Cattan, p. 31.

⁴⁹Spenser has done everything possible to exclude Colin from any beneficent association with the sun: Colin appears, is quoted, or is mentioned in at least one eclogue under the rulership of every other planet, yet there is no trace of him in "Julye", the eclogue belonging to the sun's sign, Leo, nor in "March", the eclogue belonging to Aries, the sign of the sun's exaltation, while he is briefly mentioned in "September", which corresponds to Libra, the sign of the sun's fall. Moreover, the two eclogues in which he appears alone, and denies the presence of the sun, are the ones furthest removed from the sun's eclogue, just as Capricorn and Aquarius are the furthest removed from Leo (an arrangement that expresses Saturn's hostility to the sun--see Ptolemy, pp. 79-83, who explains that the zodiacal signs were assigned planetary rulers in a way that reflects not only the natures of the signs but also the relationships between the planets and the sun and moon). This distancing of Colin's monologues from the sun's eclogue would not have been as visible if Spenser had begun with March (Aries), for then the sun's eclogue would be the fifth and the monologues would be in the tenth and eleventh eclogues.

⁵⁰Moore, 3-24. On p. 16 he calls Colin an intellectual innocent.

⁵¹Moore, 24.

⁵²Moore, 4.

⁵³Moore, 15.

⁵⁴Moore, 16.

⁵⁵Moore, 16.

⁵⁶L. A. Montrose, for example, regards this Pan as the "God of November, not the pastoral genius of Januarye". See "'The perfecte

paterne of a Poete': The Poetics of Courtship in The Shepheardes Calender", Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 21 (1979), 58.

⁵⁷ Although their approaches to the Calender are considerably different, both Cullen (pp. 90-8, 148) and R. A. Durr, "Spenser's Calendar of Christian Time", English Literary History, 24 (1957), 269-95, regard Colin as ultimately defeated in and by the natural world with which he confounds himself.

⁵⁸ The only major Saturnian traits that Colin does not strongly exhibit in "Januareye" and "December" are covetousness, envy, and malice. However, we can see his desire for sole possession of Rosalind as a kind of covetousness, and in "June" he expresses envy towards Menalcas, whom Rosalind favours over him, and malice towards both Rosalind and Menalcas when he wishes to publicize their "treachery". I am not arguing that Colin is by nature a child of the malevolent Saturn, but rather that he becomes subject to this Saturn as a result of the frustration of his desire for Rosalind. Hence he exhibits tendencies that, while clearly Saturnian, are also related to their immediate cause.

⁵⁹ Some scholars, most notably A. C. Hamilton, "The Argument of Spenser's Shepheardes Calender", English Literary History, 23 (1956), 171-83, see in Colin's hanging up his pipe in "December" Spenser's graduation from the otiose seclusion of pastoral to public commitment of epic. Such a progression is certainly true of Spenser, but not of Colin. Although Colin is a Spenser-persona, he functions only within the winter-to-winter framework of the Calender; Spenser's other persona, Immeritô, functions both within that scheme (in "Januareye" and "December") and beyond it in delivering the introductory and concluding verses that deal with the Saturnian enemies, envy and time. On the matter of hanging up the pipe it is necessary to separate Spenser-Colin from Spenser-Immeritô. As Montrose ("Courtship", 62) points out: "the same symbolic act of hanging up the pipe conveys both Colin's resigned withdrawal from the Virgilian progression and Immeritô's declaration of intention to succeed in the attempt". See also note 8, above. Ironically, Colin signals his allegiance to a purely natural calendar in both the first and last months of a Christo-centric calendar that signifies the possibility of escape from death in nature.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 159.

⁶¹ L. Babb, The Elizabethan Malady (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951).

⁶²Yates, Occult Philosophy, pp. 52-9.

⁶³See Klibansky, et al., pp. 55-65, 75-124, and Babb, pp. 21-58. The account in the text, summarized from the above sources, is, of course, radically simplified. The term "melancholy" denotes a genus of diseases caused by the presence of a melancholy humour "abnormal in quantity or quality" (Babb, p. 23) and since this abnormality can proceed from a number of specific causes, symptoms of melancholy are not always identical, just as two natives of the same planet will not manifest that planet's influence in the same way. Nonetheless, just as there are family likenesses among all natives of the same planet, so there are underlying similarities among the specific ailments in the group "melancholy", and these similarities clearly link the diseases to Saturn. I have also simplified somewhat in conflating the temperament and the disease. Babb (p. 30) points out that "Pathological melancholy is hard to distinguish from the relatively normal condition of the man of melancholy complexion" because the symptoms of the disease closely resemble the traits of the temperament. The chief differences between the two are that the temperament is innate while the disease is adventitious (although those of melancholy temperament are the most susceptible), and that the disease is much more severe in degree, though the same in kind, than the temperament. This account is simplified only to stress the link between melancholy disorders and the malevolent Saturn.

⁶⁴Babb, p. 23.

⁶⁵T. Bright, quoted by Babb, p. 23.

⁶⁶Babb, p. 24.

⁶⁷T. Elyot, quoted by Babb, p. 24.

⁶⁸Regimen Sanitatis Salerni, quoted by Babb, pp. 24-5.

⁶⁹Du Laurens, quoted by Babb, p. 33.

⁷⁰Walkington, quoted by Babb, p. 32.

⁷¹For a complete discussion of this tradition, see Babb, pp. 58-67, and Klibansky et al., pp. 15-41, 67-75, 151-9, 217-75, and 345-66.

⁷²Aristotle, Physical Problems, XXX.1, trans. W. S. Hett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William Heineman Ltd., 1957), p. 155.

⁷³Aristotle, Physical Problems, p. 163.

⁷⁴The preceding discussion of the "Aristotelian" problem was summarized from Klibansky et al., pp. 29-32. Direct quotations from this work are in quotation marks in the text.

⁷⁵Klibansky et al., p. 255. For their complete account of the history of the idea, see the citations in note 71, above.

⁷⁶Klibansky et al., p. 261.

⁷⁷Babb, pp. 60-1. Babb quotes several Renaissance authorities who, though they may disagree as to the exact combination of melancholy with other humours, do agree on the effects of inspired melancholy. For example, Vives believes that "a proper combination of humours and heat promotes sharpness and soundness of mind" (p. 61); Melancthon claims that "natural melancholy, when it is abundant and suitably mixed with moderately warm blood, is a valuable aid to the intellectual faculties... 'the spirits are sharper, surer, and more eager in their movements'" (p. 61); Fracastoro "writes that artists, scholars, military leaders, and statesmen of the highest achievement are melancholy men" (p. 61); Elyot says that "the natural melancholy kept in his temperance... profyteth moche to true iudgement of the wyt" (p. 62); Bright says that melancholics are sometimes "verie wittie" and that a heated melancholy humour "delivereth a drier, subtile and pearcing spirite, more constant and stable than anie other humour, which is a great helpe to this contemplation" (p. 63); Walkington calls natural melancholy "the electuary and cordiall of the minde, a restorative conservice of the memory, the nurse of contemplation, the pretious balm of wit and policy: the enthusiasticall breath of poetry, the foyson of our phantasies, the sweet sleep of our senses, the fountain of sage advice and good purveyance" (p. 63); and Burton asserts that melancholy men often are "of deep reach, excellent apprehension, judicious, wise, & witty" (p. 63).

⁷⁸Babb, p. 60: "Musarum sacerdotes melancholici uel (sunt) ab initio, uel studio (fiunt)" (quoting Ficino).

⁷⁹Klibansky et al., p. 261.

⁸⁰Klibansky et al., p. 271.

⁸¹See W. Shumaker, pp. 120-34, and F. Yates, Giordano Bruno, pp. 62-83.

⁸²Quoted by Fowler, p. 103.

⁸³Quoted in Klibansky et al., pp. 272-3.

⁸⁴Fowler, p. 103. On pp. 103-4, n. 5, Fowler quotes an explanation from Ficino. According to Ficino, the reason intellectuals are melancholy is that "especially in the pursuit of difficult branches of learning, the mind has to be withdrawn from external to internal things, as if from its circumference to its centre; and while it speculates it has to remain with the greatest stability at man's very centre. But to be gathered together from the circumference to the centre, and to be fixed at the centre, is very much the property of earth, to which black bile is most similar. Melancholy, therefore, stimulates the mind, so that it concentrates itself into a unified state and contemplates assiduously".

⁸⁵Babb, p. 63.

⁸⁶Quoted by Babb, pp. 63-4.

⁸⁷Ficino, quoted by Babb, pp. 64-5. Babb points out that Agrippa, Jason van der Velde, Fracastoro, and du Laurens also attribute prophecy to inspired melancholy as did the original "Aristotelian" problem.

⁸⁸Firmicus, p. 138.

⁸⁹Ferrier, 13r.

⁹⁰Albertus Magnus, p. 66.

⁹¹Lilly, p. 539. See also J. Middleton (p. 21) who says Saturnians are "grave and sober" and "perform all their actions with Judgement and Discretion"; Cattan (p. 25) who calls them prudent; The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 162) says they are "wyse in counceling"; Giorgio (pp. 126, 739); Agrippa (p. 466); Comes (II.iii); de la Primau-daye (III, 141); and Fraunce (6v).

⁹²Ptolemy, p. 341.

⁹³Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 131.

⁹⁴Lilly, pp. 58, 539. Cf. Ibn Ezra p. 194.

⁹⁵De la Primaudaye, III, 130. Cf. Giorgio, p. 84.

⁹⁶Fraunce, 6v. See also Agrippa (p. 466), and Greene (p. 46).

⁹⁷Ficino, quoted by Fowler, p. 104. Al-Biruni (p. 245) says Saturn rules the retentive power of the soul.

⁹⁸Maplet (62r) points out that even though Saturnians learn slowly "yet after they have once with much a doe apprehended" something "they after become fast Keepers and Retayners thereof" in contrast to "Mercurialists" who both learn and forget quickly. Dariot credits the Saturnian with a "deepe memorie" (D2r); Cattan (p. 31) says he is "a man of prompt and subtil memorie"; and du Bartas calls Saturn the "spouse of memory" (The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas, trans. J. Sylvester, ed. S. Snyder; [Oxford: Clarendon Press], 1979, I, 216]. Related to this prodigious memory is the Saturnian delight in studying, and hence preserving, ancient things. For example, Ferrier says the Saturnian likes to hold "discourse of antiquities and of great affayres" (13r); Alchabitius says Saturn presides over "lasting, permanent things" (quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 131); and Agrippa gives Saturn rulership over "the permanent continuation of all things" (p. 61). Cf. Ibn Ezra, p. 194; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 242; Cattan, p. 25; and Agrippa, p. 334.

⁹⁹Fowler, p. 104. See also his note 5, p. 103, quoted above, note 84.

¹⁰⁰Ptolemy, p. 341.

¹⁰¹Ibn Ezra, p. 194.

¹⁰²Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 131.

¹⁰³Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 131.

¹⁰⁴Quoted in Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 129.

¹⁰⁵Ferrier, 20v.

¹⁰⁶Ferrier, 13r.

¹⁰⁷Dariot, D₂r.

¹⁰⁸Cattan, p. 25.

¹⁰⁹Lilly, pp. 58, 539. See also J. Middleton (p. 21), Ramesey (p. 50), Greene (p. 46), Maplet (62v, 63v-64r), Comes (III.ii), Fraunce (6v, 8r), and Cartari (D3r). Macrobius (Commentary, p. 136) explains that as the soul descends through the heavenly spheres to the body, it receives special faculties from each of the planets. From Saturn it receives "reason and understanding called logistikon and theoretikon". In the Saturnalia he recounts the story (later picked up by mythographers such as Comes, Cartari, and Fraunce) of how the god/king Saturn arrived in Italy, became co-ruler with Janus, and civilized the country, creating in the process a localized "Golden Age", during which "we made our way from a rude and gloomy existence to a knowledge of the liberal arts" (pp. 59-61). The traditional association of Saturn the deity with the Golden Age facilitated crediting the planet with good influences (Cf. de la Primaudaye, III, 141, and Giorgio, p. 91).

¹¹⁰Giorgio, p. 112.

¹¹¹Giorgio, p. 113.

¹¹²Giorgio, p. 112.

¹¹³De la Primaudaye, III, 130-1.

¹¹⁴De la Primaudaye, III, 143. Cf. Giorgio, p. 91. De la Primaudaye also remarks that the "solitary and divine life is appropriated to Saturne" (141) and that "Saturne disposeth the intellectual vertue, he provoketh to wisedome and to contemplation of divine and humane things, and perceth to the brightness of true Philosophie" (147). Cf. Giorgio, p. 94.

¹¹⁵Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 169.

¹¹⁶Agrippa, p. 466.

¹¹⁷ Agrippa, pp. 132-3.

¹¹⁸ Fowler, p. 103.

¹¹⁹ As Ficino's concern over the melancholy ailments that beset scholars shows, a single individual can simultaneously exhibit traits of both Saturns. That is, it is possible, though difficult, for Colin to cultivate these aspects of the good Saturn's influence even while suffering the distress linked to the bad Saturn, provided that these studies can entice his mind away from thoughts of Rosalind long enough. Since poetry is so closely linked with Rosalind in Colin's mind, it is appropriately specified as an intellectual activity he engaged in before meeting her, while the other studies come after the encounter. We should also note that Colin's sense of chronology is confused in any case: in "Januarye" (29-30) he says he fell in love at the beginning of his "spring", while in "December" he situates this event at the beginning of his "summer".

¹²⁰ Cf. E. K.'s argument to "October" in which he claims that poetry is "no arte, but a divine gift and heavenly instinct not bee gotten by laboure and learning but adorned with both".

¹²¹ T. H. Cain, Praise in "The Faerie Queene" (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 31-6. See also T. H. Cain, "Spenser and the Renaissance Orpheus", University of Toronto Quarterly, 41 (1971), 24-47.

¹²² Quoted by Babb, p. 63.

¹²³ Quoted by Babb, p. 66.

¹²⁴ Quoted by Babb, p. 58.

¹²⁵ Of course Piers attributes these effects to love, not to Saturn. Chapter IV deals with the type of love involved here and shows it to be compatible with the good Saturn. My immediate purpose, however, is simply to show that these effects and the language used to describe them are linked to the tradition of inspired melancholy.

¹²⁶ Cain, Praise, p. 35. Cf. Recorde, The Castle of Knowledge, London, 1556, p. 7: "The Firmament hath in it an infinite number of starres, whereof it is called the Starrye skie". De la Boderie, in his translation of Giorgio uses the term "ciel estelle" to refer to the sphere of the fixed stars.

¹²⁷Quoted by Babb, p. 64.

¹²⁸Quoted by Babb, p. 64.

¹²⁹Quoted by Babb, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁰Quoted by Babb, p. 65.

¹³¹Cartari, D_r. Cf. Fraunce (8r), who says that these wings represent the "intellectuall facultie and reasonable power of man's minde, the old Philosophers being of opinion, that the soule receaved from Saturnes spheare, the gift of reason and intelligence".

¹³²Reynolds, quoted by Babb, p. 64.

¹³³Bodin, quoted by Babb, p. 64.

¹³⁴Quoted by Klibansky et al., p. 355. Ficino says the inspired melancholic must lay aside "vulgar thoughts" (Klibansky et al., p. 272); Crofts says the melancholic must "addict" himself to "seeke and follow Vertue and Piety" (Babb, p. 64).

¹³⁵R. Mallette, in studies that appeared after the main argument of this chapter was developed, analyses the Calender's treatment of poetry and love in terms of metaphors dealing with flight and constraint. See "Spenser's Portrait of the Artist in The Shepheardes Calender and Colin Clouts Come Home Again", Studies in English Literature 19 (1979), 19-41, and Spenser, Milton and Renaissance Pastoral (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1981), pp. 45-74. Mallette explains that "the imagination is a faculty whose genesis is corporeal; it is given life and knowledge through the senses, furnished with the material of the natural world. The medium of imagination is language, and it therefore shares with the senses - the lover's medium - a precarious fragility. Both language and the senses are easily corrupted, obviously a part of the fallen world of discord and danger, in need of the 'gouvernaunce' and discipline of the aspiring soul". (Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 49). Only by such discipline can the poet or lover pass through the "perils of the world" and ascend to "universall understanding" (p. 50). The flights of the vates depend upon the disciplined labour of the poeta. T. H. Cain makes a similar point in reference to "Aprill" (See "The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'Aprill'", Studies in English Literature, 8 [1968], 45-58, and Praise, pp. 14-24). Although neither of these scholars uses Saturn and melancholy as explanatory devices, their conclusions

harmonize with those reached in the present study. The discipline and labour of the poeta match the arduous labour of the Saturnian intellectual; the flights of the vates coincide with the spiritual and intellectual elevation given by the good Saturn; the poet-lover's need to bridle his passions parallels the Saturnian's need to free himself from "the clamourous commerce of the senses".

¹³⁶ Agrippa, p. 61.

¹³⁷ See Cain, Praise, p. 15.

¹³⁸ Cain, Praise, pp. 14-24. The part quoted is on p. 17.

¹³⁹ Mallette, Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 60-1.

¹⁴⁰ Mallette points out that Colin's passions are not intimately involved with the death of Dido. He is commissioned to apply his skill to a subject dear to his listener's heart, rather than moved by his personal feelings. Consequently, the elegy has a detached tone and an impersonal mood (Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 131-2). Colin's expressions of affection and admiration (78, 95-101) arise not from personal intimacy so much as from an abstract love of the virtues she represents, much as he loves Eliza as a political and artistic idea.

¹⁴¹ Montrose, "Courtship", 52-3.

¹⁴² Quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 272.

¹⁴³ Mallette (Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 136) writes of the "poet's realization that death has its own decorous place in the harmony of the universe" in "November".

¹⁴⁴ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 91-2.

¹⁴⁵ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 91.

¹⁴⁶ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 92.

¹⁴⁷ For example, Durr concludes that because Colin has committed himself to the life of the flesh he cannot attain Christian salvation.

¹⁴⁸Quoted by Fowler, p. 110.

¹⁴⁹Quoted by Fowler, p. 111.

¹⁵⁰See Klibansky et al., p. 272.

¹⁵¹See T. W. Ross, Chaucer's Bawdy (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1972), pp. 101-102, 111-15.

¹⁵²A term Piers uses to describe Palinode ("Maye", 73).

¹⁵³See chapter IV.

¹⁵⁴Firmicus, p. 163.

¹⁵⁵Firmicus, p. 164.

¹⁵⁶Firmicus, p. 188.

¹⁵⁷Firmicus, p. 194.

¹⁵⁸Firmicus, p. 141.

¹⁵⁹Firmicus, p. 198.

¹⁶⁰Firmicus, p. 199.

¹⁶¹Dorotheus Sidonius and Ferrier are just as pessimistic about various combinations of Saturn and Venus. According to Dorotheus, Saturn on the ascendant in opposition to Venus indicates the death of the native's women (p. 225); Venus on the ascendant in opposition to Saturn means the native will be poisoned by his wife (p. 229); Venus on the mid-heaven in aspect to Saturn makes it difficult for him in the "acts of Venus" (p. 230); if Saturn is in Venus' house "there is no good in the matter of marriage because he will marry a young girl or an old woman or a whore, or grief and misery will come to him because of women" (p. 231); and Venus in Saturn's house causes the native to be sterile or to "have intercourse with his brothers' wives or women" (p. 233). According to Ferrier, Venus in the houses of Saturn makes one adulterous and effeminate and denotes that one's wives will not live long (35r); Saturn in the houses of Venus produces an "impudent life, love of maydes & women of small discretion, diseases

by reason of leacherie" (36r): Saturn and Venus in conjunction indicates the native will have no male children, and that he "shal espouse some old woman, or some widdowe, or some of evill constitution or a bastard" or have some "other staine of hys honour" (37r); and Saturn and Venus in opposition "maketh hym evill disposed, deprived of beauty and vertue, leacherous, infamous by reason of women" (39v).

¹⁶²This account is derived from Ptolemy, p. 345.

¹⁶³Ptolemy, p. 345.

¹⁶⁴Moore, 11.

¹⁶⁵Yates, Giordano Bruno, p. 63, and Shumaker, p. 131.

¹⁶⁶Fowler, p. 111 (quoting Ficino).

¹⁶⁷R. Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (Oxford, 1621), p. 105.

¹⁶⁸Burton, p. 316. By "Venus" he means sexual intercourse.

¹⁶⁹Burton, p. 316. He continues: "Haliabbus the Arabian... and Iason Pratensis make it the fountaine of most diseases, but most pernicious to them which are cold and dry... Some are better able to sustaine...others impotent, of a cold and dry constitution cannot sustaine those gymnicks without great hurt done unto their own bodies, of which number are melancholy men for the most part" (pp. 316-17).

¹⁷⁰Montrose, "Courtship", 42, says that Colin is "now lost in love melancholy", but does not pursue this line of inquiry. The following account of the lover's malady is summarized from Babb, pp. 128-42.

¹⁷¹Burton, p. 547, even singles out shepherds for special mention: "The Poets therefore did well to faine all shepheards lovers, and to give themselves to songs and dalliances, because they lived such idle lives".

¹⁷²See, for example, Ptolemy (pp. 185-7), Agrippa (p. 96), Ibn Ezra, (p. 199), Al-Bīrūnī (pp. 244, 251), Lilly (pp. 74-5), and Firmicus (p. 140).

¹⁷³ See Babb, p. 130. J. Ferrand, Erotomania (Oxford, 1640) says that "Among the passions of the mind, Toy may perhaps make them more inclinable to love" (p. 61).

¹⁷⁴ Although the various systems of assigning the "ages of man" to seasons, humours, months, planets, etc. sometimes produce inconsistencies there is, as Babb (p. 11n.36) points out, "fairly general agreement that youth is sanguine and old age melancholic".

¹⁷⁵ "Microcosmos", in A. B. Grosart, ed., The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1967) I, 32. Davies is the only writer I have found who makes Venus hot and dry (choleric). Most astrologers characterize Venus as cold and moist (phlegmatic), but Ptolemy and Bartholomaeus Anglicus claim it is hot and moist (sanguine). Babb (p. 131) indicates that some authorities say that hot and dry humours may incline one to love.

¹⁷⁶ Ptolemy, pp. 443-5.

¹⁷⁷ De Lacy (532-3) provides a partial analysis of this passage.

¹⁷⁸ Ficino, Commentary on Plato's "Symposium", trans. S. R. Jayne (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies XIX no. 1, 1944), p. 227.

¹⁷⁹ Ferrier, 15r.

¹⁸⁰ Ferrier, 36v.

¹⁸¹ On the evil effects of comets, see de Lacy, 528-9, and S. K. Heninger, Jr., A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960), pp. 24, 26-8, 89-91, 94, 176, 221-2.

¹⁸² For the natives of Taurus, see, for example, Ibn Ezra (p. 160): they "will be very lustfull and gluttonous"; Manilius (p. 235): "in their faces dwells the boy-god Love"; and The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 191): they "shall experimenter many paines by women". For the legend that Taurus is the bull that bore off Europa, see C. Middleton, D₁r.

¹⁸³ Ibn Ezra, p. 210.

¹⁸⁴Firmicus, p. 39.

¹⁸⁵Firmicus, p. 201. He does mention that under some circumstances such a combination can make the native famous and able to obtain his desires with ease, but he stresses the unfortunate marriage. Ferrier (37r) disagrees with Firmicus: "The coniunction of Sol & Venus [brings] praise, good renown, favour of the common people, especially of women". If Spenser meant us to consider the sun's position, he certainly did not intend such an optimistic interpretation.

¹⁸⁶Ficino, Commentary, p. 227.

¹⁸⁷Babb, p. 132.

¹⁸⁸Du Laurens, quoted by Babb, p. 132.

¹⁸⁹Babb, pp. 133-4.

¹⁹⁰According to Babb (p. 134) the cause of the melancholy stage is broadly speaking, unsatisfied love.

¹⁹¹See Babb, pp. 134-5.

¹⁹²Boaistuau, quoted by Babb, p. 135.

¹⁹³Babb, p. 135.

¹⁹⁴Babb, p. 135.

¹⁹⁵Babb, p. 135.

¹⁹⁶Babb, pp. 135-6.

¹⁹⁷Babb, p. 135.

¹⁹⁸Ferrand, quoted by Babb, p. 136.

¹⁹⁹Babb, pp. 138-9.

²⁰⁰Babb, pp. 139-40.

²⁰¹For a discussion of the literary motifs concerning poetry's ability to cure love, see S. F. Walker, "Poetry is/is not a cure for love: 'The Conflict of Theocritean and Petrarchan Topoi in the Shephearde's Calender", Studies in Philology, 66 (1979), 353-65.

²⁰²See above, pp. 7-9 and Notes 19-29.

²⁰³Ferrier, 34r-v.

²⁰⁴Dariot, C₃r.

²⁰⁵See, for example, C. Middleton, D₃v. Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie Grecque (Paris: Culture et Civilisation, 1899), pp. 146-7. E. K. in his gloss on Hobbinoll in "Januareye" hastens to assure us that Colin and Hobbinoll do not have a homosexual relationship, as did Jove and Ganymede.

²⁰⁶See, for example, Valens, p. 12; Ibn Ezra, p. 183; Dariot, C₃r, and Rhetorios (quoted in R. Gleadow, Your Character in the Zodiac, Hollywood: Wilshire Book Co., 1968, p. 136).

²⁰⁷Valens, p. 12.

²⁰⁸See Valens, p. 12; Arcandam, G₃r; Rhetorios (quoted in Gleadow, p. 136).

²⁰⁹Firmicus, p. 161.

²¹⁰See The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 196; Arcandam, G₇v; Firmicus, p. 161; and Indagine O₇r. For the Saturnian's travelling, see Ibn Ezra, p. 194; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251; Ramesey, p. 51; Agrippa, p. 50; de la Primaudaye, III, 131; Indagine, P₅v; and Alchabitius (quoted in Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 129).

²¹¹Indagine, O₈r. Arcandam (G₇v) says that the journeys of the native of Aquarius will be indifferent with respect to profit or luck. Firmicus (p. 161) says that if the native is low-born he will carry on servile occupations while abroad, but afterwards his affairs will prosper. Saturn, however, promises only disastrous journeys.

²¹²Manilius, p. 267.

²¹³Valens, p. 12.

²¹⁴Firmicus, p. 161.

²¹⁵Arcandam, G₇v.

²¹⁶Cain, Praise, pp. 14-36, discusses several of Spenser's strategies for self-advertisement in The Shephearde Calender. This issue also arises in other forms in Montrose ("Courtship", 34-67; and "'Eliza, Queene of shephearde,' and the Pastoral of Power", English Literary Renaissance, 10(1980), 166-8), and R. Helgerson, "The New Poet Presents Himself: Spenser and the Idea of a Literary Career", Publications of the Modern Language Association, XCIII (1978), 893-911.

²¹⁷Indagine, N₃r.

²¹⁸Manilius, p. 243.

²¹⁹Manilius, p. 243.

²²⁰Quoted in Gleadow, p. 130. Firmicus (p. 161) says the native of Capricorn will "annoy the gods with long-winded prayers". "December" is twice as long as "Januarey".

²²¹Ibn Ezra, p. 181.

²²²Arcandam, G₄r-v.

²²³Firmicus, p. 161.

²²⁴Indagine, N₃v.

²²⁵Ferrier, 34r.

Chapter II

Jupiter, the Greater Benefic

In "Februarie" the conflict between the malevolent Saturn and the earthly Venus, which in Colin Clout leads to debilitating love melancholy (because the two planets pull the individual soul in opposite directions and so dissipate it), reappears in the debate between the aged Saturnian Thenot and the youthful Venerean Cuddie.¹ Although this conflict is destructive when it occurs in the individual soul, it results in a deadlock when, as in "Februarie", the opposing planetary impulses appear in different people, for the gulf between the effects of Saturn and Venus is so great that neither can moderate the other without the greatest difficulty.² As Ficino explains, if someone is too strongly dominated by either of these planets, the "best discipline is rather to recall him to the mean through certain applications of Phoebus and of Jove (who are means between Saturn and Venus)".³ Because Jupiter is a mean⁴ between Saturn and Venus, it partakes in moderation of the nature of each of them. So, Jupiter can, for example, help draw the mind inward for contemplation without at the same time excluding a legitimate concern with external things, or, contrariwise, can lead it to the managing of social or public affairs without thereby compromising the inner life. Only once in the Calender's present, and then only temporarily, does Colin approach this balance between centripetal and centrifugal impulses--in "November", a month ruled by Jupiter.

This chapter first discusses the debate in "Februarie" to show that Thenot and Cuddie are indeed basically Saturnian and Venerean, respectively, and that their debate remains unresolved and unresolvable. It will then discuss the nature of Jovial influence, pointing out both what it shares with Saturn and Venus, and what appertains to it of itself. The subsequent section argues that none of the characters in the debate or the fable of the oak and the briar are fully Jovial, but all are partial or unsuccessful Jupiter figures. "November", in a sense, resolves "Februarie's" conflict of winter and spring by transcending it, presenting a vision of the supranatural spring just as the natural year begins its decline into winter. The final section discusses the contrasts between the two eclogues belonging to Jupiter, examines the temporary resurgence of Colin's powers, and argues that Dido is a fully Jovial figure. The significations of Pisces ("Februarie") and Sagittarius ("November") will be introduced at appropriate points in the discussion.

I. The Debate in "Februarie"

Nancy Jo Hoffman argues that Spenser's concern in "Februarie" is to examine how age and youth differ as human experiences and that Thenot and Cuddie present "alternate but not exclusive attitudes toward life".⁵ She aptly characterizes Thenot's "reluctant harmony with nature" as follows:

Storm, prime, heat, cold, joy, tears, summer flame and winter threat, gentleness and ungentleness all seem alike, set off by this sage in an unchanging, melancholy past. In his own cosmic view he is an unindividualized

part of a collective human nature, his mind, a summary of the aphorisms of his civilization, his time on earth, like that of Wordsworth's Leech Gatherer's, an unextraordinary point in the larger continuum.⁶

Cuddie, argues Hoffman, is not so "philosophical": his language and thought throughout are characterized by vivid, precise imagery and concrete, specific examples drawn from his immediate environment and applied in a strictly ad hominem manner. In effect, Cuddie's style reveals "the psychology of a young man in love with his own sense of virility, bursting with energy".⁷ Hoffman's (and Cuddie's) depiction of Thenot as a joyless, worn out, and reluctant stoic is consistent with the character produced by the malevolent Saturn and with Ptolemy's description of old age, the period of life governed by Saturn:

Now the movements both of body and of soul are cooled and impeded in their impulses, enjoyments, desires, and speed; for the natural decline supervenes upon life, which has become worn down with age, dispirited, weak, easily offended, and hard to please in all situations, in keeping with the sluggishness of his movements.⁸

As this final period of life commences at age sixty-eight, the ninety-year-old Thenot (17) is well into it. We do not know Cuddie's exact age, but his evident pride in the "budding braunch" (58) of his erotic energy clearly places him in the period Ptolemy calls youth, extending from age fourteen to twenty-two, and ruled by Venus who

begins, as is natural, to inspire, at their maturity, an activity of the seminal passages and to implant an impulse toward the embrace of love. At this time particularly a kind of frenzy enters the soul, incontinence, desire for any chance sexual gratification, burning passion, guile, and the blindness of the impetuous lover.⁹

An examination of the debate shows that Spenser's version of the motif of the conflict of generations can be usefully seen as a struggle of Venus with Saturn, and that, as one expects from planets so fundamentally opposed, no real progress is made.

The eclogue opens with Cuddie complaining about the discomforts that "rancke Winters rage" cause for both shepherd and flock (1-8). Cuddie here is clearly not intending to spark a debate at all, but is only voicing a typically human and understandable, though not particularly useful, dissatisfaction with the weather. Thenot, however, sees Cuddie's complaint as symptomatic of grave intellectual and moral deficiency, and by immediately chastising his companion instigates the debate: "Lewdly complainest thou laesie ladde,/Of Winters wracke, for making thee sadde" (9-10). Thenot's attribution of laziness to Cuddie is not borne out by anything in the eclogue; in fact, Cuddie appears to be quite conscientious: he is as concerned about the effects of the weather on his flocks as on himself (4-8), and later he points out that his flock is healthy and vigorous while Thenot's is "lustless", weak, and wan (71-84), a claim that Thenot does not deny. Thenot's accusation here, like his later grouping of Cuddie with all improvident "heardgroomes" (32-50), is a manifestation of the Saturnian old man's being, as Ptolemy says, "easily offended, and hard to please in all situations", and of his cynical attitude toward youth, an attitude that is itself a form of the testiness Ptolemy describes and that finds expression in Thenot's use of generalizations that do not always apply to the realities of the specific situation.

Thenot's willingness to initiate an unnecessary debate, and Cuddie's enthusiasm in taking up the challenge, are typical of the native of Pisces. According to Indagine, for example, when Pisces is on the ascendant, the native will be "bold to move debate and strife with great men",¹⁰ while the sun in Pisces produces men "of a quicke and readye tonge, bolde, standinge much in their owne conceite".¹¹ Ibn Ezra says the natives are irascible.¹² Arcandam claims that the native "shall be furious and hastie to anger", but also easily pacified again, and that he will be "hardie, standing in his owne conceit... greedy of learning, eloquent, obstinate in his learning, defending his conclusions obstinately and wittily: and though he have a small wit, yet it is ready, sharpe, and prompt".¹³ According to Firmicus, Pisces on the ascendant "makes the native talented, intelligent... He will be skillful in all confrontations and will have more than moderate conflicts with powerful personalities".¹⁴ The rulership of Pisces, then, produces contentious, skillful, and stubborn debaters. It is not clear, however, whether such crafty disputants will produce intellectually sound or even consistent arguments for their obstinately held positions. Indagine and Firmicus both credit the natives of Pisces with intelligence,¹⁵ but most writers, while not denying that the natives are clever, emphasize that they are chameleonic, whether this changeability appears as instability, unreliability, or outright trickery. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, claims that the native of Pisces is eloquent, but also that he is "unstable in his opinions...tricky and deceitful, liable to err, forgetful, [and] foolish".¹⁶ Vettius Valens

says the natives are unstable, changeable, and unreliable.¹⁷ According to Rhetorios, they are versatile, easily changing, and unstable.¹⁸ Ibn Ezra claims that they are deceitful,¹⁹ and, finally, The Kalender of Sheepehards characterizes them as mockers who will say one thing and do another.²⁰ Pisces' rulership over February, then, promises a lively debate between stubborn opponents, but, even if we assume that the speakers are both honest, does not promise arguments of the highest quality nor that either disputant will abandon his basic stance. Pisces is, in fact, a perfect zodiacal sign to preside over an unresolved conflict, for the two fish eternalized in the heavens swim in opposing directions, as the woodcut for "Februarie" indicates.²¹

Thenot sees Cuddie's natural dislike of winter weather as symptomatic of the ignorance, rashness, impetuosity, and hedonism of youth that he feels impelled to rectify, and hence he uses the weather as an emblem for the inevitable vicissitudes of Fortune. At the outset of this first rebuke of Cuddie, one expects Thenot to counsel patience, to tell Cuddie he must endure bad fortune in hope of better in the future (whether in this life or the next) and that he must use times of good fortune to prepare for times of adversity.²² This is indeed what Thenot thinks he is doing when he tells Cuddie to "suffer the stormy time" in his youth and make his flock his "chiefe care" so that he too can live to the "lusty prime" of "thrise threttie yeares" (9-24).²³ However, despite his claim that he is in the "lusty prime", his language and the premises on which he bases his advice reveal his gloomy Saturnian disposition and project an image of old age as a

wretched condition however solicitously one cares for his flock. For example, of his ninety years only "some" were spent in "much ioy", while "many" were "in many teares" (18). Similarly, an old man who is truly satisfied with his life to date does not speak of having "worne out" ninety years (17). Moreover, he, like Colin in "Januarye", is selective in his use of the life-seasons metaphor, for he places so much stress on his gently taking what urgently came during the extreme discomforts of summer and winter (19-22) that his claim to have had some joy is no more convincing than is his assertion that ninety years of age is the "lusty prime" of life. In effect, his ninety years have worn him out as much as a single year does Colin Clout, and the connotations of the terms in which he presents his advice undermine whatever intellectual value it may have. On the philosophical side, his refusal to be a "foeman" to Fortune (21) does not proceed from nor lead to the kind of enlightenment that sees Fortune as an instrument of Providence, but rather reflects his impotence in a world he sees as degenerating and beyond his control:

Must not the world wend in his commun course
From good to badd, and frome badde to worse,
From worse unto that is worst of all,
And then returne to his former fall? (11-14)

Thenot here, and indeed nowhere in the eclogue, expresses no sense of Christian hope, shows no awareness that his last years should be spent in preparation for the life to come, but simply resigns himself to stoic melancholy in the face of unsupportable odds.

Although his language is more abstract, aphoristic, and general than Cuddie's, in keeping with the accumulated experience from which

Saturnian old age can speak, Thenot's arguments proceed, like Cuddie's and Colin Clout's, from a literal-minded interpretation of the life-seasons analogy, an interpretation that can ultimately breed only despair. Thenot's "lusty prime" is neither the Elysian fields of "November" nor the time of life when one most assiduously prepares oneself for them, but simply the time of year and life when the next decline begins. As Harry Berger, Jr. explains:

Since "former fall" and "lusty prime" are in parallel positions, the old man sees renewal mainly as the brief moment when the next long falling-off begins. The annual cycle used as a model for the life and world cycles suggests a hope for the return of the golden age, but in this context the hope is fragile and the model deceptive. Thenot's stoic response to life is associated with a cynic's view of life, a practical rather than moral view which demands harshness and detachment not because the pleasant things in life are evil but because they are fragile and shortlived....Thus his edge of bitterness, the tendency of his attitude to drift from "practical wisdom" toward blanket rejection of youth, smacks of the disappointment Cuddie attributes to him (11. 51-60), and measures the force of his youthful attachments....Thus Thenot and Cuddie are differentiated not by any basic antipathy of viewpoint (such as asceticism vs. hedonism or libertinism, wisdom and restraint vs. folly and unrestraint, dedication vs. carelessness) but simply by the generation gap.²⁴

Berger's insight that the conflict between Thenot and Cuddie springs more from their age difference than from a more fundamental philosophical dispute²⁵ supports my contention that they both interpret the life-seasons metaphor rather literally. In essence, they are like the zodiacal sign ruling the month, for although the two fish swim in opposing directions they are joined together by a common cord, as seen in the "Februarie" woodcut.²⁶ Cuddie in the Venerean spring of

life has only a theoretical, abstract knowledge of life's winter phase and thus assumes naturally, if somewhat too optimistically, that he can postpone indefinitely the concerns appropriate to the end of life; Thenot, in the Saturnian phase of life, suffers the hardships of age with resignation, has only memories of youth, and thus naturally interprets the course of life in the sombre light of its last phase only. Thenot presents no clear impression of what if anything he envisages as succeeding old age, but he does have a vivid sense of the power of Fortune or human folly to accelerate the natural decay of man and describes his own life in terms of disappointment, frustration, and exhaustion. So, whether he intends to or not, Thenot creates the impression that man's best course is to care for his flock in a world punctuated by moments of joy but on the whole steadily deteriorating as does man's life itself.

Cuddie, with an instinctive awareness that the ultimate cause of Thenot's rebukes is the irritability that Ptolemy attributes to the Saturnian stage of life, completely ignores the intellectual content of Thenot's admonition and instead taunts his age:

No marveile Thenot, if thou can beare
Cherefully the Winters wrathfull cheare:
For Age and Winter accord full nie,
This chill, that cold, this crooked, that wrye
And as the lowring Wether lookes downe,
So semest thou like good fryday to frowne
But my flowring youth is foe to frost,
My shippe unwont in stormes to be tost. (25-32)

If Thenot's first speech precipitates the dispute, this response from Cuddie sets its pattern of development, for from this point onward the discussion consists largely of abuse: Thenot assumes all adolescents

are the same and attacks Youth in generalized terms; Cuddie's assaults are more personal as he disregards Thenot's arguments in order to mock the old man and attack what he sees as the motives behind these arguments. Parmenter quite rightly calls this discussion flying rather than debating.²⁷ Since neither speaker suspects the adequacy of the life-seasons analogy but simply views it from a different perspective of experience, emotion, and expectation, it is not surprising that the discussion develops in this way; however, the refusal to broach seriously matters of substance guarantees that there can be no resolution.

In response to Cuddie's claim that his "flowring youth is foe to frost", Thenot provides a generalized invective against the folly, rashness, and irresponsibility of youth, claiming that when the "shining sunne laugheth once" lazy "little heardgroomes" assume that "Spring is come attonce" and become carefree and reckless, only to be caught by surprise when the "breme winter" returns and vents its fury upon shepherd and flock alike (35-50). There are three points of particular interest in Thenot's exemplum. First, as Colin's obliviousness to the sunny day in "Janurye" and "December" shows, youth does not always respond so over-confidently to winter sunshine. Second, like most of Thenot's sweeping generalizations, it is one-sided and over-simplified. This exemplum is clearly based on a superstition much like that of groundhog day, although Thenot does not give a precise date.²⁸ The presence of a sunny day so early in February is indeed said to indicate a victory of winter over spring, but it is

only a temporary victory and ultimately this pleasant, but shortlived, day in winter is a reminder that spring will eventually achieve a more long-lasting triumph. Thenot, perhaps unconsciously, biases his account in a Saturnian direction by not mentioning that the triumph of winter is transitory, and instead would have us disregard promising signs entirely. Third, it is irrelevant in the present context, for as Cuddie's first speech indicates, the eclogue is not set on a cheerful sunny day but on a stormy wintery day. Cuddie's complaints about the weather indicate that he is perfectly aware of the presence of winter and whether he, like Thenot's "heardgroomes", would misjudge a false spring, in terms of either deceptive weather or deceptive Fortune, is a question more open than Thenot thinks it is. Whatever value Thenot's admonitions may have (he does not, however, explain how one is to distinguish a false from a real spring), the immediate issue has nothing to do with false springs in weather, fortunes, or age, but with the very real spring of Cuddie's youth, so there would seem to be some justification for his youthful desires, activities, and expectations--a justification that the false analogy of groundhog day seeks to deny. Thenot, of course, does not notice the inapplicability of this analogy, because like a true Saturnian senex he sees the natural spring of youth as a delusory spring in the vast winter of life: the spring of youth is indeed transitory, as Thenot continually stresses (cf. 69-70, 87), and thus immeasurably inferior to the eternal spring of "November", but Thenot's view of the world and time as a series of declines and falls allows no possibility of a real spring.

All he can counsel is that Cuddie constantly expect and tolerate winter.

Cuddie disregards Thenot's arguments yet once more and responds to what he sees as Thenot's psychological motivation. After accusing Thenot of senility (51-6), he singles out the Saturnian trait of envy for special treatment as he mocks Thenot's lack of virility and claims that were he still young he too would "learne to caroll of love" (26-68).²⁹ Cuddie sees, and not without justice as Berger indicates, Thenot's demands for severe restraint and constant wariness of winter as invidious threats to his youthful eroticism, as attempts to "copp" his "budding braunch" (58) so that he will prematurely resemble Thenot who "hast lost both lopp and topp" (57), and in self-defense challenges Thenot on his most "vulnerable ground".³⁰

Cuddie's vigorous assertion of his virility here is the first indication that this youth's predominant concerns are Venerean. But his change in tone from the lighter taunting of Thenot's general resemblance to the season to this accusatory, harsh, and merciless slur on Thenot's manhood, and the fact that he persists in this assault for two speeches indicate that, although he does not possess the frenzied lasciviousness that Ptolemy attributes to Venerean youth, his budding eroticism is vital to his self image.

Cuddie's enthusiastic assertion of his Venerean impulses is suitable to the month ruled by Pisces, for this sign contains the exaltation of Venus. But the sign is even more intimately associated with Venus. Christopher Middleton explains one of the myths of

Pisces' origin as follows:

Venus and lovely Cupid on a day,
 Seating themselves by Euphrates faire glide,
 Spending the time in dallying wanton play,
 Was by the giant Typhon there espide,
 Compassed them about where they were set,
 As once black Vulcan tooke her in his net.

For feare whereof the Goddess was constrain'd,
 Clasping her young sonne in her silver armes,
 To take the water, where they were sustain'd
 By fishes that conveyd them from those harmes:
 Whom afterwards the Goddess thus requites,
 By turning of these fishes to fayre lights.³¹

In other versions of this myth Venus and Cupid were metamorphosed into the fish in order to escape Typhon. In another myth the fish we know as Pisces brought an egg from the Euphrates and from this egg Venus was born.³² Given this close association of Venus with Pisces, it is not surprising to find that natives of this sign have an amorous disposition. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, claims they are "lustful";³³ Firmicus says the man born when Pisces is on the ascendant "is always driven by visual attraction to sexual promiscuity";³⁴ Indagine claims the man with Pisces on the ascendant in his horoscope will love his wife immoderately;³⁵ The Kalender of Sheepehards says the native of Pisces will be a fornicator;³⁶ according to Arcandam, the native will be "leacherous beyond measure, and have great fancie to women, whereby he shall suffer great contumely and hindrance";³⁷ Rhetorios says natives of Pisces are lustful and "rich in progeny";³⁸ Valens says they are fertile, erotic, and licentious;³⁹ Dariot says they are fruitful and "luxurious";⁴⁰ and Manilius informs us that "Certain it is that the goddess of Cythera changed herself into a fish when she plunged

into the waters of Babylon to escape from snake-footed Typhon of the winged shoulders; and she has implanted in the scaly Fishes the fire of her own passions".⁴¹ Cuddie's youth and Pisces' rulership over "Februarie" clearly account for his enthusiastic participation in and defense of love.

His defense, of course, consists not of a philosophic argument nor of a refutation of Thenot's case, but of an attribution of envy as Thenot's motive and a statement of facts relevant to that accusation. Cuddie's response may not be profound or tightly argued, but it does display the prompt and ready wit astrologers attribute to Pisces and leaves Thenot virtually powerless to reply: he could deny being envious, but does not; he cannot deny that Phyllis is Cuddie's "for many dayes" (64). Thenot contents himself with uttering a mild insult and an obvious aphorism: "Thou art a fon, of thy love to boste,/All that is lent to love, wyll be lost" (69-70). Now that Cuddie's enthusiasm is fired and he has found an easy way to strike back at Thenot, he ignores Thenot's aphorism and elaborates his own case by comparing his lusty bullock to Thenot's feeble, emaciated flock and drawing the obvious analogy between the herds and the herdsmen (71-84). Weak and shortsighted though Cuddie's case is from a philosophical point of view, his tactics, such as pointing to the herds before their very eyes, have great rhetorical and psychological force. Cuddie's analogy of the flocks is a restatement of his earlier remarks about Thenot's virility, not a new line of thought, and Thenot, again unable to refute Cuddie on his own ground, responds with a series of

aphorisms against the general class Youth, a method tantamount to preaching to the converted:

For Youngth is a bubble blown up with breath,
Whose witt is weakenesse, whose wage is death,
Whose way is wildernesse, whose ynne Penaunce,
And stoope gallaunt Age the host of Greevance. (87-90)

There are at least three reasons for Thenot's failure in the debate section of the eclogue to convince Cuddie. One is that the preoccupations of the Venerean Cuddie are so different from those of the Saturnian Thenot that neither speaker is inclined to take the opinions of the other seriously. Their stalemate is in essence a human embodiment of the problem involved in attempting to use Saturn and Venus as remedies for each other's excesses: one is likely to fail since one is "essaying as remedies things far removed".⁴² A second reason for Thenot's failure to persuade is that the alternative vision of life he offers is in fact not really alternative: both understand man's life in terms of a literal reading of the life-seasons analogy, and are differentiated only by their vantage points within the analogy that traps them. Cuddie, at the beginning of his year, looks forward to life's joys and pleasures; Thenot, at the end of his, is painfully aware of the transience of such joys and hence stresses life's sorrows. It is quite conceivable that in seventy years Cuddie will become another Thenot, without altering his philosophical premises. Thenot's naturalistic arguments can unfold the implications of Cuddie's but cannot refute them. A third source of the ineffectiveness of Thenot's arguments is that, as the malevolent Saturn dulls the wit and corrupts the judgement, they are inconsistent. He wants to

present old age as the "lusty prime" whose accumulated experience and wisdom give him the authority to instruct and guide wayward Youth, but at the same time he presents two other views of age that contradict both his view of age's "natural" authority and each other: in his series of aphorisms immediately preceding the tale he depicts the miseries of old age as a punishment for misspent youth (this claim suggests some interesting but unanswerable questions about Thenot's own youth); and throughout the eclogue he implies that the inconveniences of old age and misfortune are inevitable and must be borne in silence since complaining will not change anything. The current wretched condition of Thenot and his flock, juxtaposed to the healthy state of Cuddie and his, besides being analogous to their respective ages, shows that even if, like Thenot, one lays excessive stress on caring for the flock, winter and all it symbolizes still might devastate one flock while leaving another relatively untouched. Since there is no evident proportion between one's actions and the rewards or punishments received in this life (and that is the only life clearly discussed in "Februarie"), one can hardly blame Cuddie for believing that there is no harm in supplementing his pastoral duties with a little innocent pleasure.

The debate having ground to its inevitable standstill, Thenot tries to break the stasis by adopting the new strategy of offering to tell Cuddie "a tale of youth" that he "cond of Tityrus" in his youth (91-3). At this point it appears that Tityrus' tale is about to play the Jovial role of a mean between Saturn and Venus, moderating their

excesses and harmonizing their discord, for both Cuddie and Thenot momentarily make significant concessions. Cuddie's hostility toward age softens here as he grants that Tityrus, as opposed to Thenot, is wise, good, and well worth listening to (94-7). Similarly, Thenot's animosity toward youth is mollified as he indicates that he learned the tale in his youth while with Tityrus in the hills of Kent. In retelling this tale Thenot is reliving a part of his past that is both pleasant and profitable, a significant qualification to his earlier remark that "Younghth is a bubble blownup with breath" (87), and as Berger indicates, further evidence that Cuddie is not far wrong in claiming that Thenot envies the young.⁴³ The tale's Jovial ability to mediate between Saturnian age and Venerean youth is, however, shortlived, for Cuddie impatiently interrupts Thenot just as he reaches the moral, and contrary to his earlier praise of Tityrus, pronounces the tale excessively long, worthless, and "lewd" (239-46).⁴⁴

The failure of the tale to advance the debate or resolve the conflict is not entirely Cuddie's fault; nor is it Tityrus' (Cuddie in condemning the tale does not even mention Tityrus but instead lays all the blame on Thenot and says the tale is Thenot's). Although Thenot does offer to let Tityrus' tale play the Jovial role of arbiter between them and Cuddie acquiesces out of respect for Tityrus, it is still Thenot, not Tityrus, who selects and relates the tale, and Thenot is far from impartial. He himself implies that the tale is a piece of propaganda designed to advance the Saturnian point of view when he indicates that in his judgement this tale is fittest to apply to the

present dispute (100) and tells Cuddie to "hearken the end"--not only the outcome of the story but also Thenot's purpose in telling it.⁴⁵ Since, despite the momentary harmony created by the mention of Tityrus, Thenot clearly does not intend to invoke his authority as a disinterested arbiter, it is hardly surprising that Cuddie resents and rejects the tale. Furthermore, Cuddie's claim that Thenot's brain is "imperished" (53), an affliction to which Saturnians are especially subject, is not without justification, for his tale is not really as fit to apply as Thenot thinks it is.⁴⁶ For one thing Thenot's briar actively and maliciously wills the destruction of the oak and seeks the assistance of a third party to accomplish his designs, while Cuddie's aims are neither destructive nor malicious and he relies on his own resources to get his way. Moreover, in the tale the respective ages of the oak and briar are a red herring: it was reckless ambition more than "scorning eld" (238) that brought the briar to its ruin, and Cuddie in fact interrupts Thenot at precisely the point where he draws his inadequate and one-sided moral.⁴⁷ Thenot, attempting to portray the old oak as an innocent victim of the brash young briar, also undermines his own case in the way he presents the oak. He says, for example, that the oak, though once the fruitful and dignified "King of the field", is now barren and useless to man (102-114), and then puts the same points into the mouth of the briar (127-8, 135, 169-71, 179-81), with the result that it is far from certain that the briar "Causelesse complained" (148) as Thenot claims. Later in the tale Thenot links the oak to superstitious rituals and

claims that this was the source of its misery (207-11). Again it is difficult to see the briar's complaints as totally unfounded. Finally, unlike Thenot, the oak does little to advance its own case: after being sharply snubbed by the briar (127-38), the oak is left virtually speechless (140-2). Its failure to make any attempt to explain to the briar that it still has a necessary role to play merely confirms the briar in its limited perception and encourages its recklessness, ultimately fatal to both of them. Since Thenot's tale is clearly biased, inconsistent, and irrelevant to the main subjects of the debate at hand, it is natural for Cuddie to become impatient with it.

Thus the eclogue ends in a stalemate, the expected outcome of a Saturn-Venus conflict. Both speakers interpret life from a natural perspective, but take widely different stances to nature. Thenot can cope with the ravages of time and Fortune only by a Saturnian withdrawal from physical pleasure into an exaggerated concern with his flocks and desperate meditation on the transience of earthly things. His attempts to disregard the physical nature to which he is inextricably bound, while still brooding over its transience can only further cool and dry his constitution and thus perpetuate his Saturnian attitudes. The Venerean Cuddie enthusiastically participates in the physical delights of youth and looks forward to sharing them with Phyllis for many a day, but foolishly pays only lip service to the implications of the remainder of life's calendar. Cuddie's Venerean and Thenot's Saturnian viewpoints are attitudinal, not philosophic, opposites and because these attitudes are too divergent

for the speakers to communicate effectively with each other, their clash leads to deadlock.

II. The Attributes of Jupiter

According to Abraham Fraunce, "Iupiter in latine, is quasi Iuvans pater, that is, a helping father".⁴⁸ Similarly, Cartari tells us that "the Latines called him Iupiter a iuvando, for those many benefits and good turnes wherewith hee possessed the people then living on the earth".⁴⁹ The following compendium of the lore concerning Jupiter shows that qualities such as benevolence, helpfulness, paternalism, and the ability to govern others well are central to most accounts of the influences of Jupiter when well-placed; that Jupiter can produce the gravity, sobriety, and deliberation characteristic of Saturn, but with the dignity and vitality suitable to the king of the planetary deities rather than with Saturnian sordidness, gloom, and sluggishness; and that, somewhat as the mythological Jupiter is famous for his numerous amours and his prodigious brood of illegitimate children, so the astrological Jupiter can produce the fertility, cheerfulness, and love of innocent pleasures characteristic of a well-placed Venus, but without the wantonness often associated with Venus.⁵⁰

According to Ptolemy, Jupiter "in honourable positions...makes his subjects magnanimous, generous, god-fearing, honourable, pleasure-loving, kind, magnificent, liberal, just, high-minded, dignified, minding their own business, compassionate, fond of discussion, beneficent, affectionate, with qualities of leadership".⁵¹ When

Jupiter alone rules an event "he produces", says Ptolemy,

increase in general, and, in particular, when the prediction is concerned with men, he makes fame and prosperity, abundance, peaceful existence, the increase of the necessities of life, bodily and spiritual health, and, furthermore, benefits and gifts from rulers, and the increase, greatness, and magnanimity of these latter; and in general he is the cause of happiness. With reference to dumb animals he causes a multitude and abundance of those that are useful to men and the diminution and destruction of the opposite kind. He makes the condition of the air temperate and healthful, windy, moist, and favourable to the growth of what the earth bears; he brings about the fortunate sailing of fleets, the moderate rise of rivers, abundance of crops, and everything similar.⁵²

In man's life span Jupiter, according to Ptolemy, rules the period from age fifty-six to age sixty-eight and "brings decorum, foresight, retirement, together with all-embracing deliberation, admonition, and consolation; now especially he brings men to set store by honour, praise, and independence, accompanied by modesty and dignity".⁵³

Ptolemy further claims that Jupiter excites "fertilizing winds".⁵⁴ Bouché-Leclercq explains that this attribute results from Jupiter's rule over the north, for the north wind was believed to possess such power of fecundity that the females of animals often found themselves spontaneously impregnated by it.

Later astrologers echo and expand upon Ptolemy's pronouncements. Bouché-Leclercq points out that if Jovial influence ruled alone the earth would be a paradise.⁵⁶ Firmicus even asserts that "men would be immortal if the favorable influence of Jupiter were never overcome in their charts".⁵⁷ Speaking in general terms, Firmicus says that Jupiter "makes the universe rejoice" with its benevolent power⁵⁸ and

that it makes men "mature, kindly, generous, [and] temperate".⁵⁹ Jupiter on the ascendant by day and in its own house makes "the native high-born, famous, always ruling great states...virtuous, charming, benevolent, [and] rich".⁶⁰ Those "who have Jupiter as ruler of the chart", Firmicus informs us, "are always trustworthy, of high spirit, and are impelled toward great deeds...Commanding in all their acts, noble, famous, honorable, lovers of luxury, cheerful, desiring to please in every way, large eaters, faithful friends, they are simple and friendly to all; successful and accustomed to do everything well.... Their life will be glorious and filled with good fortune and they attain all their desires. Their activities turn out well, and they are protected by the influence of great men".⁶¹ He later adds that the ascendant in the terms of Jupiter "indicates all characteristics of virtue and wisdom".⁶² Ibn Ezra tells us that Jupiter

is the most propitious of the planets. It prognosticates life, any increase in well-being, productivity, development, talk of justice and righteousness. It shares in the growing soul...among groups of people [it rules] the judges, the scholars, those who serve God, the meek, the noble, and the just....To it belong the synagogues, the places for divine worship, and clean sites....It has pretty raiment, such as cotton clothing and any delicate mantle. With regard to man's nature it denotes affections, justice, peace, faith, humility, good reputation, nobility of heart, freedom of mind in telling the truth, reliability in keeping covenants. The person will have a smiling face, loving good and abhorring evil. Ordinarily he will be opposed to any act not in conformity with law and justice; he will enjoy talking excessively, and he will seek the praise of his fellow-men; his every thought will be directed towards seeking and hoarding wealth, and towards attempting to succeed in every endeavor provided that it be in a legitimate way; he desires to learn law, jurisprudence, and the interpretation of dreams, and to serve in synagogues....Usually it forecasts good

luck, grace, and honor, and, if it is isolated at the casting of the horoscope, it will bring to him every honorable thing....Generally it results in an individual of noble mind, spendid ambition, excellent vision, attractive beard, and light hair.⁶³

According to Al-Bīrūnī, Jupiter gives its natives a good disposition, and makes them "inspiring, intelligent, patient, high-minded, devout, chaste, administering justice, truth-telling, learned, generous, noble, cautious in friendship,...friend of good government, eager for education, an honourable trusty and responsible custodian, religious,...a peacemaker, charitable, devoted to religion and good works, responsible,...laughing, eloquent, eager for wealth, [and] in addition to affability some levity".⁶⁴ The places that Al-Bīrūnī assigns to Jupiter's dominion include "Royal palaces, mansions of the nobility, mosques, pulpits, Christian churches and synagogues, [and] teachers' houses";⁶⁵ the classes he assigns it are "Kings, vazirs, nobles, magnates, lawyers, merchants, [and] the rich and their sycophants";⁶⁶ and it rules professions involving "Noble actions, good government, religion, [and] doing good".⁶⁷ Haly claims that Jupiter "teaches and fosters goodness, shrinks from evil, assists the poor, and governs whatever is commodious or agreeable. He is truthful in speech, honest in deed, and fortunate in all his activities and influences, loving councils of wise men, just ordinances, and discriminating judgements",⁶⁸ and that if Jupiter alone and well-dignified is lord of the nativity, "he makes the native of great nobility of mind, honorable, virtuous, and pure, of fine reputation, just, morally upright and religious, frank and free, gentle of disposition, quiet,

unruffled, eschewing vain things; such a person loves and is beloved by people who perform beautiful and honest deeds, meditates and plans good actions while wishing to have them secret and unnoticed, is diligent in well-doing, and knows how to guard, serve, and retain friends".⁶⁹ Indagine informs us that Jupiter on one of the angles is "the auctor of beauty, richesse, honor, and rule",⁷⁰ and is enthusiastic in praising the virtues of Jupiter as lord of the nativity, for then

Jupiter doth everywher deserve praise for there is no pointe of counsel, wisedome, knowledge, eloquence, and beauty whiche he dothe not liberallye minister and geve: so that if you will describe anye good manne, you maye wel faine him to be a Iovial. And brieflye, if thou wendicate unto him al vertues and goodnesse, thou canst not erre. For the Iovialles be fullye replenished wyth all those thinges, so much Tess do they lacke anye thinge. To what ende shal I nede to commende and praise their magnanimitie, with their large honours and promotions: when as I saide before, there is nothinge founde to be wantinge or lacking in them.⁷¹

The Kalender of Sheepehards says the man born under Jupiter "shal love cleanlynesse of body, and will not use to speake of rybawdry, and harlottry, he shall ever love religion, and vertuous living,...he shalbe a faire speaker, & say wel behinde a person,...& he shall love to singe and to be honestly mery".⁷² According to Christopher Cattan, Jupiter is

a Planet amiable, gentle, gratiouſ, under whome, what man ſoever be borne, is commonly of a good braine and understanding, chaste, loyall, and doing wrong to no man,...mortall ennemy unto Saturne, from whome he hath taken one parte of his mallice by his temperance, for Jupiter is a Planet of good temper, hote and moiste.... [the native is a] man of good appearance and countenaunce, loving to be well and honestly clothed... amiable, loyall, pittifull, and one that will willingly redreffe matters, and those which be wicked, but he

loveth not them which continue in wickedness, a man true in deedes, of good conscience and amitie, of good dispositions and conscience and willing to doe pleasure, wholesome of body, and limbe, a lover of lawes and iudgements, a man whiche loveth goodnesse and good men, and maintaineth them daily in goodnes, and of things that be wicked he ministreth the illness. There is nothing done by the meane of Iupiter which is not good, and cometh to a good ende.⁷³

Ferrier says Jupiter when well-placed "shewes the man sweete, courteous, honest, gracious, amiably, faithfull, pittifull, liberall, of good behaviour, of good hart, & good love: following noblenesse and all honesty & loving God, abounding in friends, dreaming alwaies upon some vertuous thing, and withdrawes himselfe sometimes solitary, to thinke upon some goodness: using in all and by all hys affayres, a great equitie, prudence and modestie, having great courage to accom-
 plish".⁷⁴ Among Jovial activities and professions, Ferrier enumerates "Offices, benefices, and business of men of the Church, and all gaynes that are made without deceit⁷⁵...Judges,...Prelates, byshops, [and] Goavernors of the goods of the Church".⁷⁶ As all this unalloyed praise soon becomes tedious, I will quote Lilly as a concluding summary of the preceding accounts of the character produced by a well-placed Jupiter and then describe the effects of an ill-dignified Jupiter (see note 80, for further citations of authorities' comments on its good effects). According to Lilly, a well-placed Jupiter makes one

Magnanimous, Faithfull, Bashfull, Aspiring in an honourable way at high matters, in all his actions a Lover of faire Dealing, desiring to benefit all men, doing Glorious things, Honourable and Religious, of sweet and affable Conversation,...reverencing Aged men, a great Reliever of the Poore, full of Charity and Godliness, Liberall, hating all Sordid

actions, Just, Wise, Prudent, Thankfull, Vertuous.⁷⁷
 ...A man well spoken, religious, or at least a good
 moral honest man⁷⁸....Honest, religious, just, liberall,
 magnanimous, Governors, eminent men, performing high
 matters, sober, grave with a kind of moderation,
 prudent, living virtuously and orderly.⁷⁹

Of classes of men, Jupiter signifies, says Lilly, "Judges, Senators,
 Councellours, Ecclesiasticall men, Bishops, Priests, Ministers,
 Cardinals, Chancellours, Doctors of the Civill Law, young Schollers
 and Students, in an University or Colledge, Lawyers, Clothers, Wollen-
 Drapers".⁸⁰

Although Jupiter is the incarnation of all that makes for personal, social, and religious equilibrium, order, stability, authority, and temperance, even this Fortuna Maior can find itself in unfavourable positions and produce undesirable effects. According to Ptolemy, for example, when Jupiter is ill-placed it makes men's characters

seem similar [to those produced by a favourably placed Jupiter], to be sure, but with a difference in the direction of greater humility, less conspicuousness, and poorer judgement. For example, instead of magnanimity, he endows them with prodigality; instead of reverence for the gods, with superstition; instead of modesty, with cowardice; instead of dignity, with conceit; instead of kindness, with foolish simplicity; instead of the love of beauty, with love of pleasure; instead of high-mindedness, with stupidity; instead of liberality, with indifference, and the like.⁸¹

Ferrier's account of the effects of the unfavourably placed Jupiter is similar to Ptolemy's, but somewhat harsher in tone: Jupiter, when ill-dignified, he says leads to "foolishness in the place of good love, pryde in the place of honesty, prodigalitie in the place of liberality, in the place of loving good will, doth yeeld him a hypocrite, seeming

to follow noblenesse, when indeed he will dispraise all the world:
 in the place of honestie, it wyll make hym dreame of tyranny".⁸²
 Later, Ferrier adds that the ill-placed Jupiter makes the native "A
 lover of himselfe. High-minded. Proude. Superstitious. fearful.
 faintharted. Careles or negligent. Prodigall".⁸³ Firmicus, though
 reluctant to credit any ill to Jupiter, does say that as ruler of the
 chart it produces men who "spend more than their resources or their
 inheritance allows",⁸⁴ and that Jupiter in its own terms on the
 ascendant makes one "large in spirit, but fierce and cruel".⁸⁵
 Al-Biruni says that Jovials tend to be egoistic,⁸⁶ "uxorius,...eager
 for wealth, [and possess] in addition to affability, some levity and
 recklessness".⁸⁷ Llyl's Jupiter, in The Woman in the Moon, says he
 will fill Pandora with "Ambition and Disdaine", and later says that
 his "beames are cause/Of all [her] insolence and proude disdaine".⁸⁸
 Agrippa notes that if man's spirit perverts the naturally good gifts
 of Jupiter, he will become tyrannous and covetous, and will seek
 "evill occasions to get wealth".⁸⁹ Comes attributes extreme ambition
 to Jupiter.⁹⁰ According to Lilly, the native of an unfortunately
 placed Jupiter

wastes his Patrimony, suffers every one to cozen him,
 is Hypocritically Religious, Tenacious, and stiffe in
 maintaining false Tenents in Religion; he is ignorant,
 Carelesse, nothing Delightfull in the love of his
 Friends; of a grosse, dull capacity, Schismaticall,
 abasing himselfe in all Companies, crouching and
 stooping where no necessity is.⁹¹

Later he says that natives of the ill-placed Jupiter are "Lovers of
 themselves, open-hearted innocent; it declares manners much of the

nature before recited [i.e., for the well-placed Jupiter], but more obscure and imperfect, a scornfull, disdainfull mind, proud, superstitious, fearfull, dissembling, a kinde of vaine candour, negligent, prodigall".⁹² J. Middleton claims that "when this Planet is ill dignified, he represents the person signified thereby to be a mere Prodigal, a Hypocrite in matters of Faith and Religion, a dissembling person, ignorant and careles, and of a dull capacity".⁹³ According to Ramesey, when Jupiter is weak it "signifies Mountebanks, Quacksalvers, Empericks, Cheaters, Takers of Bribes, &c."⁹⁴ Since the well-placed Jupiter shares with Venus the honour of being styled a "friend and preserver of the life and nature of man",⁹⁵ and is similarly conducive to fertility, abundance in all things, amiability, sociability, and cheerfulness, it is surprising that the mythological Jupiter's notorious philandering under the cover of sundry brute forms, which, says Fraunce, signify that "immoderate lust and wantounes... maketh them also beasts which give themselves over thereunto",⁹⁶ finds no real counterpart in astrological accounts of the ill-dignified Jupiter.⁹⁷ The native of an ill-placed Jupiter, then, will be at best an "obscure and imperfect" image of that of a well-placed Jupiter, and at worst will be careless, negligent, proud, ambitious, tyrannous, dull-witted, prodigal, superstitious, insolent, disdainful, and hypocritical.

III. Jupiters Manqués in "Februarie"

None of the characters in "Februarie" can be said to embody fully

the qualities of either the fortunately or the unfortunately placed Jupiter; however, they all exhibit some Jovial traits, perform a Jovial function, or think of themselves in terms appropriate to Jupiter. Indeed the eclogue presents a series of what I will term Jupiters manqués: figures who are incomplete, imperfect versions of the native of a well-placed Jupiter or who, though not utterly wicked, possess some of the traits given by an ill-placed Jupiter.

Thenot sees himself as the iuvans pater instructing the young Cuddie in how to bear the quirks of Fortune, on the need to devote all of one's time and energy to one's flock, on the punishment that ensues if one neglects the flock to pursue the pleasant distractions associated with youth and love, and on the necessity of respecting the authority and wisdom of age. He attempts, then, to fulfill the Jovial role of moderating the excesses of Venerean youth, but, as shown above, fails because he is too Saturnian. The astrological passage that most closely corresponds to Thenot's self-image is Ptolemy's description of the effects of Saturn aligned with Jupiter "in dignified positions": such a combination makes the natives "good, respectful to elders, sedate, noble-minded, helpful, critical,...magnanimous, generous, of good intentions, lovers of their friends, gentle, wise, patient, [and] philosophical".⁹⁸ Cuddie, however, sees Thenot in terms echoing Ptolemy's description of the effects of Saturn aligned with Jupiter in undignified positions, for this sort of configuration makes the natives "uncultured, mad, easily frightened, superstitious, frequenters of shrines, public confessors of ailments, suspicious, hating their

own children, friendless, hiding within doors, without judgement, faithless, knavishly foolish, venomous, hypocritical, ineffective, unambitious, prone to change their minds, stern, hard to speak with or approach, cautious, but nevertheless foolish and submissive to abuse".⁹⁹

The similarities between Ptolemy's pronouncements and the two shepherds' views of Thenot are unmistakeable: Thenot sees himself as good in his preoccupation with his flock; he presents himself as high-minded, patient, and sedate in his withstanding the blows of Fortune; he tries to inculcate in Cuddie a respect for his elders (Cuddie does respect elders when he sees a reason beyond mere age to do so, as his initial praise of Tityrus shows); he sees himself as critical but helpful, well-intentioned, and magnanimous in counselling Cuddie; and he clearly regards his aphoristic discourse as wise and philosophical. Cuddie, however, sees Thenot as uncultured since he not only disapproves of the songs and dances of the young but also chooses to tell a longwinded tale of little worth; he vehemently denies Thenot's pretense to wisdom and sound judgement when he calls him a "foolish old man" with an "emperished" brain and a "veray tottie" head (51-5); he implies that even if Thenot does not hate his own children, he is an enemy to youth in general, and to Cuddie in particular, and is hypocritically envious of youthful vigour and exuberance (51-68). We have seen above that Thenot is not only impotent sexually, but also powerless to persuade Cuddie, inconsistent in his arguments, and submissive to much of the abuse Cuddie heaps upon him. There is of course, a measure of truth in both speakers' assessments of Thenot and

his motives. Moreover, it is appropriate that in a month corresponding to Jupiter the Saturnian traits of the old man be moderated, but not obliterated by Jovial traits.

Among the reasons for Thenot's failure in his Jovial mission of restraining Cuddie's Venerean impulses are his intellectual defects: he does not present a truly alternative vision of life, he often argues irrelevantly or inconsistently, and he incorrectly assumes that he can mechanically apply his general precepts in all circumstances. These defects correspond to the effects of either Saturn or Jupiter in an unfavourable position, and to those of an unfavourable combination of Saturn and Jupiter. But one of the chief reasons Thenot fails is that Cuddie responds to the man, not to the arguments, and has nothing but scorn for the man. Moreover, as Cuddie's initial respect and admiration for Tityrus show, his scorn for Thenot is not merely the natural resistance of Venerean youth to the counsel of Saturnian age, but is a response to his perception of this particular old man. From Cuddie's point of view, the Saturnian Thenot cannot perform a Jovial function because he lacks two crucial Jovial traits: genuine benevolence and the ability to harmonize Saturnian gravity with the Venerean desire to be "honestly merry". Thenot may see himself as a benevolent, paternal overseer of the young, but to Cuddie he appears only as envious (a Saturnian trait) and as tyrannically authoritarian (an undesirable Jovial trait), imposing his own values, problems, and concerns on the young and denying the legitimacy of those of youth. Thenot's failure to deny that he is envious and his nostalgic lingering

over his description of the briar do indeed imply that his stern rejection of the claims of youth is tainted by an envy that compromises any claim to genuine benevolence he may make. Thenot possesses none of the optimism, cheerfulness, and amiability characteristic of Jovials; he sees the former joys of his life through a Saturnian lens and, putting them in the context of a world seen as only a series of declines and falls, regards them as delusive shadows like the false spring in his exemplum of the "heardgroomes" rather than as substantial, valuable, and important components of life. His nostalgia, then, is coloured not only by envy but also by a deep suspicion of the very things about which he is nostalgic, and this complex of feelings makes him appear autocratic, intolerant, and irritable rather than amiable, sympathetic and benevolent. In short, Thenot is too Saturnian to succeed in the Jovial task of controlling Cuddie, and he fails in those areas that are quintessentially Jovial: clearly perceptible benevolence and the ability to recognize fully and sympathize with the legitimate claims of both the Saturnian and the Venerean perspectives.

But Thenot, though Saturnian in both age and attitude, is not as extreme a child of the greater malefic as Colin Clout has become. In "Februarie" Thenot's character consists of the harsh Saturnian traits discussed above slightly mollified by Jovial traits. The true Saturnian becomes morbidly gloomy, obsessive, and withdrawn into himself; Thenot, however, though pessimistic and fixed in his ideas, far from being rendered solitary and immobilized by grief remains in the society of men and attempts to play the role of the iuvans pater

magnanimously instructing, ruling, and guiding the young in matters of how best to conduct their lives in a largely hostile world.

Cuddie, though largely Venerean, also possesses some characteristics of the Jovial man. His cheerfulness, optimistic confidence, and joie de vivre, provided that they remain moderate and decorous, correspond equally to the effects of a well-placed Jupiter or Venus. Since Jupiter the planet is conducive to natural fertility, growth, and abundance, Cuddie's concern with his sexual prowess is in a general sense both Jovial and Venerean. But his linking of the sexual abilities of himself and Thenot to those of their respective flocks indicates that he sees sexual relations primarily as a biological phenomenon and only secondarily as an area of experience with significant implications in terms of interpersonal relations, ethics, and theology.¹⁰⁰ This dangerously narrow view of sexual propriety when combined with Cuddie's evident enthusiasm with the prospect of having Phyllis "for many dayes" (64) could easily lead to the reckless lasciviousness characteristic of an ill-placed Venus.¹⁰¹ Thenot in arguing that a careless, misspent youth leads to the miseries of old age clearly sees Cuddie as rapidly moving in that direction, but there is no evidence that Cuddie is as depraved as Thenot thinks all young men to be. Cuddie's retorts to Thenot do, however, show some of the traits associated with an ill-placed Jupiter, notably pride, egoism, insolence, and disdain. But, nasty as some of these retorts are in content, Cuddie expresses them with such a vigour and charm of language and circumstantial detail that his tone becomes one of amiable, merry taunting, not inappropriate

to a well-placed Jupiter, rather than the tone of arrogant and pompous malice that characterizes the briar of Thenot's fable. For example, Cuddie's ridicule of Thenot's tale becomes amusing when he complains that not only is the tale worthless but also was so long that the seat of his trousers became frozen to the ground (242). Similarly, Cuddie's sense of security and confidence in his own virility, a score on which Thenot can no longer compete with him, allows him to diminish the harshness of the substance of his remarks about Thenot's impotence by describing the flocks in lively circumstantial detail (71-84) and by implying that Thenot himself before he "lost both lopp and topp" (57) behaved in exactly the way that Cuddie now does (59-68). Cuddie's assumption that Thenot's chief motivation is envy, while only partly true, removes from Cuddie the necessity of taking Thenot seriously and so allows him to utter what would normally be considered outrageous insults in a naively charming and amiable way. The fact that Thenot so silently submits to such verbal abuse implies both that there is a measure of truth in what Cuddie says and that Thenot sees Cuddie's remarks as neither offensive or threatening and hostile, but as childishly silly. Cuddie does not exhibit the tyrannous, destructive, ambition produced by an ill-placed Jupiter, for although he desires to assert himself, he does not find it necessary, as does the briar, forcibly to displace those who stand in his way. As far as Cuddie is concerned, time has removed Thenot as a competitor for the charms of Phyllis and the obstacles erected by Thenot's jealous moralizing can simply be ignored.

As Ptolemy's comments on the personality produced by a Saturn-Jupiter alignment provide an apt gloss for the way the two speakers regard Thenot, so his description of that produced by a Jupiter-Venus alignment glosses their views of Cuddie. According to Ptolemy, "Jupiter, allied with Venus, in honourable positions makes his subjects pure, pleasure-loving, lovers of the beautiful, of children, of spectacles, and of the domain of the Muses, singers, fond of those who reared them, of good character, beneficent, compassionate, guileless, religious, prone to athletic training, fond of competition, wise, affectionate, charming in a dignified way, magnanimous, fair, charitable, fond of learning, of good judgement, moderate and decorous in matters of love, fond of their kinsfolk, pious, just, ambitious, seekers after glory, and in general gentlemanly".¹⁰² Many of these qualities are evident in Cuddie: his readiness to enter the debate shows a fondness for verbal competition; he is pleasure-loving; he loves the beautiful, as it is manifested in Phyllis and in the tales of Tityrus; he seems to be decorous in matters of love for, not being a crude or violent seducer, he adheres to pastoral courtship ritual and wins Phyllis "with a gyrdle of gelt,/Embst with buegle about the belt" (65-6) and sings the requisite songs in her praise (63); he is no stranger to the realm of the Muses, for he knows how "to caroll of Love,/And hery with hymnes [his] lasses glove" (61-2); and when he agrees to hear Tityrus' tale he demonstrates a love of poetry, an ability to respond respectfully to goodness and wisdom, a willingness to learn, and a sense of fairness (since he does not reject Tityrus a priori on the grounds of

age). There is no evidence in what either Cuddie or Thenot says to persuade us that Cuddie is particularly deficient in other qualities enumerated by Ptolemy such as goodness of character, purity, compassion, affection, and beneficence. Moreover, we must remember that although Cuddie soon becomes impatient and irritated with Thenot's moralizing, he shows no signs of any hostility toward the old man until Thenot turns an innocent complaint about the weather into a pretext to lecture and chastize Cuddie. On the whole, then, it is probable that Ptolemy's account of the native of a favourable Jupiter-Venus configuration corresponds to Cuddie's image of himself. Jupiter aligned with Venus in a dishonourable position produces many of the faults Thenot attributes to Cuddie, for then the natives are "luxurious, soft-livers,...fond of the dance,...lavish in expenditure, evil in relations with women, erotic, lascivious, lecherous, slanderous, adulterous, lovers of ornament, rather soft, lazy, profligate, given to fault-finding, passionate, adorners of their persons,...panderers".¹⁰³ The prognosis is not all bad though, for they are also "trustworthy,... and not rascally, but gracious, easy of approach, and cheerful, and inclined to liberality in misfortune".¹⁰⁴ Thenot, in his castigation of the follies and vices of youth, echoes many of these terms, but except for Cuddie's thoughtless enthusiasm for love, they are more suitable to describe Thenot's hypothetical "heardgroomes" than Cuddie. It is these "heardgroomes" who are luxurious, lazy, soft-livers who spend all of their time in dancing, singing, and other pursuits Thenot considers frivolous rather than making their flocks the centre of their

lives. However shortsighted Cuddie may be in matters of love, he does not let it distract him from his pastoral duties, as his flock's healthy state shows. In short, although Thenot groups him with his hypothetical "heardgroomes", Cuddie has a strong enough Jovial sense of responsibility to tend his herd properly, and is willing to hearken to the authority of the aged when he regards that imputed authority as well-founded. Although there are some Jovial traits in Cuddie, he lacks the gravity, sobriety, and dignity of conduct, speech, and thought to be truly Jovial. His character is fundamentally Venerean with some moderation toward the Jovial mean, whereas Thenot's is Saturnian with some softening toward the Jovial. While the Saturn-Venus conflict in Colin Clout, especially as seen in Saturn's months, is destructive, it is almost as if the invisible presence of the Greater Benefic hovers over the debate in "Februarie", tempering and holding the Saturnian and Venerean contraries in check and preventing the annihilation of both sides that occurs in Thenot's fable.

The characters in Thenot's fable of the oak and the briar are also Jupiters manqués. Although the oak is old, cold, and dry and so, like Thenot, Saturnian (see note 29, above) by virtue of its present circumstances, this species of tree is ruled by Jupiter.¹⁰⁵ Fraunce indicates that the oak tree is sacred to Jupiter "because in olde time, the oake by her ackorns, is said to have given life and food, and Jupiter himselfe is the author of life".¹⁰⁶ Thenot's oak, likewise, was once a fruitful source of food (102-110), but it has long out-lived its usefulness in this respect (111-14). In euhemeristic inter-

pretations of mythology Jupiter is said to be the first man to have instructed others in the mysteries of true religion,¹⁰⁷ and similarly the planetary Jupiter when well-dignified makes men religious; however, just as an ill-dignified Jupiter converts man's religious impulses into superstition, so Thenot's oak is linked to papist superstition, foolish fancies that, claims Thenot, "broughten this Oake to this miserye" (212). This oak, then, is a Jupiter figure that has ceased to function as it ought to. Somewhat like King Lear, the oak retains the name and some of the outward signs of former kingship (108), but without really possessing regal power or the ability to fulfill royal responsibilities and despite its impressive presence is in fact hopelessly weak and vulnerable.

The briar is a plant ruled by Mars¹⁰⁸ and demonstrates its Martial spirit by "stirring up sterne strife" (149) and goading the husbandman into uncontrollable wrath (189-94).¹⁰⁹ But "Februarie" is Jupiter's month, so we should expect either that Jupiter mitigates the destructive effects of Mars or that the effects of an ill-dignified Jupiter augment those of Mars, and indeed the Jovial traits the briar exhibits are those in harmony with its Martial nature: insolence, disdain, ambition, aspiration to tyranny, and reckless pride. Even a favourable configuration of Mars and Jupiter is not very promising: "Jupiter allied with Mars", says Ptolemy, "in honourable positions makes his subjects rough, pugnacious, military, managerial, restless, unruly, ardent, reckless, practical, outspoken, critical, effective, contentious, commanding, given to plotting, respectable, virile, fond of

victory, but magnanimous, ambitious, passionate, judicious, successful".¹¹⁰ The briar certainly has all the contentiousness, love of victory, recklessness, outspokenness, and proneness to plotting that this alignment produces. It is even somewhat magnanimous in its supplying shepherds' daughters with flowers and birds with shelter. It does however lack practicality and judiciousness since it does not realize that it needs the protection the oak affords it. However, the effects of a Jupiter-Mars alignment in a dishonourable position more fully describe the briar: "insolent, undiscriminating, savage, implacable, seditious, contentious, stubborn, slanderous, conceited, avaricious, rapacious, quickly changeable, light, readily changing their minds, unstable, headstrong, untrustworthy, of poor judgement, unfeeling, excitable, active, querulous, prodigal, gossipy, and in all ways uneven and easily excited".¹¹¹ As far as possible for a plant, the briar exhibits all of these qualities except excitability and the tendency to change its mind.

The briar exhibits the undesirable traits produced by Pisces, as well as those of the unfavourable Jupiter and Mars. Although, as noted above, the oak is far from perfect, the outcome of the tale shows that it still has a useful function within the ecosystem of the husbandman's green. The briar in its reckless haste to stand "like a Lord alone" (222) is too egocentric to consider the larger context and will stop at nothing to attain its goal. Words are its only weapon, and the briar exploits them well, using, as Thenot says, "painted words...His coloured crime with craft to cloke" (160-2). The briar

does not hesitate to utter partial inconsistencies, as it chastizes the oak for failing to provide even shade (128) while simultaneously arguing that it unfairly keeps the briar itself in the shade (133-4, cf. 174-5). In its insulting speech to the oak itself, the briar lodges only two complaints: that the oak blocks the sun and that its noxious odour "annoieith" the "Sinamon smell" of the briar's flowers (135-6). But when it addresses the Husbandman, the briar's complaints have multiplied and it presents the oak as not only an old encumbrance but as actively malicious: the oak's offences, the briar now says, proceed from "felonous force" and are likely to cause the briar "for desperate doole to dye" (155-6); in the briar's new version it has become the victim of physical assault from the oak (175-7), the oak deliberately lets its "canker wormes" infest the briar (179-80), and in "the ranckorous rigour of his might" (185) perpetrates "many more such outrage" (183) on the briar. The briar has so effectively "kindled such coles of displeasure" (191) in the husbandman that the oak gets no opportunity to counter these charges. Both the outcome of the story and the fact that the oak "cast him to replie" (189) indicate that the briar's accusations are in a large measure slanderous and deceitful as Thenot claims. The briar exploits the power of speech just as a true native Pisces does. The best astrological gloss on the briar's painted words is Manilius' account of the effects of Pisces on the ascendant: "their gift is hateful loquacity, a poisonous tongue which ever passes on slanderous talk to fresh ears, and an eagerness to carry to the people on treacherous lips the people's indiscretions. Trustworthiness

will not be found in this sign's progeny; instead a consuming desire urges their fevered minds to go through fire to attain their ends".¹¹² Most other astrologers, though less detailed on this matter, agree substantially with Manilius about the motives of the children of Pisces: Ibn Ezra says they are deceitful;¹¹³ Al-Bīrūnī says they are "eloquent,...tricky and deceitful, [and] liable to err";¹¹⁴ Indagine claims that Pisces on the ascendant produces men who are "bold to move debate and strife with great men, and shal bring other mens goods into pearil and daunger and thereby possesse that whiche is one of [their] owne",¹¹⁵ and the natives born when the sun is in Pisces will be, although generally good, also "covetous,...of a quicke and readye tonge, bolde, standinge much in their own conceite...They shal not live long...[and are] full of troublous thoughtes";¹¹⁶ The Kalender of Sheepehards says the natives of Pisces are covetous, confident in their own wisdom, and hypocritical;¹¹⁷ according to Arcandam, the native of Pisces is "naturally covetous, handie, standing in his owne conceit,... unkind, a lyer, yet notwithstanding these vices he is witty";¹¹⁸ Vettius Valens says the natives are unreliable;¹¹⁹ and Bartholomaeus Anglicus informs us that Pisces signifies "bacbitinge, deseite and gile, [and] evyl wille".¹²⁰

The guileful briar cleverly invokes the Jovial concerns of religion, rulers, and justice in his appeals to the husbandman. For example, it addresses the husbandman in terms suitable for speech directed to both a secular lord and to the Lord:

O my liege Lord, the God of my life,
 Pleaseth you ponder your Suppliants plaint,
 Caused of wrong, and cruell constraint,
 Which I your poor Vassall dayly endure (150-3);

and Ah my soveraigne, Lord of creatures all,
 Thou placer of plants both humble and tall (163-4).

After thus establishing the husbandman as a Jupiter figure, the briar forces him into the Jovial role of judge and arbitrator of the dispute, appeals to the Jovial senses of justice, equity, beneficence, and responsibility, and in essence stages a mock trial. As far as the husbandman can see, all the briar asks for is its due: the briar claims to be in mortal danger from the "felonous force" of its enemy; it points out that the husbandman himself planted it to "be the primrose" of all his land (165-6), and claims that because of the oak its functions of providing flowers and berries is impaired, a loss not only to the briar but also to the husbandman; it concludes by asking "onely to hold [its] right" (186). Moreover, the briar further obscures the issue by attributing its own motives to the oak when it claims the oak "Unto... tyrannie doth aspire" (172).

The husbandman fails in his Jovial role. At first it appears as though he might be well-cast for this role, for he attempts to be sympathetic and fair as a benevolent Jovial arbiter should:

Greatly aghast with this piteous plea,
 Him rested the goodman on the lea,
 And badde the Brere in his plaint proceede. (157-9)

The briar's flattering appeals to the husbandman's kindness and sense of justice have won it a hearing; however, just as foolish simplicity is one effect of an ill-placed Jupiter, this judge allows his reason

to be overwhelmed by his initial sympathy. The briar's case exploits the husbandman's pity by evoking vivid images of the torments the oak allegedly inflicts on it (175-82) and manipulating the husbandman's sense of duty in maintaining the order he has himself established ("Was I not planted of thine owne hande..." (165-8)). The briar succeeds brilliantly as a lawyer only because the husbandman fails miserably as a judge: he forgets that beyond the briar's allegations there is no evidence that the oak has in any way impeded it, and that a judge is expected to be impartial, collect all relevant data, and on this basis hand down a considered judgement. As Cartari explains,

And Plutarch writeth, That in some places of Crete were Statues erected of Iupiter, which had all the proportion and shape of a humane bodie, save that they had no eares, signifying thereby, that he that commandeth in superiour authoritie above others, ought not to be persuaded or carried away by any private conference, or glosing insinuation, but must stand upright, firme, and stedfast, not leaning to one side more than to another, whereby he may be known not to favour or partialize. And contrarily, the Lacedemonians framed his picture with foure eares, as that Iupiter heareth and understandeth all things, alluded also to the wisdome of Princes and Magistrats, which ought to have information of every cause or matter thoroughly before they deliver out a definitive sentence or judgement: and likewise that they receive and admit intelligences and notices how their lawes, precepts, and edicts, are kept and observed among their subiects.¹²¹

The briar's partial truths' working on the husbandman's initial sympathy so addle his judgement and fire his irascible passions that he cuts down the oak without pausing to hear its side of the story: the husbandman has unwittingly slipped from his Jovial role as planter and protector of the life on his land into the Saturnian role of hastener of the ruin and decay of life.

Thenot does not comment on the husbandman's behaviour, ostensibly because it is irrelevant to the moral he wishes to draw from the tale. But in one respect the husbandman is the most important character in the story, for without his cooperation the briar cannot effect its ill-conceived plan. From the perspective of both the oak and the briar the husbandman is indeed the regal and god-like figure the briar addresses him as, since it is he who plants, cares for, assesses, and if need be destroys the life under his control. He may attempt to be a beneficent Jovial god-figure, but is too easily swayed, erratic in behaviour, and irrational in temper to fulfill that role adequately. He is no more to be relied upon than the Fortune and time that dominate the world as seen by Thenot. The rough analogy between the husbandman's arbitrary administration of power and the world Thenot sees reveals more about Thenot's world view than he cares to acknowledge.

"Februarie", then presents a vision of a Jupiter whose governing, moderating, and balancing effects are at best marginally successful. The Saturnian temperament that is a concomitant of Thenot's age is mollified enough to allow him to continue to participate in society and to attempt to play the role of the iuvans pater toward Cuddie, but the old man's envy of the young, his inconsistent arguments, and his gloomy world view mark him as largely Saturnian. Cuddie has the Jovial's cheerfulness and self-confidence and just enough of his seriousness not to abandon his flock in search of Venerean pleasures, but lacks the Jovial's sobriety that leads to settled wisdom and foresight. Since Tityrus was able to balance songs of love, youth, and chivalry

with more serious moral tales, he initially seems to be an ideal Jovial figure who will resolve the debate to the satisfaction of both disputants. But since Tityrus is not there to tell his own story and we receive a version delivered by a character with a vested interest in the dispute, it is not surprising that the tale fails in its Jovial role. The role of the husbandman within the tale is analogous to that of the tale within the eclogue, and, like the tale, initially seems able to settle the dispute satisfactorily but ultimately fails. The oak is a Jovial tree, but this oak has lost the ability to perform most of its functions; the briar, a Martial plant, exploits the best Jovial instincts of the husbandman to further what it mistakenly perceives as its own best interests. In short, Jupiter is associated with reason, moderation, justice, equity, balance and good government, but in "Februarie" the forces of unreason, excess, injustice, imbalance, and partiality prevail.

IV. "November"

"Februarie's" series of Jupiters manqués is replaced in "November" by Jovial triumph. For example, in "Februarie", when nature is about to be reborn from winter, Spenser presents two characters who define their lives in terms of a literal reading of the life-seasons analogy, shows the hopelessness to which it ultimately leads in the old, and the carefree over-confidence it produces in the young; in "November", when nature is about to die in winter, he shows Colin momentarily transcending this reading of the life-seasons analogy. In "Februarie",

Thenot argues that the miseries of age are the punishment for a mis-spent youth, but since the cosmic justice over which Jupiter presides includes reward as well as punishment, Dido's translation to the Elysian fields in "November" illustrates the meed of a well-spent youth. Fraunce points out that "Iupiter...perceaving that the auncient edict, commaunding every man to be rewarded according to his desert, was not observed, because men being alive were iudged by living iudges: did enact, that none from thenceforth should receave triall, but after death: when all externall shewes of birth, bewty, strength, riches, nobilitie, and such like, were altogether removed" and hence appointed three of his sons to the task of determining who would go to the Elysian fields.¹²² Similarly, Thenot's tale in "Februarie" shows earthly justice erring because of the influence of "externall shewes", while the "November" elegy demonstrates that despite the apparent injustice of Dido's early death, perfect justice obtains on the grand scale of Providence. Tityrus, who was able to effect a Jovial balance of songs of youth, love, and chivalry with grave moral tales, appears only by proxy in "Februarie", and his tale as told by Thenot to prove a point is unable to reconcile the two shepherds; in "November", however, Colin appears in person and sings an elegy that not only is not interrupted, but is also highly praised by its auditor. Colin at first refuses to sing any songs of mirth, love, or "iouisaunce" (1-24) because such songs suit neither the season nor his mood (the latter is clearly the more important since he also refuses merry songs in "June" when the season is suitable) and chooses to sing "of sorrowe and deathes dreeri-

ment" (36). Contrary to Colin's original intentions, his song modulates into a cheerful one, and its final effect expresses a Jovial balance between Saturnian gloom and Venerean merriment, as Thenot testifies:

Ay francke shepheard, how bene thy verses meint
 With doolful pleasaunce, so as I ne wotte,
 Whether reioyce or weepe for great constrainte? (203-5)

Two further key differences between these eclogues are that time conquers all in "Februarie", while "November" depicts the triumph over time, and that the naturalistic perspectives of "Februarie's" disputants are displaced by the elegy's religious perspective. These two closely related differences can be accounted for by reference to Jupiter and Sagittarius. The depiction of a victory over time in a Jovial context has its mythological precedent in Jupiter's castration and expulsion of Saturn/Kronos, and when we recall Firmicus' claim that men would be immortal if Jupiter's astrological influence were never overcome in their charts,¹²³ we see that it is to be expected that the Calender's one instance of achieved personal immortality be in one of Jupiter's months. But "November" also presents the less complete and less personally satisfying, but nonetheless real, victory over time in the immortality conferred by poetry. Colin's elegy is a permanent monument to Dido and her virtues that can serve as a source of inspiration for future generations and that perpetuates the memory and reputation of Colin, as Thenot points out even before Colin has agreed to sing: "Now somewhat sing, whose endles souenaunce,/Emong the shepheards swaines may aye remaine" (5-6). Whatever becomes of the

lovesick Colin himself, his poetry will live on through successive generations. This type of victory over time is hinted at but not stressed in "Februarie" through the recollection of Tityrus and his tale. That the tale does not accomplish its Jovial mission of mediating between Thenot and Cuddie is not Tityrus' fault. Thenot misapplies the tale in trying to force it into the context of the debate, and, since the tale itself contains inconsistencies, one suspects that Thenot may have rewritten parts of his original to suit his polemical purposes. In "Februarie", then, the victory of the poet over time is qualified, for if the poem outlasts his lifespan, his control over it does not. Colin's elegy, however, since it is in a contemplative rather than an overtly didactic or polemical mode and since it deals with the timeless, absolute truths of revealed religion rather than with partisan ecclesiastical issues, has a much better chance of surviving intact and for its own sake alone. Since Jupiter is often said to be the father of the Muses (cf. "June", 65-6), it is appropriate from a mythographic viewpoint that the subject of poetic fame appear in a month under his dominion. Astrologers, however, while granting the native of Jupiter wisdom, fame and influence over others, see Jupiter's sphere of influence as politics and ecclesiastical affairs rather than as poetry. Sagittarius, though, is less strongly associated with politics than is Jupiter, and is more closely linked to the fame and influence that proceed from one's intellectual abilities. Sagittarius is usually said to be the stellified centaur Chiron.¹²⁴ Chiron is an apt symbol for the powers of the intellect, for, according

to Comes, he was a son of Saturn (who, as we have seen above, presides over the inspired melancholy of scholars, seers, and poets) and the teacher of Aesclepius, Hercules, Jason, Castor and Pollux, and Achilles.¹²⁵ Comes further indicates that "Chiron fut un personnage fort adonné & bien entendu en l'Astrologie, & de grande sagesse...Puis après Chiron estant venue en aage, se retira és solitudes des bois & montagnes,...& s'adonna à la recherche des herbes, & de leurs vertus, & pratiqua le premier leurs facultez &...il y profita tant qu'il en acquit beaucoup de gloire...[et] outre la cognoissance qu'il eut des choses celestes, il scavoit fort bien iouer de la harpe, iusque à guérir par ce moyen quelques maladies".¹²⁶ Moreover, "on luy donné cette louange, d'avoir le premier rangé les mortels à iustice, & montre la forme des iugemens & du serment; les Sacrifices & les solemnitez des festes; en somme, tout l'ordre & facon de faire du ciel, c'est à dire de la Réligion & du service divin & pour ce le nomme-on la perle des Anciens héros".¹²⁷ Colin in "November" Chiron-like combines the Saturnian impulse toward solitary study and visionary experience with the Jovial public duties of teaching and guiding others in matters of religion, and so wins glory and renown. There is also a tradition that makes Sagittarius Crotos, son of Pan and Eupheme, rather than Chiron.¹²⁸ This disagreement strengthens rather than weakens the argument that the elegy is astrologically suitable for "November", for Crotos was a favourite of the Muses who asked Jupiter to immortalize him. Christopher Middleton tells the story as follows:

Faire Epheme that nursde those sacred dames
 The learned Muses authorises of Arts,
 Whose wits all kinds of heavenly cunning frames,
 And lives eterniz'd for their great desarts
 In many a golden line, that will prevaile
 When all devouring time it selfe shall faile,

Had to her sonne faire Crocus [sic], that did sup
 The milk those learned sisters left behind:
 Whom Iupiter at their request takes up
 To dwell amongst this metamorphiz'd kind:
 And for his knowledge did exceede compare,
 The Gods have thus determin'd of him there:

Like to a Horse they frame his hinder parts,
 To shew his knowledge in brave martiall deeds:
 His upper limmes tells us the skill in Arts,
 Wherein all other men he farre exceeds:
 Fram'd like an Archer, that the world might know
 His sharpe wit by his arrow and his bow.¹²⁹

So whichever centaur one chooses to identify as Sagittarius, this sign is associated with wisdom, knowledge, instruction, and the fame that survives the ravages of time.

Astrologers concur with mythographers in linking Sagittarius to wisdom, knowledge, fame, and influence over others. Firmicus, for example, claims that the man born when Sagittarius is on the ascendant "will be involved in public affairs,...will acquire many skills and different kinds of learning, will be prudent, intelligent, knowledgeable in all things...he will be selected for great advancement and placed over many".¹³⁰ Moreover, Sagittarius is the ideal sign to preside over an elegy, for, says Firmicus, the "native will be able to bear all grief calmly and intelligently and despise all losses. Some read secret writings and point out sacred and heavenly things. They will be prudent, intelligent, and just...The native will be famous and noble, responsible for all things entrusted to him".¹³¹ Bartholomaeus

Anglicus claims Sagittarius is the house of "fey, of wisdom, of maistrie, of worschipe, of wit, and of konnynge and knowinge of sterres".¹³² According to Valens, the natives of Sagittarius are notable men who are fond of renown.¹³³ Manilius informs us that Sagittarius is depicted with a drawn bow to indicate that the sign imparts "keenness to the intellect,...and an indefatigable spirit".¹³⁴ Arcandam claims that the native of Sagittarius "shall be of great authoritie... ingenious, witty,...subtile,...[and] shall have to his frend a Peere of a Realme".¹³⁵ Finally, Indagine claims that Sagittarius on the ascendant "ministreth...naturally a prompt and ready wit to all good learnyng and discipline", while simultaneously Virgo on the Upper Midheaven "dothe augment his fortune, recompensyng the labours of his mind and wit with some notable preferment, bi the which he shal excell others", and Gemini on the descendant gives "hym rule or office over bokes and secrete things".¹³⁶ Sagittarius is, then, a propitious sign for the poet who aspires to epic and intends to conquer invidious time by winning immortal fame through the exercise of his intellectual powers to demonstrate his talents under.¹³⁷

Although the natives of an ill-placed Jupiter tend to be either hypocritical in matters of religion or, like Thenot and Cuddie in "Februarie", obstinate defenders of false tenets, those of a well-placed Jupiter (as noted above) are truly religious, wise, and often occupy positions of responsibility and power in the church hierarchy. The mythographers go further than the astrologers in this matter and associate Jupiter with the kind of profound religious contemplation

that characterizes the benevolent Saturn. Cartari, for example, explains that some images of Jupiter show the god with the upper part of his body naked,

dishadowing therby, that the mercie and compassion of the divine powers is alwaies manifest and apparent to those that are possessed with an understanding spirit: the lower parts being clothed, meaneth, that all the while that wee are here in the world delighted, and as it were rockt asleepe with the illecebrous blandishments thereof, we cannot any way apprehend superior knowledges, but they are kept obscured, hid, and unrevealed from us.¹³⁸

Fraunce similarly discusses the partly-clothed Jupiter:

His upper parts are bare and naked, the lower, covered and concealed, signifying, that those superior and celestiall spirites conceave the hidden mysteries of Jupiter, who will not disclose himself to mortall men, dwelling on earth, and clogd with the heavie burden of a corruptible body.¹³⁹

However, in some circumstances mortal man's mind can be liberated from the "heavie burden" of the body, as Fraunce indicates when he allegorizes Jupiter's ravishment of Ganymede as "the lifting up of mans minde from these earthly toyes, to heavenly conceipts".¹⁴⁰ He then suggests that the name Ganymede may be derived from two Greek words, one signifying to rejoice, the other meaning advice "as though mans soule thus ravished by love, might wel be sayd to enjoy his heavenly comfort and counsaile".¹⁴¹ The half-concealed Jupiter is a symbol that aptly embodies the contrast between "Februarie" and "November", for the shepherds of "Februarie" are strictly earthbound and unable to soar to the "heavenly conceipts" accessible to Colin in "November".

The dualism of the half-concealed Jupiter is mimicked in the physical forms of Pisces and Sagittarius. As noted above, Pisces

consists of two fish swimming in opposite directions but united by a single cord, just as the thinking of Thenot and Cuddie moves in opposite directions while the speakers are united by their both adhering to a literal-minded reading of the life-seasons analogy. But the dualism of Pisces is in a sense superficial or incomplete: though swimming in opposite directions, the fishes are of the same species, inhabit the same element, and move on the same level, so that although one can distinguish them from each other one cannot rank one above the other. Sagittarius also embodies contrary tendencies, but unlike those of Pisces they are not of equal weight. As Manilius puts it, "Indeed, in the stars of this constellation the human form is blended with a beast's and placed above it; wherefor it has lordship over beasts".¹⁴² Although Manilius rather mundanely limits his remarks to the suggestion that the native of Sagittarius will be a man of keen intellect and indefatigable spirit who will dominate quadrupeds, it is not difficult to extend this interpretation to encompass the rational man's control over his bestial passions, or the rule of the soul over the body. Natalis Comes does just that when he claims that the horse portion of the centaur represents the sensual appetites and "*la vie brutale*", while the human part signifies reason and intellect, and explains that the centaur thus signifies that man should not get drunk, enjoy lascivious pleasures, or offer violence to the goods of others, but should instead use temperance, modesty, and justice in all actions.¹⁴³ Since, then, the centaur can symbolize a spiritual or moral victory over the physical part of man's nature, the month governed by Sagit-

tarius is ideal for Spenser's presentation of the spirit's ultimate transcendence of the flesh. And, as Fowler reminds us, the stellification of the centaur Chiron "shows that God does not neglect the pious: that the man of virtue and integrity will be elevated, after his earthly afflictions are over, to a perpetual blessedness and glory".¹⁴⁴ "November's" religious perspective and its focus on the specific theme of immortality are thus fully compatible with the significations of Jupiter and Sagittarius.¹⁴⁵

Although they call Jupiter the Greater Benefic and attribute virtually all possible good to this planet, astrologers do not credit it with producing the visionary states that mythographers like Fraunce and Cartari associated with Jupiter-the-deity.¹⁴⁶ Astrologers do not contradict the mythographers since they do attribute wisdom, temperance, and sobriety to Jupiter; however, they assign profound, concentrated thought and visionary experience to Saturn. This apparent limitation of Jupiter's influence is to be expected since Jupiter is a mean between Saturn and Venus and therefore possesses, though in a more temperate manner, some traits of each. More important still is the fact, noted in chapter 1, that cultivating Jupiter as an antidote to the malevolent Saturn is one way of enjoying the gifts of the benevolent Saturn, for the "November" elegy shows Colin rapt by Saturnian enthusiasmos in a month under the benevolent rulership of Jupiter. A few brief considerations will show that it is indeed the Jovial components of the situation that restore Colin's melancholy to the temperate condition necessary for inspiration. First, the usually

solitary Colin is in the company of Thenot who urges him to sing "songs of some iouisaunce" (2) and mildly upbraids him for letting his muse be "Lulled a sleepe through loves misgovernaunce" (4), and company, merriment, and moral suasion are typically Jovial remedies for love melancholy. Second, and more important since it most clearly distinguishes the present situation from that in "June" in which Colin also has companionship, he agrees to compose the elegy not only because it suits the season (9-11) and his own despondent mood (cf. 49) but also because Thenot asks him to "bewayle [his] wofull tene" (41) for him. So Colin's composition of the elegy is both a social act and a gesture of beneficence undertaken to help Thenot bear his grief; Colin in effect assumes the roles of iuvans pater in one of Jupiter's months. This distraction from his Saturnian obsessions, incomplete and transient though it be,¹⁴⁷ temporarily expels the ill effects of Saturn so that the good can assert themselves. As a result, Colin and his elegy manifest the qualities Ptolemy attributes to Saturn allied with Jupiter in honourable positions: the native is "good, respectful to elders, sedate, noble-minded, helpful,...magnanimous, generous, of good intentions, lovers of their friends, gentle, wise, patient, [and] philosophical".¹⁴⁸

Although Dido's early death is a Saturnian theme and thus likely to augment Colin's melancholy, Dido herself is a Jovial figure whose manifold virtues ensure, as Colin comes to realize, her immortality, a fact that more than counterbalances the melancholy induced by thinking about the death of her body. As the daughter of "the greate

shephearde" (38), she derives her ancestry from the pastoral equivalent of the aristocracy and is thus Jovial by virtue of social class.¹⁴⁹ The children of Jupiter are always thinking about and performing noble, virtuous, and magnanimous actions, and Colin presents Dido as a paragon in all respects. Jupiter "causes a multitude and abundance of [dumb animals] that are useful to men and the diminution and destruction of the opposite kind. He makes the condition of the air temperate and healthful, windy, moist, and favourable to the growth of what the earth bears; he brings about...the moderate rise of rivers, abundance of crops, and everything similar".¹⁵⁰ The effects on nature of Dido's death are precisely those of a Jupiter removed:

Ay me that dreerie death should strike so mortall stroke,
 That can undo Dame natures kindly course:
 The faded lockes fall from the loftie oke,
 The flouds do gaspe, for dried is theyr sourse,
 And flouds of teares flowe in theyr stead perforse
 The mantled meadows mourne,
 Theyr sondry colours tourne....

The feeble flocks in field refuse their former foode,
 And hang theyr heads, as they would learne to weepe:
 The beastes in forest wayle as they were woode,
 Except the wolves, that chase the wandering sheepe:
 Now she is gon that safely did hem keepe (123-137).

Jupiter not only preserves the order of nature, but also upholds all social, political, moral, and religious order. Dido, the incarnation of the pastoral social order, embodies the Jovial qualities of justice, equity, magnanimity, and liberality in her social life:

So well she couth the shepherds entertayne,
 With cakes and cracknels and such country chere.
 Ne would she scorne the simple shepheards swaine,
 For she would cal hem often heme
 And give hem curds and clouted Creame.
 O heavie herse,
 Als Colin cloute she would not once disdayne (95-101).

Paradoxically, it is the fact that "what might be in earthlie mould,/ That did her buried body hould" (158-9) that helps to moderate the grief, for although Dido's perfection makes the sense of loss especially acute, it also ensures her translation to the Elysian fields and provides the other shepherds with material for happy memories (cf. 121). Colin's loss of Rosalind is, however, a substantially different experience, and one with which he is unable to come to terms: while Dido is dead and Colin can clearly see the future of her soul, the living Rosalind's future is indeterminate and Colin is tormented by a jealous envy of Menalcas that precludes his seeking consolation in happy memories. As a result, his sestina in "August" cannot transcend gravity and sombreness and attain the dignity that characterizes the elegy. In "November", however, the lament for and celebration of the Jovial Dido, in a social context, and for the benefit of Thenot help to suppress Saturnian thoughts of Rosalind and so free Colin's mind for visionary experience.

"Februarie" and "November", then, provide two radically different images of Jovial endeavour. In "Februarie" Thenot and Cuddie are as earthbound as the plants in Thenot's fable, and so, despite possessing some Jovial impulses, remain largely blind to anything beyond their respective Saturnian and Venerean frames of reference: an intellectual state aptly symbolized by the clothed lower portions of the mythographers' Jupiter, and by the stellar Fishes' swimming in opposite directions but moving in the same element and bound by a common cord. The arbitrariness and haste of Thenot's husbandman, as well as the

prominent role played by Fortune and universal deterioration in Thenot's philosophy, imply a world in which the Jovial desire for justice is perpetually thwarted. In "November", however, Dido is a true, if shortlived, Jovial figure, and the Jovial aspects of the eclogue's context temporarily dispel much of Colin's Saturnian gloom and cooperate with the good Saturn to lift his mind "above the starry skie", enabling him to reveal that the apparently meaningless and unjust world of "Februarie" is not the final reality.

Notes

Chapter II

¹Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 125, similarly suggests that in "Februarie" the conflict in Colin's mind is re-expressed in the debate between Thenot and Cuddie. Cullen, of course, does not express this as a planetary conflict, but as a conflict between seasons, generations, and pastoral perspectives.

²See Fowler, pp. 110-11. The relevant passages were quoted in chapter 1.

³Ficino, quoted by Fowler, p. 111.

⁴Jupiter and the sun are often difficult to distinguish since both are associated with kings, God, religion, public life, justice, social prominence, ambition, and tyranny. Fowler (p. 209) points out that it was common for "syncretistic mythologists" to identify Jupiter with the sun. Authorities such as Macrobius and Cartari identify most of the planetary deities (and many other Olympian ones) with different qualities of the sun and its influence. This practice of course leads to overlaps among the significations of the various planets with each other and especially with the sun. Fowler is, however, quite correct in singling out the Sol-Jupiter identification as worthy of special mention, for, as the above list implies, this particular overlap is especially evident even in popular astrology (documentation for this list appears elsewhere in this chapter for Jupiter, and in chapter VI for the sun). In astrology, the main differences between the two planets are that Jupiter is the most benefic planet and is temperately hot and moist (sanguine), while the sun is temperately hot and dry (choleric) and has greater potential to be destructive. Since the two planets are so similar, it was to some extent a matter of arbitrary choice that Spenser selected the subjects he did for their eclogues: for example, an eclogue ruled by Jupiter is as suitable as one ruled by the sun for a discussion of the relative values and dangers of hills and dales, and one ruled by the sun is as suitable as one ruled by Jupiter for a pastoral elegy. However, the planetary ruler is not the only thing to consider: Jupiter's zodiacal signs, Pisces and Sagittarius, have quite different significations from those of the sun's, Leo. I will show below that Spenser exploits those aspects of Jupiter that harmonize with those of Pisces and Sagittarius, and, in chapter VI, those of the sun that harmonize with those of Leo.

⁵N. J. Hoffman, Spenser's Pastorals (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 93-5. Hoffman is in substantial agreement with Cullen's conclusions (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 34-41, 125-7). Most older criticism of the Calender, particularly that represented in the Variorum edition (ed. C. G. Osgood and H. G. Lotspeich, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1943, VII, The Minor Poems, p. 1), regards the debate eclogues as heavily weighted to favour one of the speakers (usually the more "puritanical" speaker whose argument is defended by E.K.) even though all these debates end in a deadlock. Although some earlier critics have suggested that these eclogues are indeed ambivalent, that the debates reflect legitimate alternatives, Cullen is the first to explore this possibility thoroughly and systematically (see Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 31, n. 2 for Cullen's account of earlier critics who saw the debates as real debates. See also J. N. Brown, "Stasis and Art", passim). My astrological reading of the Calender, although it differs frequently in details from earlier approaches, including Cullen's, also concludes that the debates are not one-sided.

⁶Hoffman, p. 94.

⁷Hoffman, pp. 94-5.

⁸Ptolemy, p. 447.

⁹Ptolemy, pp. 443-5.

¹⁰Indagine, N₅r.

¹¹Indagine, P₁r.

¹²Ibn Ezra, p. 186.

¹³Arcandam, H₄r.

¹⁴Firmicus, p. 162.

¹⁵Indagine, N₅r; Firmicus, p. 162.

¹⁶Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

¹⁷Valens, p. 13.

¹⁸Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 146.

¹⁹Ibn Ezra, p. 196.

²⁰The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 197. A number of astrologers claim that the natives of Pisces will have changeable lives, a rather common prognostication in accounts of most of the signs (since it is so vague that it is bound to be true). Some writers, though, do try to create the impression of a more specific forecast. Manilius (p. 245) says the natives of Pisces have "lives in which everything is ever apt to change". Indagine says the sun in Pisces "in youthe, doth vexe his children with many evils, and oftentimes with out deserte" (08v), just as the young Cuddie feels unjustly victimized by the harshness of winter. Arcandam similarly says the native of Pisces "shall suffer much and divers tribulations, and specially in his youth" (H4v), but then adds that in his youth "certaine things shall come luckey to passe with him" (H4v), just as Cuddie's discontent with the weather is balanced by the fact that "Phyllis is [his] for many dayes" (64), a compensation no longer available to Thenot. Among the variable fortunes of the native of Pisces, Indagine includes good luck in finding treasure, enrichment from other men's goods, and being brought into captivity through women (P1r). Pisces on the ascendant, he says, promotes the native to honours, but because Sagittarius is then on the upper midheaven, they are "caste...headlonge into manye pearils and daungers", while Scorpio on the descendant causes their wives to not love them and makes the natives continual victims of ingratitude. Finally, Gemini on the lower midheaven afflicts the native with disease and causes him to lose and recover his substance (Indagine, N5r; cf. Firmicus, p. 162; Arcandam, H4r-v). Firmicus (p. 162), Indagine (N5v), Valens (p. 13), and The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 197) all link Pisces with wandering or travelling. Thenot indicates that his "thrise threttie yeares" have been characterized by many changes ("Some in much ioy, many in many teares" (18)) and that improvident "heardgroomes" can expect sudden reversals of fortune (32-50) but these are not specific enough to be attributed to Pisces' rule over this month. Moreover, the changeability in fortunes produced by Pisces, and several other signs, is a constant alternation between good and bad luck, while Thenot sees things as becoming steadily worse (11-14).

²¹Bouché-Leclercq (p. 148) points out that in the constellation Pisces the two fish swim at right angles to one another. However, the glyph of the sign () suggests that they swim in totally opposite directions as in the "Februarie" woodcut. Depictions like that of the woodcut are most common: every depiction of Pisces reproduced by Heninger in The Cosmographical Glass: Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1977) shows them

swimming in opposite directions (see figs. 32, 36, 69, 70, 72, 87, 102, 105, and 109). Similarly, the zodiacal sections of the depiction of the month's labours in Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., no date) shows, for February and March, the fish swimming in opposite directions (pp. 18,20). The border of the illustration showing which parts of the body are governed by which signs (pp. 40-1) shows the fish swimming in opposite directions, while in the illustration itself they swim in the same direction. The Kalender of Sheepehards is more inconsistent yet: the illustrations on pp. 26, 128, and 141 show two fish swimming in opposite directions, while those on pp. 144 and 197 show three fish (that on p. 144 shows them swimming in the same direction while that on p. 197 shows the centre one swimming in the direction opposite to that of the other two). Despite this variety, two fish swimming in opposite directions seems to be the most common way of depicting Pisces, probably because it is most readily suggested by the glyph. The fish's swimming in contrary directions serves not only as a stellar analogue to the unresolved status of the debate but also to the less than friendly parting of the two shepherds. Cuddie brings the eclogue to an end with "Hye thee home shepheard, the day is nigh wasted" (246). "Maye" and "Julye", the other eclogues depicting serious disagreement between the speakers, end in much friendlier terms: in "Maye" the stern Piers points out that the sun is setting and says "I hold it best for us, home to hye" (317); in "Julye" Thomalin says, resigned but not bitter, "Now farwell shepheard, sith thys hyll/thou hast such doubt to climbe" (231).

²²This is the lesson that de la Primaudaye (111, 165), for example, derives from the course of the seasons.

²³Harry Berger, Jr., "Mode and Diction in 'The Shephearde's Calender'", Modern Philology, 67 (1969), 143, n. 10, points out that "Spenser keeps Thenot's rhetoric in his opening speech imprecise, topically general and diffuse enough to allow a number of possibilities". One such source of ambiguity is the exact meaning of "lusty prime". Berger points out that "lusty prime" and "former fall" (1. 14) are in parallel positions, but notes (n. 10) that "'lusty prime' does not point very insistently either toward heaven or toward the next generation, though the reference is blurred enough not to preclude these possibilities". I have followed Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 36) in assuming that its primary meaning is Thenot's own old age. This reading is not only compatible with Thenot's attempt to present old age in a positive light, but is also implied by another parallel in position and language: the "lusty prime" is attained after suffering the stormy winter (15-16) just as Thenot's age is attained after wearing out many years (17). Whatever meaning one attaches to Thenot's "lusty prime", the implications of his language and philosophic premises still undercut any attempt to see his position as optimistic.

²⁴Berger, 143-4. Although, as Berger points out (143, n. 10), it is possible to see the "lusty prime" as heaven, such a reading produces more problems than it solves. For example, one would need to explain why, if Thenot feels he is on the verge of meeting his maker, he expresses no joy over the prospect, and indeed links the "lusty prime" with a return to a "fall" rather than to an ascent. Durr's attempt to read Thenot's position in traditional Christian terms is not convincing: "Thenot berates Cuddie for his complaints against the unalterable progress of the Lord's seasons and, much in the way of Chaucer's Duke Theseus, counsels a Boethian acceptance, implying that a shepherd's business is not to play nor to question providence but to believe and to serve" (274). The main objections to Durr's view are that Thenot presents a world-view consisting only of a cyclic series of declines and omits reference to the key terms of Durr's reading--God, providence, belief, and faith. It is true that Thenot's vision of universal degeneration has a generic kinship with the depictions of moral, social, and political chaos in "Maye", "Julye", and "September", but the similarity is only superficial. Unlike "Februarie", these other eclogues all contain explicit references to God or great Pan that do put the depictions of chaos into the context of the unfolding of Providence and the divine punishment of the wicked (cf. "Maye", 37-54, 91-4; "Julye", 49-56, 170-202; "September", 94-101). Since Spenser's other moralistic shepherds speak with stern magisterial clarity when they are attempting to instruct their companions in matters of doctrine and faith, it is reasonable to suppose that if Thenot were teaching Cuddie the lessons of "Boethian acceptance" he would do so more plainly. On the whole, then the non-doctrinal readings of critics like Berger, Cullen, and Hoffman account better for what Thenot actually does say than does Durr's allegorization.

²⁵The accounts of Cullen and Hoffman are essentially variants of this reading, but Berger's expression of it is more direct and succinct.

²⁶See Bouché-Leclercq, p. 148.

²⁷Parmenter, 200.

²⁸Parmenter, 201, points out that essentially the same superstition is attributed to Candlemas day (which, like Groundhog day, is February 2): if the sun shines on Candlemas, the struggle between winter and spring is temporarily won by winter.

²⁹For a study of the role of envy in "Februarie", especially in the tale of the oak and the briar, see R. B. Bond, "Supplantation in the Elizabethan Court: The Theme of Spenser's February Eclogue",

Spenser Studies, 2 (1981), 55-65. Bond (61) points out that envy is a cold, dry, melancholic passion conformable to the February weather as described by E.K. in his Argument. He does not explicitly link envy to Saturn, since his approach is not astrological, and does not comment on Cuddie's imputation of envy to Thenot. Although Bond is quite right to indicate the suitability of envy to the seasonal weather, it must be pointed out that Thenot does not describe the briar itself as cold and dry, but as green, fresh, and flourishing, like Cuddie. Among the characters, it is Thenot himself and the ancient oak that are likely to be cold and dry: Cuddie says Thenot is cold (28) and Thenot says the oak is dry (114). It is not specifically said that Thenot is dry and the oak is cold but it seems reasonable to assume that this is the case since Cuddie describes Thenot in terms of withered vegetation (57-9), a description that clearly foreshadows that of the oak. Since Thenot and the oak are physically similar, and since old age is cold and dry, one can assume that they both are dominated by Saturnian melancholy. So, although envy is a cold and dry passion, there is no simple equation to be drawn between the physical constitution of the characters and this particular personality trait: the cold and dry Thenot does show signs of envy, but the cold and dry oak does not; the envy in the young and fresh briar can only be an adventitious, not a constitutional, trait since it is neither cold nor dry; Cuddie shows no signs of envy nor of wishing to supplant Thenot. Moreover, the suitability of the season that Bond indicates applies only to the time at which Thenot narrates the tale, for within the tale itself, the briar's act of invidia occurs sometime in spring or summer when it claims the oak is robbing it of sunlight, while the tragic consequences occur later, in winter.

³⁰ Cullen's term. See Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 35.

³¹ C. Middleton, D₃v - D₄r.

³² For the myths associated with the origin of Pisces, see Bouché-Leclercq, p. 147, and R. H. Allen, Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), pp. 336-42.

³³ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

³⁴ Firmicus, p. 162.

³⁵ Indagine, N₅r.

³⁶ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 197.

³⁷ Arcandam, H₄r.

³⁸ Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 146.

³⁹ Valens, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Dariot, L₃v.

⁴¹ Manilius, p. 269.

⁴² Ficino, quoted by Fowler, p. 111.

⁴³ Berger, 144. Berger has just argued that Thenot's bitterness and tendency to drift from "'practical wisdom' toward blanket rejection of youth, smacks of the disappointment Cudie attributes to him (ll. 51-60), and measures the force of his youthful attachments". He continues: "This is also suggested by his fond recollection of the poet Tityrus, from whom 'I cond...in my youth' not only the 'tale of truth' he recites but also 'many meete tales of youth...,/And some of love, and some of chevalrie' (ll. 91-93, 98-99). It is further suggested in the fable itself by the way he lingers over some of the flowers of nature and rhetoric he criticizes; by his comically sentimentalized image of the symbol of age, the oak that 'whilome had been king of the field' (l. 108); and by his contradictory--but in this context understandable--reference to the druidic practices which marked the tree's early career".

⁴⁴ Cain, Praise, p. 29, points out that the Calender expresses "two contrasting ideas about the poet's power: complaint about its continuous attrition; and proclamation of its rebirth with Orpheus's modern counterpart". The failure of Tityrus - Chaucer's tale to resolve the conflict in "Februarie" is an instance of the attrition of poetic power among Orpheus' descendants: "In Februarie [Tityrus-Chaucer] seems to have the Orphic effect: his name evokes praise from both Cuddy and Thenot, and for a moment the conflict of youth and age seems to resolve. But when Thenot tells Chaucer's supposed tale of the oak and the briar, it does not pacify like Orpheus's music but instead exacerbates the conflict, which erupts once more and stops the tale itself".

⁴⁵ Cf. L. A. Montrose, "Interpreting Spenser's February Eclogue: Some Contexts and Implications", Spenser Studies, 2 (1981), 70. Later, Montrose emphasizes that "Whatever meanings we may discover within Thenot's fable, one of its notable functions within Spenser's eclogue is to be interrupted" (71), because this interruption is a

dramatic illustration of Thenot's failure to accommodate his discourse to Cuddie's idiom. Montrose argues that "Thenot fails to persuade because he cannot accommodate Cuddie's youthful libido, his individual energies and aspirations, within the constraints of an ideology based upon principles of obedience, deference, and hierarchy", and that "Thenot's ironic strategy is to have the briar work its own destruction by its successful persuasion of the husbandman; Spenser's ironic strategy is to have Thenot's exemplum fail to persuade Cuddie" (70).

⁴⁶ For a survey of earlier, usually topical, readings of the fable, see Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 38, n. 4. See also D. D. Waters, "Spenser and Symbolic Witchcraft in The Shephearde's Calender", Studies in English Literature, 14 (1974), 6-7; and P. E. McLane, Spenser's Shephearde's Calender: A Study in Elizabethan Allegory (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 61-76. Cullen regards the fable not as a refutation of Cuddie, nor as a parallel to framing debate, but as a foil to it, portraying "a tragic and wasteful perversion of the healthy contest of youth and age" (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 38-41).

⁴⁷ In literal terms, all the briar does in having the oak eliminated is to remove a necessary source of shelter for the short-sighted purposes of being more prominent and getting more sunshine. This shelter could equally have been a large rock or a building, so the fact that the oak is old is not relevant to the function it serves. In allegorical readings in which the oak is said to represent sources of social or religious stability that have become corrupted or weakened over the years while the briar represents recklessly ambitious or extremist religious and/or social groups, the question of age is more important. Even in such readings though, age is not the crucial factor, as Thenot would have it to be. The decisive factor is that the briar foolishly removes something necessary for its own survival. Age is, of course, relevant to the ability of a cultural institution to afford the protection the oak provided the briar, but is not of itself sufficient.

⁴⁸ Fraunce, 13r. See also Giorgio, p. 330; Agrippa, p. 334; Cattan, p. 25; Ficino, quoted in Klibansky et al., p. 272; and Comes, p. 96.

⁴⁹ Cartari, I₂v.

⁵⁰ The effects of Venus are discussed in chapter IV.

⁵¹ Ptolemy, p. 347.

⁵²Ptolemy, p. 183. Although Ptolemy refers to the sailing of fleets, this is not a specifically Jovial sphere of influence, for Ptolemy comments on the fate of fleets under every planet, so "Februarie's" metaphors based on sea travel (32-4) cannot be correlated to Jupiter's rule over the month. However, among the zodiacal signs, Pisces is the most intimately associated with occupations relating to the sea: fishermen, navigators, mariners, etc. See Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 147-8; Ibn Ezra, p. 186; Manilius, pp. 243-5; Principles of Astronomy, A7v; Finé, F8v; Ferrier, 34v; and Dariot, C3v. Moreover, in Manilius' system of assigning deities to zodiacal signs, Neptune rules Pisces (p. 119), so not only are the sea-travel metaphors suitable for "Februarie", but so is Thenot's allusion to Neptune (33).

⁵³Ptolemy, p. 447.

⁵⁴Ptolemy, p. 37.

⁵⁵Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 97-8. Inhabitants of more northern climes do not, of course, have such an optimistic view of the effects of north winds. Spenser's "blustering Boreas" (226) that helps destroy the briar is more typical. Nonetheless, in more general terms, Cuddie puts great stress on the fecundity of himself and his bulls so this Jovial motif does appear in "Februarie". Although the eclogue contains no fertilizing winds, the wind is linked with sexual activity, for one of Cuddie's bulls is sniffing the wind in search of a mate (75-6).

⁵⁶Bouché-Leclercq, p. 97.

⁵⁷Firmicus, p. 43. He continues: "But since God the Creator has made man in such a way that his physical substance is dissolved after a limited span of life, it is necessary to restrain Jupiter, who affords health-giving protection to the life of man. The dangerous and malevolent powers of the unfavorable planets must persist with increased hostility, so that the compound of the body can be dissolved".

⁵⁸Firmicus, p. 30.

⁵⁹Firmicus, p. 14.

⁶⁰Firmicus, p. 79.

⁶¹Firmicus, p. 169.

⁶²Firmicus, p. 163.

⁶³Ibn Ezra, pp. 195-6.

⁶⁴Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 250-1.

⁶⁵Al-Bīrūnī, p. 242.

⁶⁶Al-Bīrūnī, p. 252.

⁶⁷Al-Bīrūnī, p. 254.

⁶⁸Haly, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 127.

⁶⁹Haly, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 167.

⁷⁰Indagine, L₇r.

⁷¹Indagine, P₆r.

⁷²The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 163.

⁷³Cattan, p. 33. See also Cattan, p. 25.

⁷⁴Ferrier, 13r. See also 20v.

⁷⁵Ferrier, 17r.

⁷⁶Ferrier, 26r; cf. 30r.

⁷⁷Lilly, p. 62.

⁷⁸Lilly, p. 84.

⁷⁹Lilly, p. 540.

⁸⁰Lilly, p. 63. See also Maplet, 55r; Giorgio, pp. 84, 118, 126, 207, and 323; de la Primaudaye, 111, 130-1, 174; du Bartas pp. 216-17; Ramesey, p. 54; J. Middleton, p. 22; Albertus Magnus, pp. 65, 66-7; Godfridus, pp. 26-7; Finé, D_{6v}; Dariot, C_{4v}, D_{2v}; Agrippa, pp. 96, 106, 50, 334, 466; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 480; Comes, pp. 76, 96, 98, and 101; Cartari, I_{2v}; and Fraunce, 7r-v, 13r-v, 274.

⁸¹Ptolemy, pp. 347-9.

⁸²Ferrier, 13v.

⁸³Ferrier, 20v.

⁸⁴Firmicus, p. 139.

⁸⁵Firmicus, p. 163.

⁸⁶Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250.

⁸⁷Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251.

⁸⁸Lylly, The Woman in the Moon, II i.3-5, 77-8, in The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902) 111, 249, 251.

⁸⁹Agrippa, p. 470.

⁹⁰Comes, p. 93.

⁹¹Lilly, p. 63.

⁹²Lilly, p. 540.

⁹³J. Middleton, p. 22.

⁹⁴Ramesey, p. 52.

⁹⁵Dariot, C_{4v}.

⁹⁶Fraunce, 13v. Cf. Comes, pp. 89-92.

⁹⁷ Al-Bīrūnī's attribution of uxoriousness to Jovials (p. 251) hardly corresponds to Jupiter's many amours and is not repeated in the other astrologers I have consulted. Maplet says that Jovials are "studious, quiet, and well affected towards all men, but their love is sodainely got and quickly lost againe" (55r). Maplet's final clause is certainly consistent with Jupiter's many brief love affairs, but the rest of the sentence implies that "love" is to be taken in the sense of "friendship" or "disinterested affection". I have found nothing in the astrologers I have consulted to suggest that, despite Jupiter's philandering and the planet's rule over the sanguine complexion, Jovials are more amorous, much less lecherous and adulterous, than natives of any other planet.

⁹⁸ Ptolemy, p. 341.

⁹⁹ Ptolemy, pp. 341-3.

¹⁰⁰ Cuddie's linking of his own sexuality with that of his bulls is perhaps an echo of Jupiter's (the deity's) metamorphoses into lower forms for the accomplishment of his amorous aims. Whether such an echo is acknowledged or not, Cuddie still expresses a dangerously narrow view of sexual propriety.

¹⁰¹ See for example, Ptolemy, p. 357; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251; Ibn Ezra, p. 199; Firmicus, pp. 94, 140; The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 166-7; and Lilly, pp. 74, 541.

¹⁰² Ptolemy, pp. 349-51.

¹⁰³ Ptolemy, p. 351.

¹⁰⁴ Ptolemy, p. 351.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Agrippa, p. 57; Lilly, p. 64; Maplet, 58r; Comes, p. 87; Fraunce, 13v; Giorgio, p. 143; and Ramesey, p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Fraunce, 13v. According to Comes (p. 87) the oak is sacred to Jupiter because he first taught men to eat acorns rather than human flesh.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Comes, p. 76; and Fraunce, 13r.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Ibn Ezra, p. 197: "[Mars'] plants are the thorn, the briers,...[and] any prickly plant". See also Al-Bīrūnī, p. 244; Agrippa, p. 58; Lilly, pp. 67-8; and Ramesey, p. 54.

¹⁰⁹ The Martial character is discussed in chapter III, below.

¹¹⁰ Ptolemy, p. 349.

¹¹¹ Ptolemy, p. 349.

¹¹² Manilius, p. 269.

¹¹³ Ibn Ezra, p. 186.

¹¹⁴ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

¹¹⁵ Indagine, N₅r.

¹¹⁶ Indagine, O₈v - P₁r.

¹¹⁷ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 197.

¹¹⁸ Arcandam, H₄r.

¹¹⁹ Valens, p. 13.

¹²⁰ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 473.

¹²¹ Cartari, K₃r-v. Cartari later points out that "Some there are also who have defigured him without eyes, as by that meanes Iusticers; and men authorised for deciding lites and controversies, might not see their deerest friends in such times of pleading, and so not put in mind either of friendship, kinred, or other occasion to lead them to partialitie" (K₄r). See also Comes, p. 105.

¹²² Fraunce, 27r.

¹²³ Firmicus, p. 43.

¹²⁴ See Bouché-Leclercq, p. 143. See also The Faerie Queene, VII.vii.40.

¹²⁵ Comes, p. 355.

¹²⁶ Comes, pp. 356-7. Cf. Maplet. 60v.

¹²⁷ Comes, pp. 356-7.

¹²⁸ See Bouché-Leclercq, p. 143.

¹²⁹ C. Middleton, D₃r. Middleton makes the extra-zodiacal constellation Centaurus the stellified Chiron (E₁v):

Next them the man that was so famous,
Chiron the Centaure for his famous arts,
Chief schoolemaster to Esculapius,
Achilles, and Alcides, whose desarts
 Wonne with the Gods such an exceeding favour,
 As that they plaste him here to live for ever.

¹³⁰ Firmicus, p. 160.

¹³¹ Firmicus, p. 160.

¹³² Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 471.

¹³³ Valens, p. 11.

¹³⁴ Manilius, p. 241.

¹³⁵ Arcandam, F₆r-v.

¹³⁶ Indagine, N₂v - N₃r.

¹³⁷ "November" is not, of course, the only eclogue in which Spenser demonstrates his abilities through Colin's poems, and so the notion of conquering time through poetry is not unique to "November". However, since of the eclogues containing songs by Colin this is the one in which the threat of time is most insistently felt, the fact that Colin's songs will have "endles souenaunce" is stressed. This theme appears only briefly in "Aprill" when Hobbinoll is able to recite the ode while Colin is now powerless. In "August" the independence of the finished poem from the poet is simply assumed, so the stress is not on the fact that Cuddie can recite it, but on how

well he recites it. The appropriateness of the songs in "Aprill" and "August" to the planetary and zodiacal rulers of these eclogues is discussed in chapters IV and V, respectively.

¹³⁸Cartari, K₂r.

¹³⁹Fraunce, 13r.

¹⁴⁰Fraunce, 33r.

¹⁴¹Fraunce, 33r.

¹⁴²Manilius, p. 241.

¹⁴³Comes, p. 721.

¹⁴⁴Fowler, pp. 231-2, n. 1.

¹⁴⁵"November" is more suitable for the elegy to Dido than would be "Februarie" not only because of the triumph over the purely physical part of man's being implied by the form of Sagittarius, but also because in the year of man's life, November signifies man's growing awareness of his mortality and consequent desire for immortality: "Then commeth Novembre: that the days be very short, and the sunne in manner giveth little heate, and the trees leseth their leaves. The fields that were greene looke hore and gray. Then all manner of herbes bee hid in the ground, and then appeareth no floures. And then winter is come that the man hath understanding of age, and hath lost his kindly heate and strength...and then hath he no more hope of long lyfe, but desireth to come to the lyfe everlasting" (The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 14).

¹⁴⁶That mythographers should make such an association is understandable since there is an obvious analogy, frequently exploited by poets, between Jupiter and the Christian God. In astrology this analogy is represented primarily by Jupiter's great benevolence and its rule over ecclesiastical vocations.

¹⁴⁷See the discussion of the elegy in chapter I, above.

¹⁴⁸Ptolemy, p. 341. I have assumed that Thenot is older than Colin and thus that Colin's singing the elegy shows respect for his elders as well as good intentions toward his friends. If this is the same Thenot as that in "Februarie", he is certainly Colin's elder.

However, "November's" Thenot shows none of the severity and thorough-going pessimism of that in "Februarie", and his desire for merry songs in the approaching gloom of winter makes him a more Jovial figure than is his namesake in "Februarie".

¹⁴⁹ Dido's social background also links her with the sun, for the sun likewise rules the nobility (see chapter IV, below). Moreover, as Fowler (p. 209) points out, the sun and Jupiter were frequently conflated (especially by mythographers, but also by some astrologers). So it is astrologically, as well as metaphorically, apt for Colin to say that with Dido's death "The sonne of all the world is dimme and darke" (67). As the embodiment of perfect femininity, Dido is also a Venerean figure. As chapter IV, below, explains, Venus can also be propitious to poetic inspiration of the highest order. There is no contradiction involved in a character's being both Venerean and Jovial since, as noted above, the two planets have many things in common. Ptolemy claims, moreover, that Venus "in general brings about results similar to those of Jupiter, but with the addition of a certain agreeable quality" (p. 185), while Indagine, when discussing Venus as ruler of the chart, says that since its effects are the same as Jupiter's he need not repeat it all (P₇r).

¹⁵⁰ Ptolemy, p. 183.

Chapter III. Mars

Although Martial themes and activities are far removed from the concerns of a genre as static and peaceful as pastoral, Spenser does accommodate Mars in his Calender by parodic reduction in "March," and in "October" evokes Mars to point beyond the pastoral to his projected epic. Furthermore, since love is an important topic of discussion in both eclogues ruled by Mars, this chapter discusses the relationship of Mars and Venus and its implications for "March" and "October." Since Mars, in contrast to Saturn, Venus, and Mercury for example, is a comparatively uncomplicated planetary deity, this chapter opens with an outline of the astrological descriptions of Martial influence; the second section discusses correspondences between "March" and its celestial governors, Mars and Aries; the third, "October" and its rulers, Mars and Scorpio.

I. The Nature and Effects of Mars

Although Mars, like all other planets, produces both good and evil effects, its traditional title of "the Lesser Malefic" and its correspondence to the hot, dry, and fiery humour choler lead astrologers to put most stress on its destructive influences. Ptolemy, for example, says that "Mars alone, given domination of the soul, in an honourable position makes his subjects noble, commanding, spirited, military, versatile, powerful, venturesome, rash, unruly, indifferent, stubborn, keen, headstrong, contemptuous, tyrannical, active, easily angered, with the qualities of leadership."¹ If Mars in an honourable

position is a mixed blessing, it is a curse in an unfavourable position, for then, says Ptolemy, "he makes them savage, insolent, bloodthirsty, makers of disturbances, spendthrifts, loud-mouthed, quick-fisted, impetuous, drunken, rapacious, evil-doers, pitiless, unsettled, mad, haters of their own kin, impious."² According to Firmicus, "Mars on the ascendant by day makes men bold, clever, emotional, wanderers, unstable in every way; never able to complete what they purpose; whatever they undertake flows from their hands."³ On the ascendant and in its own terms by day, Mars produces, says Firmicus, men who are "driven by greed to all manner of crime; they will be rash, involved in constant misfortune and forced to toil for a living."⁴ He also claims that

Mars as ruler of the chart makes the natives fierce, unconquerable, active, quarrelsome, bold, involved in dangers, violent, but liable to be deceived in various ways. They are gluttonous,... brave, just [and] fiery. They have...commanding ways, always seeking positions of power...They are monstrously bad-tempered, never get on with wives, children or friends, and are envious of others' possessions. Afflictions come from iron and fire--that is cuts and burns; they often fall from high places and break their arms and legs. They will have a sudden and violent death.⁵

Later astrologers agree with and elaborate on the judgements of Ptolemy and Firmicus. According to Ibn Ezra, for example,

Mars is hot, scorching dry, harmful, and destructive; it prognosticates devastation, dearth, flames of fire, rebellion, blood, massacre, war, disputes, blows, separation, and, in general, anything which is not in its usual condition and form. Of the temperaments of man, it rules over anger....Its share in human character refers to haste, strength, victory, power, disputes, combat, pillage, wrath, insults, anathema, prevarication, calumny, debauchery, effrontery,

failure to keep one's promise, libel, assault on all that which is prohibited by law, larceny, any wicked deed, cruelty and great pain; furthermore, to wander from one spot to another, to run risks, to afflict people, to strike, to incarcerate, to lead into captivity, to plunder wealth....Generally speaking, everything in it is harmful and there is no good in it. It points to...brewers of quarrels,...any evil event which happens suddenly, any destruction and ruin....the native's] acts are done with haste, crossness, and frenzy.⁶

The Kalender of Sheepehards breaks with tradition slightly by making Mars rather than Saturn the worst planet, but otherwise its account is typical:

he is hotte and drye, and stirreth a man to be very wylfull and hastie at once, and to unhappinesse.... He causeth all wars & battels, this planet stirreth men to beare weapons as murderds [sic], aggers [sic], swordes, bylles or bowes, or some other wepon of death, and would ever here of fighting. Therefore let every man beware of the dayes of Mars, and in his cheefe houres that no man fight, for without doubt if God helpe him not he shalbe maymed or slaine....He that is borne under Mars, in all unhappines is experte ...he is full of malice, and ever doing wrong, under Mars is borne all theves & robbers...quarell pickers, bosters, mockers, and scoffers...and shedders of mans blood, a lecher, and a speaker of rybawdry.⁷

According to Cattan, the native of Mars is "furious, cruell, desiring war, battell and combats,...and loveth strife, debate, and discorde.. .He which holdeth of the nature of Mars is commonly oblivious, and of small perseverance and understanding, and little considereth the ende and issue of things."⁸ Bartholomaeus Anglicus says Mars "disposib þe soule to unstedefast witte and lightnes, to wrappe, and to boldnesse, and to oþir colerik passiouons."⁹ Maplet, when comparing Martial heat to Solar, explains that that of Mars "is an utter destroyer and Consumer. Besides Mars procureth speede of death through his such

extremity, as we see in the heate of Choler.¹⁰ He then explains that while Solar heat makes people manly and valiant, Martial heat "maketh them in stomacke to be rather wylde and savage, rather than properly Puissant: and more venturous rashe, and bolde, then considerate and Polliticke."¹¹ Albertus Magnus says that Mars "maketh the children born rough, wild, fierce, invincible, bold, contentious, obscure, easy to be deceived...subject to breaking their limbs, and violent death, or else to fall down from an high place."¹² And, finally, Lilly claims that Mars well-placed makes men

In feats of Warre and Courage invincible,
scorning any should exceed him, subject to no
Reason, Bold, Confident, Immoveable, Contentious,
challenging all Honour to themselves, Valiant,
Lovers of Warre, and all things pertaining thereunto,
hazarding himselfe to all Perils, willingly will obey
no body, nor submit to any; a large Reporter of his
owne Acts, one that slighteth all things in comparison
of Victory, and yet of prudent behaviour in his owne
affairs.¹³

When ill-placed, says Lilly, Mars makes the native "a Pratler without modesty or honesty, a lover of Slaughter and Quarrels,...as wavering as the wind, a Traytor, of turbulent Spirit,...Rash, Inhumane,...Unthankful, Trecherous, Oppressors, Ravenous, Cheaters, Furious, Violent."¹⁴

The above list of authorities is not exhaustive (for further references, see note 14), but it is representative, and forms a solid basis for a description of the typical native of Mars: he is aggressive, domineering, bold, confident, valiant, hardy, and adventurous--all qualities desireable in a military leader. However, Mars is immoderately hot and dry, and these beneficial qualities tend, even when Mars is well placed, to be taken to extremes or to be accompanied by

undesirable traits. Hence Martial boldness and confidence often manifest themselves as rashness, hastiness, impetuosity, arrogance, boasting, and wilfullness. This lack of foresight and deliberation, along with his naturally choleric disposition, often cause the native to perform irrational and violent acts out of all proportion to the immediate situation. Because the native of Mars loses his self-control so easily, most astrologers say he is unsteadfast and lacks the perseverance required to complete what he starts.

Several astrologers, however, (and this constitutes the only significant quality about which there seems to be disagreement among authorities) concentrate on the qualities required of the successful soldier, rather than (or as well as) on the impulsiveness of the choleric temperament, and do credit the native with perseverance or obstinacy. For example, Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel says of Mars that "he is stupid, quickly moved to vehement and devastating anger abandoning himself completely to the execution of whatever he plans and never withdrawing his hand from accomplishing that which he begins."¹⁵ Ptolemy says the native is stubborn;¹⁶ Ferrier that he is stubborn, earnest, and patient.¹⁷ Cattan, who as seen above claims the native lacks perseverance, also says that Mars is "not to be subdued,...invincible, whome none can resist that woulde doe him harme...and encourageth and maketh harde people in fight."¹⁸ Agrippa claims that Mars gives "constant courage and fortitude,...the power of acting and the practice, and an inconvertible vehemency of the mind."¹⁹ And Pierre de la Primaudaye claims that Mars gives "constant force and puissance" and the "abilitie and power to performe any exploit to the

end [and] to be fortunate in their enterprises."²⁰ However, de la Primaudaye, as well as Agrippa, Giorgio, and others who mingle Neoplatonism and astrology, believes that man properly receives and acts upon the necessarily good influences of the planets only if he maintains the rule of reason: "But as among warriors there happen deceit, periurie, frauds, temeritie, furie, man-slaughters, thefts, and such mischiefs; all this commeth to passe, because the rule of reason is broken. And then this gate being open, the winds of passions whiske out, and blow violently, like a great tempest. But so long as...reason duly governeth; every violent motion proceeding from Martiall choler, is easily moderated, and turneth to profit."²¹

II. "March"

The emphasis in "March" is considerably different from that in Spenser's two models, Bion's Idyll IV and Ronsard's L'Amour oiseau. In Bion's poem, the young boy tries to capture what seems to him to be a large bird, while the poet has informed us that it is Cupid. When the exhausted youth gives up the chase, he seeks advice from the old man who taught him the art of fowling, but the old man tells him only to avoid that particular "bird." The delicate humour of the Idyll arises from Bion's juxtaposition of the perspective of youthful naivete and ignorance with that of adult knowledge and experience. Ronsard provides a graphic description of the "bird," and in his poem an old fortune-teller informs the boy that it was Love he was pursuing but "that the meaning of love ('que c'est que d'aimer') will become clear to him only in the future, through personal experience which he cannot have at his age."²² In Bion and Ronsard, then, any information

the boy receives comes from his elders; Spenser's Thomalin, however, gains whatever knowledge of love he has from his own limited experience and resources. Then he assumes the role of the senex instructing and warning ignorant, naive youth (Willy) about the dangers of love. Thomalin, as a young senex, is a comic version of the lovesick, prematurely aged Colin, and a parody of "Februarie's" Thenot. Spenser's reworking of Bion and Ronsard not only eliminates suspense and direct action (since Thomalin tells Willy ahead of time that he encountered Cupid (31-3), and the adventure is recounted rather than experienced in the present), but in so doing also diverts attention from the narrative itself to the narrator and the self-image he projects. Thomalin labours to present himself in an heroic light, and the humour of the eclogue arises from the fact that the reader sees Thomalin's inadequacy for the Martial role while both shepherd boys remain oblivious to it.²³

The children of Mars are domineering, and Thomalin soon assumes command over the discussion. "March" opens with Willy eagerly awaiting the full bloom of spring (1-6), an enthusiasm that Thomalin mistakes for a warning (7). But after Willy expresses his desire to awaken "little Love" who, he thinks, "nowe sleepeth in Lethe lake" (22-3), Thomalin suddenly realizes that they have been talking at cross-purposes and irascibly corrects his friend:

Willye, I wene thou bee assott:
For Tustie Love still sleepeth not,
But is abroad at his game. (25-7)²⁴

This assertion that he possesses knowledge as yet inaccessible to Willy arouses Willy's curiosity and secures for Thomalin the commanding

role in the discussion.²⁵

Thomalin, probably unconsciously, further asserts his control by giving Willy a small amount of information but withholding the whole story for a time. When he hears that love is awake, Willy presses for more information:

How kenst thou, that he is awoke?
Or hast thy selfe his slomber broke?
Or made previe to the same? (28-30).

Thomalin denies that he himself awakened Cupid or that he was merely "made previe" to the fact, and claims that he actually saw him hiding in a bush. He then tantalizes Willy by saying he would tell him all about love were he not afraid that his sheep would stray (31-6). Willy promptly offers to keep a "double eye" on their flocks, a task for which he seems qualified since he has a Martial stepdame ("whott as fyre")²⁶ who ensures that he does his job properly (37-42). Nonetheless, Thomalin rejects Willy's offer, and explains the accident that befell his ewe, a story that does not much interest Willy, who simply tells Thomalin to be more watchful in the future. Willy again asks Thomalin to tell him about Cupid, and Thomalin finally does.

Thomalin's stalling is, however, more than a rhetorical ploy to keep himself at the centre of attention and to pique Willy's curiosity. His experience with Cupid has produced a fear and distrust of love and an exaggerated concern for his flock: he does seem to be genuinely reluctant to relax his vigilance even for the duration of the story, and he attributes his ewe's mishap to his own falling asleep with love-sorrow. Thomalin also exhibits here the Martial proneness to

sudden anger and tendency to respond to situations impulsively and irrationally. Of the Calender's shepherds whose flocks suffer from their master's preoccupation with love (cf. Colin in "Januarye" and Perigot in "August") only Thomalin, under the auspices of Mars, has the vigour to try to overcome this tendency toward negligence.²⁷ However, his increased concern for vigilance is more impulsive than reasoned. His ewe's accident has jolted him so much that he hastily concludes that it is not safe to take his eyes off the flock for an instant, even if there is someone else present to help. However useful the anecdote about the ewe may be to illustrate the dangers of love, it has no bearing whatever on Willy's offer of assistance. Immediately upon stressing pastoral duty with this irrational argument, Thomalin gives vent to a choleric Martial outburst that contradicts the very solicitude he has been promoting: "Mought her necke bene ioynted attones,/She shoulde have neede no more spell" (52-3).

Thomalin's "unsteadfastness of wit" is everywhere manifest and contributes to the light-heartedness of the eclogue. After Willy's remark about foresight, all talk of pastoral vigilance abruptly ceases and Thomalin tells his story. This sudden abandonment of the unsolved problem of keeping the sheep from straying, after Thomalin's exaggerated emphasis on it, indicates Thomalin's eagerness to tell his story as well as Willy's to hear it and illustrates the Martial tendency both toward inconsistency and to initiate things but not to complete them. Thomalin's fluctuating attitudes and inconsistencies also arise in his account of his meeting with Cupid and reveal his inadequate understanding of the experience. Early in the eclogue he

denies having awakened love himself, but when telling the story he says that his "courage earnd it to awake" (77). In the early part of the eclogue he is attempting to absolve himself of culpability, whereas later he is caught up in his own story and the heroic image he wishes to project. Similarly, his early claim that Cupid was hiding is not borne out by his later version in which he suggests confusedly that Cupid was both lurking in the bushes as if lying in wait, and that he was simply sleeping until Thomalin awakened him (67-77). These inconsistencies reflect the conflicting roles Thomalin assigns himself (innocent victim, mighty hunter, great warrior) and indicate that he does not understand the nature of his adversary, nor his own part in the battle. Of course, neither speaker notices the contradictions and their significance, and much of the eclogue's humour derives from the disparity between their self-confident assertions and their limited knowledge.

Thomalin's behaviour thus far in the eclogue is also appropriate to the fire sign Aries, for its children inherit the Martial traits of rashness, hastiness, tendency to be domineering, anger, lack of perseverance, and inconsistency. Ibn Ezra, for example, says the natives of Aries are irascible and may become leaders in battles, fire, slaughter, and bloodshed;²⁸ Arcandam says the native will be "inconstant and lively," contentious and ireful when young, and "promising golden hills, but performing nothing";²⁹ Finé says that when the moon is in Aries it is "good to begin that which a man would have sone ended, and nought to beginne anye thinge that a man would have to be firme and stable";³⁰ similarly, Dariot says that in elections Aries

denotes that it is good to "begin that whych would soone end," and adds that its natives are ireful and commanding³¹; Indagine says the sun in Aries makes one "angry but sone pleased ... promising (as they say) mountains of gold, and performing nothinge"³²; Ferrier says Aries produces "right men of warre: Captaines, souldiers,...and other martiallists"³³; Manilius says the desires of the native of Aries lead him to disaster³⁴ and that Aries on the ascendant "will engender minds bent on plunder and will banish all sense of shame: such is their desire for venture. Even thus does the ram himself rush forth with lowered horns, resolved to win or die"³⁵; according to Bouché-Leclercq, ancient astrologers say Aries presides over "Timidité melée de sottise, avec de brusque detentes de colère"³⁶; The Kalender of Sheepehards says the native of Aries will be "soone angrie, and soone appeased...and unstedfast of courage"³⁷ Rhetorios claims the native will be vacillating, high-spirited, fiery, unruly. and dominating;³⁸ and Valens says he will be quickly changing, dominating, bold in his opinions, unreliable, capricious, and resourceful.³⁹

As noted above, the native of Mars is a "large reporter of his own acts." Some astrologers claim that the child of Aries is also proud or boastful: Valens says he is haughty, puffed up, threatening, and boastful;⁴⁰ Indagine and Arcandam both characterize him as proud;⁴¹ and Al-Bīrūnī calls him haughty and talkative.⁴² Signs of this haughtiness appear in the early part of the eclogue in Thomalin's assumption that his knowledge of love is sufficient to qualify him as a fit tutor for Willy (25-36), but it is in his account of the battle with Cupid that he shows his tendency toward braggadocio. The whole episode

has the air of a mock epic with the shepherd boy who likes to see himself as a pastoral Achilles instinctively battling with inadequate weapons and no strategy an internal force he does not comprehend. Thomalin describes with evident relish the day's activity. Armed with bow and arrow he went hunting, a Martial activity since the weapons of war are used,⁴³ but nonetheless an unwise way to spend his holiday since both Mars and Aries are inimical to hunting.⁴⁴ In Thomalin's account of himself he has all the instincts of the mighty hunter: he hears a noise in the bushes and immediately readies his weapons; the noise stops; he looks more closely so that he "might see the moving of some quicke,/Whose shape appeared not" (74-5); drawing on all his courage, he resalves to awaken the prey whether it be "faerie, feend, or snake" (76-7); and with true Martial rashness and impetuosity, "manfully" (78) shot without troubling to identify his target. To Thomalin's astonishment, out springs Cupid who leaps to a tree and "lightly" bends his "slacke" bow at him (79-84). With undeliberating Martial aggressiveness out of all proportion to the situation, Thomalin "shott at him with might and maine,/As thicke, as it had hayled" (86-7). Caught up in his "puffed up" account of his heroic endeavours, Thomalin fails to notice the inappropriateness of his reaction and the way in which he courts disaster: Cupid has yet to threaten him seriously, but Thomalin, with too much Martial haste to analyse the situation or his adversary, responds with an irrational, though comic, fury that can only provoke Cupid. It is not long until Thomalin's hailstorm of arrows abates, and in a parody of Martial resourcefulness he resorts to throwing "pumie stones" (89),⁴⁵ as though they could harm a god unaffected by a hail of arrows. His Martial fire

soon burned out, Thomalin runs away and Cupid shoots him in the heel. The fear that Thomalin openly expresses at this point (94) is not so much the result of the mighty warrior's exhausting his ammunition as it is the natural culmination of a panic and incomprehension that characterize the whole fight. Even though he says that throughout the actual battle Cupid "seemd but to playe" (95), Thomalin instantly concluded that he was a threat and fought in earnest. When their passions are agitated, the children of Mars are subject to no reason, and although Thomalin does not understand it, Cupid has let him defeat himself by becoming progressively less and less rational. After Thomalin has rashly provoked a confrontation by shooting at an unidentified target, Cupid taunts him, goads his Martial humour into action and lets him use up all possible ammunition in a futile and desperate fight. In the end Cupid is left with a terrified, baffled, irrational, and unarmed adversary whom he vanquishes with a single shot. In short, Thomalin in recounting for Willy's benefit his initiation into puberty casts his story in Martial terms in which he is the bold, valiant, and venturesome hero defeated only because the foe is invincible; he does not understand the nature of his foe or of his experience and cannot see that some of his own Martial qualities, such as excitability, rashness, and hastiness, contribute to his troubles.

In astrological medicine Aries rules the eyes (and indeed the whole head) and diseases thereof as does Mars in Aries⁴⁶ and significantly "March" contains twelve references to sight (11, 13, 21, 31, 38, 43, 59, 60, 73, 74, 85, and 115).⁴⁷ Perception of various kinds, which Martial rashness dims, plays an important role throughout the eclogue.

For example, much of the humour arises from the disparity between the way the reader perceives the boys and the way they view themselves. The inability of the Martial mind to see clearly and analyse fully is a major motif throughout the eclogue. For the first twenty-four lines the two shepherds fail to perceive each other's meaning: Thomalin's preoccupation with himself and his wounded heel colours and weakens his perception of what Willy says, so he jumps to the conclusion that Willy is expressing the same distrust of spring as he himself is; similarly, Willy fails initially to grasp Thomalin's discontent with spring and so continues with his cheerful description of the rebirth of nature. After they overcome this barrier, they encounter a problem of physical perception--how to watch the sheep and tell stories simultaneously--a difficulty that troubles no one else in the Calender. They conquer this perceptual problem by forgetting about it. When Thomalin is out hunting, he is at first unable to see his intended prey; he solves this problem, in a typically Martial way, by shooting at it to see what happens and thus precipitates a battle that need not have been fought. Finally, when Thomalin is able to see Cupid, he is unable to grasp the nature of his foe and see his way through to a workable response, so he starts shooting wildly and fiercely in a futile attempt to master the god by force.⁴⁸

Being warlike, the children of Mars and Aries are particularly susceptible to receiving wounds. Since Thomalin is shot by Venus' son, we would expect his wound to have a Venerean as well as a Martial character. E.K. explains that "by wounding in the hele, is meant lustfull love." He also explains that such a wound can be an indirect emasculation:

"For from the heele (as say the best Phisitions) to the previe partes there passe certaine veines and slender synnewes...so that (as sayth Hipocrates) yf those veynes there be cut a sonder, the partie straighte becommeth cold and unfruiteful" (Gloss on "in the heele"). Since Venus in Aries presides over the feet⁴⁹ and Mars causes all wounds and diseases in men's genitals⁵⁰, astrological medicine can account both for Thomalin's wound and E.K.'s explanation of it. And since the children of Mars are subject to falls and broken limbs, it also accounts for the ewe's mishap.⁵¹

The natives of Aries lead checkered and precarious lives. The Kalender of Sheepehards says they "shalbe semblable to the Sheepe, that every yeare leeseth his fleese of wooll, and within short space recovereth it againe."⁵² Similarly, Manilius says that the "Ram, who is rich with an abundance of fleecy wool and, when shorn of this, with a fresh supply, will ever cherish hopes; he will rise from the sudden shipwreck of his affairs to abundant wealth only to meet with a fall."⁵³ Firmicus claims that the life of the native of Aries "will be varied with a number of changes, so that bad luck will always follow good, and vice versa";⁵⁴ and Indagine says he will have a "mutable inheritance, now gotten, now lost, and now lost, and strait recovered again" and will follow a courtly life, "the which life few do allow: for it is unconstant, casting down a man from honor and reputation, into infamy and reproch, fortune nowe flattering and laughing upon him, and bi and by vexing him with sondry miseries and calamities, so that he shall have no comodity or gaine, withoute incomoditye and losse."⁵⁵ This pattern of fluctuating fortunes characterizes what we see of

Thomalin's life: he is the carefree hunter who quickly falls into misfortune in his battle with Cupid, and this initial bad luck expands to affect his ewe which also quickly stumbles into misfortune when Thomalin falls asleep on the job. However, the light tone of the eclogue, the fact that the ewe survived its accident, and the fact that Thomalin's rankling wound has not totally incapacitated him assure the reader that his misery is not permanent, that he is merely on one of the downswings in Aries' mutable fortunes.⁵⁶

It is suitable that the boys' minds turn to thoughts of love in "March" not only because it is springtime, but also because Aries and, to a lesser extent, Mars incline their natives toward lust.⁵⁷ This mingling of Venerean and Martial motifs brings to mind the story of Venus and Mars caught in adultery, entrapped in a net by Vulcan, and exposed to the humiliating laughter of the other gods, a myth with several allegorical significations.⁵⁸ In order to dally with Venus Mars must lay aside his armour and military role, so it could be said, by extension, either that Venerean influence moderates the fury of Mars,⁵⁹ or that it weakens and debilitates the Martial character. The latter interpretation best describes the results of the mixture of Venerean and Martial concerns in Thomalin's story. Natalis Comes asks what could possibly result from the union of principles as discordant as Venus and Mars and answers unambiguously: "Certes rien, principalement si Vulcan survient. Car il faut prendre Mars et Venus pour discord et pour amitié, et Vulcan, c'est à dire la chaleur excessive, estouffe tous les deux, surmonte leurs principes, et les empêches de faire leurs fonctions."⁶⁰

Fraunce explains the story as follows:

Venus, that is to say, Wantonnes, ioyned with Mars, which noteth hoate and furious rage, giving themselves over to excessive and inordinate pleasure; are by Phoebus, figuring the light of reason, accused to Vulcan, who representeth naturall heate, which is weakened by this inordinate lust. Vulcan, by Phoebus his counsaile, linketh them together to their shame: for when naturall heate is quailed, then the rage of lust is abated, yrkesome repentance and languishing debilitie ensuing thereupon...whence foloweth of necessitie the impayring of all the other faculties.⁶¹

Comes' and Fraunce's interpretations are variations within a broad class of interpretations which sees the moral of the story as being, according to R.P. Miller, "the impossibility of concealing a virtus corrupta libine (i.e. the corruption of an inner virtus symbolized by the "warrior" Mars, by an inordinate desire or lust)." ⁶² Thomalin's quick defeat in the battle, his inability to cure his wounded heel, and his current distrust of love are signs of the weakening of Mars both in Fraunce's sense of "yrkesome repentance and languishing debilitie" and in Comes' sense of the hindering of the functions of both Mars and Venus.⁶³

Although Thomalin presents himself as a Mars-figure in love, his troubles are set not in the context of the Venus-Mars adultery, but in that of lost battle.⁶⁴ It would seem on the surface that in fighting Cupid Thomalin is behaving wisely, for, as Fowler explains, in Spenser's time "perhaps the most widely approved" solution to enslavement by Venus "consisted in mobilizing the irascible faculty in support of the rational faculty, against the concupiscent....Virtue, in short, consisted in opposing Mars to Venus."⁶⁵ He then explains, quoting Fairfax's translation of Tasso's allegorization of Gerusalemme Liberata, that this solution

would be ideal except that "the irascible faculty was not always a reliable servant of reason," for "when it doth not obey reason, but suffers itself to be carried of her own violence, it falleth out, that it fighteth not against concupiscence but by concupiscence"⁶⁶ Thomalin regards himself as having mobilized his irascible faculty to assist reason's fight against the concupiscent; however, as shown above, since he does not understand his foe and did not attempt to reason out a feasible battle plan, he was not acting rationally but rather with Martial impulsiveness and heedlessness. He was, as Tasso put it, fighting "not against concupiscence but by concupiscence," and hence his defeat is inevitable. Thomalin's rational faculty needs more power and maturity so that it may become a balancing force between Mars and Venus, allowing him to perceive the proper nature and place of love, and eventually to assuage his pain. For the moment, though, he remains a Mars weakened by Venus.

C. Wood points out that "there was a tendency among the astrologers from the very earliest times to conceive of any association of Mars and Venus in a horoscope as a sign that the native would be inclined toward adultery, fornication, or sexual depravity."⁶⁷ For Ptolemy, for example, Venus joined with Mars, even in a favourable position, as ruler of the soul signifies that the native will be "erotic,...pleasure-loving, ...given to misconduct in matters of love, but still successful, circumspect, and sensible,...[and] passionate for both young men and young women," while in a bad position such a combination makes men "leering, lascivious, profligate,...adulterers,...seducers of those both in their own families and in those of others,...corrupters of women and maidens,

...disposed to base practices, and shameless."⁶⁸ According to Firmicus, "Mars and Venus in the same sign will make seducers and adulterers. Possessed by depraved desires and unconquerable lust, the natives break the bonds of other peoples' marriages by clever promises"⁶⁹ and "No one who has Mars and Venus together continues in dependable affection of his wife or any steadfast relationship in love."⁷⁰ Dorotheus Sidonius claims that Mars or Venus found in the other's house or terms causes adultery.⁷¹ And according to Ferrier, Venus in the houses of Mars leads to "luxurie and all voluptuous villanie, but against nature, and evill dealing to women,"⁷² while Mars in the houses of Venus produces "furious men, [and] ravers of women, shameless in their leacherie."⁷³ Ferrier adds that Venus and Mars in square aspect leads to "great troubles and tribulations by reason of women of base condition, or impudent & somewhat defamed";⁷⁴ in conjunction they cause "sutes, strifes, debates by reason of women, [and] adulterers with women of infamous condition";⁷⁵ and in opposition they "yealdeth the man voluptuous, and a little vicious, weak, [and] unconstant."⁷⁶

Willy's attempt to contribute to the advancement of knowledge about love echoes the Venus-Mars story and contains clear intimations of the illicit love affairs astrologers claim various configurations of Venus and Mars produce:

For once I heard my father say,
How he him caught upon a day,
(Whereof he wilbe wroken)
Entangled in a fowling net,
Which he for carrion Crowes had set,
That in our Peeretree haunted.
Tho sayd, he was a winged lad,
But bowe and shafts as then none had:

Els had he sore be daunted. (106-114)

Willy's brief story is riddled with suggestions of adultery: the echo of the Venus-Mars myth, the possible allusion to the Merchant's Tale (the pear tree), the possible allusion to the Manciple's Tale (the crow), and the implicit threats of retribution ("Whereof he wilbe wroken," "Els had he sore be daunted"). However, Willy clearly does not understand the significance of the scenario he recounts. His account itself is ambiguous and unclear: he says that he heard his father talking about the incident, but he does not specify whether he overheard his father or whether his father was actually speaking to him; moreover, it is not clear from Willy's version who was caught in the net, who will be "wroken," or who would have been "sore daunted," for the lack of self-evident antecedents for "he" and "him" in line 107 produces a pronomial confusion in which Cupid and Willy's father become difficult to distinguish. The ambiguity of Willy's account makes it most likely that he overheard his father but did not understand what he was talking about. Since Willy tells his story only to confirm that Thomalin had indeed been fighting Cupid (because Thomalin's foe also had wings), and is completely oblivious to the story's numerous suggestions of illicit love (the only difference he sees between Thomalin's Cupid and his father's is that Thomalin's was armed), we can see that he does not grasp the significance of what he heard his father say.

In "March," then, Spenser accommodates Martial themes and activities to the pastoral by reducing Martial motifs to a mock heroic level: the warrior here is an adolescent shepherd who is comically

inadequate to the heroic mode in which he strives to cast himself, but who nonetheless still possesses sufficient Martial self-confidence to assume without hesitation the commanding role in the conversation. The mingling of Venerean qualities with the Martial can have serious implications, as Willy's anecdote shows and as Thomalin is convinced is true in his case, but Spenser is able to exploit this mingling for comic purposes by making the boys too immature to grasp its meanings and by making Thomalin's wound less serious than Thomalin thinks it is.

III. "October"

Although in "March" Thomalin exhibits some Martial personality traits, such as boastfulness, and being domineering and unsteady of wit, Spenser preserves pastoral decorum by situating Martial activity in the past. In "October" he adopts a similar strategy: Piers and Cuddie discuss Martial themes as possibilities for past and future poetry, and Cuddie's attempt to sing a Martial poem in the present is abortive.

As Cullen points out the subject of the unresolved debate in "October" is the conflict between the idealistic goals of the poet and his practical needs, both material and poetic. Piers, "the exponent of Renaissance poetic and moral idealism," offers Cuddie several "noble commonplaces," but takes little account of the social and economic realities confronting the poet; Cuddie finds such idealism irrelevant to the poet's real problems and to current social conditions. Their debate has three phases, the first dealing with

the rewards of poetry, (1-36) the second with its proper subjects and inspirations, (37-84) the third with Colin and the relationship of love to poetry (85-120).⁷⁷

In the first phase we discover that Cuddie, like Colin, has abandoned poetry because it does not benefit him in the way he wants it to, but whereas Colin wanted first Rosalind, then solace for his pain, Cuddie wants financial rewards. Piers, regarding Cuddie's attitude as mercenary, unsuccessfully tries to convince him that praise, glory, and honour are more worthy aims. This part of the debate has a few traces of Martial motifs. For example, when complaining that he does all the work while others reap all the benefits, Cuddie uses a hunting metaphor that reminds one of Thomalin's bird hunting in "March," although the results are different: "I beate the bush, the byrds to them doe flye" (17). Later Piers exhorts Cuddie to assume the Orphic role of manipulating men's passions:

O what an honor is it, to restraine
 The lust of lawlesse youth with good advice:
 Or pricke them forth with pleasaunce of thy vaine,
 Whereto thou list their trayned willes entice. (21-4).

Although Mars is not in the foreground in this passage, the often lawless fiery passions it presides over are certainly among those Piers envisions the poet controlling, just as Orpheus kept the peace among the quarreling Argonauts and as a general must be able to manipulate the passions of his soldiers. E.K. introduces such a "pricking" and restraining of Martial passions when he comments on the effects of music on Alexander

to whom when as Timotheus the great Musitian playd
 the Phrygian melody, it is said, that he was distraught

with such unwonted fury, that streight way rysing
 from the table in great rage, he caused himselfe to be
 armed, as ready to goe to warre (for that musick is
 very war like:) And immediately whenas the Musitian
 chaunged his stroke into the Lydian and Ionique
 harmony, was so furr from warring, that he sat
 as styl, as if he had bene in matters of counsell.
 (Gloss on "Sence bereave")

Finally, Piers' use of the terms "restraine," "trayned willes," and "pricke them forth" not only derives from the traditional image of horse and rider for passions and reason respectively, but also is appropriate to "October" because the horse, as the most useful beast in war, is a Martial animal.⁷⁸

After this discussion of the rewards of poetry comes to a standstill, Piers changes direction and suggests that Cuddie leave behind his usual "rymes," "ridles" (5) and "dapper ditties" (13).

And sing of bloody Mars, of Wars, of giusts,
 Turne thee to those, that weld the awful crowne.
 To doubted Knights, whose woundless armour rusts,
 And helmes unbrazed wexen dayly browne. (39-42)

Piers then specifically suggests that Cuddie could sing about Eliza, or if it pleased him "in bigger notes to sing,/Advaunce the worthy whome shee loveth best,/That first the white beare to the stake did bring (46-8). This subject is appropriate to "October" not only because epic is a Martial genre, but also because Mars presides over bears.⁷⁹ Cuddie acknowledges the viability of Martial subject matter in the distant past and cites the Vergilian career pattern as evidence (55-60),⁸⁰ but immediately denies that such a programme is currently feasible:

But ah Mecaenas is yclad in claye,
 And great Augustus long ygoe is dead:
 And all the worthies liggen wrapt in leade,

That matter made for Poets on to play:
 For ever, who in derring doe were dreade,
 The loftie verse of hem was loved aye.

But after vertue gan for age to stoupe,
 And mighty manhode brought a bedde of ease:
 The vaunting Poets found nougnt worth a pease,
 To put in preace emong the learned troupe.
 Tho gan the stremes of flowing wittes to cease,
 And sonnebright honour pend in shamefull coupe. (61-72)

Concerning Cuddie's dismal picture of a present characterized by a lack of patrons (61) and an ingratitude (17) that condemn the potential poet to poverty, and by a lack of worthy subjects for Martial poetry (63-72), two points must be stressed. First, Cuddie describes the decay of manly virtue in terms echoing the Venus-Mars myth: "mighty manhode brought a bedde of ease" (68).⁸¹ Spenser is clearly alluding, and with a much more serious intent than in "March," to the tradition that sees the story as an illustration of the impossibility of concealing a virtus corrupta libidine. Moreover, in Cuddie's view, this debilitation of virtus by libido has infected the poets as well as the "worthies," for he says that if any "buddes" of Martial poetry "gan to shoote agayne" either they will wither immediately (showing the Martial lack of perseverance) or the poet must "rolle with rest in rymes of rybaudrye" (73-8). Second, Cuddie's dreary picture accords in tone if not in details with the significations of Scorpio, traditionally the most destructive of zodiacal signs since it is the eighth sign and the eighth house is that of death. Finé says that the moon in Scorpio indicates "an unlucky day for to begin any matter of goodness";⁸² similarly Dariot says that in elections Scorpio indicates that one should "beginne no good thing at all, because it is a signe of

falseness and deceit, and lying."⁸³ Bartholomaeus Anglicus says that Scorpio "hab̄ þe hous of deb̄ and of drede, of dette and of travaile, of harme and of damage, and of striffe of bataile, of guilefulnes and fernes."⁸⁴ Vettius Valens calls Scorpio "destruction-making" and claims the natives are "crafty, bad, greedy, murderers, betrayers,...theives; secret plotters,...perjurors, covetous of the goods of others, experienced in murders or poisons, or evil things, [and] haters of their families."⁸⁵ According to Ibn Ezra, the native of Scorpio is destructive, deceitful, irascible, prevaricating, calumnious, melancholy, and unreliable, and this sign rules over "every perverted despicable man."⁸⁶ Al-Bīrūnī says children of Scorpio are anxious, deceitful, bold, rough, morose, sharp-tongued, slayers, fools, indolent, and pleased with themselves, and that Scorpio presides over pools of bad water, prisons, places of grief and mourning, and deserted places.⁸⁷ According to Ferrier, Scorpio rules the "parts dedicated to generation. And signifieth men very deformed...great speakers: babblers: mockers: lyers: gluttons: voluptuous: traytors: spies: [and] poysonnours."⁸⁸ Both Firmicus and Indagine are less pessimistic than others about Scorpio but still claim the natives of Scorpio on the ascendant will be bad-tempered and lecherous, and will suffer the ingratitude of those to whom they have been most beneficial.⁸⁹ In general, astrologers depict the native of Scorpio as violent, destructive, deceitful, and lecherous, the embodiment of the worst that Mars, whose principal house is Scorpio, and Venus (for Scorpio rules the genitals) have to offer (see further sources in note 89). Although the violence produced by Scorpio can

hardly appear in pastoral, the destruction and devastation it causes are among the major themes of "October": Cuddie emphasises the ingratitude that destroys the poet's hopes for material reward; this lack of financial compensation compromises the poet's ability to create in the highest forms of poetry, the progress of time and excessive venery have eroded the values, virtues, and civilization upon which Martial epic is based; Orpheus and Tityrus have died and Tom Piper replaces them and sings "rymes of rybaudrye"; true Poetry, like Astraea, should flee a world too corrupt to sustain it, but lacks the strength because the only poet capable of such a rescue has been debilitated by love; and Cuddie's own attempt to rise above the contemporary situation ends as soon as it begins.

When Piers suggests that poetry should "flye backe to heaven apace" (84) if there are no worthy subjects or patrons left in the world, he, like a child of Mars, is responding to Cuddie's depiction of current corruption with too much haste and vehemence and too little deliberation, for this response contradicts his earlier stance on two counts. First, he had earlier maintained that contemporary society does possess worthy subjects for poetry in the persons of Eliza and the "worthy whome shee loveth best," a position he later returns to when he refers to Eliza as Colin's "immortall mirrhor" (93). Second, he now seems to agree in part with Cuddie that a favourable social environment is a sine qua non for poetic achievement, while his earlier references to Orpheus and to the poet's ability to manipulate the passions of others imply that the poet both can and should master, alter, and reform his social environment when necessary. Piers

now sees the poet's role not as creating societies and values, but as either reflecting them or fleeing them. Again, however, with the wavering wit of the native of Mars, he reverts to something more like his earlier position when the conversation turns to the subjects of Colin and enthusiasmos.

Giorgio offers an interpretation of Mars that renders it harmonious with the good forms of Saturn and Venus and hence with the enthusiasmos so important in "October." (For discussions of the mode of operation of enthusiasmos see chapter I, which treats it from the perspective of inspired melancholy, and chapter IV, which approaches it from the perspective of the Neoplatonic Heavenly Venus and an adaptation of the Neoplatonic ladder of love.) According to Giorgio, the fundamental qualities communicated to us by Mars are "la force & impetuosité pour parfaire l'oeuvre, àfin d'estre bien fortunez en nos entreprisnes."⁹⁰ But because, he tells us

le bien arrive en une sorte, & le mal en plusieurs,
pource l'impetuosité qui n'est moderée par aucun
frein de raison, d'autant qu'elle n'est redressée par
aucun oeil interieure, elle tombe, comme un cheval follastre,
en beaucoup de precipices, en tyrannie, oppression, meurtres
iniustes, larcins, rapines, lasciveté immodérée, & en
autre maulx, que les demy-savans Astrologues ont de
coustume de prognostiquer d'une trop grande licence par
la signifiance de Mars. Car cela ne provient
pas de Mars, qui donne tant seulement l'impetuosité,
mais de l'âme qui ne la regle pas bien.⁹¹

When the soul properly governs Martial "impetuosité," however, it manifests itself as the ardor of faith, the holy zeal of the unswerving Christian soldier.⁹² Giorgio links Mars to the angelic order of Virtues and draws the parallels at great length.⁹³ The essence of the analogy is that Mars and the Virtues, and those rational mortals

whom they favour, are prompt and ingenious in all things, and have the "force virile" to accomplish fully all that God instructs and commands. Such Martial souls, when restrained by reason, can complete all their holy tasks because they direct all their forces and passions toward God who prevents them both from becoming enfeebled through their exertions and from becoming slaves to and victims of the violence inherent in their choleric passions. Appropriate to Piers' envisioning the poet's mind soaring back to heaven and Colin's "immortall mirrhor" raising "one's mind above the starry skie" (93-4), Mars' chief role in Giorgio's system of planetary-angelic guidance towards God⁹⁴ is that of vigorous and powerful raising. Giorgio explains that just as fire strives heavenward and tries to enflame and so direct upwards all that it encounters leaving in their baseness only such things as rocks and earth, so those guided by the Virtues and the good Mars seek supreme places and attempt to transform themselves into the images of the superiors, including God, that they serve, leaving the baser aspects of their nature far behind.⁹⁵ This concept of Martial purification, transformation, and elevation is perfectly consistent with the Saturnian and Venerean approaches to inspiration discussed in chapters I and IV. Moreover, just as fire attempts to enflame all it touches, so the Orphic poet, not content with a private ecstatic vision of the truth, endeavours to similarly affect all who hear him.

Some astrologers attribute to the generally maligned Scorpio a few effects that are beneficial to the aspiring poet. Manilius has an intriguing view of Scorpio ascending: "the man then born with the

blessing of the planets will enrich the world with cities and, with robes hitched up and driving a team of oxen, will trace the circuit of the walls with curved plough; else he will level the cities which have been erected and turn towns back into fields, and produce ripe corn where houses stood."⁹⁶ Similarly, in his earlier comments on Scorpio, the same sign that makes men rejoice in bloodshed and violence even during times of peace also cleaves the soil and sows seeds.⁹⁷ Evidently, for Manilius Scorpio embodies a fervent energy that can be directed to purposes of either destruction or creation or both, not unlike the impetuosité Giorgio attributes to Mars. Of course the native of Scorpio must exercise rational control over his vehement energy if he is to avoid the outrageous violence that most astrologers prognosticate, and to facilitate this Scorpio gives, according to some sources, the intellectual acuity Mars lacks. The Kalender of Sheepehards, although claiming that the native of Scorpio will be a hypocrite, a detractor, and apt to be deceived by "sweete words and adulation," also says that "many facultyes shall be gyven to him."⁹⁸ Arcandam claims that the child of Scorpio will be "strong, stable and not wavering, not desisting or leaving off from his affaires being once begun" and that he "shall attaine to great wisedome and learning."⁹⁹ According to Firmicus, Scorpio on the ascendant makes its natives "famous and protected by the gods and will partake of the rites of sacred or heavenly religion....They will be elevated in mind, sharp-witted, and have a fondness for eloquence."¹⁰⁰ And Indagine, although claiming that Scorpio on the ascendant makes one a backbiter with a pestilent tongue who is "tossed with many perils, and thereby almost

brought to desperation," adds that "the which being somewhat quieted and pacified, he shall enjoy a quiet fruite and use of glorie, dignitie, ministration, and religion. It addeth also a lively spirite & vigour of minde, with adournment of speache," while Leo on the Upper Midheaven adds to this "fortitude, & strength,...[and] dignitie as an imortal reward of vertue."¹⁰¹ Thus, if the intellectual gifts these astrologers attribute to Scorpio moderate and properly direct the energies of Scorpio and Mars, they can contribute to the poet's lifting himself "up out of the loathsome myre" (92) and the heroic poetry the speakers discuss can become a real possibility.

Although the Vergilian form of epic Cuddie alludes to is largely Martial in subject matter, the Faerie Queene foreshadowed by "October" and "Aprill" is a poem of "fierce wars and faithful loves," of both Mars and Venus, and Piers sees love as the ultimate motive force underlying true inspiration. As Cuddie tries, at the end of "October," to infuse a Martial spirit into himself so that he can sing of Bellona, so the poet who composes The Faerie Queene will need, in addition to inspired melancholy, to mingle in himself the qualities of both Mars and Venus. As noted above, such a mixture can have undesirable results. However, it can, if Venus only moderates rather than debilitates Mars, have results propitious to an aspiring epic poet. Ptolemy, for example, points out that Venus and Mars together in a favourable position can make one pleasing, graceful and artistic.¹⁰² According to Firmicus, Mars and Venus in the trine or sextile aspect with both planets in favourable houses produces "daily profit as a result of constant effort....The natives will have a good reputation."¹⁰³ He adds

that Mars in the terms of Venus can produce "musicians, organ-players, poets, sculptors, or artificers or mechanics of subtle and intricate arts,"¹⁰⁴ and that "if Mars and Venus are in conjunction in the same sign as the ascendant, then divine talent is indicated for the natives, magnificent eloquence, and poems said to be written with divine inspiration."¹⁰⁵

Being able to see only the dangers that Venus creates for the warrior and the poet, Cuddie rejects love as a source of inspiration and a subject for poetry. Instead, he wishes to compose a purely Martial poem, to "thowre out thondering words of threate" (104) and sing of "queint Bellona in her equipage" (114), and, accordingly, attempts to generate a Martial fury in himself by imagining that he is consuming "lavish cups" of "Bacchus fruite" (105-106). That Cuddie's imaginary binge is likely to produce Martial passions is clear from mythographers' discussions of attributes of Bacchus. Fraunce, for example, says that tigers draw the chariot of Bacchus because "drunken men are fierce and outragious" and that Bacchus "hath sometimes hornes, then is he intolerable, and fierce, like a Bull, being drunke immoderately."¹⁰⁶ Fulgentius says the god rides on tigers "because all intoxication goes with savageness."¹⁰⁷ Batman claims that Bacchus' chariot is drawn by beasts of "divers spottes and colours" which "signifie the sundry affections of the dronken, and the desperate madnes that such possesseth by outragious deedes, in dronkenes."¹⁰⁸ When discussing Bacchus' horns, Cartari notes that "Some writers understand by those hornes so infixed on Bacchus, audacie, impudencie, boldnesse, and fiercenesse, approoved by the overmuch

taking of wine, which makes men hardie and adventurous, as also impudent and shamelesse,"¹⁰⁹ while earlier he says that wine "being immeasureable taken,...maketh men looke furious, wild, and of a sterne countenance."¹¹⁰ The passions and actions of drunkards being so Martial, it is no surprise that Macrobius equates Bacchus with Mars¹¹¹ and that astrologers often list drunkenness among the vices caused by Mars.¹¹² Cudlie has clearly chosen an apt source of inspiration for rhymes that will "rage" (109), but the tradition he invokes when claiming that "Bacchus fruite is frend to Phoebus wise" (106) specifies that a small amount of wine quickens the wit.¹¹³ Immoderately consumed, however, wine is as damaging to the better qualities of Mars as Venus can be. Cartari explains that Bacchus often appears in women's clothing to signify that "the inordinate taking of wine weakeneth and debilitateth the naturall forces and powers of a man, making him feeble, unconstant, and strengthlesse, like a woman."¹¹⁴ Since the Martial character is often said to lack perseverance and since Cudlie imagines pouring "lavish cups" into himself, it is inevitable that his "corage cooles ere it be warme" (115). Ironically, his "comically brief" "vatic spree"¹¹⁵ culminates in his reversing the Vergilian career pattern by resigning the trumpets of epic and resuming the "slender pipes" of pastoral (116-18).

Spenser, then, accommodates the vigorous Mars to the static pastoral by processes of comic reduction and temporal distancing. In "March" he presents a mock heroic battle set in the recent past, while in "October" the speakers present heroic poetry as a characteristic

of a lost age, but also a possibility in the near future; however, Cuddie's attempt to bring full-blown Martial themes into the pastoral present comically collapses. Both eclogues confront Mars with Venus. The story of Thomalin in "March" stresses, but in a comic manner, the debilitating effects of Venus on Mars and the difficulty of marshalling the irascible faculty against the concupiscent when reason is too immature and weak to control the conflict; Willy's anecdote introduces the subject of illicit sexuality, but this too remains on the comic level because Willy can no more comprehend his father's experience than Thomalin can his own. In "October," however, the Venus-Mars themes appear in serious forms: Cuddie sees the corrupting effects of Venus as the cause of the decay of Martial virtue and hence of heroic poetry; Piers, far from seeing an inevitable conflict between Venus and virtue, regards love as the origin of poetic inspiration. Venus and Mars, the parents of Harmony,¹¹⁶ are implicitly reconciled in "October's" foreshadowing of The Faerie Queene in which Spenser sings both of "bloody Mars" and of "fayre Elisa."

Notes

Chapter III

¹Ptolemy, p. 353.

²Ptolemy, p. 353.

³Firmicus, pp. 82-3.

⁴Firmicus, p. 164.

⁵Firmicus, p. 140.

⁶Ibn Ezra, pp. 197-8.

⁷The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 164-5.

⁸Cattan, p. 35.

⁹Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 481.

¹⁰Maplet, in Winny, p. 188.

¹¹Maplet, quoted by Winny, p. 188. The copy of Maplet micro-filmed for the Early English Books series (reel 556) is imperfect at this point. The chapter on the sun begins on 23r; the passage to which the present note refers is on 23v. However the passage referred to in note 10 above is missing from this copy. There is at least one page, and possibly two, missing. The pagination is as follows: the chapter begins on 23r; the passage I have just quoted is on 23v, which is not properly placed; then follows another 23r which has content different from the chapter's initial page; then follows a 23v identical to the earlier 23v; next is a repeat of the second 23r; this is followed by a 23v with different content from the earlier 23v's; the text then resumes its normal course with 26r. See also, 43v-44v.

¹²Albertus Magnus, pp. 68-9.

¹³Lilly, p. 66. Cf. p. 540.

¹⁴Lilly, p. 66. Cf. p. 540. See also J. Middleton, p. 23; Ramesey, p. 54; de la Primaudaye, III, 131, 143; Du Bartas, p. 217;

A1-BTrūnT, p. 250; Principles of Astronomy, B5v; Godfridus, pp. 26-8; Indagine, P6r-v; Ferrier, 13v, 20v, 30r-v, 34v; Agrippa, 96, 106, 50, 334, and 270; and Dariot, C4v. Mythographers characterize Mars in much the same terms as do the astrologers. See, for example, Comes, pp. 151-6; Fraunce, 32r; Cartari, V₂v-X₂r; Batman, 5v-6r; and A. Ross, pp. 258-61.

¹⁵Haly, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 123.

¹⁶Ptolemy, p. 353.

¹⁷Ferrier, 13v and 20v.

¹⁸Cattan, p. 25.

¹⁹Agrippa, p. 466. See also 334.

²⁰De la Primaudaye, III, 130-1.

²¹De la Primaudaye, III.

²²Leo Spitzer, "Spenser, Shepheardes Calendar, March, 11. 61-114, and The Variorum Edition", Studies in Philology, 47 (1950), 496. Spitzer discusses in detail Spenser's adaptation of Bion and Ronsard. See also Hoffman, pp. 80-1, and D.C. Allen, "'The March Eclogue' of The Shepheardes Calender", Comparative Literature, 8 (1956), 177-93.

²³Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 99-105) has discussed in detail the mock-heroic aspects of Thomalin's story and the present study is indebted to his work. Although Cullen points out that the "terribly earnest hunter, discharging the manly duties of Mars, is suddenly and comically confronted with Venus' 'naked swayne' ...dwelling incongruously among the English bushes" (p. 104), he does not further investigate the implications of Mars and Venus for "March."

²⁴See Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 100-102 for a discussion of the comic misunderstandings of the opening dialogue.

²⁵The ambiguity of Thomalin's term "game" (play or prey) may also stimulate Willy's curiosity, particularly if he noticed the shift from "little Love" to "lusty Love".

²⁶This stepdame also appears to be a native of Aries, since this is a fire sign. According to The Kalender of Sheepehards, Aries produces women who are "irefull" (p. 190). Arcandam (B₃r) says the Aries woman is "curst," and Indagine calls her "angry" (N₆v).

²⁷Perigot might seem to be an exception since he becomes cured of his lovesickness. However, his case is really quite different. Left to his own devices, he, like Colin, just broods and abandons his pipe. It is only when he is in the company of others and goaded into the communal activity of the singing contest that he becomes cured. See chapter V. Thomalin, while unable to cure his wound, is still the only lovelorn shepherd able, from a motion of his own spirit alone, to attempt to better his flock's condition.

²⁸Ibn Ezra, pp. 157-8.

²⁹Arcandam, B₂r-v.

³⁰Fine, F₇v.

³¹Dariot, B₄v.

³²Indagine, N₆v.

³³Ferrier, 32r.

³⁴Manilius, p. 233.

³⁵Manilius, p. 263. Manilius implies a greater degree of persistance and stability than do most astrologers, much as there is disagreement about Mars in this respect. Nonetheless, Manilius clearly makes the native of Aries reckless and impetuous.

³⁶Bouché-Leclercq, p. 132.

³⁷The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 190.

³⁸Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 50.

³⁹Valens, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁰Valens, p. 5.

⁴¹ Indagine, N₆v; Arcandam, B₂r.

⁴² Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

⁴³ Although the iron weapons used, the shedding of blood, the risks involved, and the fortitude required all imply that hunting is a Martial activity, I have found no astrologers who include hunters in their lists of Martial occupations. However, such lists usually include a statement to the effect that Mars rules all who work with iron (See, for example, Ptolemy, p. 385; Ramesey, p. 54; and Dariot, D₃r) and mention butchers, barbers, and surgeons. It does not, then, seem unreasonable to expand the lists to encompass hunters. Most astrologers give rulership of hunting to the moon, despite this planet's phlegmatic nature, on the grounds that hunters follow animal tracks by moonlight. The association of the moon with Diana the huntress also provides a rationale for its rulership over hunting, but Diana herself is a rather Martial maid.

⁴⁴ For the animosity of Mars toward hunters see Agricola, p. 240 (he is discussing the effects of a talisman engraved on iron when Mars is in an unfortunate position) and Chaucer, the Knight's Tale, 2018. For that of Aries, see Indagine, N₆v.

⁴⁵ Maplet, 49v, says that pumice is a Martial stone. Since pumice is volcanic this would seem to be reasonable; however, Maplet seems unaware of the fiery source of pumice and ascribes to it an origin that seems more Venerean than Martial, for he says it "commeth of a kinde of fome in the sea hardened and caste up upon the shoare" (49v-50r).

⁴⁶ For tables showing the parts of the body governed by the planets throughout the zodiac see Lilly, pp. 119-20, and G.C. A Treatise of Mathematicall Physicke or briefe Introduction to Physicke, by Iudicall Astronomy (London, 1558), C₄r-D₁v.

⁴⁷ Associations with vision have also influenced Spenser's choice of birds and plants. Thomalin mentions the swallow (11), for example. According to Dioscorides (The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides, trans. J. Goodyer (1655), ed. R.T. Gunther, London and New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1968, p. 105) the stones in a swallow's belly are a medicine for producing sharp sight; according to Gerard (Leaves from Gerard's Herbal, ed. M. Woodward. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969, pp. 40-1.) "the eies of Swallowes...that are not fledge, if a man do prick them out, do afterwards grow again and perfectly recover their sight"; and according to The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts (ed. and trans. T.H. White, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1960, p. 148) "It also has a certain knowledge of medical skill, for when its children go blind or

their eyes are pricked, it has a remedy by which it is able to restore their vision." Thomalin compares Cupid's wings to the peacock's tail (80) which is covered with eye-like spots. He discovers Cupid in an "Yvie todde" (67) and Gerard says that ivy mixed with swallow-wort, daisies, sugar, and rose water is good for the eyes "yea although the sight were nigh...gone" (p. 16), and that water in which ivy has been steeped for a day and a night is good for the eyes (p. 281).

⁴⁸ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 99-105, also stresses perceptual difficulties. For example, he notes that Thomalin's "ineffectual and naively incongruous battle plans are a comic analogue to his inability to perceive his enemy: he simply fails to grasp the nature of the beast he is fighting with" (p. 104).

⁴⁹ See note 46 above.

⁵⁰ See Al-Bīrūnī, p. 248; Principles of Astronomy, B₅v; Finé, D₆v; Albertus Magnus, p. 68; Lilly, p. 67; Agrippa, p. 48; and Ferrier, 30r, for Mars' rule over the genitals and problems therein.

⁵¹ See, for example, Firmicus, p. 140; Dariot, D₃r; and Albertus Magnus, p. 68.

⁵² The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 190.

⁵³ Manilius, p. 233.

⁵⁴ Firmicus, p. 157.

⁵⁵ Indagine, M₂r-v. Spenser does not, of course, give "March" a courtly setting (although E.K. casts his argument in a chivalric idiom), but the crucial point in Indagine is the fluctuating fortunes of the child of Aries.

⁵⁶ Cf. Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 100, who says, when discussing Thomalin in "March" and Perigot in "August," that however "painful their love is with all its agony, their disease is not incurable, and their lives, unlike Colin's, will not be wasted."

⁵⁷ For Aries and lust, see Dariot, B₄v; Rhetorios, in Gleadow, p. 50; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217; Lilly, p. 93; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 190; and Indagine, N₆v. Arcandam claims that the native of Aries "for a woman's sake shall sustaine much sorrow" (B₂v). For Mars and lust see, for example, de la Primaudaye, III, 131; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250; Lilly, p. 85; and the Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 165.

⁵⁸For accounts of the various allegorizations of the Venus-Mars story, see E. Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 85-96; R.P. Miller, "The Myth of Mars's Hot Minion in Venus and Adonis", English Literary History, 26 (1959), 470-81; M. Storm, "The Mythological Tradition in Chaucer's Complaint of Mars", Philological Quarterly, 57 (1978), 323-35; and C. Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, pp. 108-41.

⁵⁹For astrological commentary to this effect, see Maplet (19v) who calls Venus a "pacifier of Mars in his great fury, and malice, & fiery fervency, quieting him with friendly and amiable Aspect, in such wise, as a beautifull and lovinge Woman doth appease and stifl the rage, and anger of her husband being incensed." Cattan (p. 37) says that when Venus "is ioyned with Mars, she taketh away much of his malice," and Ficino (Commentary, p. 177) says that Venus in conjunction, opposition, trine, or sextile aspect to Mars checks Mars' malignance.

⁶⁰Comes, p. 155.

⁶¹Fraunce, 39r (incorrectly numbered as 32).

⁶²Miller, 472. Since the term virtus has a broad range of significations, from physical to spiritual strengths, there are several variations within this general type of interpretation (see Miller, passim; and Storm, passim).

⁶³Of course I am not suggesting that either Fraunce or Comes are direct sources for Spenser (Fraunce was not published until 1592), but only that they represent traditions that underlie Spenser's presentation of Thomalin.

⁶⁴Since Thomalin lost the battle, the actual physical and psychological results are similar to those of a Venus-Mars adultery; however, Spenser's having his pastoral Mars become debilitated in a battle creates a completely different moral climate: since Thomalin puts forth his best efforts to resist a foe he does not yet understand, one is not inclined to regard him as morally corrupt.

⁶⁵Fowler, p. 107.

⁶⁶Fowler, p. 108.

⁶⁷Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, p. 116.

⁶⁸Ptolemy, p. 355.

⁶⁹Firmicus, p. 200.

⁷⁰Firmicus, p. 203. See also Firmicus, pp. 164, 229-30, 190-1, and 196, for similar effects produced by Venus in the terms of Mars while on the ascendant, by Venus and Mars as the ruler of time (Mars as ruler of time allots eight months to Venus; Venus when ruler of time allots fifteen months to Mars; in both cases, the prognostication is for promiscuity and adultery), by Venus and Mars in aspect, and by Venus and Mars in opposition.

⁷¹Dorotheus Sidonius, pp. 232-3.

⁷²Ferrier, 35v.

⁷³Ferrier, 36r.

⁷⁴Ferrier, 39r.

⁷⁵Ferrier, 37r.

⁷⁶Ferrier, 40r. See Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, pp. 115-120, for other astrologers' accounts of various Mars-Venus relationships. Most such relationships are said to lead to adultery, fornication, and sundry irregularities in sexual behaviour.

⁷⁷Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 68-76. R. F. Hardin, "The Resolved Debate of Spenser's 'October'", Modern Philology, 73 (1976), 257-63, does not argue that the debate is resolved in the usual sense of the speakers' overcoming their differences of opinion, but rather in the sense that Spenser weights the arguments to favour Piers' case. Hardin builds a good case against Cuddie as a hedonistic, inconsistent, lazy, and false poet, but a good case against Cuddie is not ipso facto a good case for Piers. On Hardin's own terms, Piers is being inconsistent in praising the works of a false poet and even offering him the patronage (in the form of a goat) that Cuddie cannot find elsewhere.

⁷⁸See, for example, Agrippa, p. 58; Lilly, p. 68; and Maplet, 45r. In fact, Maplet, in his chapter on Mars, includes a brief treatise on the art of horsemanship.

⁷⁹See, for example, Lilly, p. 68; and Maplet, 47v. Maplet includes the white bear specifically.

⁸⁰Cain (Praise, p. 34) points out that since Vergil was born in mid-October, Spenser's allusion to him appropriately occupies the

two central stanzas of "October," and that as October is the tenth month, the allusion begins in the tenth stanza.

⁸¹"And mighty manhode brought a bedde of ease" (68) is a perfect description of the recumbant and somewhat effeminate-looking Mars in the Mars and Venus painting of Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo (see Wind, plates 74 and 75). See also the paintings by Veronese and Francesco Cossa (Wind, plates 76 and 77), which depict a Mars more manly looking and still in armor, but put in a humiliating posture by Venus.

⁸²Fine, F₈r.

⁸³Dariot, C₂v.

⁸⁴Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 470.

⁸⁵Valens, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁶Ibn Ezra, pp. 176-7.

⁸⁷Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217, 221.

⁸⁸Ferrier, 33v.

⁸⁹Firmicus, p. 160; Indagine, Njr-Nzr. For other accounts of Scorpio's destructive influence, see Indagine, 04v-05r (on the sun in Scorpio); Manilius, pp. 239-41; Lilly, p. 97; Rhetorios, in Gleadow, p. 108; Principles of Astronomy, B₂r; and L. Aurigema, Le Signe Zodiacal du Scorpion (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1976), passim.

⁹⁰Giorgio, p. 84.

⁹¹Giorgio, p. 122.

⁹²Giorgio, p. 121.

⁹³Giorgio, pp. 118-123.

⁹⁴In Giorgio's system, all the planets and their angelic analogues work in harmony to bring man to God and to fulfill the divine will. Thus Saturn provides receptive and retentive powers and the ability to contemplate the profundities of the divine; Mercury assists by providing a penetrating faith, and keenness, subtlety, and curiosity

in seeking out the Truth; Venus inspires the love that sustains the arduous search for Truth; Mars gives constant force and power; Jupiter by means of its "droit iustice" keeps us from straying off course; the sun provides vital heat and inspires ardent charity; and the moon gives the power of growth, temperance, and facility of movement (See Giorgio, pp. 84-94, 110-32, and 210-19).

⁹⁵Giorgio, p. 121.

⁹⁶Manilius, p. 267.

⁹⁷Manilius, pp. 239-41.

⁹⁸The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 194-5.

⁹⁹Arcandam, F₁v-F₂r.

¹⁰⁰Firmicus, p. 160.

¹⁰¹Indagine, N₁r-N₂v.

¹⁰²Ptolemy, pp. 353-5.

¹⁰³Firmicus, p. 186.

¹⁰⁴Firmicus, p. 164.

¹⁰⁵Firmicus, p. 202.

¹⁰⁶Fraunce, 51r.

¹⁰⁷Fulgentius, p. 77.

¹⁰⁸S. Batman, The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes (London, 1577), 11r.

¹⁰⁹Cartari, Y₂r.

¹¹⁰Cartari, Y₁r.

¹¹¹Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 133.

¹¹²See, for example, Ptolemy, p. 353; Dariot, D₃r; and Lilly, p. 85.

¹¹³See Cain, Praise, p. 34 and N.B. Crowther, "Water and Wine as Symbols of Inspiration:", Mnemosyne, 32 (1979), 1-11.

¹¹⁴Cartari, Y₃r.

¹¹⁵Cain, Praise, p. 34.

¹¹⁶See Wind, pp. 85-9 for a brief account of this version of the Venus-Mars story. This story appears to be the mythographic analogue to the beneficial effects astrologers assign to some configurations of Venus and Mars.

Chapter IV. Venus, the Lesser Benefic

The Venus inherited by the Renaissance represents a vast range of ideas about love and beauty, from the basest carnality through to the principles of cosmic harmony and the most mystical expressions of love for God. This chapter explores the correspondences between several of these significations and the eclogues for Venus' two signs, Taurus ("Aprill") and Libra ("September"). It opens with a brief discussion of the astrological appropriateness of Spenser's reminding us in "Aprill" of Colin's misadventure in love, followed by an explanation of "Aprill's" suitability for a celebration of the encomiastic poet. Then follows a detailed discussion of Eliza as a Venus figure presiding over an idyllic natural, political, and poetic environment, in contrast to the iron age of the framing dialogue. The chapter concludes with a discussion of "September" that shows its conformity with its astrological rulers and compares it with "Aprill."

I. "Aprill"

A. Venus, Taurus, and Erotic Love.

In chapter I, I emphasized the conflict between the carnal Venus and the intellectual Saturn, analysed Colin's astrological account of his enamourment, and argued that the frustration caused by Colin's uncontrolled and unrequited love for Rosalind activates the hitherto dormant malignancy of Saturn and plunges Colin into irreversible love melancholy. In "Aprill" Colin's unfortunate fall is the

subject of the dialogue between Hobbinol and Thenot, while the inset ode to Eliza exhibits the operations of a Venus that is both beneficent and compatible with the good Saturn. Although Colin's present condition is largely Saturnian, his continuing infatuation with Rosalind makes his mind receptive to the noxious influences of Venus, several of which match those of Saturn. Just as "Januarye" and "December" are the proper places for Spenser to show Colin in his Saturnian misery, so "Aprill" is an appropriate eclogue in which to show his affinities with the various types of Venus. This section shows that the month governed by Venus and Taurus is a suitable one in which to focus on Colin's fruitless love and its effects.

Colin claims in "December" that Venus in Leo is the stellar source of his love. The distinctive feature of Venus in Leo, as shown in chapter I, is that it causes one to be "suddenly stricken in love," but Venus governs love and sexual activities whatever zodiacal sign it is in and whatever aspects it forms with other planets. (Its zodiacal location and relationship to other planets are variables that determine the nature of, quality of, and chances for success in love.) Ibn Ezra, for example, says Venus corresponds to the "lustful mind" and rules over love, joy, "excessive desire for everything" and "incessant longing for coition both legitimate and illegitimate."¹ Baptista Porta claims that Venereans are "usually lovers of the opposite sex, passionate and voluptuous by nature";² Helvetius says that in "practices and experiences of love...they often exceed the measure of good form, and as exhibited in secret their (amatory) services are eager, exceedingly

ardent, and glowing with passion";³ Boccaccio lists among the gifts of Venus beauty of face, charm of body, love, friendship, and "lasciviousness of all kinds."⁴ According to Firmicus, Venus as ruler of the chart produces faithful friends and passionate lovers with "eyes always shining with the light of sexual desire."⁵ Al-Bīrūnī claims Venereans are "inclined to love and sensuality" and may be "given to excessive venery."⁶ Both Lilly and Middleton inform us that children of Venus are "oft entangled in Love-matters" and are "Zealous in their affections."⁷ The Kalendar of Sheepehards neatly sums up this well-known area of Venus' power: "There is no man that loveth a woman by carnall affection, but it is by the influence of Venus, and but fewe men can escape out of her daunger."⁸

Colin Clout, of course, does not "escape out of her daunger," and in his astrological explanation of his love he indicates that Venus was unfavourably placed at the time (in Leo, a barren fire sign; probably in dangerous proximity to the sun; and afflicted by a comet). When unfavourably placed, Venus produces effects similar to those of the malevolent Saturn. Ficino provides an explanation for this apparent oddity. He argues that love is the desire to enjoy beauty, and that since "beauty pertains only to the mind, sight, and hearing," love is limited "to these three, but desire which rises from the other senses is called, not love, but lust or madness....Pleasures and sensations which are so impetuous and irrational that they jar the mind from its stability and unbalance a man, love does not only not desire, but hates and shuns, because these sensations, being so intemperate, are the opposites of beauty. A mad lasciviousness drags a man down to intemperance

and disharmony, and hence seems to attract him to ugliness, whereas love attracts to beauty.⁹ Later he argues that obsessive love, especially if it leads to overindulgence in intercourse, renders men melancholy. Ficino points out that the "attention of the soul of a lover is completely centered in the assiduous contemplation of the loved one"¹⁰ and, as was noted in chapter I, assiduous contemplation breeds melancholy humours. He then alludes to the tradition that Lucretius, vexed by love and madness, committed suicide and informs us that this "has happened usually to those who, neglecting contemplative love, have turned to a passion for physical embrace. For we bear much more easily the desires for seeing, than those of both seeing and touching the desired one."¹¹ In other words, even though love is a hot, sanguine passion that in its most desirable forms directs the lover to things beyond the self, some of its manifestations contain distinctly Saturnian elements: a fixation on physical gratification is merely the Saturnian's selfish acquisitiveness given a Venerean twist; assiduous contemplation of the beloved is a Saturnian activity centered on a Venerean object. The Saturnian impulses within a Venerean passion, impulses that run counter to the Venerean desire for beauty and harmony,¹² come to the surface when Venus is unfavourably placed. Since the "ill-dignified" Venus causes people to devote their mental and physical energies to the pursuit of carnal pleasures, at the expense of all other concerns, such people are, to quote Ptolemy, "careless, erotic, effeminate, womanish, timid, indifferent, depraved, censorious, insignificant, meriting reproach."¹³ Lilly adds that a poorly positioned Venus produces men who do not regard their reputations

and are "nothing careful of the things of this Life."¹⁴ It is clear that these accounts of the effects of the destructive Venus aptly describe Colin's fate. As a result of his "entanglement in love matters" Colin now has a "madding mynd" ("Aprill," 25) that results in his abandonment of his reputation as chief public poet of Spenser's pastoral world: he has wilfully broken his pipe ("Aprill," 15), and if he sings at all, it is only to "please" himself ("June," 72), a pleasure that he wishes could take the form of poetry chastising Rosalind and Menalcas and publicizing what Colin takes to be their misdeeds ("June," 93-104), but that in reality amounts to verse that only augments his "doole" ("August," 164-5). His indifference to the things of this life is evident in his neglect of his personal appearance ("Aprill," 12), in his abandonment of friendship ("Aprill," 28) and withdrawal from human society (especially in "August"), and in his hastening of his own death. That Colin's behaviour merits reproach is implied by the discussion, "October," of the decline of poetry, a tendency which Colin could have reversed had he kept up the good work recorded in "Aprill." In "Aprill," both Hobbinol and Thenot, sadly but justly, reproach Colin's folly and indifference:

Thenot: Ah foolish boy, that is with love yblent:
Great pittie is, he be in such taking,
For naught caren, that bene so lewdly bent.

Hobbinoll: Sicker I hold him, for a greater fon
That loves the thing, he cannot purchase.
("Aprill," 155-9).

Taurus is linked to love in both mythography and astrology, and shares some of the deleterious effects of the ill-dignified Venus. Taurus is frequently said to be the stellified remembrance of the bull

into which Zeus transformed himself to carry off Europa in one of his many amorous capers.¹⁵ Fowler indicates that "Taurus was sometimes identified with the heifer into which Io-Isis, beloved of Jupiter, was changed. In the allegorization of that myth the imposition of the Taurus-form was interpreted as man's lapse into bestial vice; the recovery of human form...as man's moral reformation."¹⁶ Bouché-Leclercq points out that Taurus has also been identified as the bull with which Pasiphae mated.¹⁷ The astrologers concur in linking Taurus with carnal love and frequently with its unpleasant side. Manilius claims that the "boy-god Love" dwells in the faces of the natives of Taurus;¹⁸ Vettius Valens says they are pleasure-loving;¹⁹ Rhetorios and Al-Bīrūnī say they are lustful;²⁰ Ibn Ezra says Taurus signifies procurers and "those longing for coition";²¹ Dariot calls the natives "luxurious," but says that the sign is "good for pleasure and for marriages";²² Ferrier says they are "voluptuous" and "messengers of love";²³ The Kalender of Sheepehards says that one born under the bull "shall experiment many pains by women";²⁴ and Firmicius claims that those born when the Pleiades rise (6° Taurus) are "always involved in luxury and lust" and "will always be in love, or pretend that they are, and it pains them that they were born men."²⁵ Firmicus, Indagine, and Taisnier all claim that a man born when Taurus is in the ascendant will lose his wife, while a woman born at that time will lose both husband and son.²⁶ Hobbinoll complains that Colin has changed his friend for a "frenne" ("Aprill," 28); similarly, the Kalender of Sheepehards tells us that the native of Taurus "will leave his friendes and live among straungers"²⁷ and Arcandam claims he will be "unhappy among his friends" and make and

lose friends in haste.²⁸ Colin rejects all advice given him and is negligent about some of his affairs, just as Arcandam claims the native of Taurus "shall give no heed to the counsell of his neighbours, nor be carefull nor vigilant about his owne affaires."²⁹ Firmicus informs us that "if the ascendant be found in Taurus, the native will be worn out with many kinds of suffering; whatever he achieves in early youth he will always lose; but afterwards will regain it again."³⁰ Colin, similarly, is worn out with suffering, achieves great things in poetry while young, (e.g. the "Aprill" ode) loses this ability, and regains it, if only temporarily ("November"). April, the month of Venus and Taurus, is, then, an appropriate time at which to dwell on Colin's fruitless love and its effects.

B. Venus, Taurus, and the Arts.

Montrose points out that Colin composed the "Aprill" ode to praise Eliza, but Hobbinol recites it to celebrate the encomiastic poet,³¹ and several scholars have noted that the ode's real concerns are with the nature and functions of poetic creativity and with patronage.³² Montrose, for example, explains that

The shepherd's gift--both his talent and his offering--is the power to create symbolic forms, to create illusions which sanctify political power, his expectation is a reciprocal, material benefit....The eclogue thus suggests the dialectic by which poetic power helps to create and sustain the political power to which it is subservient.³³

The constant association of Venus and Taurus with the arts and their supporters and with occupations pertaining to the adornment of women makes these subjects virtually inevitable for "Aprill." Ptolemy, for example, contends that the rulership of Venus makes people "eloquent, neat...fond of dancing, eager for beauty...lovers of the arts,

fond of spectacles, decorous,...[and] fastidious."³⁴ Ibn Ezra claims that the natives of Venus often become musicians or composers of liturgical poetry;³⁵ Al-Bīrūnī indicates that Venereans like dancing and lists among their occupations "Works of beauty and magnificence... dealing in pictures and colours...maker of crowns and diadems, accompanying singing, composing songs, [and] playing the lute."³⁶ According to Firmicus, Venus in the Thema Mundi ruled the period in which "training in learned speech and training in the individual sciences encouraged the education of mankind";³⁷ Venus on the ascendant by night will make "men of divine intelligence...They will be important and respected orators";³⁸ if the native has Venus as ruler of the chart he will be "always surrounded by music" and if Venus is in a favourable house he will be "famous, crowned with diadems or gold wreaths";³⁹ and the ascendant in the terms of Venus produces musicians or lovers of music.⁴⁰ Baptista Porta claims that Venereans "cleave with delight to the spirit and practice of music and the arts. [...and in poetry inspired by the Muses enriched by choral dance and song";⁴¹] Boccaccio says they are skilled in composing songs, exceedingly well-spoken and often are active in painting, writing, sculpting, dancing, singing and composing poetry;⁴² The Kalender of Sheepehards claims that "they shall love the voyce of trompettes, clarions, and other minstralsy, and they shalbe pleasant singers, with sweet voyce...and shall greatly delight in dauncing";⁴³ and according to Cattan, Venus "maketh man to be of goodwill, liberall, and well spoken, apt to musicke, and to make rounds, ballets, and to play well on musicall instruments."⁴⁴

Astrologers do not associate Taurus with the arts as regularly as they do Venus;⁴⁵ however, Venus' rulership over Taurus, and Taurus' over the throat⁴⁶ are appropriate to poets and singers and some astrologers do grant natives of Taurus an artistic side. Ibn Ezra, for example, says Taurus signifies people who like to dance and make merry;⁴⁷ Vettius Valens says natives of Taurus love pleasure and music and become notable and famous;⁴⁸ and Ferrier says they may become dancers or actors.⁴⁹

The cheerful music, song, and dance of the ode are, thus, appropriate for the month of Venus and Taurus. It is also suitable that the ode is "trimly dight" (29), that Eliza is decked in "royall aray" (145-6), that the ode depicts the celebratory decoration of Eliza with wreaths and garlands by Muses, and nymphs, and that Colin tells the shepherds' daughters that come to "adorne her grace" to "Binde your fillets faste,/And gird in your waste,/For more finesse, with a tawdrie lace" (130-5), for the natives of Venus are fastidious and neat, and frequently pursue occupations that relate to the adornment or beautification of women, just as Colin's ode beautifies the historical Elizabeth by re-creating her as the idealized Eliza.

Ptolemy, for example, says that Venereans are neat and fastidious⁵⁰ and that their occupations include making perfumes, weaving chaplets, selling clothing, and dealing in "colours, dyes, spices, or adornments."⁵¹ Al-Bīrūnī says they are fond of ornaments, perfume, gold, silver, and fine clothes and hence deal in "pictures and colours," make crowns, diadems, and perfumes.⁵² Ibn Ezra maintains that Venus governs "all ornaments, jewels, and rings for women...embroidered work

and all pretty clothing...cleanliness ...and...anything connected with dyeing and sewing."⁵³ According to Firmicus, Venus on the ascendant by night in an earth sign (as is Taurus) makes "manufacturers of perfumes, weavers of magnificent textiles, or successful dyers," while on the ascendant by day it produces linen weavers, embroiderers, or artists in paints."⁵⁴ Baptista Porta claims Venerean delight in "fine forms and good manners and in delicate fancies," that they have "a supremacy in good breeding [and] refinement," that they love flowers and elegance, and that they "delight in feminine ornaments and are given to adorning their bodies with elegant and smart attire, [and] have the genteel manners of a courtier."⁵⁵ Cattan tells us that Venus "causeth pleasure and cleanliness" and that its natives are "fine in their apparel."⁵⁶ Ferrier says the native of Venus will be a "lover of dainty and delicate things"⁵⁷ and may become a perfumer or an entertainer of women.⁵⁸ Maplet says that "such as are borne under her, are naturally geven to bee lovers of civilnesse and cleanliness, and to delight much in pleasant smells & sweete odours."⁵⁹ The Kalender of Sheepehards claims that Venereans "desire faire clothes, of gay colour, & fine" and have a fondness for rings, pelts, and precious stones;⁶⁰ and, finally, Lilly says that the Venerean is "cleanly in Apparel," "desirous of Trimming and making himself neat and compleat both in Cloaths and Body," and may well become someone who makes or sells "those Commodities which adorne Women, either in Body...or in Face."⁶¹

One of the chief purposes of the ode, and indeed of the Calender as a whole, is to bring Spenser's talents to the attention of

potential patrons, including the Queen herself.⁶² Montrose points out that the "pastoralization of the Elizabethan body politic...puts public relationships of power into intimate relationships of love,"⁶³ a strategy that is particularly effective in a poem that is both an encomium and a request for patronage since it simultaneously entails "romantic mystifications of the motives of the Queen and her councillors" and "idealizations of the motives of courtier-poets."⁶⁴ Other scholars have also seen elements of the intimacy of love poetry in the ode: Cain notes that in its second half "laudable exercise yields to more intimate celebration";⁶⁵ V. Tufte sees the ode as an epithalamium honouring the marriage of Eliza and England;⁶⁶ and L. S. Johnson argues that the mutual love between Eliza and her countrymen is potentially a remedy for the discord that characterizes so much of the Calender, and sees the ode as a decking of an Eliza who is analogous to the pure bride of the Song of Solomon.⁶⁷ Such a mood of intimacy is suitable to the "Aprill" ode not only because it romanticizes the materialistic desire for patronage, because Venus governs love, and because the Queen claimed to be married to her kingdom, but also because both Venus and Taurus signify men who will become well-known and important and have lucrative and amicable relationships with those in position of power. According to Valens, the natives of Taurus will, if the benefics aspect the ascendant or if the house ruler is well-placed, become notable and famous, be high priests in charge of sacred rites, and be awarded wreaths and purple robes.⁶⁸ The Kalender of Sheepehards says the native of Taurus "shal be put in offices and shal exercise them well, and shalbe riche by women...and shall rise to great dignitie."⁶⁹ Taisnier claims that

when the ascendant is in Taurus, Aquarius in the upper midheaven "assures favour with princes and presages public acts and offices";⁷⁰ similarly, Indagine tells us that the man with Taurus in the ascendant will be "acceptable unto Princes & great men" and will be given "rule in publike affaires and offices";⁷¹ and Firmicus claims "he will always have friendly ties with men more powerful than he; and will lead his life in the midst of public activities."⁷² As for Venus, Ptolemy says "she causes fame, honour,...satisfaction in every mutual relationship, the increase of property...paying honour to those things which are to be revered...alliances with the leaders, and elegance of rulers."⁷³ Dorotheus Sidonius claims Venus on the ascendant and favourable makes one praiseworthy, "well known among kings and lords of men" and "one whom praise will raise up and whose head will be crowned."⁷⁴ Indagine claims Venus gives "splendoure and renowme";⁷⁵ and Cattan says that Venus in Taurus makes one "of great renowme and reputation, a lover of kings and of their children, and of all Princes and Nobles, remaining daily with them."⁷⁶ Firmicus provides us with the fullest account of the Venerean's relations with the powerful. He claims that "Venus on the ascendant by night will make men of divine intelligence, friends of emperors and powerful men, entrusted with the management of their affairs. They will be important and respectable orators."⁷⁷ He says that the ascendant in the terms of Venus makes men friends of powerful men or emperors;⁷⁸ that Venus in the fourth house ("Aprill" is the fourth eclogue) grants public approbation and friendship with great men;⁷⁹ and, finally, that Venus in a nocturnal chart and in a fixed sign (such as Taurus) "will make devoted friends of emperors, who make

and invent things that please royalty; they cater to royal luxury and receive great riches from these occupations."⁸⁰

Given the suitability of "Aprill" for adorning a female ruler with a fastidiously constructed ode⁸¹ and the favourability of Venus and Taurus for close and profitable relationships with the powerful, this is a propitious eclogue for Spenser's first grand gesture of self-promotion in the Calender, as Jupiter's month is propitious for the last. Three other considerations show just how promising this month is. First, since Venus is a benefic planet, it usually makes one "happy in effecting his enterprises."⁸² Second, both Venus and Taurus incline one to generosity.⁸³ Third, the ode is clearly intended to be a monumentum aere perennius, and for this Taurus augurs well: according to Indagine, the sun in Taurus makes men "bold and fortunate in attempting hard and weightie affaires & businesse";⁸⁴ Finé claims that the moon in Taurus means that it "is good to beginne such thinges, as you woulde have to be firme and stable";⁸⁵ and Dariot says that when Taurus is dominant it is good to "begin that which you would have continue."⁸⁶

The continual linking of Venus and Taurus with the arts and their patrons and with occupations pertaining to the adornment of women makes it singularly apt that "Aprill" contain a "trimly dight" encomiastic poem in which dancing admirers decorate a central female figure decked in royal array who is expected to reward her celebrators.

C. Eliza as Venus

Several scholars have noted that although it was natural and

politically expedient for Elizabethan poets and propagandists to celebrate the Virgin Queen, whose natal sign was Virgo, with terms and symbols relating her to the Virgin Mary and to Virgo-Astraea, in "Aprill" Spenser combines these with a presentation of Eliza as various forms of Venus, the planetary deity presiding over April.⁸⁷ Indeed, several details point to an identification of Eliza with Venus. Eliza is supremely beautiful and as the queen of shepherds is the source of the order and harmony surrounding her, just as Venus is the source of beauty, harmony, and order.⁸⁸ According to Ovid, April is the month in which girls and women must adorn Venus' statues with great care;⁸⁹ in "Aprill" Colin instructs the shepherds' daughters to be fastidious in their decking of Eliza. The roses, violets, lilies, and daffodils which beautify Eliza are Venereal flowers, as are all those that have a sweet odour.⁹⁰ That the Graces attend on Eliza who is herself worthy of being a fourth Grace (109-17) further confirms her as a Venus figure since the Graces are traditionally charged with bathing, anointing, and dressing Venus, who can be said to be a fourth Grace containing in herself the attributes of the other three.⁹¹ Finally, Thenot's emblem ("O quam te memorem Virgo?") and Hobbinoll's reply ("O dea certe") characterize Eliza as a Venus-Virgo figure since they "are borrowed from Aeneid 1.327-28 where Aeneas comes on Venus dressed as a nymph of Diana."⁹² This section discusses the functions of Eliza-Venus in terms of the natural world and the political allegory; and examines her role, as both Heavenly and Earthly Venus, in poetic inspiration. L. S. Johnson suggests that Eliza "is, metaphorically, the fair flower of nature's potential creativity";⁹³ similarly, Cullen refers to her as "goddess

of eternal spring and fertility: and notes that the "inhabitants of her world celebrate her by decking her with the flowers, the greenery, and the husbandry she has brought forth."⁹⁴ MacCaffrey and Cain both indicate that "flowers from all seasons blossom together to deck Eliza,"⁹⁵ so it is more accurate to liken the ode's landscape to the "seasonless Eden"⁹⁶ than to an eternal spring. The comments of these scholars imply that there are two main features of the natural world over which Eliza presides: fertility and pleasing harmony. Both of these are gifts of Venus.

Since Colin's "goddesse" (97) rules over a fruitful world, she is analogous to the Venus genetrix without whom "nothing emerges into the shining sunlit world to grow in joy and loveliness."⁹⁷ Maplet, citing Agrippa, describes the activity of this Venus as follows:

Venus, in all kindes of Creatures, purchaseth and procureth Love betwixt Mate and Mate: and... she laboureth chiefly in the multiplication and increase of seede, to the continuance and preservation of the whole kinde, coveting alwayes as nigh as she can, and thereto with mighte and mayne labouringe, to abandon and remove Barraynesse out of the way, which coveteth to cut off the Race and continuance of all.⁹⁸

Similarly, Agrippa says that Venus is "the first parent of men, who in the beginning of all things joyned diversity of sexes together with a growing love, and with an eternall off-spring propagates kinds of men and animals" and calls her the "safegard of mankind";⁹⁹ Ibn Ezra claims that Venus signifies "fructification and growth";¹⁰⁰ and Du Bartas says that Venus' "free vertues milde/with happie fruit get all the World with-child."¹⁰¹

The world of the ode, a world that exists only in Colin's imagination

and his poetry, is an idyllic, stable, and harmonious one from which the wolves (2), unrequited love (4, 11), broken friendship (25-8), broken pipes (3, 14-16), and variable seasons (5-8) of the framing dialogue have been purged.¹⁰² This concord, symbolised by the seasonably impossible concurrence flowers and by the Venerean song, music, and dance, implies, as J. N. Brown says, that Eliza is "elevated...to the status of 'Queen of Love', representative of the harmony and union of the cosmos."¹⁰³ This is the divine love of which Boethius writes:

That the world with stable feyth varieth accordable
chaungynges; that the contrarious qualites of ele-
mentz holden among hemself allyaunce perdurable;
that Phebus, the sonne, with his goldene chariet
bryngeth forth the rosene day; that the moone hath
commaundement over the nyghtes, whiche nyghtes
Esperus, the eye-sterre, hath brought; that the
see, gredy to flowen, constreyneth with a certein
eende his floodes, so that it is nat leveful to
strecche his brode termes or bowndes uppon the
erthes...al this accordaunce of thyngeis is bounde
with love, that governeth erthe and see, and hath
also comandement to the hevene. And yif this
love slakede the bridelis, alle thyngeis that now
loven hem togidres wolden make batayle
contynuely, and stryven to fordo the fassoun of
this world.¹⁰⁴

Bernard Silvestris calls this divine love the "lawful Venus" and characterizes it as

the harmony of the world, that is, the even
proportion of worldly things, which some call
Astrea, and others call natural justice. This
subsists in the elements, in the stars, in the
seasons, in living beings.¹⁰⁵

Although the astrological Venus does not have the same universal scope as Bernard's "lawful Venus," they do share a family likeness: as the "lawful Venus" produces the mundana musica, so the astrological Venus produces human musicians; the former gives the cosmos its beauty,

the latter bestows beauty on the human body; the former regulates the strife of the elements, the latter as a benefic planet mitigates the harmful influence of the malefics.¹⁰⁶ The harmonizing and beautifying power of the astrological Venus accounts for its rulership over the most idyllic of locales and for its causing temperate and beneficial weather. According to Ibn Ezra, Venus signifies "orchards, gardens, ...places reserved for women, ...any beautiful animal, ... and any fruit which has a nice scent and an agreeable taste."¹⁰⁷ Agrippa claims that Venus rules "pleasant fountains, green Meadows, flourishing Gardens, ...dancing-places, and all places belonging to women";¹⁰⁸ and Ferrier, Lilly, and Ramesey assign to Venus gardens, fountains and places dedicated to dancing.¹⁰⁹ The astrological Venus cannot, of course, give us a seasonless Eden, but it can moderate the extremes of winter and summer, for, according to Ramesey, "she denotes gentle showers in Winter, and temperate heat in Summer."¹¹⁰ Ptolemy's account of Venus' influence on nature accords well with the spirit of the ode's world, for he says Venus is the cause "of temperateness and settled conditions of moist and very nourishing winds, of good air, clear weather, and generous showers of fertilizing waters;...of useful animals and the fruits of the earth she is the preeminent cause of abundance, good yields, and profit."¹¹¹ Venus-Eliza sitting "upon the grassie greene" (55), ruler of green meadows, flourishing gardens, pleasant fountains, fertilizing rains, dancing-places and places reserved for women, is, then, the ideal "goddesse" for the poet who tunes his song "unto the Waters fall" (36) to celebrate with an ode in which dancing women adorn her with a large array of Venerean flowers.

Of course the pastoral paradise emanating from the goddess Eliza is, as Johnson points out, a metaphor for the peace, prosperity, and true religion of Elizabeth's state.¹¹² He further explains that

The intimate bond between a prince and his state that is so pervasive a feature of medieval and Renaissance political rhetoric underscores England's sense of grace in having Elizabeth as ruler. Her state was an emanation of herself: the harmony, health, and prosperity of England was considered a manifestation of her wisdom, virtue, and piety. Like Solomon, Elizabeth was a guarantee of order.¹³³

Not only is the Elizabethan state an emanation of Elizabeth, but the English nation itself is in a sense an "emanation" of Venus, for Britain was said to be founded by Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas and hence great-great-grandson of Venus. Since Venus guided the inception of the greatest empire the world had known, it is appropriate that she reappear as Eliza to preside over the dawn of England's great imperial expansion, and it is fitting that she appear in "Aprill," since April 21 was the traditional date of the founding of Rome.¹¹⁴ Moreover, it is significant that when "Phoebus thrust out his golden hedde,/ upon her to gaze," he "blusht to see another Sunne belowe,/Ne durst againe his fyrye face out shewe" (73-8), for Ovid tells us that on April 15 Venus caused the sun to set early so that it could rise sooner for Augustus' coronation as Emperor the following day.¹¹⁵ Colin then tells us that Eliza is even brighter than the sun (79-81).¹¹⁶ Spenser alters Ovid's story significantly: in Ovid, Venus changes the sun's natural course as a favour to Augustus; in Spenser, Eliza-Venus replaces the sun and is herself crowned. Furthermore, as Cain reminds us, Spenser compares Eliza "to the sun and moon because, in imperial

iconography, they respectively symbolize the virtues of justice and mercy proper to an emperor.¹¹⁷ These details, taken together, imply that, in the person of Eliza, Venus has reappeared to govern personally an empire superior to that of the Romans, and that the poet who celebrates her will, in praising a goddess rather than a mortal, overgo Virgil. Appropriately, Spenser's clearest indications of his intentions to write an encomiastic epic centred on Elizabeth are in "Aprill" and "October," the months of Venus and Mars (the presiding deities of his future, but already planned, poem of "fierce warres and faithful loves"), and of the birthdays of Rome and Virgil respectively.

The rulership of a realm by a Venerean figure augurs well. According to Ptolemy, Venus as sole ruler of an event "in general brings about results similar to those of Jupiter, but with the addition of a certain agreeable quality."¹¹⁸ Jupiter's effects are hardly disagreeable: "he makes fame and prosperity, abundance, peaceful existence, the increase of the necessities of life, bodily and spiritual health, and, furthermore, benefits and gifts from rulers, and the increase, greatness and magnanimity of these latter; and in general he is the cause of happiness."¹¹⁹ He continues with Venus: "she causes fame, honour, happiness, abundance, happy marriage, many children, satisfaction in every mutual relationship, the increase of property, a neat and well conducted manner of life, paying honour to those things which are to be revered; further, she is the cause of bodily health, alliances with the leaders, and elegance of rulers."¹²⁰ Ramesey, similarly promises a happy year if it is ruled by a favourably placed Venus: "the year will be advantagious unto women, who shall generally be free from

infirmitieſ and mischieſ, ...the people ſhall alſo generally thriue and be proſperous, ſhall delight themſelves in recreations, ſports, feaſtings, mirth and jollities, and all pleaſure whatſoever."¹²¹

The virtues that diſtinguiſh Eliza's rule--peace and concord (Eliza's maintaining the reconciliation of the red roſe and the white (68) and being crowned with olive (123-4)), justice, and mercy--are ſuitable to a Venerean figure. E. K. points out that the olive that Minerva caused to ſpring out of the ground at Athens denoted that "it ſhould be a nurse of learning, and ſuch peaceable ſtudies" (Gloſſ on "Olives bene"). Lucretius ſimilariſtly links learning and peace, but goes further than E. K. by making peace depend on the good graces of Venus: "Meantime," he asks Venus, "grant that this brutal buſineſſ of war by ſea and land may everywhere be lulled to reſt. For you alone have power to bestow on mortals the belliſhing of quiet peace....In this evil hour of my country's history, I cannot pursue my task with a mind at eaſe."¹²² Authorities regularly link Venus with peace, concord, and friendſhip among men, a linking that is to be expeсted ſince it is a benefic planet that rules love. Agrippa, for example, characterizes Venus as "friendly, sociable, ...taking all things in good part...ſafe-guard of mankind."¹²³ Firmicus ſays that Venus as ruler of the chart makes the native "lovable...amiable, pleasing" and a faithful friend.¹²⁴ According to Al-Bīrūnī, the natives of Venus are good natured, friendly, not quarrelſome, and of good diſpoſition.¹²⁵ Ferrier ſays a fortunate Venus makes the native content, gracious, and amiable.¹²⁶ Cattan ſays Venus is the ruler of amity, grace, and gentleness.¹²⁷ Baptista Porta ſays the native of Venus is quiet and gentle, "abhors brawls, disputes,

and contentious of all kinds," has a fine sense of duty, and rejoices in the companionship of his friends.¹²⁸ De la Primaudaye says that Venus enflames one with a good love towards our neighbour and represents the love that preserves cities.¹²⁹ Lilly says the native of a well-placed Venus is a "quiet man, not given to laws, quarrel, or wrangling."¹³⁰ Finally, Robert Greene's Venus reminds us that she disposes the native unto friendship, amity, and the love that "appeaseth debates among earthly creatures. It is the enemie to dissention, the friend to quiet, yea the preserver and conserver of humane actions."¹³¹

Similarly, Venus is consistently linked with justice and mercy, and the related virtues of kindness and goodness. Porta, for example, says the native of a favourably placed Venus is "morally upright in character and not in the least wicked or depraved, reflecting always upon right things" and kind-hearted.¹³² Greene says the natives of Venus are "addicted to pittie, mercie, and favour."¹³³ According to Boccaccio the natives of Venus are humble, benign, and honest of face and manner.¹³⁴ Albertus Magnus claims the children of Venus are just and inviolable keepers of faith.¹³⁵ Agrippa says that Venus is "pittiful...always bountiful to mortals, affording the tender affection of a mother to the conditions of them in misery...letting no moment of time pass without doing good...rectifying and equalling all things."¹³⁶ According to Firmicus, the ascendant in the terms of Venus makes men kind, benevolent, merciful, and wishing to help all men.¹³⁷ Christopher Cattan calls Venus the "lady of pittie and mercie, which ceaseth not to doe well."¹³⁸ Ibn Ezra says Venus gives philanthropy and "devotion to justice and to temples of divine service."¹³⁹ Finally, Middleton

says Venereans are "lovers of all vertuous actions,"¹⁴⁰ and Ptolemy says they are haters of evil, compassionate, and easily conciliated.¹⁴¹

A state emanating from a queen possessing the attributes of the "goddess of civility and formal order"¹⁴² is idyllic, but, as the brigands' destruction of the pastoral paradise in The Faerie Queen, VI shows, it is also vulnerable. Johnson points out that although in

the decade between 1569 and 1579 we find extraordinary tributes to the queen as the cause of England's good fortunes....the same decade was also a time of national uneasiness. A parliament of decidedly Puritan temperament presided over a decade characterized by diplomatic tensions between England, France, and Spain, and by internal worries which centered on the succession question, Mary Stuart, and Catholic rebellion. Both internationally and nationally, the Catholic threat appeared a real one. The papal bull of 1570, which excommunicated Elizabeth and released her subjects from their allegiance, was doubly ominous because of the Northern Rebellion of the previous year, headed by Norfolk and supported by the Catholics of the northern countries....During the latter years of the decade, when Elizabeth entertained the notion of a marriage with the duke of Alençon, Englishmen once again expressed their fears for their English religion should the queen marry a Frenchman. Fears for national supremacy, the state of Protestantism, and the well-being of their queen seem to have dominated the minds of Englishmen during this period.¹⁴³

This decidedly iron age reality pervades the Calender's other eclogues,¹⁴⁴ and Tufte and Cain show that, in veiled allusions to the proposed French marriage, it even enters the "Aprill" ode.¹⁴⁵ On the whole, though, Eliza's world is harmonious, stable, and unthreatened, and in order to ensure its strength, Spenser includes some Martial elements. For example, Calliope, the muse of epic whose chief subjects are usually Martial, leads in the other Muses to present Eliza with bay branches.

Bay is not only used to crown poets, but also is "the signe of honor and victory, and therefore of myghty conquerors worn in theyr triumphes" (E. K., Gloss), and hence, even though it is a Solar plant, has Martial implications. Similarly, Eliza is adorned with the "chevisaunce" in the flower sequence (143); as Cain points out, there is no flower of that name and Spenser elsewhere uses the word to mean "enterprise",¹⁴⁶ a term that can have Martial connotations. This mingling of Martial elements in the generally Venerean depiction of Eliza implies that the harmony of the state emanating from Eliza parallels the birth of Harmonia from the union of Venus and Mars.¹⁴⁷ Although Eliza cannot appear armed in a pastoral poem, these hints of Martial strength also call to mind Venus Victrix, the "ancestral goddess of the Julian house," who, says Wind, "appears on the gems and coins of Caesar and Augustus, as a Martial figure of Roman peace, of victorious generosity relying on her strength."¹⁴⁸ Eliza-Venus decked with bay and "chevisaunce" and celebrated by Calliope thus has implications similar to those of her victory over the sun: the ancestral goddess of the Roman empire reappears to guide its successor, the English empire. Such a Venus-Mars figure signifies both the benefits of peace and the military preparedness necessary to preserve it. Indeed, England's Venus has already accomplished what Lucretius hoped for from his: made the realm "a nurse of learning, and such peaceable studies" by warding off civil war.

Cain points out that by "immortal mirrhor" in "October" (93) "Spenser probably means Elizabeth as Venus Coelestis, who according to Ficino, 'dwells in the highest, supercelestial zone of the universe, i.e., in the zone of the Cosmic Mind, and the beauty symbolized by her

is the primary and universal beauty of divinity."¹⁴⁹ However, Cain discusses "Aprill" from a rhetorical rather than a Neoplatonic stance and, therefore, does not explore in detail the implications for Spenser's poetics of seeing Eliza as the Heavenly Venus. The results of Cain's analysis are, though, crucial to the following argument, so I recapitulate them here: in the first section of the ode, "Spenser creates an encomium praising Eliza as static icon and presenting Colin as poet-artificer (poeta)."¹⁵⁰ In the second section Colin "takes on the role of visionary, or yates, ...in fact, the section begins in the eighth stanza with 'I see' and proceeds to envision a literal panegyric, a celebration brought on by the Orphic incantation of the encomium. Spenser thus implies that the poet's vision is impossible without the poet's art, although when achieved it complements and fulfills that art."¹⁵¹ Chapter I examined the relationship between poeta and yates in terms of the astrological-medical conceptions of Saturn and melancholy. The following argument examines this relationship in terms of Renaissance Neoplatonism's two Venuses and shows that, although the carnal Venus that rules Colin's love for Rosalind is incompatible with the good Saturn, the Venus that leads to vatic poetry is not. Although the Venus of popular astrology is not totally divorced from the Neoplatonic Venuses¹⁵² and is, as seen above, conducive to poetry and music, it is not of itself sufficient to tell us anything about the workings of inspiration.

Mallette and Greco both argue that a Neoplatonic poetic underlies the Calender. After summarizing Bembo's account of love in The Courtier, which shows that love "in man is a divinely ordained and cosmically necessary movement upwards toward spiritual perfection,"

Mallette explains that "Colin's personae as both poet and lover are almost thoroughly inclusive of one another....This mutuality of roles derives, of course, from the accepted neoplatonic notions that the poet's goal is the same as that of the lover, and that his devotion to the Heavenly Venus can be the viable route along which he ascends to the contemplation of Beauty."¹⁵³ Moreover, both the lover and poet must use the imagination, "a faculty whose genesis is corporeal," in their ascent from the senses to the "universal understanding." Since, in the Calender, Colin cannot bridle his sensual passion for Rosalind, he is a "neoplatonic lover manqué" and thus his promise as a poet is thwarted.¹⁵⁴ Mallette, however, does not consider Eliza as the Heavenly Venus and does not provide a detailed account of the process of inspiration.

Greco explains Neoplatonic magical theories of inspiration in great detail and tells us that

the poet-magus is thus a visionary who perceives universal patterns of Ideal Beauty amidst the chaos of a fallen world, and, through his divinely-empowered imagination, recreates them in the images of his art. Possessed with sacred truths about the universe, and with the mysterious efficacy to awake the reader to a vision of those truths, the poet is the divine magus whose art taps the spiritual forces of the soul.¹⁵⁵

For Greco, as for Mallette, the imagination, which transfers sense impressions to the intellect where universals can be recalled, is pivotal: it is the magus' pathway to the divine and the auditor's only means of having images of Ideas implanted in the mind.¹⁵⁶ Greco does see Eliza as the Heavenly Venus and argues that, as "evidenced in "Aprill", Beauty is the infusing principle of divine poetry, and the

love of it leads to vision and imaginative power."¹⁵⁷ However, she regards the entire ode as visionary and thus does not explain how inspiration works in this specific instance.¹⁵⁸ The present reading applies a Neoplatonic approach, through the two Venuses, to Cain's insight about Colin's dual role as poeta and vates and shows how love teaches Colin to "climbe so hie" ("October," 91).¹⁵⁹

Ficino divides Creation into three orders: the Angelic Mind, which is incorporeal and immortal; the World-Soul, which is also incorporeal and immortal, but is subject to the Angelic Mind and moves physical bodies; and the World-Body, which is corporeal and visible.¹⁶⁰ The Heavenly Venus is that intelligence which is in the Angelic Mind; the Earthly Venus "is the power of generation with which the World-Soul is endowed. Each has as consort a similar Love. The first, by innate love is stimulated to know the beauty of God; the second, by its love, to procreate that same beauty in bodies."¹⁶¹ These two Venuses are also manifested in the human soul: the powers of comprehension and generation

in us are the two Venuses which are accompanied by their twin Loves. When the beauty of a human body first meets our eyes, the mind, which is the first Venus in us, worships and adores the human beauty as an image of the divine beauty.... But the power of generation in us, which is the second Venus, desires to create another form like this. Therefore, there is Love in each case: in the former, it is the desire of contemplating Beauty; and in the latter, the desire of propagating it; both loves are honorable and praiseworthy, for each is concerned with the divine image.¹⁶²

Although the Heavenly Venus is a contemplative impulse, and is, therefore, analogous to the good Saturn,¹⁶³ while the Earthly is a

generative power, they interact in two ways that are important to our understanding of the relationship between love and poetry in the "Aprill" ode. First, the Heavenly Venus is responsible for the propagating activity of the Earthly. Ficino explains that the Heavenly Venus in the Angelic Mind "first embraces the Glory of God in herself, and then translates it to the second Venus [in the World-Soul]. This latter Venus translates sparks of that divine glory into earthly matter. It is because of the presence of sparks of this kind that an individual body seems beautiful to us, in proportion to its merits."¹⁶⁴ Likewise, in the human soul, the Heavenly Venus contemplating human beauty as an image of the divine "arouses the mind to the Earthly Venus who desires to create another corporeal image of the divine."¹⁶⁵ Second, because it is the sparks of divine beauty in bodies that stimulate the mind, not the bodies themselves, the Heavenly Venus can also lead the soul from particularized corporeal beauty to the universal intelligible beauty of the Angelic Mind. According to Pico, for example, some men

remembering that more perfect Beauty which the Soul (before immerst in the Body) beheld, are inflam'd with an incredible desire of reviewing it, in pursuit whereof they separate themselves as much as possible from the body, of which the Soul (returning to its first Dignity) becomes absolute Mistress. This is the image of Celestial Love, by which Man ariseth from one perfection to another, till his Soul (wholly united to the Intellect) is made an Angel. Purged from Material dross and transformed into spiritual flame by this Divine Power he mounts up to the Intelligible Heaven, and happily rests in his Fathers bosome.¹⁶⁶

This ascent, to which Spenser alludes in "October" (91-6), consists of a number of stages that Pico summarizes as follows:

From Material Beauty We ascend to the first

Fountain by six Degrees: the Soul through the sight represents to her self the Beauty of some particular Person, inclines to it, is pleased with it, and while she rests here, is in the first, the most imperfect material degree. 2. She reforms by her imagination the Image she hath received, making it more perfect as more spiritual; and separating it from Matter, brings it a little nearer Ideal Beauty. 3. By the light of the agent Intellect abstracting this Form from all singularity, she considers the universal Nature of Corporeal Beauty by it self: This is the highest degree the Soul can reach whilst she goes no further than Sense. 4. Reflecting upon her own Operation, the knowledge of universal Beauty, and considering that every thing founded in Matter is particular, she concludes this universality proceeds not from the outward Object, but her Intrinsical Power: and reasons thus: If in the dimme Glasse of Material Phantasmes this Beauty is represented by vertue of my Light, it follows, that beholding it in the clear Mirrour of my substance divested of those Clouds, it will appear more perspicous: thus turning into her self, shee findes the Image of Ideal Beauty communicated to her by the Intellect, the Object of the Celestiall Love.

5. She ascends from this Idea in her self, to the place where Celestial Venus is, in her proper form: Who in fulness of her Beauty not being comprehensible, by any particular Intellect, she as much as in her lies, endeavours to be united to the first Minde, the chiefest of Creatures, and general Habitation of Ideal Beauty, obtaining this, she terminates, and fixeth her journey; this is the sixth and last degree.¹⁶⁷

Not only does this ascent have the same destination as does inspired melancholy, but since the Heavenly Venus and the good Saturn are both powers of contemplation, there are similarities in the way they work: just as the Saturnian contemplative must free his mind from the clamorous commerce of the senses and other mundane concerns in order to turn inward and raise his mind above the "starry skie" ("October," 94); so the Neoplatonic lover, after using his imagination to generalize from a particular instance of human beauty to the universal nature of

corporeal beauty, abandons the senses and turns inward to contemplate the beauty in his own soul and rises to the Angelic Mind. It must also be noted that this double movement (whereby divine glory passes from the Heavenly to the Earthly Venus who then translates sparks of it into matter and these sparks arouse the human soul both to physical procreation and to a contemplative ascent), legitimizes the Earthly Venus in the human soul, but only when it is concerned with propagation and contemplation of the divine image as reflected in the beloved. But when, as in the case of Colin's passion for Rosalind, the beloved herself in all her particularity becomes the object of the lover's attention, the lover "abuses the dignity of love" and is, as indicated above, subject to love melancholy.¹⁶⁸

This account of the two Venuses and their accompanying loves helps explain the relationship between love and the arts. Ficino argues that love is the teacher of the arts because "no one can ever discover or invent a new art except as the pleasure of investigation and the desire of finding (the truth) motivate him; and except as he who teaches loves his students, and as those students most eagerly thirst after that learning."¹⁶⁹ As de la Primaudaye's remarks on Venus make clear, love as teacher of the arts is, in effect, the Heavenly Venus assisting the labours of Saturnian contemplation: "Venus giveth grace, cheerfulness, and love; by which men being mooved do performe all high matters with delectation; because we could not sustaine the labour, which is in the studie of naturall and divine matters, no not in temporall things, if love did not thereto invite us."¹⁷⁰ The truth once found must be communicated, i.e., propagated in a corporeal form, and

this is the province of the Earthly Venus: "Love is justly," says Ficino, "called the Ruler of the Arts, for a man fashions works of art carefully and completes them thoroughly, who esteems highly both the works themselves and the people for whom they are made."¹⁷¹ Later he tells us that the Earthly Venus "stimulates the soul which has reached maturity with a powerful desire for teaching and writing, so that in knowledge, generated either in writing or in the minds of students, the wisdom of the teacher (and truth) may remain eternal among men...[and] desires...to bring forth a wisdom like itself by polished writing in a beautiful style."¹⁷²

When we recall that beauty is perceived only by the mind, by sight, and by hearing (the least corporeal of faculties) and that therefore love is limited to the pleasures of these three,¹⁷³ the purity of the literary and artistic modes of the Earthly Venus' impulse to propagation becomes evident, for the artist (particularly the poet or musician) works in the media least likely to distract him with the pleasures of the more corporeal senses (touch, taste, and smell). Similarly, since artistic beauty appeals to only the sight, hearing, and mind, it is already less material than the beauty of a particular person, and the person who recognizes artistic beauty has already begun the ascent to Ideal Beauty. Kristeller indicates that poetry, for Ficino, is supreme among the arts. He explains that to account for poetic creativity

Ficino used Plato's theory of divine madness and inspiration. The true poet does not follow the arbitrary impulse of his human thoughts, but is inspired by God--in other words, he composes on the basis of what he has seen in a state of

inner or spiritual elevation and rapture. Hence...Ficino puts the poet in second place, following the philosopher, among those who separate themselves from the body during life.¹⁷⁴

The poet derives his noble status from the mental operations of inspiration; the poem, from its effect on the audience: poetry's words unite aural beauty and intellectual signification and thus speak "directly to the mind" and through their effects "can lead the listener directly to God Himself."¹⁷⁵

The theory of "divine madness" does not contradict the attribution of inspiration to melancholy and Saturn nor Ficino's claim that love is the teacher and ruler of the arts. Ficino identified Platonic divine madness with Aristotelian inspired melancholy;¹⁷⁶ moreover, he claimed that of the four Platonic furores three (poetic, religious, and prophetic) are totally dependent on the fourth (love), because they cannot exist without the amatory qualities of zeal, piety, and worship.¹⁷⁷ In regarding inspiration as a Saturnian phenomenon at one point, and as a Venerean one at another, one is simply looking at the same process from two interrelated perspectives that illuminate different aspects of it: the Saturnian view throws light on the physiological and intellectual qualities necessary for concentrated thought, and stresses the labour involved; the Venerean view stresses the emotional impetus that makes the labour pleasant and moves the poet or scholar to translate his vision into a corporeal medium for the benefit of others. Both perspectives stress the need to leave the world of the senses behind and to turn inward in order to "mount as high, and sing as soote as Swanne" ("October," 90).

In both "October," in which Piers presents the theory of enthusiasmos, and "Aprill," in which we see it in action, we can detect the co-operative action of the two Venuses. But in order to understand fully how these eclogues deal with inspiration, we must make two more distinctions. First, although the "Aprill" ode is clearly in praise of Elizabeth and there are many points of contact between her and Eliza, they are are conceptually discrete figures. Second, we have thus far considered the two Venuses only as active powers, the Heavenly leading the soul inward and upward, the Earthly leading it outward and downward. But, as Panofsky indicates, they also symbolize heavenly and earthly beauty: heavenly beauty is the "primary and universal splendour of divinity" completely divorced from matter, while earthly beauty is "a particularized image of the primary beauty...realized in the corporeal world."¹⁷⁸ Because Heavenly Venus/Beauty is universal and immaterial, the poet, although he may see her with his inner eye, cannot fully depict her in his particularized and largely corporeal medium. As far as his desire to propagate heavenly beauty is concerned, he must content himself with producing an earthly imitation that is less transitory and less corporeal than the beauty of a living person and that may contain intimations of heavenly beauty strong enough to start the audience on its contemplative ascent. That is, at best the version of the poet's vision accessible to us is an imitation of the Heavenly Venus/Beauty that can activate our Heavenly Venus/Power.¹⁷⁹

In "October," Piers suggests that Cuddie should let his Muse "rest" in "fayre Elisa" or try to "Advaunce the worthy whome shee loveth best/Who first the white beare to the stake did bring" (43-8).

In other words, he should mobilize his Earthly Venus/Power to propagate in verse the particular, history-bound beauty of a specific individual or situation. The cynical Cuddie can find "nought worth a pease,/To put in preace emong the learned troupe" (79-70); however, Colin, when his mind is not fixed on Rosalind, is able to perceive the sparks of beauty in Elizabeth and her "worthies," and, further, to see in these corporeal images of Heavenly Beauty an "immortal mirrhor," the contemplation of which would "rayse ones mynd above the starry skie" (91-6). The Heavenly Venus/Power translates the resulting vision of the Heavenly Venus/Beauty to the Earthly Venus/Power within Colin who then embodies it in a poem that can act as a similar "mirrhor" for the audience.

The "Aprill" ode operates in a rather complex manner: in essence, Eliza as both the Heavenly and the Earthly Venus/Beauty awakes in Colin both the Heavenly and Earthly Venus/Power, and since he composes the poem ex tempore, Colin exercises his contemplative and generative powers simultaneously. The result is that he ascends, in a manner somewhat analogous to the "ladder" quoted above, to the vatic vision recorded in the ode's second half. As many scholars have noted, the key to Spenser's intentions in the ode is Eliza's genealogy: she is of heavenly race, the spotless and immaculately conceived daughter of Pan and Syrinx (46-54). Colin, at this point in the ode, is working as poet-artificer constructing an encomium, and as a genealogy of Elizabeth this extravagant development of the *topos genus* touches, as Cain says, "on the popular Protestant concept of Elizabeth as God's chosen vessel,"¹⁸⁰ and as Montrose says, cleverly counters "Catholic insinuations of Elizabeth's bastardy with an insinuation of her divinity."¹⁸¹ But as a

genealogy of Eliza it tells us that "Eliza is the creature of the poet"¹⁸² since in the Ovidian myth the only "offspring" of Pan and Syrinx are the panpipe and the song it produces.¹⁸³ In this aspect of the genealogy's meaning, Pan is not likely to signify God's inspiring the poem, because Colin is still working as poeta; it is most likely that Pan represents the patriotic poet equipped with his knowledge of rhetoric, and the chaste Syrinx, Elizabeth as Earthly Venus/Beauty. Thus, the beauty of the historical Elizabeth (and the state she embodies) inspires the Earthly Venus/Power in Colin to propagate that beauty in poetic images.¹⁸⁴ Even at the outset the Heavenly Venus/Power is also at work, for although Elizabeth is a woman as well as a ruler, Colin does not wish to reproduce only her physical beauty, but rather those beauties befitting her as a ruler: hence, the typical Petrarchan catalogue of bodily beauties becomes a list of royal virtues like "heavenly haveour," "princely grace," "Maiestie," "modest eye," and the Tudor peace (64-72).¹⁸⁵ However, loosely analogous to the second step of Pico's ladder,¹⁸⁶ this abstracting of the royal virtues from their material incarnation in the historical Elizabeth requires that Colin use his imagination, contemplate the beauty of Elizabeth, and apply his rhetorical knowledge to refashion and improve upon the Queen. The result of this imaginative reconstruction, once the Earthly Venus/Power in Colin has moved him to record it, is the artifact Eliza that embodies what Colin sees as the source of Elizabeth's beauty. Elizabeth, then, insofar as she inspires Colin to write is the Earthly Venus/Beauty, and, insofar as she inspires him to contemplate, to work towards understanding the true nature of her glory, contains sparks of the Heavenly

Venus/Beauty arousing the corresponding power in Colin.

In the third step of the Neoplatonic ladder the lover's imagination mixes all particular beauties together to arrive at the conception of the universal nature of corporeal beauty. Colin's Eliza is such a conception and more. To make Eliza Colin has combined the attributes of the perfect woman (since Eliza "in her sexe doth all excell" (45)), the beauty of sublunary nature (the seasonally impossible bouquet he makes part of the artifact), and the visible beauty of the heavens (Eliza outdoes the sun and moon in brightness and beauty), to produce an impossible to visualize figure of universal beauty. But since the very components that make Eliza physically beautiful are representative of moral, spiritual, and regal virtues, Eliza, by the end of the encomium proper (stanza 6 of the ode), is also a generalized image of those virtues as they are manifested in the realms below the Angelic Mind (since Eliza's associations thus far extend only to the planets). Thus far, then, the two Venuses, as both Beauties and Powers, have led Colin to the third rung of his ascent and to create Eliza. Colin goes beyond the first step (being pleased with the sight of Elizabeth's beauty) and immediately begins to use his imagination to improve upon historical actuality (such improvements are also required by the rules of encomium-writing). In this process of imaginative refashioning, Eliza becomes steadily less concrete and more conceptual: we can visualize an ideal woman, but the beauty that can put the sun and moon to shame is the purely intellectual "universal Nature of Corporeal Beauty." The situation is rendered yet more complex by the fact that, while the Neoplatonic ladder deals only with the lover's

response to corporeal beauty, Colin is also improving upon and generalizing Elizabeth's non-corporeal beauty (see Note 186). While the Heavenly Venus is inducing this intellectual ascent in Colin, the Earthly Venus/Power in him is moving him to generate Eliza in verse. By the end of the encomium there are in effect two Elizas, both constructed by Colin: the one in Colin's imagination and the other, its embodiment in the more corporeal medium of verse, designed to reproduce the first in the audience's imagination. But the iconic Elizas in Colin's mind and verse, though of a greater degree of permanence, generality, and immateriality than Elizabeth, are still versions of the Earthly Venus/Beauty (through which glimmers of the Heavenly Venus/Beauty shine) because they are specific constructions of a specific mind.

In the remaining steps of the Neoplatonic ladder, the lover concludes that the universality of corporeal beauty "proceeds not from the outward Object" but from his soul's "intrinsecal Power," and contemplating his own spiritual substance, realizes that the beauty he perceives there is a particular reflection of Heavenly Beauty, and rises through his intuitive intellect to the Heavenly Venus in the Angelic Mind. Essentially the same thing happens in Colin in the remainder of the ode. Cain points out that in the transitional seventh stanza when Colin steps back to admire his craftsmanship he is in a sense "genuflecting to the result of his own art that builds better than it knows,"¹⁸⁷ and that when he calls Eliza "my goddesse plaine" (97), "the possessive 'my' expresses both fealty and proprietorship."¹⁸⁸ From a Neoplatonic perspective, this proprietorship takes on a special

meaning, for in worshipping Eliza as both his own and a goddess, he is acknowledging that Eliza's beauty proceeds from the "Intrinsical Power" of his own soul and that she is Heavenly Venus/Beauty as reflected in his particular intellect. As Colin contemplates this Beauty, the Heavenly Venus/Power in himself unites with that in the Angelic Mind to raise his mind above the starry sky so that he can see Eliza/Heavenly Venus celebrated by the immortal Muses, Graces, and nymphs. The change from "goddesse" (stanza 7) to "Goddesse" (stanza 8), along with the switch from the imperative verb forms of stanzas 1-6 to the indicative forms (beginning with "I see") of stanzas 8-10,¹⁸⁹ signals this rise from the planetary limits of the iconic Eliza.

The artifact Eliza can, because of the particularity of words and poetic images, provide only intimations of the universal corporeal beauty perceived by the poet. Similarly, the full glory of the Eliza/Heavenly Venus is accessible only to Colin's enraptured mind; however, the Heavenly Venus translates her glory to Colin's Earthly Venus/Power which in turn gives it particularized corporeal form in the verse so that less fortunate mortals can have a glimpse of it. The Eliza that Colin sees is the Heavenly Venus/Beauty in her divine universal splendour; the Eliza we see in the verse is an individuated figure adored by a multitude of other figures who adorn her with symbolic objects. To see the Eliza Colin sees we must see the One in the Many, add together Elizabeth, flowers, the sun and moon, Muses, Graces, Nymphs, olive, bay, etc. to produce a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. In the context of the progress of the ode as a whole, the genealogy of Eliza takes on a meaning that Colin as poet-artificer

could have been at best only dimly aware of: Pan as God working through the agency of the two Venuses plays on the poet's mind as an instrument (Syrinx) and begets an image of Heavenly Venus/Beauty (Eliza).¹⁹⁰ Love, the desire to both contemplate and propagate beauty, does indeed teach Colin to climb so high and to return and sing "as soote as Swanne."

II. "September"

If the Venerean motifs of order, harmony, peace, love, poetry, beauty, generosity, celebration and adornment of a woman, and profitable friendships with rulers are the very substance of "Aprill," they seem at first glance to be almost entirely excluded from "September," which is harsh, bitter, satiric, and unlyrical, contains no major female figures, and depicts social chaos rather than social order.¹⁹¹ Indeed, of all the eclogues in the Calender, "September" forms the starker contrast with "Aprill." However, the basic structure of "September" is similar to that of "Aprill": in "Aprill" there is a framing dialogue and situation set in the here and now, and a depiction of a contrasting world distanced in time but still connected to the present (Colin composed the ode in the past, Hobbinol recites it now); in "September" there is a framing situation and a depiction of a contrasting world distanced in space but still connected to the here and now (Diggon Davie tells Hobbinoll what he saw abroad, and an element of that chaos troubles the local setting in the form of foxes and wolves). Johnson points out that in "Aprill" Eliza/Elizabeth "stands for and offers" the fruitful love that can restore the fragmented world of the framing dialogue and of the rest of the

Calender as a whole;¹⁹² the final part of this section will argue that in "September" the framing situation contains the seeds of recovery from the chaos depicted by Diggon. The earlier parts discuss the suitability of "September" for its subject of ecclesiastical behaviour, outline the general fortunes of the native of Libra, and examine the characters of Diggon and the world he describes.

Diggon and Hobbinol consider themselves and each other to be honest and upright pastors who are united in condemning the corrupt clergy, even though they do disagree about how to deal with the problem. This concern with ecclesiastical matters is appropriate since Libra on the ascendant, according to Firmicus, means the "native will be devout, a worshipper of the gods" and "will be maintained in religious or government office."¹⁹³ According to Indagine, Libra ascending indicates "religion, sincerity, and integrity of judgement...[and] ecclesiastical promotions."¹⁹⁴ Similarly, Al-Bīrūnī claims that Libra denotes "devotees," small mosques and places of worship,¹⁹⁵ and Fine says that the moon in Libra signifies a good time to "have to do with religious persons."¹⁹⁶ The subject is also suitable to Venus, for, according to Ibn Ezra, its children are characterized by "devotion to justice and to temples of divine service."¹⁹⁷ Dorotheus Sidonius says some Venetians "occupy hours of worship";¹⁹⁸ Al-Bīrūnī says Venus rules places of worship.¹⁹⁹ Pierre de la Primaudaye maintains that if "we governe well the concupiscence or appetite heated by this planet...thereupon woulde ensue a good love inflamed towards God and our neighbour."²⁰⁰ Baptista Porta says Venus produces a "devout and pious person engaged in doing right [and] religious and righteous."²⁰¹ Finally, Firmicus

says that Venus as ruler of the chart makes one pious and just and may produce "discoverers of sacred teachings."²⁰² "September" is the ninth eclogue; Venus in the ninth house, says Firmicus, indicates "constant attacks by some demon."²⁰³ While Diggon is not literally pursued by demons, the exploitative pastors in the "forreen costes" he visited "boast they han the devill at commaund" (94). Firmicus continues: "The natives go around sordid and unkempt or stay in temples prophesying, claiming that they are announcing the will of the gods."²⁰⁴ Hobbinol indicates that Diggon is in a visibly wretched condition and the wood-cut further illustrates his dishevelled appearance. While Diggon's discourse is descriptive and prescriptive rather than prophetic, there is no doubt that he sees himself as announcing the will of God when he passes judgement on wicked pastors and demands perpetual vigilance against wolves.

Although the native of Libra may be devout and drawn toward ecclesiastical occupations, his life, according to astrologers, is not automatically stable and secure. For example, Indagine says that if one's chart has Libra on the ascendant, the presence of Capricorn on the lower midheaven "shall tosse him hither and thither and seldom suffer him to be in quiet, nether wil he suffer his patrimony to be in suretie, but now up, now down, now losse, now recovered again."²⁰⁵ Vettius Valens claims that the native of Libra will lose his first fortune and be reduced to degradation.²⁰⁶ Firmicus says the child of Libra will have fluctuating prosperity, but that in old age "he will have the greatest prosperity."²⁰⁷ Astrologers associate Libra with long voyages like Diggon's, but do not entirely agree as to the result

of these journeys. Fine²⁰⁸ and Dariot²⁰⁹ say Libra augurs well for travel; Firmicus²¹⁰ and the Kalender of Sheepehards²¹¹ say the native will become rich from his voyages; Arcandam²¹² says such travel yields "indifferent" results, and Indagine²¹³ leaves the matter open. What Diggon finds when he travels is a land of rapacious pastors who mistreat their flocks and rob, deceive, and murder one another. Similarly, the Kalender of Sheepehards claims the native of Libra will "experiment evil fortunes" and "have damage and injury."²¹⁴ Firmicus says the ascendant in Libra portends "dangerous involvements. A crowd of enemies will always be ready to attack...also constant danger, continual anxiety, and some crisis in the desert."²¹⁵ From the ascendant in Libra, Indagine also predicts "daungers, enemies, & great strifes and debates,"²¹⁶ and from the sun in Libra he concludes that the native "shal put him selfe in great daungers and troubles."²¹⁷ Both Firmicus and Indagine are confidant that the native will, like Diggon (and Roffyn), be able to get himself out of these perils. With respect to the general fortunes of Libra's natives, then, Diggon is at a low point in his fluctuating prosperity and had the misfortune of having the travelling phase correspond to a period of dangers, enemies, and strife. His voyages depleted his material wealth, but have also opened his eyes to the depths of human iniquity and so have made him better able than Hobbinol to detect home-grown abuses.²¹⁸

Although Diggon exhibits several traits associated with Venus and/or Libra (devotion to justice and piety, unstable fortunes, a tendency to travel and become involved in dangers), his whole manner of presenting himself, which Cullen aptly calls wild-eyed, unrestrained,

impractical and intransigent,²¹⁹ and his language, which he himself calls "flatt" (105), are the very opposite of the grace, charm, order, and decorum in speech and person that Venus and Libra favour.²²⁰ Rather, these qualities, along with his bitterness, bluntness, and wretched poverty, imply that the once "jolly" (26) shepherd has become something of a malcontent--a Saturnian character type that combines the Galenic and the Aristotelian varieties of melancholy. (Since Libra contains the exaltation of Saturn, the presence of Saturnian qualities in the eclogue is compatible with the claim that the Calender makes continuous use of astrological lore. In fact, Spenser seems to have taken into account the exaltations of other planets as well.²²¹) Babb tells us that the "malcontent is usually...disheveled, unsociable, asperous, morosely meditative, taciturn yet prone to occasional railing....These traits are all symptoms of melancholy listed in the medical treatises."²²² This exterior derived from the Galenic tradition, however, is "supposed to veil great interior excellence. The malcontent is--or thinks he is--a person of unusual intellectual or artistic talent."²²³ Of the species of malcontent that Babb enumerates, the cynical malcontent most closely resembles Diggon:

The melancholy cynic is something of a philosopher, someone well worth heeding, although his thinking is deeply colored by pessimism and misanthropy. His wit and wisdom in combination with his virtuperative asperity and his contempt for the world make him a telling satirist. He is, furthermore, a virtuous and honest man. He hates stupidity,

affection and vice. He speaks his mind candidly and volubly without reference to either good manners or self-interest. Other characters place a high value on his blunt frankness. The malcontent will not flatter.²²⁴

Moreover, the cynical malcontent often has sufficient cause of complaint: "He has suffered great misfortunes, which have been due to the sins and stupidities of mankind. He has been disappointed, disillusioned, embittered. His case elicits sympathy, for his quarrel with the world is a just quarrel."²²⁵

At the beginning of "September" Hobbinol finds the disheveled and solitary Diggon morosely meditating upon his great misfortunes²²⁶ and asks him why he is in so poor a plight (1-10). Diggon, true to the type, is reluctant to speak at first (11-14), but then breaks forth in a torrent of satiric condemnation of the sins of those who have brought him to this state. Although this malcontent may speak too candidly for Hobbinol's taste (136-9), Hobbinol soon finds that Diggon is "well worth heeding," for it is from him that he learns of the presence of wolves in their midst while before he had thought that Christendom was free of wolves. Acknowledging that Diggon's complaints are just, Hobbinol sympathetically offers him whatever aid he can provide (248-57).

There are, however, some important ways in which Diggon is not a cynical malcontent. Although he is solitary at the beginning of the eclogue he does not abhor human company and thus gratefully accepts Hobbinol's offer of hospitality at the end. Nor does Diggon rail at mankind in general; he limits his assaults to corrupt shepherds abroad and at home, and hence he is able to recognize and respond to the

goodness in Hobbinoll and Roffyn. Furthermore, unlike the typical malcontent, he is capable of self-criticism, for he admits his foolishness in abandoning what he had in favour of unknown gain (56-67, 74-9). These traits prevent him from slipping totally into melancholic misanthropy and imply that he and society may prove beneficial to each other.

The world Diggon describes is that of the "Aprill" ode turned inside out. The world of the ode is an ideal body politic the constituent parts of which (represented by Muses, Graces, nymphs, shepherds' daughters, and the poet) arrange themselves in a harmonious, orderly fashion around its single, stable centre, Eliza. Eliza/Elizabeth is the beauty that inspires love in the form of political loyalty²²⁷ and that can lead her gifted poets to see and replicate Heavenly Beauty. Her world is one of Venerean liberality, of constant and mutual giving (the figures in the ode give Eliza music, dance, and floral tributes; Colin gives her Orphic poems; Eliza/Elizabeth gives peace, justice, mercy, and patronage) symbolized by the dance of the Graces.²²⁸ The world Diggon describes, on the other hand, has no centre and no structure; everyone is his own centre and no consistent relationship obtains between pastor and flock: some shepherds buy and sell flocks (40); others are led by their sheep (81); still others find that their flocks ignore them altogether (141-5).²²⁹ Such a world where Self is all replaces political loyalty, friendship, and liberality with greed, treachery, deceit, robbery, theft, exploitation, and murder.²³⁰ Although there are a few Venerean elements in the general corruption (e.g. the foreign shepherds like to deck their "dames" (115), and the wolf that

plunders Roffyn's flock uses Venerean instruments, clothing and acting²³¹) the covetousness and self-centredness that are its source are Saturnian. A reminder of the general significations of Saturn touching conditions of life and human activities will illustrate that Diggon describes a world that is the Saturnian anti-type of the Venerean one of Colin's ode: Saturn denotes, says Al-Bīrūnī, "Exile and poverty, or wealth acquired by his own trickery or that of others, failure in business, vehemence, confusion...enslaving people by violence or treachery, fraud, weeping and wailing and lamentation...affliction,...death,...wicked people,...thieves,...demons,...knowledge used for bad purposes, [and] such acts of the government as lead to evil oppression, wrath, captivity, torture."²³²

Although Libra contains the exaltation of Saturn and does it-self threaten its natives with dangers and enemies, the sign is virtually synonymous with justice, equity, and balance: mythologically, Libra is the set of scales belonging to Astraea-Virgo, the patroness of justice;²³³ astrologically, Libra, as Bouché-Leclercq indicates, "repré sente la mesure, la justice, la souveraineté de la loi. Elle fait les législateurs, les esprits ordonnateurs et systématiques".²³⁴ As Wood points out, mythographers also associated Libra with the golden scales of Zeus in the Iliad, so the zodiacal sign is also a symbol of divine judgement, and when Christianized, of divine mercy as well.²³⁵ Diggon and Hobbinoll do, of course, pass judgement on the world described by Diggon, but the only act of justice is Roffyn's punishment of the wolf and the only act of mercy is Hobbinoll's offering Diggon lodgings until his luck improves. Just as Astraea has abandoned the

earth, and just as Libra marks the equinox whose balance tips in favour of winter and night (cf. ll 3-6, 49-54; even the scales in the woodcut are out of kilter), so powerful injustice, against which those who "truely mene" (33) are impotent, prevails in the "forrein costes" and threatens things at home too. God must mete out justice to the foreign shepherds: Diggon points out that they have sold their salvation in order to "han the devill at commaund" (94-8), and recommends that the virtuous "let hem gange alone a Gods name:/As they han brewed, so let hem beare blame" (100-101).

Although the reality Diggon describes is dismal and threatening, the circumstances within which he describes it show that it is not the only reality, and Roffyn's success in the local setting shows that wolves can be effectively combatted. Diggon is largely a Saturnian character and depicts a Saturnian reality, but he recounts his travels in a Venerean atmosphere of friendliness, generosity, and sociability. The dialogue and circumstances that enclose the account of foreign shepherds imply that the way to avoid such social degeneration is to cultivate beneficial Venerean and Saturnian qualities.

Hobbinoll is "September's" chief representative of Venereal qualities. Just as Venus pacifies the fury of malefic planets, so Hobbinoll the lover of peace and quiet, is able to calm down Diggon in his excited railing and the two speakers' disagreements never develop into a debate. For example, as Diggon, in his first long speech, is working himself up to full fury about the vices of foreign shepherds, Hobbinoll interrupts him mid-couplet with the amusingly irrelevant, but practical, suggestion that since he is stiff from standing they had better go sit

down under the hill (47-55). So they sit down, make themselves comfortable and Hobbinoll says "Now say on Diggon, what ever thou hast" (56). In this little interchange, Hobbinoll's desire for comfort and ease is so distracting and silly in comparison to Diggon's portentous pronouncements that it momentarily disarms the traveller's fury. So effective is Hobbinoll's manoeuvre that when Diggon speaks again his tone changes completely, from the angry and frenetic to the calm and familiar: "Hobbin, ah hobbin..." (57). Diggon continues in a reflective and regretful mode until line 80 when he again starts to rail against foreign wickedness. Except for a minor interruption of two lines from Hobbinoll, this speech continues at fever pitch until line 135 when Hobbinoll interrupts and changes the subject. He accuses Diggon of speaking too openly, but before a debate about what degree of candidness is permissible can develop, Hobbinoll asks about foreign sheep. Diggon either accepts or ignores Hobbinoll's point and explains how the sheep abroad fall into the jaws of wolves. Since Hobbinoll thinks Christendom is free of wolves a debate would appear to be about to begin, but when Diggon says the wolves are disguised Hobbinoll concedes the point with no further argument. Nor does their disagreement about how to deal with wolves lead to a debate: Diggon recommends perpetual vigilance; Hobbinoll points out that such Saturnian hard labour is impractical and counterproductive since it will hasten the decay of the shepherd himself. They drop the subject. It is mainly Hobbinoll who plays the Venerean role here, interrupting Diggon to calm him down and redirect him before he goes too far in any aspect of his tirade, but Diggon too shows some Venerean instincts in his reluctance to turn

the discussion into a bitter debate.

As Agrippa reminds us, Venus is "bountiful to mortals, affording the tender affection of a mother to the conditions of them in misery, safegard of mankind, letting no moment of time pass without doing good."²³⁶ With respect to kindness, sympathy, and generosity Hobbinoll is a perfect child of Venus. When he first sees Diggon he is startled by his friend's misery and asks what has happened to him. When Diggon prefers to keep his grief and frustration bottled up, Hobbinoll shows his sympathetic helpfulness by encouraging him to ease his pain by sharing it. After he has heard all of Diggon's story, he does not waste time and effort in supercilious moralizing about his folly in going abroad in search of unknown gain,²³⁷ but rather immediately and instinctively expresses his sympathy and true friendship by offering him whatever aid he can (248-57). Diggon, having learned too well the depravity of which man is capable, is sincerely grateful and similarly well-meaning: "Ah Hobbinol, God mought it thee requite./ Diggon on fewe such freends did ever lite" (258-9).

The interaction between Hobbinoll and Diggon in "September" implies that sincere and active friendship among men (a Venerean virtue) is crucial not only to individual happiness, but also to the well-being of society, a point made more directly in the "Aprill" ode. Aristotle, arguing that a friend is a second self, points out that a friend "desires and performs the good, or what appears to him to be the good" of his friend for that friend's sake, and "desires the existence and preservation of his friend for the friend's sake."²³⁸ The requirement of selflessness means that perfect and lasting friendships that lead to good

actions are possible only among the virtuous, and that combinations that pass for friendship among the wicked are shortlived alliances that exist only for transient goals like profit or pleasure.²³⁹ In Diggon's account of the foreign shepherds we can clearly see the sort of society that develops in the absence of perfect friendship. The relationship between Diggon and Hobbinoll, however, is stable and based not on material wealth but on a common desire to preserve each other from harm and to combat wickedness. The mutual giving that characterized the "Aprill" ode reappears in "September" as a central part of the remedy for the evils Diggon discloses: Hobbinoll gives Diggon the material means of survival, while Diggon gives his knowledge of the ways of wolves and bad shepherds. Without Hobbinoll's assistance Diggon would be overwhelmed by poverty and melancholy, and his insights would be lost; without Diggon's knowledge, Hobbinoll cannot survive in a world of wolves.²⁴⁰ The aid and protection that Hobbinoll and Diggon afford each other, when set against the anarchy and destruction in "forrein costes," suggests that a harmonious social order is possible only if a similar harmony first exists on the interpersonal level. The spirit animating the body politic in the "Aprill" ode is a macroscopic version of the bond uniting Diggon and Hobbinoll.

Although Hobbinoll's Venerean impulses toward peace-keeping sympathy, kindness, and friendship are necessary prerequisites to social harmony and stability, they are not by themselves sufficient in a society also inhabited by wolves that take advantage of those that "truely mene." Moreover, Hobbinoll shows some dangerous Venerean weaknesses. For example, Venereans love ease and leisure, as well as peace, and

hence are not given to hard work.²⁴¹ Hobbinoll's potential lassitude surfaces when he interrupts Diggon to suggest that they make themselves more comfortable before proceeding further, when he argues that it is better to endure "incurable" evils rather than to search for solutions, (136-40) and when in rejecting Diggon's suggestion of round-the-clock work he stresses the need for rest but does not offer an alternative strategy (236-41). The woodcut, which shows Hobbinoll seated and Diggon standing despite Hobbinoll's suggestion that they both sit down (52), reinforces the suspicion that Hobbinoll's content with the "tryed state" (70) proceeds as much from a constitutional inertia as from conscious deliberation.

In addition to the desire to avoid quarrels and excessive work, other Venerean motifs colour Hobbinoll's speech about enduring necessary evils. Hobbinoll had asked Diggon for a clearer account; when Diggon tries to comply, Hobbinoll then says:

Nowe Diggon, I see thou speakest to plaine:
Better it were, a little to feyne,
And cleanly cover, that cannot be cured:
Such il, as is forced, mought nedes be endured. (136-9)

As Cullen says, the endurance that Hobbinoll here recommends is "pragmatic and politic," quite the opposite of stoicism of Thenot in "Februarie" and the austerity of Piers in "Maye."²⁴² Hobbinoll's claim that some evils cannot be cured implies that he is taking the easy way out, for he does not even think of partial amelioration as a possibility. The term "feyne" partly parallels the Venerean play-acting of the wolf Roffyn dispatches, and "cleanly cover" reminds us simultaneously of the Venerean

delight in cosmetics, clothing, neatness, and beauty. For the Venerean Hobbinoll, the easiest way to handle an unsightly blemish is to hide it behind an attractive surface and pretend it is not there. Of course the artificial beauty and make-believe harmony of such a cover-up do not diminish society's vulnerability to the concealed evil.

Such a whitewash works only if the person to be deceived does not probe too deeply. Probing requires suspicion, but the natives of Venus are "nothing mistrustfull,"²⁴³ and this naive faith in man makes them credulous and apt to be deceived,²⁴⁴ as Diggon was when he thought he could both "truely mene" and thrive among the foreign shepherds. Diggon has learned his lesson and developed Saturnian qualities in the process. But Hobbinoll, who likes to keep up appearances, is likely to be deceived by them as Diggon's discourse on wolves that can "cleanly cover" and "feyne" well enough to keep Hobbinoll ignorant of their existence shows. The Venerean Hobbinoll thus possesses qualities essential to the health of society and would fit well in the world of the "Aprill" ode but needs toughening up if he is to survive long in "September's" world.

This toughening will come from Diggon and his Saturnian qualities. The malcontent's satirical penetration and frankness are necessary in a world of wicked shepherds, foxes, and wolves, as are Diggon's Saturnian insistence on concentrated effort and stubborn refusal to compromise with evil. However, just as Hobbinoll's beneficial Venerean traits must be supplemented, and his harmful Venerean traits corrected, by Diggon's Saturnian qualities, so also the malcontent must be somewhat softened and socialized. That is, Hobbinoll must encourage the

traces of Venerean qualities in Diggon (his good will toward Hobbinoll, his willingness to rejoin and help society) to keep Diggon from collapsing into despair, intolerance of human weakness, and incoherent railing. Appropriately, Spenser ends the eclogue with the Saturnian and Venerean shepherds preparing to live under one roof for a while.

This argument that Hobbinoll's Venerean and Diggon's Saturnian traits can prove mutually beneficial does not contradict chapter I's argument that Venus and Saturn are usually incompatible because they are so opposite in their effects. The effects of these planets acting together are indeed most often bad, but if they are in trine or sextile aspect they, according to Ferrier, "maketh the man trustie, milde, honest, shame-faced, of good conversation, [and] of good renowne."²⁴⁵ Firmicus, similarly, claims that these aspects, if both planets are in favourable signs, make "the natives' lives outstanding for moderation and mercy; they are known for good and modest behaviour, removed from all unchastity."²⁴⁶ Roffyn, whom both Hobbinoll and Diggon admire and respect, is just such a figure. Illustrating the Saturnian side, Diggon gives us an example of Roffyn's vigilance and labour on behalf of his flock, and of his uncompromising execution of justice on the wolf, and characterizes him as "wise, and as Argus eyed" (203). Hobbinoll agrees with Diggon's assessment and credits Roffyn with Venerean mildness and mercy: "He is so meeke, wise, and merciable,/ An with his word his worke is conyenable" (174-5). Moreover, although Roffyn tends his flock with sufficient "heede and watchfulnesse" (230) for Diggon to be able to call him a "good old man" (189), he also gets "chaungeable rest" so that his vigour will not decay, as Hobbinoll

recommends. The zodiacal Balance implies justice and right order in the individual soul as much as in the social order, and in "September" the only character that fully embodies that balance is the Saturnian-Venerean Roffyn, uniting the qualities of Diggon and Hobbinoll as they are united in honouring him. Roffyn in actuality, and Hobbinoll and Diggon in potentiality, represent the forces that can effectively resist the anarchy and evil revealed in Diggon's discourse and reconstruct the world in imitation of the peace, harmony, justice, mercy, friendship, and liberality of the "Aprill" ode.

Notes

Chapter IV

¹Ibn Ezra, p. 199.

²Quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 98.

³Quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, pp. 99-100.

⁴See E. G. Schreiber, "Venus in the Medieval Mythographic Tradition", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 74 (1975), 523

⁵Firmicus, p. 140.

⁶Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 250-1.

⁷Lilly, p. 74; J. Middleton, p. 26.

⁸The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 166. See also Ferrier, 13v and 20v; Fraunce, 45r; Godfridus, p. 26; Ptolemy, p. 357; Fulgentius, pp. 66-7; de la Primaudaye, pp. 143, 147, and 192; Maplet, 19v - 27v; Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 86 and Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, p. 136; Comes IV. XIV., pp. 359-81; Du Bartas, p. 217; Davies, Microcosmos, p. 32; Greene, pp. 39-41, 103; Ramesey, pp. 59-60; Agrippa, pp. 48, 50, 96, 106, 335, 467, and 470; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 481-2; Albertus Magnus, pp. 70-1; Dariot, D₄r; Cattan p. 26; Indagine, L₇r; Cartari, Cc₂r - Cc₄v; Giorgio, p. 216; and Homeric Hymns, trans. H. G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959), p. 407.

⁹Ficino, Commentary, p. 130.

¹⁰Ficino, Commentary, p. 194.

¹¹Ficino, Commentary, p. 195. Burton, pp. 104-5, argues that both too much and too little sexual intercourse breed melancholy humours. Ficino is apparently of two minds on the propensity of melancholics to love. On pp. 195-6 he argues that melancholics are the most susceptible to love, and that love itself is a kind of melancholy humour; however on p. 227 he expresses the more typical view that love is a sanguine passion that seldom assaults melancholics.

¹²This aspect of Venerean influence is documented below.

¹³Ptolemy, p. 357.

¹⁴Lilly, p. 74. J. Middleton (p. 26) says the ill-dignified Venus signifies "a person nothing regarding his Reputation"; Ferrier (20v) says that it makes one "weake of nature," slothful, and "not caring for his good name." For accounts of the obsession with sex and pleasure produced by the ill-dignified Venus, see the authorities cited in notes 1-8, above. One way in which Venus can be poorly placed is, of course, by being in certain aspects with Saturn, a combination which magnifies the ill-effects of both planets. See chapter I for a discussion of Saturn in aspect with Venus.

¹⁵See, for example, C. Middleton, D₁r.

¹⁶Fowler, pp. 154-5.

¹⁷Bouché-Leclercq, p. 133.

¹⁸Manilius, p. 235.

¹⁹Valens, p. 7.

²⁰Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 59; Al-Biruni, 217.

²¹Ibn Ezra, p. 160.

²²Dariot, C₁r.

²³Ferrier, 32 v.

²⁴The Kalender of Sheepehardes, p. 191.

²⁵Firmicus, p. 274.

²⁶Firmicus, p. 157; Indagine, M₃v; Taisnier, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 9³5.(95)

²⁷The Kalender of Sheepehardes, p. 191.

²⁸Arcandam, B₈v.

²⁹Arcandam, B₇r-v.

³⁰ Firmicus, p. 157. Indagine and Taisnier (see note 26) specify wealth rather than the general "whatever he achieves" of Firmicus and do not entirely agree about the native's ability to regain it. Indagine claims the native easily acquires wealth and is as apt to lose it again; Taisnier says he gains and loses wealth with ease.

³¹ Montrose, "Courtship", 42.

³² See especially Cain, Praise, pp. 14-22; Cain, "The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'Aprill'", passim; Cullen, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 112-19; Cullen, "Imitation and Metamorphosis: The Golden-Age Eclogue in Spenser, Milton, and Marvell", Publications of the Modern Language Association, 84 (1969), 1562-5; Montrose, "'Eliza, Queen of Shepeheardes'", 166-8; Greco, pp. 140-50.

³³ Montrose, "'Eliza, Queene of shepheardes'", 168.

³⁴ Ptolemy, p. 357.

³⁵ Ibn Ezra, p. 199.

³⁶ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 251, 254.

³⁷ Firmicus, p. 74.

³⁸ Firmicus, p. 94.

³⁹ Firmicus, p. 141.

⁴⁰ Firmicus, p. 164.

⁴¹ Baptista Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 98.

⁴² Boccaccio, in Schreiber, 523.

⁴³ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 167.

⁴⁴ Cattan, p. 37. See also Indagine, L₇r; Ferrier, 13v, 20v, 26r and 31r; Godfridus, p. 29; Maplet, 20v; Du Bartas, p. 217; Greene,

p. 103; Agrippa, p. 106; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 481-2; Albertus Magnus, p. 71; Dariot, D₄r; Lilly, pp. 74, 541; Middleton, p. 27; and Ramesey, p. 59.

⁴⁵This is probably because artistic endeavour is not immediately suggested by the mythological bulls associated with Taurus nor by any obvious attributes of the animal.

⁴⁶See, for example, Ferrier, 32v; Ibn Ezra, p. 160; Agrippa, p. 49; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 466-7; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 223; and The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 120. See also S.K. Heninger, Jr., The Cosmographical Glass, pp. 148-9.

⁴⁷Ibn Ezra, p. 161.

⁴⁸Valens, p. 7.

⁴⁹Ferrier, 32v. "Aprill" is of course not the only eclogue containing music, song and dance, just as celestial powers other than Venus and Taurus can exercise some influence over these activities. It is thus crucial to consider the ways in which the songs and music of the eclogues correlate to their astrological rulers, in terms of tone, style, subject matter, etc. See chapters I, II and V infra.

⁵⁰Ptolemy, p. 357.

⁵¹Ptolemy, p. 385.

⁵²Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 251, 254.

⁵³Ibn Ezra, pp. 199-200.

⁵⁴Firmicus, p. 94.

⁵⁵Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, pp. 98-9.

⁵⁶Cattan, p. 37.

⁵⁷Ferrier, 20v.

⁵⁸Ferrier, 31r.

⁵⁹Maplet, 21v.

⁶⁰ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 167.

⁶¹ Lilly, pp. 74-5. See also Boccaccio, in Schreiber, 523; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 481-2; Dariot, D₄r; J. Middleton, pp. 26-7; and Ramesey, p. 59. I have found only two sources that connect Taurus to feminine ornamentation: Arcandam (B₈r) says Taurus "hath fortune in all things that may be given, and all things that belong to womens apparell"; and The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 191) says that the female native of Taurus "ought to beare ringes and precious stones upon her".

⁶² See above, chapter I, note 216.

⁶³ Montrose, "'Eliza, Queene of shepheardes'", 157. See also Montrose, "Courtship", 39-40.

⁶⁴ Montrose, "Courtship", 40.

⁶⁵ V. Tufte, The Poetry of Marriage, University of Southern California Studies in Comparative Literature, no. 2 (Los Angeles: Tinnon-Brown, 1969), pp. 167-78.

⁶⁷ L.S. Johnson, "Elizabeth, Bride and Queen: A Study of Spenser's April Eclogue and the Metaphors of English Protestantism", Spenser Studies, 2 (1981), 75-91.

⁶⁸ Valens, p. 7.

⁶⁹ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 191.

⁷⁰ Taisnier, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 95.

⁷¹ Indagine, M₃v.

⁷² Firmicus, p. 157.

⁷³ Ptolemy, p. 185.

⁷⁴ Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 229.

⁷⁵ Indagine, P₇v.

⁷⁶ Cattan, p. 37.

⁷⁷ Firmicus, p. 94.

⁷⁸ Firmicus, p. 163.

⁷⁹ Firmicus, p. 95.

⁸⁰ Firmicus, p. 94.

⁸¹ Cain, Praise, pp. 14-24 explains its structure in detail.

⁸² Ferrier, 36r. See also, for example, Cattan, p. 26; Porta, in Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 99; Godfridus, p. 28; Ptolemy, p. 357; Greene, p. 41; Ibn Ezra, p. 199; Agrippa, p. 335; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 482; Dariot, D₄r; and Ramesey, p. 59.

⁸³ For the generosity of Venereans see, for example, Boccaccio, in Schreiber, 523; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 167; Al-BTrūnī, p. 250; Ferrier, 31r; Cattan, p. 37; Agrippa, p. 335; and Ibn Ezra, p. 199. For that of Taurus, see, for example, Arcandam, B₇v; Ferrier, 32v; Valens, p. 7; and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 467.

⁸⁴ Indagine, N₇v.

⁸⁵ Fine, F₇v.

⁸⁶ Dariot, C₁r.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Cain, Praise, pp. 19, 23-4, 35; Cullen, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 112-19; J.N. Brown, "Elizabethan Pastoralism and Renaissance Platonism", Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, 44 (1975), 255; Johnson, 85-6; and E. Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 78. Recognition that Eliza is associated with Venus date from at least C.H. Herford's edition of the Calender (London, 1895), p. 117. For a discussion of the Venus-Virgo figure, see Wind, pp. 75-80. For discussions of the numerous and complex modes of praising Elizabeth, see Cain, Praise, *passim*; Johnson, *passim*, F. Yates, Astraea (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 29-87; E.C. Wilson, EngTand's Eliza, Harvard Studies in English, no. 20 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939); R.C. Strong, Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); and R.C. Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

⁸⁸ See, for example, Agrippa, pp. 61, 335. Pico says that "Venus then is Beauty, whereof Love is generated" (A Platonick Discourse Upon Love, trans. T. Stanley, 1651, rpt. in The Poems and Translations of

Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 208). I have noted above one aspect of Venus' rule over order and harmony in its constant affiliation with music, dance, and song. Astrologers and others also maintain that the natives of Venus are handsome and that the planet rules over beautiful things. See Firmicus, pp. 14, 140; Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 229; Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 250, 254; Ferrier, 20v, 31r; Cattan, pp. 26, 37; Porta, in Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, pp. 97-9; Fraunce, 45r; Godfridus, p. 29; Du Bartas, p. 217; Greene, pp. 39-41; Ibn Ezra, pp. 199-200; Bernard Silvestris, in Schreiber, 523; Boccaccio, in Schreiber, 523; *The Kalender of Sheepehards*, p. 166; Lilly, pp. 74-5; Middleton, p. 26; and Ramesey, pp. 59-60.

⁸⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. J.G. Frazer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959), p. 199.

⁹⁰ See Ibn Ezra, pp. 199-20; Agrippa, p. 59; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 244; Giorgio, p. 147; *The Kalender of Sheepehards*, p. 167; Lilly, p. 75; and Ramesey, p. 68.

⁹¹ For the duties of the Graces, see, for example, Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. A.T. Murray (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1953) I. p. 285; and the hymn to Venus, *Homeric Hymns*, p. 411, and in the same volume, "The Cypria", p. 499. On Venus as the fourth Grace, see G. Snare, "Spenser's Fourth Grace", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971), 350-55, and J.N. Brown, "Elizabethan Pastoralism and Renaissance Platonism", 254-6. Wind, pp. 36-52, explains in detail how for the Renaissance Neoplatonists the Graces were "infolded" in Venus, who is therefore "unfolded" into the three Graces.

⁹² Cain, *Praise*, p. 23. Cain continues: "Eliza is now the goddess, not Venus dressed as a hunting nymph but a Virgin Queen who is simultaneously Venus and who is erotically joined to her lover England" (p. 24).

⁹³ Johnson, 83.

⁹⁴ Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral*, p. 115.

⁹⁵ I.G. MacCaffrey, "Allegory and Pastoral in *The Shepheardes Calender*", *English Literary History*, 36 (1969), 107.

⁹⁶ Cain, *Praise*, p. 17.

⁹⁷ Lucretius, *On the Nature of the Universe*, trans. R. Latham (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951), p. 27.

⁹⁸ Maplet, 22v.

⁹⁹ Agrippa, p. 335.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Ezra, p. 199.

¹⁰¹ Du Bartas, p. 217.

¹⁰² For accounts of these "golden age" motifs, see the scholars cited in note 32, above. See also Johnson, passim, and MacCaffrey, 106-7.

¹⁰³ J.N. Brown, "Elizabethan Pastoralism and Renaissance Platonism", 255. Brown also points out ("A Note on Symbolic Numbers in Spenser's 'Aprill'", Notes and Queries N.S., 225 (1980), 302-3) that in surpassing both the sun and the moon, Eliza incorporates in her perfection both the male and female principles. Thus Eliza is similar, in function if not appearance, to the Hermaphroditic Venus whose statue Spenser describes in Faerie Queene. IV.X.40-41 and to the Hermaphroditic figure of Nature in the Mutabilitie Cantos. Her superiority to both sun and moon is significant on two other counts. First, when Spenser refers to the sun's "golden hedde" (73) and the moon's "silver rayes" (82), he recalls the metals ruled by these two "planets" (in alchemy the astrological glyph for the sun (○) represented gold, that for the moon (◑), silver). In overgoing the most perfect earthly combinations of the four elements, Eliza is thus of the fifth element, the quintessence of which the heavens are made, and is then truly of "heavenly race" and without "mortall blemish". Second, after the sun and moon Venus is the brightest object in the sky and under certain circumstances (e.g. twilight on the eve of a new moon) can appear to be temporarily brighter than either, which further confirms that Eliza is a Venus figure.

¹⁰⁴ Chaucer, Boece, in F.N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 340. Although Boethius, unlike Bernard Silvestris (see below), does not here link Divine Love with a good Venus, the similarities in their cosmological functions are unmistakable. For a comprehensive account of early theories of cosmic harmony see L. Spitzer "Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word 'Stimmung'", Traditio, 2 (1944), 409-64 and 3 (1945), 307-64.

¹⁰⁵ Bernardus Silvestris, Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's "Aeneid", trans. E.G. Schreiber and T.E. Maresca (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ For the mitigating effects of Venus, see Maplet, 19v; Greene, p. 41; and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 481-2.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ezra, p. 199.

¹⁰⁸Agrippa, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹Ferrier, 31r; Lilly, p. 75; and Ramesay, p. 60.

¹¹⁰Ramesey, p. 60.

¹¹¹Ptolemy, pp. 185-7. Cf. Lucretius addressing Venus: "Before you the winds flee, and at your coming the clouds forsake the sky. For you the inventive earth flings up sweet flowers. For you the ocean levels laugh, the sky is calmed and glows with diffused radiance" (p. 27)

¹¹²Johnson, 81 and passim. Johnson explores in detail Spenser's use of the encomiastic tactic of likening England to the garden in the Song of Solomon and Elizabeth to both Solomon and the pure bride in the Song of Solomon. He concludes that in the ode "Spenser introduces the remedy for his fragmented world in the figure of Elisa/Elizabeth, bride and queen. The fruitful love she both stands for and offers would restore the world to itself again....[but] the remedy is only valid if the inhabitants of that world choose to use it". (87-8)

¹¹³Johnson, 79.

¹¹⁴Ovid, Fasti, pp. 243-53.

¹¹⁵Ovid, Fasti, p. 239.

¹¹⁶Line 81 ("With hers, to have the over throwe") is the central line of "Aprill," just as the event in Ovid occurred in the middle of April.

¹¹⁷Cain, Praise, p. 18.

¹¹⁸Ptolemy, p. 185.

¹¹⁹Ptolemy, p. 183.

¹²⁰Ptolemy, p. 185.

¹²¹Ramesey, p. 59.

¹²²Lucretius, p. 28.

¹²³Agrippa, p. 335.

¹²⁴Firmicus, p. 140.

¹²⁵Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 250-1.

¹²⁶Ferrier, 13v.

¹²⁷Cattan, p. 26.

¹²⁸Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, pp. 98-9.

¹²⁹De la Primaudaye, III, 144, 193.

¹³⁰Lilly, p. 74.

¹³¹Greene, p. 41.

¹³²Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, pp. 98-9.

¹³³Greene, p. 103.

¹³⁴Boccaccio, quoted by Schreiber, 523.

¹³⁵Albertus Magnus, p. 71.

¹³⁶Agrippa, p. 335.

¹³⁷Firmicus, p. 164.

¹³⁸Cattan, p. 26.

¹³⁹Ibn Ezra, pp. 199-200.

¹⁴⁰J. Middleton, p. 26.

¹⁴¹Ptolemy, p. 357.

¹⁴²Fowler, p. 22.

¹⁴³Johnson, 76.

¹⁴⁴For a detailed study of the Calender as an allegory of Elizabethan political history, see McLane.

¹⁴⁵Tufte (pp. 176-8) sees a veiled commentary on the French marriage in the following lines:

The pretie paunce
And the chevisaunce
Shall match with the faire flowre delice (142-4)

She reads the "pawnce" as Elizabeth, the fleur de lys as Alencon, and the verb "match with" as "marry". The "chevisaunce" is not a flower at all, but the term can mean "shift", "device", or "expedience" so Tufte takes the passage as an expression of disapproval of the proposed marriage as mere political expedience. Cain (Praise, p. 18) notes that Colin's "overtly wary refusal to compare Eliza and Cynthia further because similar 'follie great sorow to Niobe did breede', 'Warning all other to take heede'...strikes an odd sour note" and argues that because of the controversial marriage negotiations "too great comparison to the virgin Diana might be inappropriate." On p. 193 n. 51 he suggests that the line "Albee forswonck and forswatt I am" may contain a pun on Albion "whereby Colin presents through himself England's devotion and even marriage to its native goddess, who at the beginning of her reign had claimed herself 'bound unto a husband, which is the Kingdom of England.' Such an implication would be intensely topical in 1579."

¹⁴⁶Cain, Praise, p. 23.

¹⁴⁷See Wind, pp. 86-7.

¹⁴⁸Wind, p. 93.

¹⁴⁹Cain, Praise, p. 35.

¹⁵⁰Cain, "The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'Aprill'", abstract.

¹⁵¹Cain, Praise, p. 19.

¹⁵²In Neoplatonic thought the Heavenly Venus could be said to be the Form of the planetary Venus (see, e.g., Ficino, Commentary, pp. 127-8). The planetary Venus being a material incorporation or imitation of the Form is less perfect and hence can produce evil effects. Or one could follow the line of thought developed by Giorgio and de la Primaudaye and argue that the influences of Venus are always the good ones of the

Heavenly Venus and the evil effects she seems to produce really result from the imperfection of the human recipient.

¹⁵³ Mallette, Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 48-9.

¹⁵⁴ Mallette, Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 49.

¹⁵⁵ Greco, p. 55.

¹⁵⁶ Greco, pp. 41-2.

¹⁵⁷ Greco, p. 178.

¹⁵⁸ Greco, p. 143: "Colin...has seen heavenly truth and, directed by divine powers, has given it sensible form in poetry."

¹⁵⁹ It is appropriate that the theory of inspiration be alluded to in "October," while "Aprill" shows it in action, for the two eclogues are related numerologically and astrologically. In numerology the digit 4 is said to be a shorthand form of 10, or to contain 10, since the sum of the first 4 digits is 10. Astrologically, the eclogues are opposites because April is the first month after the vernal equinox, October the first after the autumnal. It is thus noteworthy that in "October" as nature is becoming barren and hostile, patronage is said to be difficult to obtain, while in "Aprill," when nature is fertile and friendly, it is assumed as a matter of course that Eliza will "thank" her poets.

¹⁶⁰ Ficino, Commentary, pp. 126-9. See also Pico, Platonick Discourse, p. 198.

¹⁶¹ Ficino, Commentary, p. 142.

¹⁶² Ficino, Commentary, p. 143.

¹⁶³ Ficino, Commentary, p. 142, says that both the Angelic Mind and the World-Soul can be called Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus. In the Angelic Mind, its essence is Saturn, its life Jupiter, its intelligence Venus. The World-Soul, insofar as it understands the divine, is called Saturn; insofar as it moves the heavens, Jupiter; and insofar as it begets lower forms, Venus. Thus the Heavenly Venus in the human soul is analogous to Saturn in the World-Soul and to Venus in the Angelic Mind; the Earthly Venus in the human soul is analogous to Venus in the World-Soul.

¹⁶⁴Ficino, Commentary, p. 142.

¹⁶⁵Ficino, Commentary, p. 143.

¹⁶⁶Pico, Platonick Discourse, p. 215. Cf. Ficino, Commentary, p. 143.

¹⁶⁷Pico, Platonick Discourse, pp. 227-8. Cf. Ficino, Commentary, pp. 212-15, 231-3, and R. Ellrodt, Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960), pp. 29-31. Ellrodt points out that there "are minor discrepancies but no major disagreement between various descriptions of the scala" (p. 29). Similarly, though there are numerous differences in the details of various Neoplatonic accounts of love, I am here concerned only with the most general commonplaces on which there was widespread agreement, and which Spenser would have imbibed "from the very air around him" (Ellrodt, p. 32). For a complete account of love theories, see J. C. Nelson, Renaissance Theory of Love (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958).

¹⁶⁸See, e.g., Ficino, Commentary, pp. 130-1, 143, 194-7, 220-8.

¹⁶⁹Ficino, Commentary, p. 150.

¹⁷⁰De la Primaudaye, III, 131. Cf. Greene, p. 41: "what is done well, either is love or proceedeth from love."

¹⁷¹Ficino, Commentary, p. 150.

¹⁷²Ficino, Commentary, p. 204. The square brackets around "and truth" are in the original.

¹⁷³See Ficino, Commentary, p. 130.

¹⁷⁴P. O. Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, trans. V. Conant (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 308.

¹⁷⁵See Kristeller, p. 308.

¹⁷⁶See Klibansky, et al., p. 259.

¹⁷⁷Ficino, Commentary, p. 233.

¹⁷⁸E. Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1972), p. 142.

¹⁷⁹This theory puts considerable responsibility on the audience as well. In order for the poem to do its job effectively, the audience

must co-operate and purify its mind of sensual concerns. For example, a love poem may awaken the Heavenly Venus/Power in a mind properly disposed, but arouse lust in the impure. Similar suspicions about the audience appear in the oft heard claims of poets to protect their "mysteries" from the "vulgar" by concealing them in obscure allegory and esoteric symbolism. Similarly, overtly lascivious poems are defended on the grounds that, while the profane can see only the seemingly impure surface, the initiated and pure can uncover the real meaning. In "October," Cuddie is sceptical of contemporary audiences: he claims that if any poetry of the "old stocke gan to shoote agayne" it would either have to "rolle with rest in rymes of rybaudrye" or "wither" immediately, for modern audiences prefer Tom Piper (73-8).

¹⁸⁰Cain, Praise, p. 16.

¹⁸¹Montrose, "Eliza, Queene of shepheardes", 167.

¹⁸²Cain, Praise, p. 17.

¹⁸³Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 114), Johnson (83), and Montrose ("Eliza, Queene of shepheardes", 167 and "Courtship", 41) similarly regard Eliza as, among other things, poetry, song, or music. In terms of the poem's patronage theme, this genealogy is a clever device because it makes the queen dependent on the poet. Cain explains: "Insofar as she is the object of encomium it is the poet who makes her that: only as he creates her by his pipes can she see the image or mirror of her Idea, possess the immortality of fame that only the poet can give, and become the object of celebration in a panegyris, extending beyond time and space ("The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'Aprill'", 51).

¹⁸⁴Montrose ("Courtship", 38) points out another way in which the Pan-Syrinx myth makes poetry the result of love. Since Syrinx was transformed into reeds to save her from being ravished by Pan, his fashioning of a pipe out of the reeds indicates "he is able to transform erotic frustration into the consolation of an art that can recreate the senses and the spirit, that can turn the plaintive into the recreative and turn sorrow into celebration." This reading of the myth, while not suitable to the "Aprill" ode, aptly describes the relation between love and poetry for Tityrus in "June" and Perigot in "August." As shown in chapter I, Colin is unable to effect this transformation because of his compulsive cultivation of unhealthy Saturnian qualities.

¹⁸⁵See Cain, Praise, pp. 17-18.

¹⁸⁶The analogy with the Neoplatonic Ladder is rather loose for several reasons. The Neoplatonic ladder deals with how one passes from

love of a specific instance of human physical beauty to love of the universal beauty in the Angelic Mind. The specific human catalyst is imaginatively reformed in the second step and then disappears from the picture altogether, which of course does not occur in the case of the poet's contemplation of his subject. Moreover, Colin quickly abandons the Queen's physical person to concentrate on her political and moral attributes, and while this is consistent with the Neoplatonic belief that one should love other people for their spiritual rather than their physical qualities, it plays no role in the ladder image in which the lover turns to his own soul. The ladder of love is not a description of poetic creativity, but one of spiritual regeneration. I have located no detailed Neoplatonic account of poetic inspiration in action, but since Ficino makes love the teacher and ruler of the arts, it is not unreasonable to adapt the ladder to the imaginative ascent of the poet.

¹⁸⁷ Cain, "The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'April'", 55.

¹⁸⁸ Cain, Praise, p. 19.

¹⁸⁹ Cain, Praise, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁰ Similarly, the account in chapter I of the visionary quality of the "November" elegy could be transposed into a Venerean idiom, but the generic requirements of elegy, much more than those of encomium, obscure the steps in any attempt to adapt the Neoplatonic ladder. Here I will only suggest the outline of such a reading. Dido has many traits of the astrological Venus and its Neoplatonic extension: she was beautiful, and inspired mirth, dance, and song; she was sociable, friendly, bountiful, and loved by all. When Colin says "what might be in earthly, mould,/That did her buried body hould" (158-9), he has refashioned her beauties in his imagination so that she, like the icon Eliza, represents the universal nature of corporeal beauty, that halfway house between the purely Heavenly Venus and the strictly particular earthly Venus. He then is granted a vision of Dido's soul in the Elysian fields--the ultimate Venerean pastoral paradise--and the Earthly Venus/Power in Colin leads him to progate his vision in verse. However, Dido does not quite become a universal Heavenly Venus like Eliza; Colin is after all consoling Thenot for the death of an individual and Colin leaves her soul individuated. Moreover, Dido, is from the outset, more "real" a person than Eliza. Eliza, as she appears in the ode, was specified as a creature of the poet, at the beginning, with a mythological genealogy, whereas Dido is of human descent. Dido shares Venerean qualities with Eliza because Eliza is the Idea on which Dido is patterned. (cf. Cullen, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 92 n. 29). My reading of "Aprill," like those of Cullen, Cain, and others implies that Eliza is the model on which Elizabeth is patterned. That is, the Queen needs the poet in order to see (and hence emulate) her Ideal form.

¹⁹¹ As the Trojan war shows, man's Venerean impulses can indeed produce social and political chaos, but nothing like this underlies "September." Significations of Venus span all the varieties of love from the most exalted caritas (as in the Neoplatonic Heavenly Venus) to the most debased forms of cupiditas. In the most general of senses, then, Venus can easily account for the differences between "September" and "Aprill." However, all virtues and vices spring from caritas and cupiditas respectively, so the virtues and vices imparted by the other planetary deities could all be subsumed in Venus. If the Calender is designed so that the eclogues correlate to the appropriate planets and zodiacal signs, we clearly need something more detailed and specifically astrological than caritas and cupiditas to account for the eclogues' individuality.

¹⁹² Johnson, 87.

¹⁹³ Firmicus, p. 159.

¹⁹⁴ Indagine, M₈r-v.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 219-21.

¹⁹⁶ Finé, F₈r.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Ezra, p. 200.

¹⁹⁸ Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 229.

¹⁹⁹ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 241.

²⁰⁰ De la Primaudaye, III, 144.

²⁰¹ Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 98.

²⁰² Firmicus, pp. 140-1.

²⁰³ Firmicus, p. 96.

²⁰⁴ Firmicus, p. 96.

²⁰⁵ Indagine, M₈v-N₁r.

²⁰⁶Valens, p. 10.

²⁰⁷Firmicus, p. 160.

²⁰⁸Finé, F₈r.

²⁰⁹Dariot, C₂r.

²¹⁰Firmicus, p. 160.

²¹¹The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 194.

²¹²Arcandam, E₅v.

²¹³Indagine, M₈v.

²¹⁴The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 194.

²¹⁵Firmicus, pp. 159-60.

²¹⁶Indagine, M₈r.

²¹⁷Indagine, O₃v-O₄r.

²¹⁸For a complete discussion of the limits of Hobbinol's perspective and knowledge, see Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 62-8.

²¹⁹Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 66.

²²⁰Indagine, for example, says the sun in Libra gives a "comely bodye and nimble, a pleasant tongue or speche" (O₃v). Ibn Ezra says the native of Libra will have pleasant speech, be sensible and well-bred, know how to compose songs, and may become a musician (p. 174). Al-Biruni (p. 217, 219) says the native may be a singer, musician or merry-maker. See also Ferrier, 33v.

²²¹For the exaltations of planets, see Ptolemy, pp. 89-91. The exaltation of Jupiter is in Cancer, so in "June" Colin mentions "Jove" (66); that of Mars is in Capricorn and in "December" Colin refers to "derring doe" (43); that of Venus is in Pisces and love preoccupies Cudlie in "Februarie"; that of the sun is in Aries because then the once dead earth revives as it does in "March"; that of the moon is in Taurus,

and in "Aprill" Eliza outshines it. Since the exaltation of Mercury is its own house, Virgo, its correlation to "August" is discussed in chapter V.

²²²Babb, p. 75.

²²³Babb, p. 76.

²²⁴Babb, p. 92.

²²⁵Babb, p. 92.

²²⁶According to Arcandam (E_5r) the native of Libra "shall be fretting inwardly by fits and by his fits also shall he be quiet," and Indagine (M_8v) says that he might fall into a "frenzy or madnesse." These traits are appropriate to a malcontent, but Arcandam and Indagine are the only astrologers I have found who characterize the native of Libra this way.

²²⁷See especially Johnson, passim. But much the same point is made in the studies of Cain, Cullen, and Tufte cited above.

²²⁸For discussions of the importance of the Graces to the order depicted in "Aprill", see Johnson, 86-8; Greco, pp. 144-7; Snare, 352-3; J. N. Brown, "Elizabethan Pastoralism and Renaissance Platonism", 254-5; and Cullen, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 116-117.

²²⁹Just as the world he describes is without structure, so his account of it is loose and digressive. For example, when Hobbinol says "But tell me first of thy flocks astate" (24), Diggon provides a 22-line response of which only the first four words ("My sheepe bene wasted") directly pertain to the question. The next six lines deal with Diggon himself. Then, like a true malcontent, he launches into a fifteen-line tirade against the vices of foreign shepherds. This part of the answer is a catalogue of ecclesiastical abuses cast in general terms (e.g. "The shepheards there robbent one another" (38) with only pride warranting more than a line or two of development. Diggon's whole account is similarly catalogue-like. Hobbinol is instinctively aware that the description is unstructured for he feels free to interrupt frequently with no fear of upsetting Diggon's train of thought. So much has the chaos he has seen impressed itself on Diggon's mode of presentation that he never does give a specific account of what happened to him or his flock. In contrast to the exquisite order of the "Aprill" ode, Diggon's description of the real world creates the impression that chaos has come again.

²³⁰ Hoffman (p. 116) points out that in "September" Spenser is responding to the dehumanizing effects of greed and shows us a world that is "harsh, dissonant, inhumane, deceitful and poetically unlyrical. Such phrases as "of guile maken gayne", "setten to sale", "maken a Mart", and "layen baytes" describe a moral landscape in which men have been made objects of barter."

²³¹ The fox in "Maye" (ruled by Mercury) uses similar tactics, for it assumes the role and disguise of a peddler to entrap the kid. The two cases are not as close as they seem at first, however. Since Mercury denotes merchants, the fox's disguise is suitable to that planet. Moreover, his acting is merely a device to get the kid's attention and sympathy, and the most crucial aspect of the acting is what the fox actually says, not how well it delivers the lines. Once it has the kid's attention, the merchandise itself is enough to complete the conquest. In the case of the wolf, however, the acting ability is crucial: it must convince the sheep that it is one of them, and must also imitate the voices of Roffyn and his dog Lowder. What he says in Roffyn's voice is irrelevant; what counts is that he gets the voice right. So, while the two incidents are similar, the one emphasizing the smooth-talking, deceptive orator, Spenser appropriately assigns to Mercury, the one stressing acting ability to Venus.

²³² Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 251-4.

²³³ See, for example, C. Middleton, D₂v, and The Faerie Queene V.i.11.

²³⁴ Bouché-Leclercq, p. 142. See also Valens, p. 10; Ibn Ezra, p. 174; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217; Ferrier, 33v; Rhetorios, in Gleadow, p. 101; Agrippa, p. 295; and Manilius, pp. 239, 265-7.

²³⁵ Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, pp. 280-7, discusses the symbolism of Libra in the Middle Ages and points out that Libra can represent both the Old Law of retributive justice and the New Law of merciful justice.

²³⁶ Agrippa, p. 335.

²³⁷ When Hobbinoll does mention Diggon's folly (68-73), he is not castigating him but rather is showing his agreement with Diggon's own assessment of himself (56-67, 74-9). Durr (285-6) argues that Diggon, through sinful amor sui, abandons his flock in favour of worldly wealth and thus has "laid himself open to all the wild desires flesh is heir to". There is little evidence for this reading. Diggon does not say

what he planned to do with the wealth he sought, but his genuine dismay over losing his flock implies that he thought he was pursuing his financial concerns in ways that would not be incompatible with his pastoral duties. Moreover, Hobbinoll does not reject him as a sinner, nor try to reform him morally.

²³⁸ Aristotle, The Ethics, trans. J. A. K. Thomson (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 266.

²³⁹ Aristotle, The Ethics, pp. 233-6.

²⁴⁰ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 62-8, also stresses the interdependence of Hobbinol and Diggon, but does not put it in a Venerean content.

²⁴¹ See, for example, Firmicus, p. 140; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251; Greene, p. 39; Ferrier, 13v, 20v; and Lilly, pp. 74, 541. And, of course Venus' rulership over love and pleasures of all kinds (especially food, drink, and sex) implies an aversion to hard work. The only areas in which Venus inclines one to demanding work are those related to pleasure and leisure--cosmetics, fine clothing, feminine adornments, poetry, music, and dance. That is, it is favourable to delicate and fastidious types of work but not to the kind of labour that Diggon says is necessary to root out and exterminate wolves.

²⁴² Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 65.

²⁴³ Lilly, p. 74.

²⁴⁴ See, for example, Boccaccio, quoted by Schreiber, 523, and Porta, quoted by Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, p. 99.

²⁴⁵ Ferrier, 37v.

²⁴⁶ Firmicus, p. 185. Both Firmicus and Ferrier discuss only the trine in detail. For the sextile they simply say that it produces the same effects as the trine but with less strength.

Chapter V. Mercury

Astrologers assign to most of the planets a fixed set of correspondences with qualities, elements, and humours: for example, Saturn is cold, dry, earthy, and melancholy; Jupiter hot, moist, airy, and sanguine; Mars hot, dry, fiery, and choleric, and so on. The planet's set of correspondences gives it a stable "essential nature," or determinate identity, by virtue of which it can (when aspects are taken into account) work either in harmony or in conflict with other planets, can diminish, augment, or alter their influences, and can be classed as in general beneficent or maleficent.¹ However, even though they give Mercury rulership over specific mental faculties, personality traits, and activities, few of the sources I have consulted give it an essential nature at all, and most of those claim it is cold, dry, and melancholy;² instead, they regularly assert, even when they believe Mercury to have an "essential" nature, that its "nature is in all respects common and convertible,"³ that the planet is chameleonic: it becomes fortunate or unfortunate, hot or cold, wet or dry, male or female, and so on, in accordance with the signs and planets with which it is conjoined.⁴ De la Primaudaye discusses this aspect of Mercury most fully when he explains that Mercury's influent power is secrete, by reason that hee, easily accepting the nature of the planet where with hee is conioyned, or of the signe wherein hee is resident, seemeth to operate, not according to his owne proper nature, but as the executor of the influence of another. Whereupon he is by them nominated (Hermes) to signifie, that he is as it were interpreter of the other stars intendements. For by the testimonie of Ptolemie, he drieth up being with the Sunne; he cooleth

with the Moone; hee favoureth the understanding
with Saturne; he bestoweth advise & policie in warlike
affaires, where stoutnes is required, with Mars.⁵

The native of Mercury will, of course, share in his planet's protean nature. When describing Mercurials, astrologers usually focus on Mercury's spheres of influence--the intellect, speech, commerce, religion, manual dexterity--rather than on the chameleonic nature it gives (although terms like "inconstant" frequently appear in lists of the effects of an ill-placed Mercury⁶); nonetheless, it is clear that underlying all accounts of Mercurials is the notion that, on the positive side, they are versatile, adaptable, and flexible, and, on the negative side, inconstant, unstable, pliable, devious and unreliable. Mercury's fluidity, when manifested favourably in its spheres of influence, produces, as will be shown more fully below, acute and agile intellects, effective orators, advocates, poets, and ministers, resourceful and successful merchants, and skilled craftsmen; when manifested unfavourably it produces mere cleverness and cunning, deceit, fraud, and theft. Moreover, because of its rulership over professions like law and oratory requiring a disputation and subtle mind and over fraud and deceit, Mercury produces debate and strife. However, "easily accepting the nature of the planet wherewith he is conioyned," the protean Mercury also brings about concord or compromise.

This chapter examines Mercurial motifs in "Maye" and "August," and points out the correspondences between Mercury's houses, Gemini and Virgo, and "Maye" and "August" respectively. The section on "Maye" opens with a discussion of the general suitability of its ecclesiastical subject to rulership by Mercury and Gemini, followed by an examination

of the extent to which Piers and Palinode possess those Mercurial qualities an effective clergyman must have. The section concludes with a discussion of the Mercurial elements in Piers' tale of the fox and the kid. The section on "August" discusses the aspects of the singing match and Colin's sestina that link them to both Mercury and Virgo.

I. "Maye"

A. General Suitability to Mercury and Gemini

The debate in "Maye" concerns the duties and responsibilities of the clergy, with, as Cullen says, "Palinode defending a more worldly priesthood and Piers a more otherworldly priesthood."⁷ Parmenter indicates that this is a suitable subject since in May "the Church begins to teach the principles of its own foundation and ministry and the duties of pastors."⁸ However, it is also appropriate mythographically and astrologically that Piers and Palinode not only discuss the role of pastors but also focus specifically on "acceptable attitudes toward the things of this world,"⁹ particularly wealth, for Mercury governs both the ministry and financial gain.

Mercury's mythological roles as herald and messenger of the gods, "the mediator between mortals and gods bridging the distance between earth and heaven,"¹⁰ and psychopompos, the guide of souls whom he conducts to the underworld, suggest an analogy to the pastor, often seen as God's human representative, announcing and interpreting the divine will for men and leading men's souls to Him. Hence Comes claims that "Mercure fust comme intercesseur, rapportant aux hommes les ordonances & arrests des Dieux; & aux Dieux les prières & desseigns des hommes."¹¹

For Comes Mercury was, in effect, the first preacher:

Mercure homme très sage et bien entendu, enseigna le premier que le monde avait été crée de Dieu, et ne se pouvait régir que par la providence de Dieu, et dressa la manière et les ceremonies des services des Dieux anciens; enseignant aussi que personne ne pouvoit naistre ny mourir que par l'ordonnance et volonté d'iceux. Et pour avoir le premier donné cette tradition aux hommes de son temps, tout ainsi que s'il leur eust manifesté les conseils et les choses divines, ils luy donnent le titre de Menager des Dieux.¹²

Comes further claims that Mercury "apprit aux Prestres de Thebes la Religion & service des Dieux" and that he taught the Egyptians "tout le fondement de leur Religion, avec les cérémonies qu'il falloit observer au service divin."¹³ It is significant that Mercury's duties extend to the prescribing of ceremonies and rituals,¹⁴ for, as Anthea Hume argues, Piers' use of terms like "a trusse of tryfles" (239), and "many a fine knack" (286) to characterize the fox's merchandise echoes the puritan idiom for "denouncing the ceremonies and vestments which the authorities permitted or insisted upon, but which to the puritan mind seemed popish and idolatrous remnants which should be rooted out."¹⁵

Astrologers frequently link Mercury and religion. Ferrier, for example, says that Mercury on the ascendant makes one "of great and profounde knowledge" and hence produces philosophers and divines.¹⁶ De la Primaudaye claims Mercury gives "penetrating faith"¹⁷ and "contributes favour to the promptness & subtiltie of mens wits....& taking away the vaile from strange languages, obscurities from riddles & parables, & difficulties from every profound and mystical speech; and opening that which is shut up in the secret cabinets of God & nature,

presenteth the naked truth to be contemplated."¹⁸ Ibn Ezra says Mercury gives one "ability in homiletics";¹⁹ Al-Bīrūnī says Mercury presides over "teaching manners, theology, revelation, and logic."²⁰ The Kalender of Sheepehards tells us that the native of Mercury will be "a devout person to God, and have good conscience, and...shall ever folow & resort to them that be of good maners, [and]...he wil be a very good man of the church, or a religious, man...[and] he shall love well to preache, and to speake faire rhetorike language, and to talke of philosophie."²¹ Firmicus claims that Mercury on the ascendant by day can produce religiously motivated astronomers or "men skilled in sacred writings"²²; and that as ruler of the chart it makes its natives "god-fearing in all religions" and delighters "in the obscure writings of secret religions."²³ According to Ptolemy, Mercury is "the cause of events taking place which concern the priestly code, the worship of the gods,...and of change in customs and laws, from time to time."²⁴ Among the occupations of Mercurials Ptolemy lists teachers, soothsayers, sacrificers "and in general those who perform their functions by means of documents, interpretation, and giving and taking."²⁵

Much of the debate in "Maye" concerns the attitude the pastor ought to have toward material wealth, and that too is a Mercurial theme (to the extent that Mercury has its own nature it tends toward the cold and dry, so Mercury is a miniature Saturn and shares in Saturnian covetousness). Mercury the deity is patron of gain and profit whether such wealth proceeds from commerce, skill, or malfeasance,²⁶ and Mercury the planet is likewise the "bringer of gain."²⁷ According to Ibn Ezra, Mercurials are eager to acquire and squander wealth.²⁸ Al-Bīrūnī says

they are "deeply interested in business"²⁹; Lilly says that if the native of Mercury "turn Merchant no man exceeds him in way of Trade or the invention of new wayes whereby to obtain wealth"³⁰; Ptolemy says that a poorly placed Mercury makes one avaricious³¹; Firmicus claims that Mercury as ruler of the chart produces men who "easily carry on commerce and establish good credit for lending and borrowing" and "accumulate substance by their own efforts"³²; and standard items in the lists of Mercurial occupations are merchants, bankers, and accountants.³³ The association of Mercury with banking and accounting means that its natives are given some control over the finances of others. Hence Firmicus says that Mercury on the ascendant by night produces money changers and tax collectors,³⁴ and that the ascendant in the terms of Mercury produces governors of states, responsible administrators, or governors of the treasury.³⁵ "Maye" is the fifth eclogue, and Mercury in the fifth house according to Firmicus "makes misers of gold or other money who through their own foresight make great use of their resources or those of others. They will be in charge of great richesBut Mercury in an evening rising in this house will not allow money to be saved in any way. Whatever gold, silver, or other property was entrusted will be dissipated in profuse outpourings."³⁶

Although they disagree about the amount of wealth a pastor should possess and about what he should do with it, Piers and Palinode concur in condemning wealth obtained through "wrong chevisaunce" (92) and in acknowledging only that which God provides (64, 72, 85-7, 113-15) or which might legitimately "arise of the bare sheepe,/(Were it more or lesse) which they did keepe" (107-8). In effect, both speakers see

the pastor, like the native of Mercury, as responsible for the administration of the wealth of others. Palinode, in his view that "Good is no good, but if it be spend" (71) and in his desire to use wealth to guarantee a life of pleasure, ease, and leisure (65-6), shows a Mercurial tendency to squander and dissipate wealth in "profuse outpourings."

Piers contends that such attitudes make Palinode a "worldes childe" (73), though not so much so that he should be expelled from the ministry.³⁷ He reserves his full fury for those pastors who spend their time accumulating wealth, often by exploiting their flock (126-8), rather than attending to their duties, and for those who abdicate their calling by hiring others, whose only interest is their salary, to perform their functions for them (39-54). In condemning the commercialization of the ministry and Palinode's partial tolerance of this trend, Piers is exposing pastors who confuse two Mercurial roles: in Piers' eyes, Mercury the purveyor of worldly self is displacing Mercury the conveyor of the word of God.

This rough division of the more worldly and more other worldly Mercurial concerns into Palinode and Piers respectively also makes this debate more suitable to Gemini than to Virgo, for a similar dichotomy characterizes Gemini. The Twins are usually identified as Castor and Pollux³⁸: Castor was mortal and Pollux immortal, but Pollux so loved his brother that when Castor died Pollux persuaded Zeus to let him share his immortality with Castor; as a result one brother lives while the other dies³⁹. Hence it is possible to see Palinode, the "worldes child" as a type of Castor and Piers as a type of Pollux. Such a reading is similar to Ross' allegorization of Castor and Pollux as body

and soul respectively: "The soul and body are like Castor and Pollux, for when the one dieth, the other liveth; and when the body is a sleep, and as it were dead, then is the soul most active: and when the body is most vigilant, the soul is less vigorous."⁴⁰ Such an interpretation of the Twins while underlining the distance that separates body and soul, or, more generally, worldly and spiritual concerns, does not imply that the opposing principles are mutually exclusive or totally incompatible for neither brother dies altogether. Their *seriatim* immortality implies an ultimately harmonious tension between two natural and essential tendencies in man, for the raison d'être of this arrangement is that the brothers are inseparable. Hence, also, Gemini, as well as Mercury, represents concord.⁴¹ Like the Twins, there are both kinship and fundamental differences between Piers and Palinode. Although they differ sharply on the issue of how the clergy ought to respond to worldly concerns, they are alike in age and its supposed wisdom ("we tway bene men of elder witt" (18), says Piers), both desire the good of the church as they see it, and despite disagreement they maintain their fellowship.

Strictly astrological accounts of Gemini also show a mixture of worldly and spiritual concerns: Vettius Valens says the native of Gemini will be "full of business," a manager put in a position of trust, and an initiate into secret things⁴²; Firmicus says Gemini ascending produces people who "learn heavenly secrets" and receive an income from foreign investment⁴³; Ibn Ezra claims Gemini denotes magnates and chiefs of household gods⁴⁴; Al-Bīrūnī says the native of Gemini excels in games but also memorizes the Koran⁴⁵; and The Kalender

of Sheepehards says he will receive much money and go on many pilgrimages⁴⁶.

B. Piers, Palinode, and the Mercurial Qualities of an Effective Pastor

Spenser's basic strategy in the "Maye" debate, then, is to stress the spiritual significations of Mercury and Gemini in Piers, and some of their secular significations in Palinode. Since the essence of Gemini as a symbol is the harmony of the twins and the essence of a fortunately placed Mercury is the adaptability that permits him to fulfill his duties as herald, divine messenger, and guide of souls while still accomodating his personal ambitions, we should expect both Piers and Palinode, as only partial embodiments of Mercury and Gemini, to exhibit limitations or weaknesses for which the other possesses the corrective⁴⁷. An examination of the gifts that the rulership of Mercury can offer the pastor, as well as the hazards it can create, and the ways in which Piers and Palinode display Mercurial qualities show this to be the case.

The previous chapter noted that the inspired poet's chief task is to construct in the material media of sound and print an image of his Idea or "foreconceit" that can in a sense guide the audience toward that Idea so imperfectly reproduced. The pastor who wishes to be truly effective has an analogous problem: he must translate his privileged and specialized understanding of divine matters into a concrete, and hence limited and imperfect, medium in order to communicate it to the mind and will of his audience⁴⁸. The debate in "Maye" implies that there are four main qualities a preacher must possess to be effective, each of which is related to Mercury: 1) he must be well-educated

and intellectually acute in order to understand the complexities of doctrine; 2) he must be eloquent and subtle in debate in order to sway the congregation and correct misbelief; 3) he must be dedicated and reliable; and 4) he must be sufficiently flexible and adaptable to be able to suit his methods to the imperfect nature and limited understanding of man if he is to teach, persuade, and move rather than alienate and irritate his audience. That "Maye" implies these criteria is clear: Piers complains bitterly about the lack of dedication and reliability among the contemporary clergy and attributes these failings to wicked ambition on the part of some (120-31), foolish ignorance of the magnitude of the Lord's task on the part of others (37-54), and failure to understand the implications of "Heaping up waves of welth" on the part of others (91-102).⁴⁹ Moreover, Piers shows technical versatility and adaptability when, realizing that intellectual debate is not persuading Palinode, he resorts to the tale of the fox and the kid to make his point. Finally, Palinode's borrowing of this tale implies that he sees Piers as at least a potential source of learning and eloquence, for he admits that the tale illuminates the behaviour of foxes (312-13) and that "our Sir Iohn" needs it because "well he meanes, but little can say" (308-11).⁵¹

The cultivation of suitable Mercurial qualities is the remedy for the ignorance, stupidity, verbal ineptitude, and negligence that Piers condemns and also provides the adaptability necessary to function effectively in a world of diverse people. Astrologers are unanimous in giving a well-placed Mercury rule over mental and verbal agility, the ability to be learned and wise as well as clever and cunning. Ptolemy, for example, says Mercury "in predictions concerning men is keen and very practical, ingenious in any situation"⁵² and that "in an

honourable position makes those who are born under him wise, shrewd, thoughtful, learned, inventive, experienced, good calculators, inquirers into nature, speculative, gifted, emulous, beneficent, prudent, good at conjecture, [and] partakers in mysteries"⁵³ Firmicus claims that as ruler of the chart Mercury makes men "clever, talented, students of all things...they desire to learn the secrets of all skills. If Mercury is in his own house or terms or in his exaltation...he makes poets, orators, famous for pleasing fluency of speech."⁵⁴ Such men, he adds, "gain their whole livelihood from literature; because of their writing or learned speech they are chosen ambassadors....Mercury makes the natives teachers of grammar and oratory or interpreters of philosophy."⁵⁵ For Ibn Ezra, Mercury denotes the "soul of man and the power of comprehension" and philosophers, learned men, scribes, speech, thought, education, wisdom, precise enunciation, accuracy in expression, rapidity in conversation, knowledge of concealed secrets, prophecy, arguing without blows, astuteness of any kind, and eagerness to do any work.⁵⁶ Al-Bīrūnī says Mercury gives sharp intelligence and understanding, farsightedness, and anxiety for perfection in everything, and rules eloquence, the organs of speech, and the faculty of reflection.⁵⁷ According to Ferrier, Mercury's gifts include "good understanding...great subtlety of spright, good discourse of reason" and this planet makes one "full of wit, very apt to know the Mathematical, and the secrētes of nature,...well spoken, writing well....of an excellent wit, Studious, of a quick capacitiē, of a good and sound judgement in everything... Finding out many things untaught....[and] ingenious."⁵⁸ Dariot's list of Mercurial attributes and areas of rule includes "always imagining

new things," crafty, subtle, mathematics, rhetoric, philosophy, "curiosity in writing," wise, ingenious, inventing subtle and new arts, divination, and imagination.⁵⁹ Agrippa says Mercury gives "piercing faith and belief, clear reasoning, the vigour of interpreting and pronouncing, gravity of speech, acuteness of wit, discourse of reason, and the swift motions of the senses."⁶⁰ Maplet calls Mercury "the father, workeman, or procurer of eloquence and good wit" and says it "causeth the senses of those bodies which are subiected to him to bee dextere and pregaunt. So that those whych bee borne under hys constellation as hee governeth alone: are...for the most part rethoricall, well spoken, and very wise, applying their wisedom to good and honest endes."⁶¹ The Kalender of Sheepehards points out that Mercury is the "lord of speech" and claims its nativies are "very subtil of wit...[and] crafty in many sciences".⁶² Finally, Lilly says the native of a well-placed Mercury is a "man of a subtil and politick braine, intellect, and cogitation; and excellent disputant or Logician, arguing with learning and discretion, and using much eloquence in his speech, a searcher into all kinds of Mysteries and Learning, sharp and witty; learning almost anything without a Teacher; ambitious of being exquisite in every science...a man of an unwearied fancie, curious in the search of any occult knowledge; able by his owne Genius to produce wonders"⁶³ and later says he is a man "of admirable sharp fancies, extreame studious and capable of learning...wise, wary, divining well, or giving good advice, acting all things with agility and dexterity."⁶⁴ Since Mercury "doth induce ingenousnesse, and great knowledge of diverse arts, faculties and sciences,"⁶⁵ it is not surprising that the

sources cited above and in note 64 inform us that Mercurials may pursue any of a diverse range of occupations including theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, magic, divination, law, teaching, commerce, diplomacy, oratory, accounting, handicrafts, printing, secretarial work, finance, sculpting, painting, etching, music, and poetry.⁶⁶

Intellectual acuity and versatility also characterizes Gemini. According to Vettius Valens the natives of Gemini are fond of learning and will devote themselves to study or education and become poets, musicians, teachers of singing, or interpreters.⁶⁷ Hephaistion calls them intellectual and argumentative⁶⁸ and Rhetorios says they are resourceful.⁶⁹ According to Ibn Ezra, the native of Gemini is "crafty in his work and in all tasks" and may become a writer, mathematician, astronomer, sage, king, magnate, hero, magician, or practitioner of some delicate craft.⁷⁰ Al-Bīrūnī says Gemini makes men fond of philosophy and astronomy, and denotes teachers, dancers, musicians, painters, tailors, kings and calculators.⁷¹ According to Manilius, Gemini ascending "will bestow zeal for study and direct men to learned arts... and furnishes them with blessings of voice and tuneful lyre, combining with wit a dowry of melody."⁷² In his earlier account of the gifts of Gemini, Manilius also mentions poetry and song, but adds astronomy and a more general comment: "nature yields to their genius, which it serves in all things. So many are the accomplishments of which the Twins are fruitful."⁷³ Arcandam says the native of Gemini will "be an ingenious and cunning Artificer...[and] naturally wise,"⁷⁴ and points out that "this signe hath his singular fortune in learning and knowledge, and specially in the seven liberall Artes and Sciences, chiefly in phylosophy,

in the lawes, & in physick."⁷⁵ And, according to Indagine, the sun in Gemini makes one "wise and wittye...full of understanding, subtile, ...indued with good learning and science."⁷⁶

The qualities derived from a favourably placed Mercury or Gemini are enormously useful to a pastor in a world of wolves and foxes. But if Mercury is unfavourably placed, or neutrally placed, or if for some reason the recipient of its influence is unapt to cultivate the good Mercurial influences, then, even if we omit consideration of deliberate deceit and fraud, the Mercurial personality is a potentially undesirable and dangerous one. The native may rely on his natural cleverness as a substitute for the learning and study to which the planet should incline him, and his planet's chameleonic nature may manifest itself as inconstancy or instability (see note 6); as a result, the native may make rash decisions, and ill-considered or premature judgements, and behave impulsively. Hence Ptolemy lists among the characteristics of the native of a poorly placed Mercury "precipitate, forgetful, impetuous, light-minded, fickle, prone to change their minds, foolish rogues, witless,...undiscriminating, unstable, undependable, [and]...unsteady in judgement."⁷⁷ According to Ferrier an unfortunately placed Mercury makes men "presumptuous, of little knowledge, with great estimation of his person, inconstant,...a mocker,...fantasticall"⁷⁸ and "unstable, malicious,...slanderer, Forgetful, [and] Foolish."⁷⁹ Maplet says Mercurials are of "slippery and chaungeable mindes,"⁸⁰ and Cattan claims the native is "hastie and sodaine in all his doings, and will not do any thing but that which taketh him in the head."⁸¹ Lilly claims that the child of an ill-placed Mercury is "easie of

beleefe, an asse or very ideot, constant in no place or opinion.... pretending all manner of knowledge, but guilty of no true or solid learning; a trifler; a meere frantick fellow; if he prove a Divine, then a meer verball fellow, frothy, of no judgement, easily perverted, constant in nothing but idle words and bragging."⁸² Similarly, Middleton characterizes such a Mercurial as "a conceited Fool, a very Ideot, pretending to Learning and Knowledge, but not capable of any solid Learning."⁸³ Since Mercury rules the tongue, mouth, and cognitive faculties, the ailments it produces include, according to Ibn Ezra, "psychic disorders, such as a plethora of worries, grief, and all kinds of suspicion";⁸⁴ according to Ferrier, "lightnes of the braine, like to follie, foolish imaginacions, [and] lets of the tongue";⁸⁵ according to Dariot, stammering, impediments of the tongue and deprivation of common sense;⁸⁶ and according to Lilly, "any Disease of the Braine,...all stammering and imperfection in the Tongue; vaine and fond Imaginations, all defects in the Memory....Dumnesse,...[and] all evils in the Fancy and intellectual parts."⁸⁷ Although one would stop short of labelling them diseases, the deficiencies of Palinode's "Sir Iohn" are clearly Mercurial in character.

Palinode accuses Piers of contentious and unnecessary fault-finding and railing (144-163), and this too is behaviour typical of the poorly-placed Mercury. For example, Al-Bīrūnī says Mercurials are busybodies and calumnious⁸⁸ and, as seen above, Ferrier claims they are malicious and slanderous. Maplet says that Mercury joined with a malefic causes people to abuse Mercury's "good and commendable giftes, and converteth them to bestow both their eloquence and wits to the hurt and harme of

others: as also to stirre up stryfes, discorde, quareleng, tumultes,... heresies, and such like" and that such men "do nothing els...but make thinges that be straight crooked: such as be perfite, and whole, crackte, and broken: darkening that which is manifest, and thrusting truth out of place."⁸⁹ Lilly claims that the ill-placed Mercury produces "A troublesome wit, a kinde of Phrenetick man, his tongue and Pen against every man, wholly bent to foole his estate and time in prating and trying nice conclusions to no purpose; a... pratler, busibody,...a tale-carrier...pratling muddy Ministers, busie Sectaries, and they unlearned."⁹⁰ Later he points out that when ill-placed, Mercury signifies people who are "malitious turbulent, envious" and in some configurations those who meddle "with everybody and every matter, asses, dolts, pratling dotards, stammering cox combs, good for nothing, etc."⁹¹ And Middleton claims a poorly-placed Mercury causes one to be "full of many strifes and contentions; he hath a troublesome Wit, which he employs both with Tongue and Pen against all men, purposely to cause quarrels and mischief."⁹² However, Piers maintains that his contentiousness is a moral necessity, not the result of malice or a muddled intellect:

Shepheard, I list none accordaunce make
With shepheard, that does the right way forsake.
And of the twaine, if choice were to me,
Had never my foe, then my freend he be.
For what concord han light and darke sam? (164-8).

Evaluating Piers' performance in the role of a human Mercury conveying the word of God to men is no easy matter since the debate itself, as it deals with the duties and responsibilities of the clergy, concerns the substance of God's word. If the two speakers were in full agreement on matters of doctrine, or if scholars were in agreement on Spenser's

religious affiliations,⁹³ it would be a simple matter of determining either which speaker is the more efficient or which expresses Spenser's own views. The present study will not enter the arena of ecclesiastic controversy to any great extent, but rather will attempt to ascertain, on the basis of the four favourable Mercurial criteria indicated above (intellectual ability, verbal skill, dedication or reliability, and adaptability) how well suited by nature the two speakers are to perform their clerical duties effectively. I will first examine the speakers from the perspective of verbal skill and intellectual ability, then from that of conscientiousness and adaptability.

Palinode himself indicates the proper conclusion with respect to verbal artistry, for in wishing to borrow Piers' tale for the well-meaning but inept local preacher he shows that he is Mercurial enough to recognize eloquence, but also concedes that Piers is the more inventive and skilful orator. Nonetheless, Piers fails miserably in his major task as orator-preacher, namely to "reform" Palinode's opinions and behaviour. Despite crediting Piers with superior verbal skill and a useful knowledge of foxes, Palinode maintains that Piers has the Mercurial defects of poorly-grounded intellectual pretense, "trying nice conclusions to no purpose," and of being a "pratling muddy Minister," a "meer verball fellow." For example, he clearly sees Piers' tirade against accumulating wealth and his vision of primitive ascetic Christianity as "frothy" "vain and fond imaginings," for he brands the whole speech as burdensome "fooles talke" (141) and tells Piers

Thou findest faulte, where nys to be found,
 And buildest strong warke upon a weake ground:
 Thou raylest at right withouten reason,
 And blamest hem much for small encheason. (144-7).

Similarly, before deciding that he can make use of Piers' tale, he says of the moral Piers derives from it "Truly Piers, thou art beside thy wit,/Furthest fro the marke, weening it to hit" (306-7).⁹⁴

An examination of the debate shows that there is considerable substance to Palinode's objections, for despite Piers' undoubted integrity and moral fervor, his arguments for an ascetic clergy are often inconsistent, irrelevant, illogical and simplistic, all of which imply that he has not got as firm a grip on the subject as he thinks. Although his central notion that "shepheards...Mought not live ylike, as men of the laye" (75-6) is more perceptive than Palinode's failure to draw any real distinction between the two lifestyles, Piers does not always adhere to it coherently or consistently.

Signs of Piers' confusion appear from the outset, for he is sufficiently inconsistent to let pass without censure two items in Palinode's first speech which the rest of his behaviour implies should gall him, particularly since they come approvingly from the mouth of a fellow shepherd: first, one expects Piers to object to the decoration of the church with flowers (12) as at best frivolous and at worst, blasphemous; second, Palinode's claim that Maytime "merimake holy Saints doth queme" (15) is at such variance with Piers' conception of saintly activity that one expects a full-scale rebuttal to follow. But instead of asserting his principles, he simply points out the silliness of an older man's desire to participate in youthful follies (17-18), an almost nostalgic reply that lends weight to Palinode's later claim that Piers'

moralism is coloured by envy of the young (55-6).⁹⁵ Piers' description of the kid in his tale shows a similar hint of nostalgia, for rather than merely indicating that it is young, Piers lingers over its freshness (183), its loveliness (183), its "Vellet head" (185), its newly-sprouting horns (186), and its budding beard (187-8), and the loving address, filled with reminiscences of the kid's dead father, of the Gate to her son (189-214). These details in the tale not only imply a disguised affection for the young, but also contrast with the rather cynical and callous attitudes shown in his earlier references to natural parental concerns (his unsympathetic account of the mother ape's inadvertent smothering of its infant, (95-102) and his argument that the pastor should not concern himself with leaving an inheritance for his son since God will "cherish his child, if in his wayes he stood" (86)). So Piers' attitudes toward youth and normal human but worldly concerns are not as straightforward and consistent as his conscious sermonizing attempts to suggest, and Palinode is more perceptive than he is generally given credit for.

When the debate turns to the subject of the pastor's accumulating and enjoying wealth both speakers reveal the weakness of their arguments. Palinode's argument is a mere rationalization of his Mercurial habit of squandering his wealth: he makes no qualitative distinction between pastor and layman and argues that "Good is no good, but it be spend:/God giveth good for none other end" (71-2) and that what is not spent is simply lost when one dies. Palinode's fusing of the notion of "good" and "goods" can be seen as either ill-considered or deliberately sophistic, both of which are Mercurial, but the really serious

flaw in his argument concerns what the "good" is to be spent on. If it were to be spent on improving the welfare of the flock or other acts of charity, Palinode would have a good case; however, the superficiality of his thinking and the cupidity behind it are patent since what he would spend it on is pleasure, ease, and leisure (65-6). Not even Piers sees Palinode's current behaviour as posing an immediate threat to his flock, but it is clear that Palinode's worldly desires and the triviality of his thinking are likely to impair his efficacy as pastor.

Palinode's argument is thus, easy to refute, but Piers' long involved response despite what valid points it may contain, fails to rebut Palinode's case. Piers' mode of reasoning and arguing is dualistic and simplistic: his world consists of clergy and laymen, two categories so discrete that Piers will not openly admit overlapping; the pastor either follows the "right way" (i.e. Piers') or he does not; if he does not, he must be rejected.⁹⁶ This dichotomizing approach characterizes his response to Palinode and prevents his developing a convincing rebuttal. He begins: "Ah Palinodie, thou art a worldes childe:/Who touches Pitch mought needes be defilde" (73-4). In other words, riches are the concern of laymen; hence shepherds must avoid them. From this extreme position, he embarks on a tirade against shepherdly wealth which has little to do with Palinode or his argument and in addition is internally incoherent.

Piers' distinction between the responsibilities appropriate to laity and the clergy is a useful start toward answering Palinode, but beyond that Piers "tries nice conclusions to no purpose," for he

argues against things Palinode never said, and condemns motives and activities Palinode shows no interest in. Palinode advocates spending money rather frivolously, Piers argues against accumulating it; Palinode's position implies that wealth left for heirs is simply lost so he never mentions heirs, Piers argues, quite irrelevantly, that consideration of heirs is appropriate only to the laity; Palinode speaks of enjoying the "good" that God provides the shepherd, Piers condemns wealth obtained from exploiting the flock.

Not only is Piers' response largely irrelevant to the case Palinode makes, but it is also incoherent in important places. Piers sees more clearly than does Palinode that the "goods" God sends are a reward for the shepherd's goodness, but his roundabout approach through discussing inheritance, and the confusions within that argument, hamper his attempts to clarify Palinode's thinking. Piers first argues that accumulating wealth is permissible among laymen because they must provide for heirs, but that it is not permissible among the clergy because the same God who provided for the father will provide for the son if the son remains righteous (73-86). He then argues that if the son lives sinfully, he will through his own "misgovernance," waste the wealth his father left him (87-90). The essential point of conflict between the speakers is what constitutes a proper use of wealth. Palinode's notion of enjoying it while it is available easily leads to the wasteful misgovernance of which Piers complains. Piers' notion of the proper use of riches is no more satisfactory for the simple reason that he really does not suggest one. He permits laymen to possess riches, but provides no guidelines for

their use beyond establishing an inheritance, and denies them to the clergy because such "Pitch" is suitable only to laymen. He limits the clergy's use of the things of this world to being satisfied with what God provides for basic subsistence, (103-16) and does not consider Palinode's implication that God provides the pastor with more than the merely necessary. The question then should be what to do with the surplus: Palinode suggests that the clergy enjoy it; Piers, afraid that it will be misused, implies the clergy should ignore it. Palinode's ideas about the proper use of riches are, then, frivolous, while Piers' morbid fear of the abuse of riches precludes his conceiving of the possibilities for using them well.

The rest of Piers' argument about inheritance is no more satisfactory. Having restricted the ideal pastor's income so severely, Piers' contradictorily posits a pastor's son misusing the wealth his father left him, and further argues that if the son were an ideal pastor, God would provide for him, so an inheritance is unnecessary. In addition to the fact that he is arguing about a point Palinode never raised, there are at least three things wrong with Piers' argument: first, it applies only to sons, not to wives and daughters who have more need of the security of an inheritance; second, it applies only if the pastor's son is willing and able to be a clergyman; and third, Piers neglects to explain why if the son were an ideal pastor who happened to inherit some money (from, presumably, a less than ideal father), he would not be able to find some worthy use for this surplus wealth. Again, Piers' fear of evil blinds him to the possibilities for good⁹⁷ and leads to an incoherent argument.

Piers' account of the decline from the ideal ascetic past he envisions is also confused. He attributes this decline to two causes: "tract of time and long prosperitie" (117). The argument from tract of time implies that this decay is a natural and inevitable result of the clergy's sharing human imperfection with the laity. If the clergy are indeed men like other men, Piers' demands that the pastor forsake all "worldly sovenance" (82) will be met by so few that there is no chance of achieving the austere perfection Piers desires. His argument from long prosperity seems on the surface to be more satisfactory since his analysis of the corrupting influences of striving for wealth and power is persuasive. However, Piers fails to consider the origins of this prosperity. Prosperity implies the acquisition of wealth, which Piers objects to as both symptom and cause of spiritual decay. At some time in Piers' ideal past, acquisitiveness must have arisen to convert the mere subsistence he praises into prosperity, and this covetousness must have worsened in "tract of time." Hence man, even when God provides him with necessities, finds a way through the motions of his spirit alone to pervert goods from their proper use. Piers' account of the decline from the virtues of primitive Christianity reveals his fundamental distrust of human nature and demonstrates that this ideal past, if it existed at all, has no hope of survival when confronted with the realities of human nature as Piers sees them.

Since Piers persists in his belief that avoidance of worldly concerns can restore this past, he does not see that his account of its loss implies a view of human nature that undermines his desire for its

return. Piers' quasi-historical survey also shows the irrelevance of his earlier arguments about inheritances. Since he has inadvertently shown that man can misgovern even the smallest amount of goods, it is not really to the point to question how much man (including pastors) should have or whether he should leave much, little, or nothing to his offspring. Spenser's depiction of Piers anticipates Milton's observation that "They are not skilfull considerers of human things who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin... though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left: ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness.... Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove one and ye remove both alike."⁹⁸ Piers is clearly one of those unskilful considerers of human things, for he, quite contrary to his own view of human nature, thinks he can make pastors good by forcibly keeping them away from money and pleasure, whereas the only result of such artificial constraints will be to make the pastors miserable and to limit their abilities to do good.

Piers' central speech, then, is largely unnecessary and irrelevant to the points he purports to be refuting and is, in addition, hopelessly tangled, inconsistent, and misleading. In short, he is unwittingly sophistic and manifests the undesirable Mercurial trait of hollow intellectual pretense; he weaves a fine and clever web of words but its substance is too confused and ill-digested to be of much real use. Palinode, freely admitting that the clergy contains unworthy men (158-61) and not doubting Piers' sincerity and virtue,

has enough of the Mercurial's native acuteness to thread his way through Piers' mazy arguments and conclude that Piers builds "strong warke upon a weake ground" (145). But he is able to offer nothing better than a carpe diem argument that compromises too much with human weakness; hence, to a certain extent and in different ways, both speakers are "prattling muddy ministers."

Finding that convoluted arguments are not advancing his aims, Piers shows his Mercurial versatility by adopting new tactics and relating the tale of the fox and the kid in which the kid's mother instructs it to keep the door locked for fear of the fox which has vowed the kid's "last confusion" (220); the fox appears disguised as a sick peddler with a bag of wares, gains admittance by appealing to both the kid's sympathy and his greed, and devours the kid.⁹⁹ From this relatively straightforward tale which even Palinode admits contains necessary information about the deviousness of foxes, Piers derives a totally untenable moral:

Such end had the Kidde, for he nould warned be
Of craft, coloured with simplicitie:
And such end perdie does all hem remayne,
That of such falsers freendship bene fayne. (302-5).

However, the kid was not warned about craft coloured with simplicity, only against foxes: the Gate says nothing about disguises or how to penetrate them and the limit of its practical advice is to lock the door. Nor is it accurate to say that the kid was desirous of "such falsers freendship," since the fox did not introduce itself as a "falser" but as a sick peddler and a relative at that, and did not offer friendship but merchandise. The real lesson of the tale, besides

the obvious ones that foxes are tricky and greed can be dangerous, is the morally dubious one that it is safest to shut the door on one's fellow men because they might be disguised "falsers."

Palinode responds as follows:

Truly Piers, thou art beside thy wit,
Furthest fro the marke, weening it to hit,
Now I pray thee, lette me thy tale borrowe
For our sir Iohn, to say to morrowe
At the Kerke, when it is holliday:
For well he meanes, but little can say. (306-13)

If the preceding analysis of Piers' intellectual deficiencies and Palinode's earlier responses to these is correct, it is possible to see this response as a consistent thought. The first two lines refer only to Piers' erroneous moral and furnish another instance of Palinode's Mercurial sharpness. He wants to borrow the tale, but not the moral, because he has the astuteness to see that the tale is useful and can be adapted for use in a sermon.¹⁰⁰

In terms of intellectual qualities, then, both Piers and Palinode are Mercuries manqués. Piers is acute enough to see quickly that Palinode's position is superficial and skilful enough in words to weave a rebuttal that is intricate and impressive if not examined too closely. Palinode, if he lacks Piers' ability to construct elaborate and subtle arguments whose force lies more in words than in coherent substance, does possess the Mercurial's quickness of thought and an ability to express his thoughts with forceful clarity, for he instantly sees flaws in Piers' arguments, even if he misses the valid points, and not without some justice pronounces them "fooles talke." Palinode's shallow argument for enjoying wealth and his choice of sarcasm and

mockery as principal tools of rebuttal show that he has Mercurial cleverness but makes no attempt to develop the Mercurial taste for serious thought. Piers' intellectual instincts, on the other hand, do tend toward a deeper and more philosophical consideration of the problem at hand. However his confused response to human nature (he ostensibly thinks the pastor can transcend its limitations, but his account of the decline from primitive Christianity undermines that confidence) and his inability to detect flaws in his own thinking hamper his efforts and reveal that his grip on his case is weaker than he would have us think. In short, Piers needs more sharpness and cleverness, Palinode more seriousness.

The issue of reliability and dedication need not detain us long. That Piers is fully dedicated to his vocation has never been doubted. It is equally clear that Palinode, while not as single-minded about it as Piers nor so well-schooled in the wiles of foxes, is also conscientious: Piers does not class him with the reprobates he condemns; Palinode acknowledges the abuses in the church, although he disagrees with Piers about how to handle them; and he wants to borrow Piers' tale in order to remedy a weakness in the ecclesiastical establishment. What may not be immediately clear, because the term "mercurial" has narrowed its meaning to "volatile" (a trait of the ill-placed Mercury), is that dedication and reliability are gifts of the well-placed Mercury. Comes, among the mythographers, tells us that Mercury is the "ambassadeur ordinaire de la Cour Celeste, Héraut, Huissier, & Messager des Dieux, le plus vigilant, & maniant plus d'affaires qu'aucun de leur troupe, attendu que la quantité de

negociations qu'il avoit en mains ne luy donnoit pas loisir de reposer seulement la nuict."¹⁰¹ Because Mercury of its own nature tends toward the stability of the cold and dry, when it is well-placed it does in fact give reliability, and its changeableness appears as versatility or flexibility. Hence, as was noted above, Mercurials frequently occupy positions of trust such as bankers, teachers, financiers, and divines. Firmicus, for example, says the ascendant in the terms of Mercury produces men who are "learned, correct in judgement [and] who faithfully carry out their entrusted duties. They will be made caretakers or governors of states, responsible administrators, or governors of the treasury."¹⁰² Ferrier says Mercury, when fortunate, gives "great perseverance";¹⁰³ Dariot credits Mercury with industry and honest labour;¹⁰⁴ Dorotheus Sidoneus says Mercury on the ascendant causes one to be "bent over in everything for everyone";¹⁰⁵ and Al-Bīrūnī says that Mercury gives "anxiety for perfection in everything."¹⁰⁶

The remaining criterion to consider is flexibility or adaptability, and this is where Piers shows his greatest weakness. His switching from a lecture-debate approach to recounting a tale shows that he is versatile in pedagogic technique. However, the fact that he does not grasp the implications of his own story and adduces a moral that his auditor cannot accept confines his effectiveness. But where his real weakness as a Mercury-figure lies is in his self-righteous inflexibility. His refusal to seek concord with shepherds that forsake the "right way" is a natural consequence of his certainty that he alone knows what that way is. But the inconsistencies and

irrelevancies of his reasoning, and his failure to perceive and accept the impulses toward good in human nature, show that his conception of the right way is deeply flawed and that he is as limited and prone to error as anyone else. Since Piers is reluctant to acknowledge the kinship between the clergy and the laity, his good Mercurial trait of dedication to duty expresses itself as arrogant insensitivity. This rejection of the very human nature with which the pastor is forced to contend, both in himself and in the congregation, further limits Piers' effectiveness as a preacher. He clearly conceives of the ministerial vocation as involving little more than receiving the divine word and magisterially announcing it to the assembled multitude, an approach that may work well when the interpreter of the gods is himself a god, but which will fail when the interpreter is an imperfect human being attempting to convey the Word to other imperfect human beings. The successful teacher, orator, or preacher must adapt himself to the nature of his audience, must understand and respect what motivates it, and must find ways to capitalize on its strengths and weaknesses. The would-be human Mercury who, like Piers, not only fails to understand and sympathize with the human nature of his audience, but also rejects it outright, does not understand the rhetorical situation in which he must work, and hence will be jeered at exactly as Palinode mocks Piers. Piers' technical versatility is of no real use because it is not accompanied by the deeper adaptation to the understanding and concerns of the audience.

Palinode, on the other hand, is in close touch and sympathy with fallen human nature. Unlike Piers, Palinode tends to lump all men

together and does not sharply separate the clergy from the lay as a special class of men. We have noted this habit of mind in Palinode's contention that the clergy, like everyone else, has a natural and legitimate desire to enjoy wealth. The same empathy with natural human impulses produces Palinode's instinctive desire to join the young folk in their Maytime celebrations despite his age. Manilius' description of the influence of Gemini, with its emphasis on music, love, ease, and youthfulness even in those old enough to know better, is a perfect gloss on Palinode's character:

From the Twins come less laborious callings . . .
and a more agreeable way of life, provided by varied
song and voices of harmonious tone, slender pipes, the
melodies inborn in strings and the words fitted thereto:
those so endowed find even work a pleasure. They would
banish the arms of war, the trumpet's call, and the gloom
of old age: theirs is a life of ease and unfading youth
spent in the arms of love.¹⁰⁷

Although a few astrologers claim natives of Gemini are contentious (see note 92), most, like Manilius, say they are as pleasure-loving and affable as Palinode. Of Gemini ascending, Manilius says "It creates no gloomy disposition, but hearts imbued with a pleasant charm."¹⁰⁸ Arcandam says the native of Gemini is "pleasant and mercifull, easie to bee spoken unto,...acceptable to all men...luxurious and given to women."¹⁰⁹ According to Ibn Ezra, Gemini denotes "birds that sing delightfully," places where one shoots dice or plays musical instruments, and all objects of mockery.¹¹⁰ Al-Bīrūnī says natives of Gemini excel in games and may become dancers or musicians.¹¹¹ According to Indagine, the sun in Gemini produces men who are merciful, liberal, "merye minded...gentle to be spoken

to, and by a certain instruction acceptable unto men" and good at dissembling anger.¹¹²

Palinode's casual, tolerant, easy-going nature and his desire to be acceptable to all men are of ambivalent value in his role as pastor. On the negative side emphasized by Piers, it could lead to self-indulgence, silliness, frivolity, and unseemly compromise with those who completely abandon the "right way." On the positive side, this casualness is a manifestation of the adaptability given by Gemini's ruler, Mercury, gives Palinode a wider range of sensibility than Piers possesses, and hence makes Palinode better able to accept men as well as to be acceptable to them: thus he can empathize with and yearn for the delights of youth while still remaining fast friends with Piers and desiring to remedy the deficiencies of his "sir Iohn."

Provided it does not degenerate to senile silliness, Palinode's ability to link in himself the concerns of both youth and age is his most valuable asset because of the flexibility it denotes. This ability to see, at least in part, the legitimacy of the claims of both parties, together with his love of ease, makes Palinode loath to stir up unnecessary strife. His peaceful nature is suitable for "Maye" since both Gemini and Mercury are symbols of concord, as Fowler points out.¹¹³ When discussing Mercury's caduceus, Valeriano explains that if "any grave and pious person, endowed with eloquence, approaches combatants, teaches them that there is no safety in war...and shows them that all wars are destructive and pernicious...he will courteously draw their discordant souls into concord."¹¹⁴ Palinode attempts unsuccessfully to play such a Mercurial peace maker when he points out that Piers' confrontational tactics may prove "destructive and pernicious"

to the very church they both wish to preserve:

And sooth to sayne, nought seemeth sike strife,
That shepheardes so witen ech others life,
And layen her faults the world beforene,
The whiles their foes done eache of hem scorne.
Let none mislike of that may not be mended:
So contek soone by concord mought be ended. (159-63).

Since Palinode, like the natives of Gemini, prefers ease to laborious callings, his desire for concord may be simply the desire for an easy but not well-founded solution, as Piers implies when he vows to remain contentious until everyone sees things his way (164-170); however it is also true that Piers' inflexibility and combativeness may well fragment the church so much that it is easy prey for its foes.¹¹⁵ Moreover, the spectacle of pastors' continually fighting among themselves may undermine their flocks' confidence in them. The issue of Piers' contentiousness as opposed to Palinode's desire for concord parallels "September's" problem of Diggon's desire to expose the evils within the clergy and Hobbinoll's to "cleanly cover" them up: in each case both speakers make points that are valid but in need of the qualifications supplied by the other.

C. Mercurial Elements in the Tale of the Fox and the Kid.

The discovery of Mercurial motifs in the tale of the fox and the kid does not radically affect the way one interprets the tale, but it does further confirm that Spenser accommodates his eclogues to the significations of the planets and signs. Most of these motifs relate to the fox, an animal under the rulership of Mercury.¹¹⁶ The fox embodies the evil effects of Mercury not seen in either Piers or Palinode, namely the attaining of profit through fraud and deception, the application

of Mercurial cleverness and versatility to wicked ends. Ptolemy, for example, says Mercury causes "robbery, theft, piracy, and assault"¹¹⁷ and that, unfortunately placed, it makes men "utter rascals...sinful, liars,...avaricious, unjust,...and inclined to evil deeds."¹¹⁸ According to Firmicus, the epoch in the Thema Mundi ruled by Mercury was the one in which "wickedness and evil appeared. At this time men invented and handed down wicked crimes."¹¹⁹ Ibn Ezra claims that Mercury denotes "astuteness of any kind, trickery, [and] forgery."¹²⁰ Maplet says Mercury is the god of "Theeves and Iuglers, which worke upon deceipt & sleights."¹²¹ Agrippa credits Mercury with "deceits, cousenages, lies, subtile desires of evil, [and] propensity to sin."¹²² According to Ferrier, the poorly-placed Mercury makes one "a lyer,...a deceiver ordinarily,... and vicious,"¹²³ and further on he adds that it makes one malicious, "privily sowing deceit...[and] Full of wicked counsell and malice."¹²⁴ Lilly claims that Mercury can make one a great liar, cheater or thief¹²⁵ as well as inconstant "malitious turbulent, envious, perfidious,...deceitfull, inventing destructive plots and machinations, [and] infamous."¹²⁶ Middleton says the native of an ill-placed Mercury is "a person full of knavish inventions; a liar;...[and] a theivish and cheating person."¹²⁷ And Cattan informs us that the man born when Mercury is in Gemini "appointeth himselfe to go to lay waite to kill men, and to prevent others, having no delight but to slay and ransack others."¹²⁸

Spenser's fox is, as foxes traditionally are, maliciously deceitful: just before he begins his tale, Piers implies that foxes have "false harts" that they conceal (170); the Gate calls it the "maister of

collusion" (219), claims that it has maliciously vowed the Kid's "last confusion" (220), credits it with treachery and fraud (222, 224), and implies that it will approach the Kid through slippery words and trickery rather than through open violence (222-6); Piers later characterizes its tactics as "deceitfull meaning" (254) and "craft, coloured with simplicitie" (303) and points out that it has conned its part well (262) and is clever enough to conceal its tail (280-1). The fox uses thoroughly Mercurial means to attain its ends: the fox as Mercury the cunning deceiver disguises itself as Mercury the merchant, an apt choice since it is often said that the Mercurial trait of greedy opportunism characterizes both (see note 26); it approaches the Kid through smooth and deceptive speech (pretending to be a sick sheep, mingling words and tears,¹²⁹ explaining its colour as the result of sunburn); and mixes its exhibition of its merchandise (an appeal to the kid's Mercurial covetousness) with Mercurial chatter and lies (282-6).

In addition to capitalizing on the kid's natural sympathy for the sick and on its acquisitiveness, the fox exploits the kid's sense of familial obligation, for it claims to be "very sybbe" to the kid (268-73). This tactic is suitable in "Maye" since its zodiacal governor is Gemini, the twins, which is, says Bartholomaeus Anglicus, the house of "Kynrede and nigh sibness."¹³⁰ Even if the fox's claim were true, it would not necessarily augure well, for Bartholomaeus Anglicus, when discussing the effects of the sun in Gemini, says that—"þanne somtyme beþ many werres and st[r]iffe bitwene kynnes men and cosines."¹³¹ Firmicus claims that Gemini on the ascendant signifies that "the death

of either brothers or relatives will come about through the native himself, and he will suffer great anxieties throughout his life."¹³² Indagine says that Gemini on the ascendant means "destruction unto his brethren and kindred, whereby through divers cares and vexations being put besides his minde, he shal be a longe tyme tormented."¹³³ Except insofar as its instructions are insufficient to help the kid identify foxes, the Gate is not responsible for the kid's demise, as in Firmicus' interpretation of Gemini, but the loss of its son as well as of its mate (193-200) will certainly add to its anxieties and torment. The fox itself is an inversion of Firmicus' account of the native of the ascending Gemini, for it is a false relative that is directly responsible for the death of its "kin," and feels anything but torment as a result.

One final Mercurial detail worth noting in the tale is that the Gate stumbles at the doorway and "such, as signes of ill luck bene dispraised" (229-32). It is appropriate that the stumbling be regarded as an omen, for Mercury presides over astrology, soothsaying, and divination in general.¹³⁴ It is moreover, apt that it occur in the doorway, for as N.O. Brown points out, Hermes is the god of roads and doors "Who presides over all comings-in and goings-out."¹³⁵ Alexander Ross tells us that the ancients "used to pain Mercuries picture on their doors, that he being the god of Theives, might keep off other thieves from their houses."¹³⁶ Clearly the Gate could have used such a precaution.

II. "August"

Mercury's rulership over poetry (see note 48) as well as its sister art, oratory, is sufficient to justify its appearance as a major concern of "August". But it is also appropriate that the eclogue is centred on a singing competition (or rather two contests since Cuddie presents Colin's sestina as a rival to and easy victor over the roundelay (139-40)), for the natives of Mercury love verbal combats: the Orphic Hymn to Mercury calls him the "Prefect of contests,"¹³⁷ and the Homeric Hymn to Hermes tells us that after fashioning a lyre from a tortoise "the god sang sweet random snatches, even as youths bandy taunts at festivals."¹³⁸

The roundelay, a contest of extemporaneous singing with prizes at stake, is not a context conducive to the sublimity and insight of the vates since it does not permit disinterested and settled contemplation. The desire to win is paramount, and that requires a quick wit and the technical skills of the poet-artificer, criteria Cuddie implies when he pronounces Willy's undersongs "well addrest" (128). We have noted above that mental agility is a Mercurial property as is eloquence. But because the term "eloquence" frequently connotes that what is being said is as noteworthy as how it is being said, and because Mercury also rules over commerce, handicrafts, theft, and fraud, it must be stressed that underlying and connecting these diverse fields is not only adaptability, as mentioned above, but also the element of sheer skill, whatever the medium and whatever the purpose.¹³⁹ Hence Firmicus says that Mercury as ruler of the chart produces "students of all things" who "desire to learn the secrets of all skills";¹⁴⁰

Ibn Ezra says Mercury denotes "astuteness of any kind" and that its native has his "hand trained to perform any trade," and is "eager to do any work";¹⁴¹ Dariot Says Mercurials are ingenious workmen in everything;¹⁴² and the Kalender of Sheepehards claims they "shalbe very crafty in many sciences."¹⁴³

"August's" concern with the skilled poeta also conforms to the significations of Virgo, for it too denotes craftsmanship, verbal artistry, and a good wit. According to Ibn Ezra for example, the natives of Virgo are learned and intelligent and may become writers or "the most capable exponents of mockery."¹⁴⁴ Al-Bīrūnī says they are well-informed, lively, playful, fond of dance and music, and may be dancers, singers, or musicians.¹⁴⁵ Firmicus claims the native of Virgo on the ascendant can "acquire great possessions through his gift for learned speech" and will be "knowledgeable in many skills and systems...[and] skilled in all art."¹⁴⁶ Indagine says that Virgo rising makes one "wittye and cunnynge in all thynges, searchynge out al thinges, a good artificer, with abundance of richesse whether ithappen by religion, by learning, or by marchandise".¹⁴⁷ Ferrier says Virgo gives a good voice, learning, and ingenuity.¹⁴⁸ Valens claims the natives of Virgo are given to craftsmanship¹⁴⁹ and Rhetorios that they are concerned with words.¹⁵⁰ The Kalender of Sheepehards says they are ingenious and solicitous in their work.¹⁵¹ According to Lilly, Virgo gives a "witty discreet soule, judicious and excellently well spoken."¹⁵² Finally, Manilius says that Virgo "will direct to study, and she will train [the natives'] minds in the learned arts....On them she will confer a tongue which charms, the mastery of words, and that mental vision which can discern all things".¹⁵³

The roundelay's exhibition of verbal skill and mental agility is, then, suitable to the eclogue's planetary and zodiacal rulers.

The Mercurial concern with wealth and gain that is one of the main sources of controversy in "Maye", because of Piers' fear that such riches might either proceed from fraud or distract the pastor from his duty, appears in "August" in the unobjectionable form of a desire for profit derived from artistic skill. Hence the provision of prizes is described in terms implying a financial transaction: Willy refers to the "Pledge, which I plight" (25); Perigot "pawns" a spotted lamb (37), the brother of which Colin Clout "purchast" (41) in an earlier contest; Willy tells him to "make like account" (43) of this one; and after hearing their song, Cuddie judges each to have "gayned" (131), and apportions the rewards accordingly.

Although Willy and Perigot only break even in terms of material gain, the roundelay is profitable in the sense that it cures Perigot's love sickness. Perigot's love malady, like Thomalin's in "March," is a less-advanced and essentially comic version of Colin's. In fact, Perigot is presented throughout "August" as a lesser Colin, a suitable depiction since by its own nature Mercury is a lesser Saturn and Virgo is a cold, dry, earthy, and melancholy sign. Like Colin, Perigot is a shepherd who

was peregall to the best,
And wont to make the iolly heards gladde
With piping and dauncing, didst passe the rest. (8-10),

but now his "old musick" is "mard by a newe mischaunce" (12) that has bereft his friends of their wonted merriment (13-14). Perigot echoes Colin's "Januarye" lament when he claims that "Love hath misled both

my younglings, and mee:/I pyne for Payne, and they my Payne to see"
 (17-18. Cf. "Januarye," 47-8). However, as the roundelay makes clear, Perigot has not been rejected by a scornful lass: he has merely fallen in love and attempted to resist it but has yet to try to woo his girl (79-112). Since he is at such an early stage of love, his current melancholy is just a temporary phenomenon typical of the varied passions of the lover.¹⁵⁴ Saturnian melancholy may well cause the lover to become permanently fixed in his malady, as it does Colin, but the small measure of melancholy Mercury gives will not last long since Mercury quickly assumes the nature of whatever planet with which it is conjoined.

Willy offers Perigot the ideal solution to his problems: "But and if in rymes with me thou dare strive,/Such fond fantsies shall some be put to flight" (21-2). Such a strategy is virtually guaranteed to work, for the staking of a wager and the mental and emotional exigencies of competition will prevent Perigot's mind from settling exclusively on his woe. Even should Perigot attempt to turn the singing match into an opportunity for self-indulgent, obsessive complaint, like Colin's sestina, he would have to contend with Willy's undersongs if he wished to win. Perigot shows Mercurial changeability and the transience of Mercurial melancholy when, with a little goading from Willy, he readily takes up the challenge. As the boys discuss the wager, Perigot adapts himself to the competitive context and moves further away from his despondency. When first accepting the challenge, Perigot was afraid that he would fare "mochell worse" than Willy (23), but after he has heard Willy's vivid description of the mazer he

pledges (25-36) and is staking his spotted lamb, he too recalls his former poetic feats in which he was second only to Colin himself (37-42). Having entered the spirit of the contest, and with still more goading from Willy, Perigot has reverted to something like his former self even before the match begins, for he now promises a song worthy of Colin. In the song itself Perigot tries to sing seriously about his lovesickness, but Willy continually undercuts him with parody and mockery, as will be shown below, and the result is a bouncy, cheerful "lament" that makes it impossible for the Mercurial Perigot to retain the last vestiges of his melancholy. Hence, when their song is finished, Perigot has completely forgotten about his lovesickness: he, like Willy, is interested only in finding out who won, and when Cuddie offers to recite one of Colin's doleful songs, it is Perigot who enthusiastically says: "Now say it Cuddie,.../with mery thing its good to medle sadde" (143-4). What was once the source of his misery has now become the material from which a "mery thing" can be made. Perigot has so completely adapted himself to the purely artistic interests of his companions that he can now tune his pipe ruthfully (150) to accompany Colin's song without thereby lapsing into his former despondency, just as Mercurials adapt themselves to a situation without becoming trapped by it. The eloquence of this roundelay is not of the highest artistic order, but it does achieve its purpose of driving "fond fantsies" from Perigot's mind.

Willy's role in the roundelay and the conversation leading to it is that of the skilful and versatile Mercurial taunter and mocker.¹⁵⁵

In his first speech Willy challenges Perigot to a singing contest, but at the same time teasingly suggests that Perigot will make up some excuse to avoid meeting his challenge: "Or bene thy Bagpypes renne farre out of frame?/Or hath the Crampe thy ioynts benomd with ache?" (3-4).¹⁵⁶ When Perigot explains that his "hart is ill assayde" (5), Willy does not treat the matter too seriously, as "the light mockery of his beside-the-mark questions"¹⁵⁷ indicates, and he sums up the whole problem as one resulting from Perigot's "fond fantsies." However, it is in the roundelay that Willy fully exercises his Mercurial talent for mocking with rapidity and virtuosity. Cullen's analysis of the song's structure and technique illustrates the point:

The roundelay is structured around a simple alternation between Perigot's lines and Willye's. Perigot provides the narrative lines, and they are characterized by a serious mien so lofty and exaggerated, and at the same time so conventional, that they parody themselves. Willye's lines fall into two alternating categories, which for brevity I will call A-lines and B-lines. His A-lines are all variations on the formula of "hey hoe," which prefaces an echo of a word or idea contained in Perigot's previous line. The bouncy lightness of these doggerel lines inevitably undermines the exaggerated seriousness of Perigot's lines preceding them. Willye's B-lines are for the most part a mock-earnest extension of an idea, image, or sentiment found in Perigot's preceding lines. The B-lines burlesque the conventional seriousness of Perigot's poetry, sometimes by outright mockery, but more frequently by carrying Perigot's lofty seriousness one step further to absurdity. The structure of the roundelay, then, is a clever interplay between the seriousness of Perigot's lines and the irony and mock-seriousness of Willye's.¹⁵⁸

Cullen then analyses lines 69-72 and 79-104 to prove his point, commenting that Willy "knows the clichés of love and the conventions of love poetry sufficiently well to understand that neither is all that it pretends to be. Willye completes Perigot's high-flown similes with

tongue-in-cheek irony. If she has an eye, it will of course be as clear as crystal glass. If the glânce from her eye is like a sunbeam, so is love like a sunbeam streaming into the lover's heart."¹⁵⁹ To Cullen's examples we can add the following instances of Willy's mocking and jesting: Perigot calls his lass a "Bellibone", in the next line Willy deftly reverses the syllables (61-2); Perigot says his flock was feeding, Willy adds "the while the shepheard selfe did spill" (59-60); Perigot says his sheep gazed on the Bellibone "as they were wood," Willy adds "woode as he, that did them keep" (75-6); and when Perigot histrionically says his sheep will weep over his dying of love, Willy replies that they, rather like himself, will "mone with many a mocke" (120). Willy's role in the roundelay, then, requires not only ironic detachment from the whole business of lovesickness, but also considerable knowledge of the appropriate conventions, skill in their manipulation, quick thinking, and verbal adroitness, qualities implied by Cuddie's judgement that Willy's lines are "well address" (128), and appropriate in an eclogue corresponding to Mercury and Virgo.

Cuddie's roles as master of ceremonies and judge of the contest correspond to significations of Mercury and Virgo respectively. Mercury is the patron of heralds, who in Homeric times were responsible for conducting and maintaining order in activities such as public meetings. Similarly, Agrippa calls Mercury the "arbitrator of the gods"¹⁶⁰ and Comes says two of his duties are to "dresser et regler le cour des Dieux."¹⁶¹ Cuddie's more important job, though,

is to judge the two singers, a task appropriate to "August" since its zodiacal ruler, Virgo, is usually identified with Astraea, the goddess of justice,¹⁶² and astrologers claim its natives are just. Manilius, for example, says that Virgo on the ascendant "will produce a man to direct the laws of the state and the sacred code."¹⁶³ Ibn Ezra says the natives of Virgo will be advocates of justice;¹⁶⁴ Al-Bīrūnī claims Virgo denotes judges and supervisors;¹⁶⁵ Indagine says the sun in Virgo makes one "just, wise, good, and honourable";¹⁶⁶ and Lilly says Virgo produces a "rare understanding" and makes one discreet and judicious.¹⁶⁷ Mercury, too, is propitious for the judging of literary matters since this planet gives great intellectual aptitudes and presides over the arts of eloquence. Moreover, Firmicus tells us that the ascendant in the terms of Mercury produces literary men, those who faithfully carry out entrusted duties, and men correct in judgement;¹⁶⁸ and Ferrier says Mercurials are "of a good and sound judgement in everything."¹⁶⁹

Under the auspices of Virgo-Astraea and Mercury, Cuddie's judgement should be sound and fair. His decision is a perfect instance of Mercurial concord, for he awards the victory to both singers, and decrees an exchange of wagers in which neither loses, and both contestants are satisfied with the outcome. Montrose aptly describes the situation: "Cuddie is a delighted auditor whose appreciation is gracefully manifested in his refusal to disrupt the present harmony by a partial judgement. The interplay of songs is concluded in the exchange of gifts; this is a model of perfect reciprocity in which there are no losers."¹⁷⁰ It is fitting that the concord be so perfect

in "August," while in "Maye" Piers and Palinode achieve not concord but fellowship despite disagreement, for Virgo contains the exaltation of Mercury in addition to being under its rulership.

In reciting Colin's sestina, Cuddie plays the Mercurial role of a "messenger" or herald acting as a proxy for Colin. Since Hobbinoll in "Aprill" also recites one of Colin's poems, it might seem that his function is the same as Cuddie's and hence that Spenser either did not conceive Cuddie's role in Mercurial terms or inappropriately introduced a Mercurial motif in "Aprill." However, closer examination shows that Spenser presents the two reciters quite differently. In "Aprill," we are reminded that before he lapsed into love melancholy, Colin composed his poetry among his fellow shepherds and for their benefit (13-16). Thenot is unacquainted with this poetry, but assumes that if it is as good and well-known as Hobbinoll claims, then Hobbinoll will be able to recite some for him (29-30). After hearing the ode to Eliza, Thenot expresses his admiration for the poem and his regret that Colin was unable to master his amorous passions (154-6). In "Aprill," then, the stress is entirely on the poem as a permanent, publicly-available monument and on the pitiful personal state of the poet. Nothing at all is said about the reciter's having a special role. In "August," however, it is not assumed as a matter of course that the "doolefull verse/Of Rosalend" (140-1) is in the public domain, and great emphasis is put on the reciter. Although Willy and Perigot, unlike Thenot in "Aprill," are familiar with Colin's poetry, they must rely on Cuddie to make them aware of this particular poem, composed some time after

his falling in love with Rosalind and before his complete withdrawal from public activity.¹⁷¹ Before Cuddie recites the sestina, it is made clear that he is, like a Mercurial ambassador or messenger, a representative of or surrogate for Colin Clout, for Willy says, "Fayth of my soule, thou shalt ycrouned be/In Colin's stede, if thou this song arede" (145-6). As shown in chapter I, the only effect the sestina can have on Colin is to aggravate his melancholy since it invites the very misery and solitude in which he finds himself. Its effect on the auditors is, however, quite otherwise and completely different from the effects of the "Aprill" ode. What particularly attracts the attention of the hearers is Colin's craftsmanship in handling the difficult verse form. Ironically, Colin's depiction of his Saturnian misery produces only disinterested intellectual pleasure in his Mercurial skill, even in those who have some direct experience of the love malady, for it is Perigot who so delightedly admires each "turning" (191) of the verse. As Montrose remarks, "The sestina's power to elicit its listeners' admiration for Colin's art is undercut by its failure to elicit their empathy with his sufferings."¹⁷² Compared to the complexity and range of associations of the "Aprill" ode, the sestina has little substance beyond distilling "an experience of alienation antithetical to the experience of community pervading the framing eclogue."¹⁷³ It shows that Mercurial expertise and technical skill can build an impressive artifact from very little, but that the result is artistry that draws attention to itself alone. The sestina fails so much in eliciting sympathy for Colin and succeeds so well in stressing skill that Colin's surrogate, for so

skilfully and decorously delivering the poem (192-3), shares the praise given the poet. The sestina is Mercurial, then, in that it takes the Mercurial motif of skill to the point where technique is everything, and in that Cuddie represented Colin so well that he is indeed crowned in his "stede."

Since Venus' fall is contained in Virgo, it is appropriate that both songs deal with fruitless love. Moreover, Virgo itself is an earth sign and therefore tends to cause melancholy and sterility.

Hence Valens says the natives of Virgo are barren and full of cares;¹⁷⁴ Firmicus claims that "grief for some kind of loss clings to" the natives of Virgo on the ascendant and that they will suffer "many toils and anxieties";¹⁷⁵ Ibn Ezra says Virgo provokes melancholy and its natives may be impotent or eunuchs;¹⁷⁶ Dariot says Virgo is earthly, cold, and barren, and that in elections it is not good for marriage because the wife will have few or no children;¹⁷⁷ Manilius remarks that "(small wonder in a virgin) her offspring is not fruitful";¹⁷⁸ according to Bartholomaeus Anglicus, "bis signe hatte Virgo 'þe maide' for, as a maide is bareine and withouten fruyt, so þe sonne entringe in þat part of zodiacus þat hat Virgo wastib wib hat humour and moisture, and so makeþ be erþe bareine of fruyt";¹⁷⁹ and Cattan says that under the auspices of Virgo all things cease to grow and increase, and instead become barren and weak.¹⁸⁰

These associations of Virgo with sterility and melancholy are suitable to the themes of the two songs in "August," and to the tone of Colin's and its effects on him. However, Virgo presides over the beginning

of the harvest (and thus is frequently depicted holding a stalk of grain¹⁸¹), and is depicted as a young maiden, a representation that does not imply melancholy.¹⁸² These aspects of Virgo generate a series of attributes, quite contrary to those above, linking it with light-heartedness and profit. Hence Firmicus, for example, says that Virgo on the ascendant makes one "cheerful and gentle" and will cause one to "acquire great possessions through his gift for learned speech, or from the accomplishment of his duties, or from moving into another's place, from religious activities, or from his own virtue";¹⁸³ Rhetorios says the natives of Virgo are "pleasant to deal with, cheerful and kindly";¹⁸⁴ Al-Bīrūnī claims they are liberal, lively, playful, and fond of singing and dancing;¹⁸⁵ Cattan says the sun in Virgo produces men who delight in "songs musicall," eating, drinking, sweet smells, pageants, recreations, and pleasures of the body;¹⁸⁶ and Indagine claims that Virgo on the ascendant gives "abundance of richesse, whether it happen by religion, by learning, or by marchandise" as well as "plesant and ioyful thinges, as beauty or comelines, liberality, gentlenes and softnesse, with favor & love amongst men...the favour and giftes of the goddes, as felicity and plenty of all thinges, as of children."¹⁸⁷ "August" incorporate these fruitful and cheerful, as well as the sterile and melancholy, aspects of the paradoxical Virgo. Despite its potentially doleful subject, the roundelay is a "mery thing," a "delectable controversie" as E.K. calls it in his argument, that although not winning Perigot his girl, does bear fruit in curing his lovesickness and in making him a productive poet who will once again "make the iolly shepheards gladde" (9).

Similarly Colin's sestina, while driving its maker into sterile melancholy through its invocation of Saturnian qualities, produces delight in its hearers through its technical virtuousity.¹⁸⁸

"Maye" and "August," then, correspond in several ways to Gemini and Virgo respectively, and to their planetary ruler, Mercury. The Mercurial motifs that the two eclogues have in common are the desire for wealth or gain, concord, cleverness, adaptability or versatility, and eloquence. The concern in "Maye" over the attainment of gain by fraud (Mercury the thief and deceiver) is balanced by "August's" concern with gain achieved through legitimate application of skill (Mercury the craftsman). The concord Palinode desires in "Maye" is a reality in "August." In "Maye" Palinode shows a clever mind but is not inclined to the more philosophical and deeper thought of Piers, and his adaptability may lead to pliability and a too-easy compromise with worldly concerns and the foes of the church; on the other hand, Piers' attempts at profundity and sustained thought are marred by illogic and irrelevance, and his totally inflexible personality and unshakeable assurance that he alone possesses the truth will hamper his practical efforts in dealing with people. In "August," cleverness and versatility are manifested in Willy's "well addrest" undersongs, and the more Saturnian aspects of Mercury appear transiently in Perigot, permanently in Colin. Finally, both eclogues present instances of successful eloquence (the fox's in deceiving the kid, the roundelay in curing Perigot's lovesickness) and of eloquence which is only partly successful or succeeds in a way the speaker had not intended: Piers' tale fails to "reform" Palinode, but Palinode still sees some utility in it; Colin's sestina cannot cure him, but it pleases its listeners.

Notes

Chapter V

¹Astrologers seem to be in universal agreement about which set of correspondences is proper to every planet but Venus (see chapter I, note 175, above, for a sampling of this diversity). This disagreement about the "essential nature" of Venus does not affect the present point, which is simply that every planet but Mercury has a stable essential nature whether or not astrologers agree about what that nature is.

²See Ibn Ezra, p. 200; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 240; Albertus Magnus, p. 71; Dariot, D₄v; Lilly, p. 77; and J. Middleton, p. 27. However, Natalis Comes (p. 431) and Cattan (p. 38) claim Mercury is choleric; and de la Primaudaye (III, 192) and Maplet (18v) say it is watery and hence phlegmatic. The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 167) says only that it is dry. None of my other sources give Mercury its own nature, and all of the above, except The Kalender of Sheepehards, lay more stress on Mercury's chameleonic behaviour than its own nature.

³Albertus Magnus, p. 71.

⁴See, for example, Al-Bīrūnī, p. 240; Ptolemy, p. 187; Ibn Ezra, p. 200; Dariot, D₁r and D₄v; Maplet, 16v-17r; Fraunce, 38r; Indagine, P₇r; Cattan, pp. 26 and 38; de la Primaudaye, III, 191; Giorgio, p. 324; Comes, p. 431; Principles of Astronomy, B₇v; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 482; Agrippa, p. 336; Lilly, p. 77; J. Middleton, p. 27; and Ramesey, p. 61.

⁵De la Primaudaye, III, 191. Cf. Maplet, 16r-v.

⁶See, for example, Ptolemy, p. 361; Firmicus, p. 14; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250; Agrippa, p. 106; Dariot, D₄v; Ferrier, 14r, 21r, 31v; Cattan, p. 39; Maplet, 17v; and Lilly, pp. 78, 541.

⁷Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 41. Most older commentary has concluded that Spenser has slanted all the debate eclogues to favour a speaker who acts as his mouthpiece and thus that in "Maye" Piers represents Spenser's views. See the Variorum Edition, VII, pt. 1, 290-95. This approach continues in the work of Hallett Smith, A.C. Hamilton, and Robert Durr. However, recent commentary (e.g. J.N. Brown, "Stasis and Art in The Shepheardes Calender"; P. Cullen; W. Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser: A Study [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963], pp. 45-6; and to some extent N.J. Hoff-

man) tends to see the debate eclogues as valid debates in which Spenser explores fairly the strengths and weaknesses of the various speakers' claims and does not force us to accept a single viewpoint in its entirety. Hence, the debates regularly end in a deadlock. See Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 44, n. 5 for a survey of these trends in the criticism of "Maye". My study lends support to those who see these debates as real debates, for I have found that, in general, the favourable qualities of the planet presiding over an eclogue imply an ideal in behaviour and personality that neither speaker in that eclogue fully embodies, but that both approximate in some ways. Thus, I have found that in eclogues with two speakers one cannot claim that one embodies the good effects of the planet and the other the bad; rather, each speaker contains both good and bad qualities associated with the ruling planet. This phenomenon is compatible with Neoplatonic astrological theory, which asserts that the way in which a recipient of astral influence manifests that influence is dependent upon the physical and/or mental qualities of that recipient: a recipient imperfectly attuned to a planet will exhibit the effects of that planet in an imperfect manner. An interpretation of the Calender that restricted itself to the "Ptolemaic" tradition or that posited the actual influence of the planets in the narrative present of an eclogue, rather than a largely symbolic correlation between the traditional accounts of the planets' essential natures and the contents of the eclogues, would be unable to account for the mixture of good and bad planetary qualities in a single character, for Spenser, unlike Chaucer, does not provide the astrological data (e.g. aspects with other planets) on which to build such an account. The Neoplatonic tradition, however, in addition to accounting for an imperfect manifestation of good planetary qualities, allows us to infer a character's astrological affiliation on the basis of his behaviour and activities.

⁸Parmenter, 203.

⁹Hoffman, p. 110.

¹⁰Wind, p. 122.

¹¹Comes, p. 1062.

¹²Comes, p. 1063.

¹³Comes, p. 427. Cf. p. 433. A. Ross says that Mercury taught men to be "civil and religious" (p. 262), that the rod Mercury used to drive souls to and from Hell is an emblem of the power of God's word (p. 265), and that our "blessed Saviour is the true Mercury, the Son of God, the Word of the Father, the Messenger or Angel of the Covenant, the Sun of Righteousness, the God of Order and Harmony, the Prince of Peace, who by his Cross, as the true Caduceus, hath reconciled all

things in heaven and earth, who hath killed the many-eyed Argus, our vigilant enemy the Devil..." (p. 266).

¹⁴This function derives not only from Mercury's role as the teacher of religion, but also from his role as a herald, for as the Oxford Classical Dictionary indicates, in Homeric times heralds "were important aids of the kings and for a multiplicity of tasks such as maintaining order in meetings, making proclamations and bearing messages". N.O. Brown (Hermes the Thief: The Evolution of a Myth, New York: Vintage Books, 1969, pp. 26-32) discusses in detail the religious, magical, and political functions of Homeric and pre-Homeric heralds. In some respects his job is not unlike that of the Speaker in a modern parliament, interpreting and applying the rituals of parliamentary procedure.

¹⁵A. Hume, "Spenser, Puritanism, and the 'Maye' Eclogue", Review of English Studies, n.s. 20 (1979), 160.

¹⁶Ferrier, 14r-v.

¹⁷De la Primaudaye, III, 130.

¹⁸De la Primaudaye, III, 192.

¹⁹Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

²⁰Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251.

²¹The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168.

²²Firmicus, p. 99.

²³Firmicus, p. 142.

²⁴Ptolemy, p. 187.

²⁵Ptolemy, p. 383. See also Maplet, 16v-17r, 19r; Cattan, p. 26; Giorgio, pp. 84, 507; and Agrippa, pp. 336, 467.

²⁶See, for example, Comes, p. 426, who says Mercury was the "premier auteur...de tout ce qui dépend du fait de marchandise pour y pratiquer du gain: & mesloit gentiment & sans conscience le bien d'autrui parmy le sien." Later Comes (p. 430) says that from his connection with merchandising one of Mercury's epithets is "Dolie" (from

"dol", fraud or wilful misrepresentation). On p. 431 he tells us Mercury is the god of merchants, bankers, traffickers. Cartari (Q2v) points out that Mercury "was taken to be the god and patron of gaine and profit". Later he says "Hee was taken also for the god of Trafficke & Marchandises, as that unto those kind of professours it is fit and necessarie to have eloquence, knowledge, and subtiletie of wit for the better managing & handling their deceitfull affaires" (R1r). Fraunce (38r) explains that "Such as be Mercuriall, are commonly not very rich yet they finde out now and then conceits and devices to drawe money out of the chestes of princes & mighty men sith their crafty and cunning master Mercury hath made them fit for the managing of princes affaires." Citing the story of Mercury's theft of the cattle guarded by Apollo, Fraunce continues (38r): "If, by chance, his Legierdemaine be perceaved, he can so finely smooth up al by facility of discourse, that he never is utterly disgraced by the mighty man." A. Ross calls Mercury "the god of gain, which is not got but by diligence, expedition, and wit" (pp. 263-4). Later he comments that "Because he was held the God of Speech, therefore they made him also the God of bargains and sales... for without speech there cannot be buying and selling, and we see how nimble tongued shop-keepers are when they are selling their wares, as if they were sons of Mercury" (p. 264). These mythographic accounts show a consistent mistrust of the methods of merchants as the attributes of Mercury the trader merge with those of Mercury the thief and deceiver. For accounts of a similar merging of skill, gain, and trickery in ancient Greece, see N.O. Brown, pp. 23-4 and 62-4. See also Ovid, Fasti, pp. 309-11.

²⁷ Agrippa, p. 336.

²⁸ Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

²⁹ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250.

³⁰ Lilly, p. 77.

³¹ Ptolemy, p. 361.

³² Firmicus, p. 142.

³³ For Mercury's rulership over merchants and other money-centered occupations, see Ptolemy, p. 283; Firmicus, p. 99; Ibn Ezra, p. 300; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 254; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 482-3; Du Bartas, p. 217; Ferrier, 14r, 17v, 31v; Indagine, L7r; Maplet, 17r, 19r; Godfridus, p. 26; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168; Dariot, D4v-E1r; Agrippa, pp. 96, 336; Ramesey, pp. 61-2; Lilly, p. 78; and J. Middleton, p. 29.

³⁴ Firmicus, p. 99.

³⁵ Firmicus, p. 165.

³⁶ Firmicus, p. 100.

³⁷ As Cullen points out, "if Piers thought Palinode a Roman or a thoroughly corrupt shepherd like those he denounces, he would quite clearly be inconsistent in keeping fellowship with him" (Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 45).

³⁸ See Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 135-6; C. Middleton, D₁v; and Fowler, p. 168. For a thorough anthropological study of Gemini, see J.R. Harris, The Cult of The Heavenly Twins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906). John Barth's The Sot-Weed Factor (New York and Toronto: Bantam Books Ltd., 1969, pp. 428-39) also contains a compendium of geminology.

³⁹ See, in addition to the reference in note 38, above, Comes, p. 874, Ovid, Fasti, pp. 313-15; and A. Ross, pp. 55-7. Even when not identified with Castor and Pollux, the Twins are often depicted as opposite in nature. Hence in calendrical art, for example, Gemini is sometimes represented as linked male and female figures. See The Kalender of Sheepards, p. 191 (illustration); Fowler, p. 167 and plate 156 (from the Tres Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry); and the illustrations reproduced in Heninger, The Cosmographical Glass, pp. 111, 112, and 148.

⁴⁰ A. Ross, p. 56. Ross also uses Castor and Pollux to restate one of the ancient arguments against judicial astrology: "we see that the souls and dispositions of men depend not on the Stars. These two were twins, born under the same constellation, yet of far different studies and inclinations; the one being a wrestler, the other a horseman" (pp. 56-7).

⁴¹ See Fowler, pp. 166-7; and Comes, p. 879. Harris, p. 4, points out that the shared immortality also furnished "the Greek moralists with their classical instance of the higher forms of love in sacrifice".

⁴² Valens, p. 7.

⁴³ Firmicus, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Ibn Ezra, p. 163.

⁴⁵ Al-BTrūnī, p. 217.

⁴⁶ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 191. Bartholomaeus Anglicus says Gemini is the house of counsel, religion, and truth (p. 467); Lilly says the children of Gemini are "of excellent understanding, and judicious in worldly affaires" (p. 95); and Arcandam (C_{3v}-C_{4v}) and Indagine (Ngr-v) lay more stress on the native's financial dealings but indicate that Gemini is propitious to higher learning.

⁴⁷ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 41-9) similarly argues that the attitudes and approaches of both Piers and Palinode are inadequate to the reality with which they must deal, and virtually implies that these viewpoints need to be harmonized into a more complete vision. While I agree with Cullen's main points, our readings differ in the details since he approaches the poem in terms of conflicting pastoral perspectives, not astrological symbolism.

⁴⁸ Defenders of poetry as a didactic art, of course, frequently remind their readers of the similarities between poets and priests. That in "Maye" Spenser wishes us to see the two vocations as analogous is clear from the fact that the cart in the woodcut is pulled by two winged horses, symbols of poetic inspiration (since Pegasus created the spring of Helicon by stamping the ground with his hoof). Moreover, Piers resorts to the tale of the fox and the kid as an exemplum, a literary artifact exploited in a non-literary circumstance but with the same didactic purposes, and as J.N. Brown notes ("Stasis and Art", 11), "That Piers is a figure of the poet is further demonstrated by Palinode's response to the tale...after stating that he thinks Piers is totally wrong, he asks him if he may borrow his tale to give to Sir John, the priest, for his sermon tomorrow, for he means well but can say little. Obviously, the good priest must be something of an Orpheus figure as well, having to have the inspiration to inspire men and lift them out of themselves and the temporal trap which a life lived strictly according to nature constitutes. And if the priest lacks inspiration, then he may derive it second-hand from the works of the inspired poet." Since poet and preacher both rely heavily on the arts of speech (the special province of Mercury), this kinship is not surprising. For connections between Mercury and poetry, music, and other arts, see Ovid, Fasti, p. 311; Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 135; Comes, p. 426; Du Bartas, p. 217; de la Primaudaye, III, 131; Ibn Ezra, p. 201; Al-BTrūnī, pp. 242, 251, 254; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168; Lilly, pp. 78, 541; Ferrier, 14v, 17r, 31v, 36v; Dariot, D_{4v}; and J. Middleton, p. 29.

⁴⁹ In this passage Piers likens the folly of such shepherds to that of the mother ape that inadvertently smothers its infant through too much love. The ape, because of its ability to mimic man (a form

of adaptability or versatility), is a Mercurial animal. See Agrippa, p. 60; Maplet, 18r; Lilly, p. 79; and Ramesey, p. 62. Ibn Ezra (p. 162) assigns monkeys to Gemini.

⁵⁰ Mercury, being to some extent cold and dry, is frequently said to rule the memory as is Saturn: see, for example, Dariot, D4v; Principles of Astronomy, Bgr; Ferrier, 14r; Agrippa, p. 241; and Albertus Magnus, p. 71. Among ailments, Lilly (p. 79) and Ramesey (p. 62) give Mercury defects in memory. Al-Bīrūnī (p. 251), apparently considering Mercury's rule over oratory and poetry, says it gives one a good memory for stories. Of all the recounted stories in the Calender only two are presented as actual fictions and hence requiring a good memory (the others concern events that involved either the speaker or an acquaintance of his). Of these two, one is recounted in a house of Mercury ("Maye"), the other in the sign of Mercury's fall ("Februarie"). The story in "Maye" achieves a measure of success since Palinode wishes to borrow it for the local "Sir John", but that in "Februarie" fails utterly (Cudlie even interrupts Thenot mid-line to reject the tale), a reflection of the weakness of Mercury in Pisces.

⁵¹ On the concern over the need for a better educated clergy in the 1570's, see McLane, pp. 95-100.

⁵² Ptolemy, p. 187.

⁵³ Ptolemy, pp. 359-61. Ptolemy also says that Mercury, ruling childhood, "begins to articulate and fashion the intelligent and logical part of the soul, to implant certain seeds and rudiments of learning and to bring to light individual peculiarities of character and faculties, awaking the soul at this stage by instruction, tutelage, and the first gymnastic exercises" (p. 443). Gemini has similar implications, for Finé claims that the moon in Gemini means it is "good to put children to learninge" (Fgr), Dariot (C₁r) says that in elections Gemini is "good for children to begin learning", and Ferrier (32v) says Gemini presides over schools. It is, then, appropriate that Piers point out to Palinode that the youthful "follies" of spring-time dancing are not suitable for men of "elder witt" (17-18), for he clearly sees his (and Palinode's) role as that of instructing and guiding such children, and that the Gate in Piers' tale "school" her "wanton sonne" in dangers of foxes (227).

⁵⁴ Firmicus, p. 141.

⁵⁵ Firmicus, p. 142. Some writers, such as Maplet (17r, 19r) link the planet Mercury with Hermes Trismegistus.

⁵⁶ Ibn Ezra, pp. 200-201.

⁵⁷ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 245, 248, 250, 251, and 254.

⁵⁸ Ferrier, 14r, 17r, 21r, and 36v. On p. 36v he notes that Mercury in its own houses produces "men of all knowledge".

⁵⁹ Dariot, D₄v-E₁r.

⁶⁰ Agrippa, p. 467. See also pp. 50, 336.

⁶¹ Maplet, 16r-v. See also 17r, 19r.

⁶² The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168.

⁶³ Lilly, p. 77.

⁶⁴ Lilly, p. 541. For further comments on Mercury's association with eloquence and intellectual agility and versatility see the following astrological and mythographical sources: Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 134; Comes, pp. 427, 430-2; Principles of Astronomy, B₇v-B₈r; Godfridus, p. 26; Fraunce, 14r, 38r, 45v; Indagine, L₇r, P₇r; Cattan, pp. 26, 38, 39; Manilius, pp. 7-9; Cartari, Q₂r-S₁r; Ovid, Fasti, p. 311; Du Bartas, p. 217; de la Primaudaye, III, 131, 192; Giorgio, 19, 85, 149, 375, 634; Fulgentius, p. 127; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 482-3; Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 233; Albertus Magnus, pp. 71-2; Ramesey, pp. 61-2; and J. Middleton, pp. 28-9.

⁶⁵ Principles of Astronomy, B₇v.

⁶⁶ Palinode (140-3) likens the burden of listening to Piers to Atlas' supporting the heavens on his shoulders. Since Atlas, father of Maia, is Mercury's grandfather, such an allusion is suitable in "Maye". However, as E.K. points out, it was common in the euhemeristic tradition to regard Atlas as having been a notable astronomer (see also Comes, p. 312); since astronomy is a Mercurial field, the allusion is doubly appropriate.

⁶⁷ Valens, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Hephaistion, quoted by Gleadow, p. 65.

⁶⁹ Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 65.

⁷⁰ Ibn Ezra, p. 163.

⁷¹Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217, 219.

⁷²Manilius, p. 265.

⁷³Manilius, p. 235.

⁷⁴Arcandam, C₃v.

⁷⁵Arcandam, C₄v-C₅r.

⁷⁶Indagine, N₈r-v. See also Ferrier, 32v; Dariot, B₃v; and Lilly, p. 94.

⁷⁷Ptolemy, p. 361.

⁷⁸Ferrier, 14r.

⁷⁹Ferrier, 21r.

⁸⁰Maplet, 17v.

⁸¹Cattan, pp. 38-9.

⁸²Lilly, p. 78.

⁸³J. Middleton, p. 28.

⁸⁴Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

⁸⁵Ferrier, 31v.

⁸⁶Dariot, D₄v-E₁r.

⁸⁷Lilly, pp. 78-9. See also Ramesey, p. 62.

⁸⁸Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251.

⁸⁹Maplet, 16v.

⁹⁰Lilly, pp. 77-8.

⁹¹Lilly, p. 541.

⁹²J. Middleton, p. 28. Cf. The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168. Cattan, p. 39, notes that Mercury in Gemini produces men who delight in debates; and Hephaistion (in Gleadow, p. 65) says the natives of Gemini are argumentative, while Arcandam says they are contentious and unquiet with their neighbours (C₃v).

⁹³Hume, 155-8, arguing that Spenser was a moderate puritan, reviews the scholarship on this issue. As Cullen implies (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 45 and p. 49, n. 7), this controversy leads to disputes about exactly what ecclesiastical factions Piers and Palinode represent, disputes which tend to obscure the qualities of "Maye" as a debate by positing a relatively easy victory for Piers.

⁹⁴It is customary to regard these lines as referring to the whole tale (see, for example, Cullen, Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 47, and Hume, 165). My assessment of the intellectual abilities of Piers and Palinode will make it clear why I restrict the reference in these lines to the moral and thus do not see the speech as a whole as contradictory.

⁹⁵Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 42-3) claims that in lines 37-54 Piers delivers a tirade against youth in which he shows himself to be inconsistent and inflexible because he abandons his distinctions between youth and age, and between clergy and laity, and thus wishes to impose his "monastic and artificial code" on all mankind. This is not quite the case. Palinode's opening speech deals with "Youghes folke" (9) in general, but his second speech, to which Piers' tirade is a reply, deals specifically with shepherds (20), so Piers is in fact true to his distinction between shepherds and "men of the laye". Despite the shift from youth in general to young shepherds in particular, Palinode's assumption that Piers is envious of youthful pleasures has merit, as my remarks in the text will show. I do agree with Cullen that Piers is essentially inflexible, but I see this inflexibility manifested quite differently: rather than trying to impose his monastic code on everyone and thus violating the distinction between pastor and layman, Piers in fact maintains the distinction far too rigidly and will not allow the pastor any expression of the normal human instincts and interests that he shares with the laity. Hence Piers tends to suppress his nostalgia for youth along with most natural impulses that do not match his extreme conception of duty. Moreover, as Cullen implies, Piers' reluctance to see the pastor as a man like other men, makes him blind to human limitations, including his own.

⁹⁶ Fortunately, Piers' actual behaviour is not consistent with his mode of reasoning. Since he maintains fellowship with Palinode, who disagrees with him on a number of fundamental points, Piers' actions imply that there are degrees of error, some sort of scale which allows for the possibility of correcting "deviant" pastors. Despite the slightly more pragmatic nature of his behaviour, Piers rhetoric and logic remain "either-or".

⁹⁷ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 48-9) explains with reference to the tale how Piers' "fear of sin may actually confine his potential for good". I have, in effect, extended Cullen's point to cover Piers' arguments about riches, and also shown that this excessive fear of sin leads to confused reasoning. My subsequent analysis of Piers' account of the decline from the ideal past he envisions shows that this morbid fear arises from a deep suspicion of human nature and its various impulses, a suspicion that causes Piers to make his unrealistically rigid separation of clergy and laity. Cullen sees a similar distrust of human nature as central to Piers' character, but reaches this conclusion from his analysis of the tale rather than from a study of the debate. Cullen points out that the fox's seduction and entrapment of the kid unfolds in two stages, the second of which is an appeal to the kid's cupidity on which Piers lays most of his stress. The preparatory first stage, however, is an appeal to the kid's natural sympathies and charitable impulses, for the disguised fox claims to be mortally sick (264) and to be a relative of the kid (269). Piers approves of the Gate's advice to "Sperre the yate fast for feare of fraude" (224) and hence has no sympathy for the kid's spontaneous kind-heartedness.

⁹⁸ Milton, Aereopagitica, in John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. M.Y. Hughes (New York, The Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 733.

⁹⁹ For a more complete account of the tale, see Cullen (Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 46-8). See also note 97, above. For a discussion of the tale as a topical allegory, see McLane, pp. 77-91.

¹⁰⁰ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 47) sees the entirety of Palinode's reply as referring to the tale, and remarks that his desire to borrow it is "the comical second thought of a man prepared to disagree, momentarily convinced, and yet not willing to admit total defeat". Although such an interpretation is consistent with Mercury's rule of "Maye" because it makes Palinode prone to changing his mind, it is not consistent with the main thrust of my argument (or Cullen's either). For if my analysis of Piers' inconsistencies and irrelevancies is correct (and Cullen's of the limitations of Piers' Mantuanesque perspective) there is no total defeat

for Palinode to admit. It is also difficult to see Palinode as "momentarily" convinced when these are his last words. It is most consistent with both Cullen's reading of the eclogue as a whole and mine to assume that Palinode interprets the tale differently from Piers, but does recognize its value.

¹⁰¹ Comes, p. 421. Cf. Comes, p. 425. Cartari, explaining the cock placed behind Mercury in artwork, claims that it represents either the vigilance of the merchant or the "watchfulness and waking studies of learned men" (R₁r), and Maplet (17r) similarly associated it with the "vigilance and watchfulness" of merchants. When describing depictions of Mercury as Hercules Gallicus, Cartari (S₁r) says that this figure is represented as aged to show "that in men of experience and long studies, eloquence is of more virtue and power" because with age comes "judgement and a settled experience", and hence, of course, stability and reliability.

¹⁰² Firmicus, p. 165.

¹⁰³ Ferrier, 14r.

¹⁰⁴ Dariot, E₁r.

¹⁰⁵ Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 230.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 254.

¹⁰⁷ Manilius, p. 235.

¹⁰⁸ Manilius, p. 265.

¹⁰⁹ Arcandam, C₃v.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Ezra, pp. 161-3.

¹¹¹ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217, 219.

¹¹² Indagine, N₈r-v.

¹¹³ See Fowler, pp. 166-7 for Gemini, and pp. 157-64 for Mercury. According to Comes the story of Castor and Pollux (Gemini) teaches that "concorde est fort agréable à Dieu" (p. 879). For Mercury as concord see also Comes, pp. 426, 427, 432; Cartari, Q₂v-Q₃r; and A. Ross, pp. 262-5. With respect both to concord and to rulership

over poetry, Mercury and Venus overlap considerably. Fowler, p. 157, n. 2, points out that "Ficino refers this close connection between the offices of the planets Mercury and Venus to the proximity and similar eccentricity of their orbits".

¹¹⁴ Valeriano, quoted by Fowler, pp. 158-9.

¹¹⁵ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 44) makes the same point about the dangers of Piers' intransigence.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Ibn Ezra, p. 200; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 246; Agrrippa, p. 60; Maplet, 18r; Lilly, p. 79; and Ramesey, p. 62.

¹¹⁷ Ptolemy, p. 187.

¹¹⁸ Ptolemy, p. 361.

¹¹⁹ Firmicus, p. 74.

¹²⁰ Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

¹²¹ Maplet, 19r. Cf. 16v.

¹²² Agrrippa, p. 471.

¹²³ Ferrier, 14r.

¹²⁴ Ferrier, 21r.

¹²⁵ Lilly, pp. 77-8.

¹²⁶ Lilly, p. 541.

¹²⁷ J. Middleton, p. 28.

¹²⁸ Cattan, p. 39. For further accounts of Mercury's rulership over theft and deception, in both astrological and mythographical contexts, see Godfridus, p. 26; Dariot, D4v-E1r; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251; Ramesey, p. 61; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 482-3; Fraunce, 38r; Fulgentius, p. 58; Ovid, Fasti, p. 311; Comes, pp. 422-425, 426, 430; Cartari, Qv; and A. Ross, p. 264. See also N.O. Brown, passim.

¹²⁹ Fowler, p. 159, points out that in The Faerie Queene, IV. iii.47 Cambina's eloquence "displays the mercurial quality of mixture", for she intermixes tears and prayers, "And with her prayers reasons to restrain", a mixture similar to the fox's. Similarly, in "August" Spenser meddles merry things with sad (144) by juxtaposing the roundelay and the sestina. In the first Homeric Hymn to Hermes, the god sings two vastly different songs, one dealing with his own illegitimate begetting (p. 367), the other a theogony (p. 395), just as "August" deals with the secular subject of love while "Maye" deals with ecclesiastical matters. I have not stressed these qualities of mixture in the text because "Maye" and "August" are not alone in containing mixtures of diverse elements and because of the planets that rule two signs all but Saturn correspond to two considerably different eclogues. Nonetheless, the mixtures cited above are appropriate to Mercury's correspondence to "Maye" and "August".

¹³⁰ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 467. See also Principles of Astronomy, Agv. This association arises not only because the Gemini are twins, but also because it is the third zodiacal sign, and the third house in a horoscope rules brothers and sisters. It was common to align the significations of the houses and those of the zodiacal sign in this manner even though the houses and signs coincide in this manner only when the first point of Aries is on the ascendant and if one is also using a system of house division that makes all the houses of equal size.

¹³¹ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 467.

¹³² Firmicus, p. 157.

¹³³ Indagine, M₄r.

¹³⁴ See, for example, Ptolemy, p. 383; Firmicus, p. 165; Ibn Ezra, p. 201; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 254; Agrippa, p. 241; Dariot, D₄v; Ferrier, 31v; Lilly, p. 78; J. Middleton, p. 29; Ramesey, pp. 61, 62; and Comes, p. 427. In the first Homeric Hymn to Hermes, Zeus grants to Hermes the art of divination by birds while reserving the higher oracular functions for Apollo (pp. 401-5).

¹³⁵ N.O. Brown, p. 34. See also Comes, p. 428.

¹³⁶ A. Ross, p. 262.

¹³⁷ The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, trans. Thomas Taylor (London: Bertram Dobell and Reeves and Turner, 1896), p. 64.

¹³⁸ Homeric Hymns, p. 367. Cf. N.O. Brown, p. 94: "For his first song on the Tyre Hermes chooses a subject 'such as young revellers sing at banquets, matching their wits in alternate sallies'."

¹³⁹ N.O. Brown, pp. 22-4, argues that key words in the ancient cult of Hermes are used so interchangeably as to imply a close conceptual relation among magic, trickery, stealth, gain, theft, and technical skill.

¹⁴⁰ Firmicus, p. 141.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

¹⁴² Dariot, D₄v.

¹⁴³ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 168. See also, Lilly, p. 541; Agrippa, p. 61; Al-Biruni, p. 254; du Bartas, p. 217; and A. Ross, p. 263.

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Ezra, pp. 171-2.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Biruni, pp. 217, 219, 221.

¹⁴⁶ Firmicus, p. 159.

¹⁴⁷ Indagine, M₇r-v.

¹⁴⁸ Ferrier, 33r.

¹⁴⁹ Valens, p. 10.

¹⁵⁰ Rethorios, quoted in Gleadow, p. 91.

¹⁵¹ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 193.

¹⁵² Lilly, p. 96.

¹⁵³ Manilius, p. 237.

¹⁵⁴ That is to say, Perigot is indeed in what Babb calls the sanguine stage of the love malady as I maintained in chapter I. Having not been rejected, he has no reason to be in the deeper melancholy stage as Colin Clout is; so his current melancholy is simply one of those transient moods that lovers, particularly in Petrarchan love poetry, are subject to.

¹⁵⁵ Of the astrologers I have consulted, only Ferrier (14r) claims that the native of Mercury may become a mocker, while only Ibn Ezra (pp. 163, 172) gives rulership of mockery to Virgo and Gemini, the signs governed by Mercury. However, since mockery, irony, and sarcasm are important weapons in the arsenals of lawyers, orators, and debators (all Mercurial fields), it seems reasonable to class mockery as Mercurial. Moreover, since Mercury rules both sharpness of wit and other forms of idle or damaging speech, it is only natural to include mockery and taunting. Mercury the deity's evident pleasure in tricking the supposedly superior Olympians also suggests a strong element of mockery. Spenser, in any case, has made it an important tactic for both Palinode in "Maye" and Willy in "August".

¹⁵⁶ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 105-110) stresses the mockery and teasing in Willy's early remarks as well, and explains them in terms of the conventional sparring that precedes a singing match.

¹⁵⁷ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 106.

¹⁵⁸ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 108-9.

¹⁵⁹ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 110.

¹⁶⁰ Agrippa, p. 336.

¹⁶¹ Comes, p. 425.

¹⁶² See, for example, Bouché-Leclercq, p. 139, C. Middleton, D₂r-v; and Spenser, The Faerie Queene, V.i.5-11.

¹⁶³ Manilius, p. 265.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Ezra, p. 172.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217, 219.

¹⁶⁶ Indagine, 0₃r.

¹⁶⁷ Lilly, p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ Firmicus, p. 165.

¹⁶⁹Ferrier, 21r.

¹⁷⁰Montrose, "Courtship", 43.

¹⁷¹It is impossible to be more precise about when Colin composed the sestina, for Spenser continues his tactic of frustrating any attempt to turn the *Calender* into a narrative. The content and mood of the sestina is thoroughly Saturnian, which suggests that Colin might have composed it when he lapsed into the melancholy stage of the love malady, in which case it is easy to see how it could aggravate Colin's melancholy and lead to his breaking his pipe, but not so easy to see how Cuddie could have become aware of it. Since it deals with Rosalind's absence rather than with her rejection of Colin, Colin might have composed it in an earlier stage when his passions were far more varied. In this case, it is easier to see how Cuddie could have learned the poem, and we can regard its Saturnian content and mood as features which help precipitate Colin's complete lapse into melancholy. Spenser provides no clues as to how Cuddie learned the poem, how many other shepherds know it, nor as to why Rosalind is absent. Whenever the poem was composed, its psychological effects on Colin can only be bad, as indicated in chapter I. It should also be noted that, although the sestina is overwhelmingly Saturnian, the mournful Nightingale Colin alludes to (183) is a Mercurial bird (see Al-Bīrūnī, p. 246, Agrippa, p. 60; and Ramesey, p. 62).

¹⁷²Montrose, "Courtship", 43.

¹⁷³Montrose, "Courtship", 43.

¹⁷⁴Valens, p. 10.

¹⁷⁵Firmicus, p. 159.

¹⁷⁶Ibn Ezra, pp. 171-2. Al-Bīrūnī, p. 219, also says Virgo denotes eunuchs.

¹⁷⁷Dariot, C₂r. Cf. Finé, Fgr. Both Dariot and Finé do however claim that Virgo is propitious for seeking the love of maidens, and Perigot intends to woo his "Bellibone" (111). Both Firmicus (p. 159) and Indagine (M₇r) claim that Virgo on the ascendant provokes an aggressive and often improper desire for women.

¹⁷⁸Manilius, p. 239.

¹⁷⁹Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 469.

¹⁸⁰ Cattan, p. 44. For other linkings of Virgo with melancholy and sterility, see Arcandam, E₂r; Lilly, p. 96; and Ferrier, 33r.

¹⁸¹ See, for example, the illustrations in The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 141, 144, and 193; Fowler, plate 16b; Heninger, The Cosmographical Glass, p. 111; and Yates, Astraea, p. 30. In the Mutabilitie Cantos (The Faerie Queene, VII.vii.37) Virgo-Astraea is crowned with ears of corn and "full her hand was found", and Spenser says that when she lived on earth, she caused plenty to abound. The Virgo figure in the "August" woodcut is indistinct but appears to be holding something, and the middle right portion depicts harvesting activities.

¹⁸² The attribution of melancholy to Virgo results from the purely mechanical procedure of assigning the elements to the signs: one begins with Aries (fire) and assigns the elements to the signs in the order fire, earth, air, and water, whether or not the result is consistent with the mythological associations of the sign or with the weather characteristic of the sign's month. In the case of Virgo, the system produces nothing but contradictions since August is not cold and dry in the countries that originated the system and one does not think of young maidens as melancholy. As will be evident from the text, these contradictions manifest themselves in the terms in which astrologers characterize Virgo's influence.

¹⁸³ Firmicus, p. 159.

¹⁸⁴ Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 94.

¹⁸⁵ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 217, 219.

¹⁸⁶ Cattan, pp. 28-9.

¹⁸⁷ Indagine, M₇v.

¹⁸⁸ An interesting sidelight on "August" can be derived from a consideration of Manilius' comments on Spica, the bright star in 27° of Virgo (p. 323). Since Spica is an ear of corn representing the paradoxical productivity of Virgo, Manilius says that it produces industrious agricultural workers. But it also produces artful persons, from those who mold bread "into a host of different shapes" to those who carve "panelled ceilings in the sacred temples, creating a second heaven in the Thunderer's abode". Something like this creation of a second heaven occurs in the roundelay, for it alludes to qualities or attributes of all seven planets or to the planet itself. I have

already noted its Mercurial quality, but it should be noted that it alludes to the Mercurial act of mockery in line 120. It refers explicitly to the sun (81-3) and moon (89-90). The subject of love melancholy suggests Saturn and Venus, and there are specific references to Saturnian traits such as "graceless greefe" (113-14), "pinching payne" (110), "curelesse sorrowe" (104) and "heavie cheere" (106), and to Venus' violets (72-3). The allusions to "wounds", "shots", and "arrows" (95-102) introduce the Martial motif and recall Thomalin's battle with Cupid in "March". Finally, the singers allude to Jupiter's thunder (85-8).

Chapter VI. The Luminaries

As was explained in the introduction to this study, the luminaries (i.e., the sun and moon) have a special status among the planets: while they have rather limited roles in one's natal chart (they cannot be sole ruler of the chart, personality, or bodily form), they are crucial as general causes of events. In these roles they fulfill complementary functions: the sun as vital spirit of the universe and king of the planets, regulates and delegates power to the other planets; the moon, moving on the border between the corruptible and the incorruptible, receives the influences of the other planets and transmits them to earth, and has general rule over matter. The moon, then is the cosmic equivalent of all things material or dependent on matter since its sphere of influence is limited to the sublunar world of matter and mutability, while the sun is the celestial analogue of God and things spiritual or intellectual. Hence both Firmicus and Macrobius call the sun the "mind and moderator of the universe",¹ and Macrobius and Cartari see the sun as an image of the One, from the unity and singleness of which proceeds the variety of the cosmos, a variety expressed through the names and natures of the other planetary, and several Olympian, deities.² This mode of thought was easy to reconcile with traditional Christian symbolism that makes the sun the visible image of God or Christ, and as F. N. Arnoldi points out, right from the outset Christian thinkers established a connection "entre l'image anthropomorphique du

soleil, source materielle de lumière, et la personne du Christ, source de lumière spirituelle éternelle.³ It is unnecessary to comment at any length on the Sun-Son puns familiar to students of the Renaissance, so I will instead cite a few authorities to show how readily praise of the sun goes beyond admiration of it as a mere astronomical object.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, for example, says "þe sonne is welle of inwit and mynde and [of] resoun, hed and welle of light,...inwit of þe worlde,...moderatour of þe firmament" and that astrologically it "tokenyþe spirit and soule."⁴ According to Cartari, "Apollo meaneth that superior light and understanding, which illuminateth and enknowledgeth the intellectual parts of men."⁵ He later remarks that the Egyptians styled the sun the "eye of Iupiter, as that he beheld and over-viewed the large scope and compasse of the world, ruling it with great wisedome and due execution of rightfull iustice".⁶ Natalis Comes informs us that

d'autant qu'on croyoit que le Soleil fust Dieu, & que par sa clarté il illuminest tout l'Univers, & iettast ses yeux par tout generalement, les Poëtes l'ont appellé Torche, Lampe & Flambeau du monde, & l'ont qualifié de plusieurs autres titres tendans a mesme fin. En un mot, les Anciens ont estimé qu'après Dieu, createur de toutes choses, le Soleil fust autheur & moderateur, voire père de tout ce qui vient a naistre: ionct que selon leur créance il contenoit en soy luy seul toutes les vertus & puissances de tous ceux qu'ils tenoient pour Dieux, assignons plusieurs & divers noms aux effects qu'ils luy voyoient produire....Quelques-uns l'ont estimé estre l'image de Dieu au monde, tant pource que toutes les autres Estoilles puissent de luy comme d'une fontaine toute leur clarté, & qu'ils l'ont reconnu pour autheur de toute beneficence envers toutes les creatures qui sont sous le Ciel; qu'aussi à cause que par son secours il gouverne & conduit avec iustice & bon régime la route des corps célestes qui le suivent comme soldats leur Capitaine.⁷

Giorgio explains that the sun presides over "esprit vital, l'entendement, [and] la raison" and that it "favorise...à la doctrine, vrai philosophie, et la connaissance séparé des choses sensibles",⁸ so it is not surprising that he calls it the true statue of God that leads so much to knowledge of Him that academics have nothing by which they can more expressly teach about the divine nature.⁹ Agrippa too has much to say about the sun and its relation to God:

many of the Platonists placed the soul of the world chiefly in the Sun, as that which filling the whole Globe of the Sun doth send forth its rayes on all sides as it were a spirit through all things, distributing life, sense and motion to the very Universe.... For it is amongst the other Stars the image and statue of the great Prince of both worlds, viz. Terrestriall, and Celestiall; the true light, and the most exact image of God himself; whose Essence resembles the Father, Light the Son, Heat the Holy Ghost. So that the Platonists have nothing to hold forth the Divine Essence more manifestly by, then this. So great is the consonancy of it to God, that Plato cals it the conspicuous Son of God; and Iamblicus cals it the divine image of divine intelligence. And our Dionysius cals it the perspicuous statue of God.¹⁰

Robert Fludd argues that the Spirit of the Lord literally dwells in the sun: "Divinity must needs dwell in the Sun; namely as it is onely one unity, from which all the multitude of the starrs in heaven do derive and draw their formall essence, no otherwise than from the Arithmeticall unity, all numbers whatsoever are produced."¹¹

A. G. Debus points out that this argument is only one of eight that Fludd uses to establish that divinity inhabits the sun. Fludd concludes:

...Why then should any man make any scruple or question, touching the Spirit's habitation in the Sun in abundance...it is the essentiall spirit of God, which giveth by the abundance of his presence the lustre

and glory unto the Sunne, which for that reason is termed...by the Platonists...Oculus Mundi....And again the philosopher Heraclitus....If thou takest away the Sonne out of the world, what is our little body, i' the soul be wanting; There is no beating veine or pulse to be discerned in it, there is no judgement to be perceived in it, there is neither breath nor respiration in it.¹²

"June" and "Julye" reflect both the special prominence of the luminaries and their complementary roles. First, they are the only eclogues in which a speaker draws attention to the actual presence of the month's planetary governor: in "June" Hobbinoll says that Pan himself visits the dales to "pype and daunce, when Phoebe shineth bright" (31); in "Julye" (17-28) Thomalin warns Morrell that the hills afford little protection against the "cruell scortching heate" of the sun during the dog days (c. July 3rd to August 11th).¹³ Second, since the sun is the visible image of God in the world and hence signifies things spiritual, while the moon is the age-old symbol of material mutability, "Julye" appropriately deals with ecclesiastical matters and "June" with secular. Moreover, in addition to being the central two eclogues of the Calender, each is the centre of a small pattern involving only the inferior planets (Venus and Mercury). The sun's eclogue, "Julye", is at the exact centre of the group of ecclesiastical eclogues, for "June" and "August" separate "Maye" and "September" respectively from "Julye". Similarly, "June", an eclogue in which Colin appears and attempts to justify his lack of poetic aspiration, is the centre of a group of eclogues concerning Colin, for "Maye" and "Julye" separate "Aprill" and "August" respectively from "June".¹⁴ Colin's failure to fulfill his promise as the chief poet of the

pastoral world receives greater emphasis by being stressed not only at the centre of the poem as well as at the beginning and end, but also at the centre of a group of eclogues the other two members of which contain examples of the levels of inspiration ("Aprill") and sheer technical expertise ("August") he is capable of.

Finally, the two eclogues are complementary discussions of the moral and practical problems for the poet and priest of prominence or aspiration. As Montrose points out,

A primary function of the Calender's pastoral metaphor is to link poet and priest together through a common signifier, the persona of shepherd. June and Julye, the central eclogues of the Calender, are complementary dialogues on the temptations and dangers of aspiration faced by shepherd-poets and shepherd-priests. In June, Hobbinoll recounts that Calliope, the Muse of epic and mother of Orpheus, was moved and shamed by the skill of Colin's "oaten Pype". Colin responds by rejecting the Vergilian progression....Julye employs pastoral debate between humility and ambition in an ecclesiastical allegory. The eclogue distinguishes between the self-aggrandizing ambitions of worldly prelates and the selfless aspirations of good pastors who teach their flocks and reprehend corruption in high places. Colin's ambivalence toward poetic aspiration and commitment is put into a social context by Julye. It may be presumptuous of a humble shepherd-poet to answer the call of Calliope. But refusal of the poet's calling, or the priest's may be the dereliction of a higher duty.¹⁵

Cullen similarly sees the two eclogues as complementary:

If we are to understand "July" fully, we must realize that it is in part a companion piece to "June". Both, though in obviously different ways, deal with the issue of man's ambition and its relation to the traditional pastoral ethic of the tried estate. In "June", we find the philosopher of the tried estate, Hobbinoll, encouraging his antagonist of sorts, Colin, to climb the Parnassian hill, while Colin refuses in what is both a parody of Thomalin's more extreme version of the low estate and at the same

time a statement of its limitations. In "July" we are given a less sophisticated and a less complex presentation of the issue, but the message is much the same: if there are limitations to deviation from the Mantuanesque pastoral ethic, there are also limitations to that ethic itself. Even the pastoral world must have its saints and its Algrind, men who, in the martyrdom that the cautious Thomalin fears, have managed to synthesize in themselves humility of soul with the aspiration of their mission.¹⁶

The major section of this chapter shows that Spenser handles the themes of prominence and aspiration in a manner appropriate to the rulership of the sun and Leo in "Julye" and to that of the moon and Cancer in "June". Then follow three short addenda, one dealing with allusions to the supernatural in "June", one with the references to medicine in "Julye", and the last with the Prophesyings, the political-religious issue that led to the sequestration of Archbishop Grindal (the Algrind of "Julye").

I. The Themes of Prominence and Aspiration in "Julye" and "June"

A. "Julye"

According to E.K., the "Julye" eclogue "is made in the honour and commendation of good shephearde, and to the shame and dispraise of proude and ambitious Pastours. Such as Morrell is here imagined to bee" (Argument to "Julye"). Most modern criticism of "Julye" echoes and expands upon E.K.'s approach. For example, H. Smith maintains that "Thomalin represents the Puritan ideal of a clergy unelevated, humble, and devoted to pastoral care, while Morrell represents the Catholic or Anglican clergy gloating in worldly pomp; most general and most significant of all, Thomalin represents the mean estate, the central theme

of pastoralism, and Morrell embodies the aspiring mind."¹⁷

More recent scholars, though, have felt uncomfortable with readings that posit such a straightforward conflict of right and wrong as a description of the "Julye" debate. Previous chapters of this study have noted that attempts to interpret the other debate eclogues as staged so as to show the superiority of the views of one of the speakers constantly run into difficulties; it is no different with "Julye". Shore isolates two significant impediments to readings in the E.K. tradition. First, "it is difficult...to see where in the poem Morrell...shows himself to be 'gloating in worldly pomp' or even to have any interest in joining the ranks of those 'proude and ambitious Pastours' who would undoubtedly view with disdain the hill in which Morrell takes such delight".¹⁸

Second, Thomalin and Morrell are "curiously lacking in mutual hostility for characters supposedly possessing a deep-rooted moral antipathy."¹⁹

This lack of mutual hostility shows itself in two important ways: first, despite their continued disagreement about the best physical location, in "their esteem for Algrind they are in complete agreement";²⁰ second, they both associate the hills with a variety of virtuous and wicked historical and mythical personages, so even if the hills have a fairly stable series of referents as far as ideas are concerned (e.g. aspiration, ambition, prominence), they embody, as Cullen suggests, the whole spectrum of moral possibilities.²¹

These obstacles to a simple moral reading of "Julye" have led to three noteworthy attempts to provide an interpretation that accounts for its ambiguity. Cullen, while maintaining the traditional association of Morrell with ambition, makes a useful distinction between the

dangers of ambition and the dangers to the ambitious, and points out that on the subject of the dangers of ambition the two speakers agree to a large extent, for both deplore instances in which ambition becomes mere self-aggrandizement at the expense of the flock. It is on the matter of the dangers to which the ambitious expose themselves that Thomalin and Morrell disagree: they both must acknowledge that such dangers exist, for Algrind's mishap shows that, but Morrell, like a true goatherd,²² is willing to take chances, while Thomalin prefers the safer tried estate. While it is true that Morrell's aspiration may expose him to the temptations of corruption and tyranny, it is equally true that Thomalin's caution, while keeping him out of danger, may also preclude any effective action on a large scale: restricting aspiration for fear of danger or evil also restricts possibilities for good. In short, Cullen sees "Julye" as a complex statement on the ambivalence of ambition rather than as an outright condemnation of it.²³

Judith Anderson also sees "Julye" as ambivalent: "Basically the debate is between height and lowness, but the moral and imaginative implications of these words keep challenging the apparent simplicity of argument. Height becomes associated with aspiration, as well as with pride, and lowness with fear, as well as with humility....Seen together, the views expressed by Thomalin and Morrell are relative, rather than absolute, in value".²⁴ Unlike Cullen, however, Anderson does not stress the points on which the speakers are in accord, and rather than claiming that Spenser is making as specific a point about ambition as Cullen maintains, argues that he is juxtaposing attitudes and allowing them to speak for themselves, a point that is compatible

with Cullen's approach to the Calender through conflicting pastoral perspectives and that she too generalizes to describe the whole Calender:

The organization of points of view in The Shepheardes Calender has the advantage of inclusiveness: all points of view, with an increasing complexity, can become a part of the whole. At the same time, however, all views tend to be reduced to about the same level: there is fullness but not priority. Views in the Calender are also notably segmented, rather rigidly polar. They accumulate into a total, the year itself, but there is no final synthesis and unity of the different positions in the poem. The eclogue "Julye" affords a case in point: this eclogue presents a balance--equilibrium or impasse--between two positions, and then, as part of the larger Calender, it sweeps both positions into the cycle of the year. Instead of reaching a solution, it might be said to be suspended in one.²⁵

The most radical of the modern readings of "Julye" is that of Shore, who sees the objections to interpretations in the E.K. tradition (noted above) as forming an insuperable barrier to seeing ambition or aspiration as the subject of the eclogue. Instead, he proposes a variant of Cullen's approach through "varieties of pastoral". For Shore, Morrell's defense of the hills, far from being an expression of pride or ambition, is an assertion of the tradition that situates paradise on a mountain. Thus Morrell's linking of the hills with saints, Muses, Christ, and Moses constitutes "a weighty testimony to the importance of the hills in man's spiritual and intellectual history",²⁶ and shows his desire to link the hills with a pastoral ideal of unfallen paradise. For Morrell, says Shore, this ideal is a continuing reality, while for Thomalin "the pastoral ideal does not reflect the pastoral reality".²⁷ For example, Thomalin does not deny that many good people have inhabited the hills, but he does see

different implications in specific instances: when Morrell mentions Christ, Thomalin is reminded not of the salvation He promised but of the pain He suffered and of the many wolves in the world (53-6), and when Morrell adduces the saints, Thomalin points out that they "han be dead of yore./And nowe they bene to heaven forewent,/theyr good is with them goe" (116-18). In Shore's view, Thomalin's world is prosaic and dangerous, "fallen from ideals which must always be an incentive to struggle, but which are as much an index of present failure as a record of past achievement".²⁸ However, says Shore, "if Thomalin's pastoral commitment provides him with an ideal of behaviour, it does not provide him with a programme for moral action directed towards bringing the imperfect realities of temporal existence closer to the ideal. On the contrary, the pastoral commitment precludes even the attempt at such action."²⁹ The "pastoral commitment" to which Shore refers is the necessity for the shepherd to preserve his own contentment,³⁰ which is no problem for Morrell since he does not see it threatened, and which Thomalin seeks to accomplish by avoiding all areas of potential dangers in the world. By re-evaluating Morrell's stance this way, Shore is largely able to circumvent the language of ambition vs. humility traditional in discussions of "Julye", but the introduction of Algrind forces a partial return to the more familiar approaches: "Algrind's hill, understood by Thomalin to be simply a physical height whose dangers deny the validity of Morrell's assertion of the hill-top paradise, is understood by the reader to be an emblematic reflection of the hierarchical world of non-pastoral activity....Algrind does not

meet with much success in that extra-pastoral world, but his example nevertheless demonstrates that true pastoral humility is not incompatible with non-pastoral action. In fact the esteem in which he is held seems to suggest that such action is virtually a moral necessity.³¹ This distinction between "pastoral humility" and "non-pastoral action" parallels the more traditional distinction between love of the tried estate and ambition or aspiration since the kind of action that Shore has in mind requires an active and vigorous discontent with the status quo and also that one be in a position to do something about it. So even if the theme of aspiration is excluded with reference to Morrell, it is still prominent in the case of Algrind.³²

While Shore's reading of "Julye" has much to offer and avoids the difficulties besetting interpretations in the E.K. tradition, it too is attended by serious problems. As a prelude to discussing the relevance of the sun and Leo to "Julye", I will point out some of the difficulties in Shore's reading, and indicate in the process my own general interpretation of the eclogue (a reading which is in essence a variation on those of Cullen and Anderson). To begin with, Shore's account, while it does capture the general spirit of the two speakers, does not adequately describe their world-views in matters of detail. It is simply not true, for example, that Morrell sees the hills as an unfallen paradise: his goats are subject to disease (85-8), an odd blemish for a paradise; he is ready to acknowledge potential dangers and disharmonies such as Algrind's misadventure; and, most significantly, it is Morrell himself who explicitly refers to the Fall (65-70). He does differ from Thomalin, though, in having a naturally optimistic

approach to the world. For example, when he mentions the melampode and terebinth that grow on the hills (85-8), he does not stress the fact that goats become ill, but rather the fortunate fact that relief is nigh at hand.³³ Nor is it entirely true that Thomalin sees the world only in realistic terms. Hoffman in fact maintains that it is Thomalin who "behaves...as though he is in an unfallen world",³⁴ since he has nothing but praise for the plains and denies the necessity of medicines. Hoffman interprets this rejection of melampode and terebinth as a sign that Thomalin sees his world as a disease-free earthly paradise.³⁵ This interpretation is improbable for two reasons: first, E.K. in the gloss and Morrell both specify these as medicines for goats not sheep; second, what Thomalin actually says is that his sheep are perfectly healthy and will remain so unless they forsake the healthful lowlands, consort with Morrell's goats, and eat the "frowie fede" on the hills (105-112). So Thomalin does not perceive a world free of disease, but one in which disease is confined to the hills (he apparently thinks that the lowlands provide adequate protection against the "pyne, plagues, and dreery death" that the dog star brings (17-24)). Thomalin's position is in reality somewhere between the extremes suggested by Shore and Hoffman, but rather closer to that posited by Shore: except for his naive overconfidence about the healthfulness of the plains, his attitude is consistently pessimistic (e.g. he argues that shepherds will fall in the lowlands too, but that such falls will be less damaging than those in the hills (15-16)).

So, while one can agree with Shore that both speakers adhere to essentially the same pastoral ideal of humility of spirit irrespective

of dwelling place or social standing,³⁶ one must add that they both are aware that man is a fallen creature. Where they differ is in their responses to the fact of the Fall and in their conceptions of how man ought to deal with and behave in the real world. As Shore indicates, Thomalin is fundamentally pessimistic about man's activities in the world--hence his stress on the presence of wolves and corrupt shepherds, on the fact that the saints are long dead, and on the pain of Christ's sacrifice--and his response to the proliferation of evils in the world is simply to avoid as many of them as possible by keeping a low profile. Morrell, on the other hand, is more bold and optimistic, but rather incautious in his judgements. This rashness is evident in his arguments that because lightning strikes the hills more frequently than it does the plains, the passage to heaven is easiest from the hills (89-92), and that Thomalin should not castigate the wealth of priests, because such wealth is a sign of health (209-12).³⁷ The essential difference between their approaches to life comes out clearly in their responses to Algrind's misfortune. Thomalin sees it as a warning against the dangers to which the heights expose one, and although he cannot accuse Algrind of any immorality he can deplore his imprudence in subjecting himself to personal hazards (217-20), an attitude that gives some weight to Morrell's claim that Thomalin is too timid to risk the hills (71-2).³⁸ Morrell's response, however, shows his optimism and confidence in the man's natural resilience:

Ah good Algrin, his hap was ill,
but shall be better in time.
Now farewell shepheard, sith thys hyll
thou hast such doubt to climbe. (229-32)

Although Shore's claim that a conflict between fundamentally opposed attitudes to the real world underlies the debate in "Julye" is largely true, his assertion that the debate is not about aspiration needs significant qualification. Insofar as the concept of the "aspiring mind" involves a mixture of aspiration with pride, greed, and the lust for power, Shore quite correctly fails to "see any trace of the 'aspiring mind' attributed to [Morrell] by so many critics",³⁹ and rightly points out that this is not what the main debate is all about. Nonetheless, it seems clear enough that the speakers discuss aspiration or something very much like it, as mainstream critics have repeatedly insisted. But since terms like "aspiration" and "ambition" tend to have negative connotations, I will use the term "prominence" to denote the subject of discussion in "Julye", and will let it signify both the fact of being prominent and the desire to be prominent for whatever reason. This notion of prominence captures the common factor in terms like aspiration, ambition, and pride, without necessitating any specific moral response, in addition to denoting the most basic characteristic of hills (prominent points of the landscape) and of the sun (the most prominent planet).

A survey of the most salient points of "Julye" shows that the two speakers are quite convinced that they are discussing prominence of various sorts. Thomalin instinctively links the hills with what E.K. calls "proude and ambitious Pastours", for without even taking the time to ascertain whether such a generalized moral reading of the topography suits the present situation he brands Morrell, and by implication all goatherds, as "prowde" (1-4), a judgement that he does

not alter after talking to Morrell for a while (cf. 103). If anything, such a hasty, disdainful evaluation of Morrell based on no evidence and such a refusal to modify, even slightly, the initial judgement show a kind of intellectual pride on Thomalin's part. The cheerful, friendly tone of Morrell's first address to Thomalin contrasts with the frigid righteousness of Thomalin's opening lines:

What ho, thou iollye shepheards swayne,
 come up the hyll to me:
Better is, then the lowly playne,
 als for thy flocke, and thee (5-8).

These are not the words of one interested in self-aggrandizement, for if Morrell were proud and ambitious in the way E.K. and Thomalin assume he is, he would hardly be so amicable and generous. Rather than jealously guarding his elevated position and the benefits he feels it brings, he is eager to have company, to bring others to the higher locale, and to share its blessings. Nor is Morrell's desire for the heights the type of ambition that thrives on the exploitation of the flock, for the reason he gives for preferring the hills is that they are beneficial to both herdsman and flock.

Although Morrell has expressed nothing worse than an innocent desire for the kind of advancement that will enable him to better himself and his flock, Thomalin, at this stage of the discussion, ignores Morrell's claim that the hills are advantageous to flock and master, continues to link them to ambitious pride, and replies to his well-meaning, amiable greeting in the harsh, uncompromising tone that characterized his opening lines: "Ah God shield, man, that I should clime,/and learne to looke alofte" (9-10). So far, terms like

"goteheard prowde", "God shield", and "looke alofte" imply that Thomalin has a strong moral opposition to the hills, but he immediately makes it clear that his real objection is that hills are dangerous places: the higher up one is, the greater the consequences of a mis-step; and on the hills one is more vulnerable to the violent heat of the sun (11-28). It is possible to see Thomalin's point as an allegory of the dangers to the ambitious, as Cullen does, but it is really a more general allegory of the perils of a prominent position whether such a position is attained through conscious social climbing, by virtue of birth, or as a natural but unsought consequence of one's occupation. Morrell is, after all, a goatherd, so even if he did not like the hills, his duties would lead him there and expose him to the dangers Thomalin fears (see note 22).

Morrell disregards Thomalin's argument, and points out that Christ, the Muses, and various saints did not scruple to inhabit the hills, a list that falsifies Thomalin's a priori assumption that hill-dwelling necessarily signifies ambitious pride. But the figures that Morrell cites all have one thing in common: in one way or another they are prominent, they stand out from the crowd, and the hills associated with them become symbols of that eminence, achieved, in the case of the saints through great moral and spiritual effort, in that of the Muses by birth, and in that of Christ by birth and behaviour. The strictly human figures that Morrell here links to the hills all put forth a commendable effort to mount above the frailties of fallen human nature, a kind of prominence or aspiration of which even Thomalin approves. Later, both Morrell and Thomalin also link the hills with notable

instances of undesirable behaviour: in Morrell's view, man's first disobedience, which excludes him from the earthly paradise, occurred on a hill (65-70); Thomalin draws attention to the infamous judgement of Paris on Mount Ida (145-52), and castigates proud, ambitious, corrupt, and "lordly" prelates, especially those in Rome (169-202). Clearly the constant that allows us to see the hills as a symbol at all is not a moral one: it is simply that all these figures are outstanding, whether for virtue or vice, and whether such prominence was deliberately sought or was merely a by-product of a life guided by other motives. Thomalin himself tacitly admits, after hearing Morrell's enumeration of saints, that the eminence represented by the hills is, when considered in the abstract, morally neutral, and that it is how such prominence is obtained and used that determine its ethical status: "The hylls, where dwelled holy saints,/I reverence and adore:/Not for themselfe, but for the sayncts" (113-15).

Significantly, although he is able to augment Morrell's list of both virtuous and wicked hill-dwellers, Thomalin does not provide an instance of an eminent lowlander, an omission that confirms that the hills and plains represent prominence and obscurity respectively rather than ambitious pride and humility. It is true that he refers to saints living in "lowely leas" (122) and says that Abel was "such one" (125), but these are the very saints that he has just admitted were hill-dwellers, so the term "lowely leas" must refer to their humility of spirit rather than to their social standing or degree of prominence. Indeed Thomalin cites three instances (Abel, Moses, and Algrind) that show that among the virtuous prominence and humility, the high and the

low, can coexist harmoniously even if, as the fates of Abel and Algrind show, humility of spirit affords no protection from the dangers incurred by being outstanding. Since Abel, as seen by Thomalin, sacrificed both sheep and goats (134-6), he was able to move from low to high ground without compromising his moral status. But it was the very humility and simplicity that Thomalin attributes to Abel that constituted his prominence in the eyes of God and stirred up Cain's murderous envy: ironically, Abel would have been safer had he been less virtuous. Thomalin depicts Moses as a meek and mild shepherd "that sawe hys makers face" (157-60). But of course Moses was socially prominent and was vouchsafed this vision on Mount Sinai (a fact that Morrell could use to support his case that the hills are "higher heven").⁴⁰ Moreover, the knowledge that Moses gained on Sinai would not have been granted him nor have served any purpose were he not sufficiently outstanding in virtue, intellect, and qualities of leadership to have been able to use it to liberate and guide his people. In a sense Moses is an archetype of Morrell's sincere belief that good is to be found in prominent positions, and his equally sincere desire to share and hence increase the benefits he has found. Algrind is Thomalin's contemporary example of a humble good shepherd who is also "great in gree" (215). The early part of Thomalin's account of him is more complex than it at first appears:

He is a shepheard great in gree,
but hath bene long ypent.
One daye he sat upon a hyll,
(as now thou wouldest me:
But I am taught by Algrins ill,
to love the lowe degree). (215-20)

The last four lines of this passage imply that for Thomalin Algrind's sitting on a hill specifies him as one of high degree; however, the first line indicates that he was of high degree before this event and still is so. Hence a simple equating of the hill with the high estate is no more satisfactory as an account of Algrind's mishap than it would be as an account of saints' hills. Thomalin has conflated two stages of elevation: since Algrind is "great in gree", he is from the outset more prominent than Thomalin, but on a level with his own peers; the particular event that exposes him to danger (i.e., Grindal's refusal to obey the royal command to suppress the prophesying) is one that makes him conspicuous above others of his rank. As Thomalin indicates no moral disapproval of Algrind's behaviour, it is clear that he sees the story as an exemplum illustrating the dangers besetting those who make themselves prominent.

To summarize, since Thomalin quickly abandons his instinctive assumption that the hills necessarily signify ambitious pride, and since Morrell never makes such an assumption, Shore correctly argues that ambition in this sense is not the main subject of their debate. But, since both speakers show an awareness of the Fall, neither can they be said to be discussing whether or not a form of earthly paradise is currently extant. Rather, the common factor that characterizes the hills themselves and the various figures, good and evil, that both speakers associate with the hills is prominence. Neither approves of the kind of prominence that is gained at the expense of the flock and/or is used to exploit the flock and lord it over other pastors: Morrell in fact stresses the benefits, for flock and pastor, of his

hills, wishes to share these benefits, and refers to Thomalin's diatribe against corrupt clergymen as "a great deale of good matter,/ lost for lacke of telling" (205-6).⁴¹ Moreover, several of the examples they cite (e.g. saints, Christ, Moses) imply that prominence of some types may come unsought and even be necessary. For instance, saints may become famous for rejecting the pursuit of fame, or exalted for their humility. Such phenomena are inevitable since man is fascinated by anomalies, and saints are as anomalous as devils, but they are also beneficial since this prominence and esteem are crucial to the saints' ability to serve as patterns of moral behaviour to be emulated by others (cf. 117-20). Where the speakers disagree strongly and irresolvably is on the advisability of becoming prominent.

Thomalin stresses the dangers: one could grow to love prominence for its own sake and hence become corrupt, and prominence may be dangerous to one's person. The potential reformer or leader, for example, whatever he may be able to accomplish, is a conspicuous target for those opposed to or afraid of his views and plans, whereas he who does not stand out is relatively safe. Thomalin, in essence, is willing to reduce his efficacy in order to increase his safety. Morrell, on the other hand, while no martyr (see note 41), stresses the potential benefits to be gained from prominence, provided that the herdsman acts for the good of the flock and his fellow herdsmen. Nonetheless, his enthusiasm for the heights does make him overconfident and rather glib about potential hazards, as his naive remark about the lightning (89-92), his simplistic defense of clerical wealth (209-12), and his jumping to the conclusion that Algrind will recover easily

(229-30) show. If Thomalin's timidity and over-cautiousness may lead to impotence in ecclesiastical politics, Morrell's limited ability to see pitfalls may terminate his career before he can accomplish anything.

Since the sun rules as king among the planets and its zodiacal house, Leo, is the stellified form of the king of beasts, it is not surprising to find that they produce the most prominent of men and give the qualities of character suitable to such men as are or would be first among their fellows. Depending on whether they are in favourable or unfavourable positions, the sun and Leo can produce the worthiest of kings and magistrates or the most despicable of tyrants, exactly the same moral spectrum as that spanned by the various figures cited in "Julye". Despite the ancient linking of the sun with God, astrologers do not as a rule give it dominion over ecclesiastical occupations at any level in the hierarchy.⁴² This anomaly may be a result, at least among Christian astrologers, of the sun's strong links with regal qualities, ambition, pride, and control over civil affairs, concerns which could be regarded as unbecoming to or outside the jurisdiction of the clergy.⁴³ Of course, the temptation for prelates to assume the airs, garb, wealth, and often oppressive authority characteristic of secular potentates is one of the chief dangers Thomalin sees in prominence. In short, while the sun as a symbol of God or Christ makes the ecclesiastical subject suitable to "Julye", the sun as a regal symbol and a planet creating notable rulers and power-hungry tyrants makes it suitable that this particular ecclesiastical eclogue deal with the issue of the clergy's

proper response to the temptations and perils of prominence.

A survey of astrologer's comments on the sun and Leo will show that they do in fact produce prominent men well-equipped for positions of authority. According to Ptolemy, for example, when the sun in a favourable position aids the ruling planet in disposing the soul of the native, it modifies the soul "in the direction of justice, success, honour, dignity, and reverence for the gods",⁴⁴ while of the ages of man it rules young manhood and "implants in the soul at length the mastery and direction of its actions, desire for substance, glory, and position, and a change from playful ingenuous error to seriousness, decorum, and ambition".⁴⁵ Firmicus tells us that the sun makes one upright and highminded,⁴⁶ that "in general the Sun on the ascendant will make the natives high-born and noble",⁴⁷ that favourably placed on the ascendant it "indicates high office",⁴⁸ and that with the ruler of the chart "the Sun makes men full of responsibility...wise, moderate, humane, pious,...successful, [and] intelligent...[and who] fulfill all their duties with the greatest honesty".⁴⁹ According to Ibn Ezra, the sun denotes "kings, princes, and counselors...knowledge, intelligence, majesty, beauty, vigor, the ambition to reach high positions, ...laws, precepts, [and] the union of society".⁵⁰ Al-Bīrūnī maintains that the sun signifies "Most expert, noble, well-known and generous things",⁵¹ "youthful vigour",⁵² people who are "intelligent and knowledgeable, patient, chaste,...eager for knowledge, power and victory, seeking a good name for helping others, friendly,...[and] reproving evil-doers",⁵³ and among classes of peoples "Kings, nobles, chiefs, generals, officials, [and] magistrates".⁵⁴ Albertus Magnus

says that the natives of the sun are "trusty, lofty, wise, just, courteous, [and] religious".⁵⁵ Indagine claims that one born when the sun is on the ascendant will become a "greate and honourable personage, and had in reputation amongst princes and greate men".⁵⁶ Cattan characterizes the sun and hence its natives as "gentle, honest, courteous, happy, sage, and prudent",⁵⁷ and draws an extensive analogy between the sun and a king with his court.⁵⁸ According to Ferrier, the sun well-placed "makes the man mannerly wise, prudent, of good counsell, a lover of noblenes, following glory and honour, gyven to iustice and governments of Townes and Cities,...worthy, and of great estimation".⁵⁹ He later claims that the sun signifies "wisemen, prudent, discreet, covetous of glory and of honours: Honourable men, officers, Magistrates, Lords, Princes, Kings, [and] Governors of Countries".⁶⁰ Dariot enumerates among the qualities given by the sun strength, honesty, magnanimity, industriousness, ambition, being provident, valiance, sincerity, a good mind, fame, princely dignities, and desire for honours, and among the persons denoted by it potentates, courtiers, kings and magistrates.⁶¹ According to Giorgio, the sun makes men faithful, magnanimous, desirous of things high, of excellent soul, "bien composés en meurs", "par la foy toutesfois illustré", and "de vertue orné".⁶² He aligns the sun with the angelic order of the Powers because both exercise power over their inferiors without tyrannous impiety, signalling, says Giorgio, that equity is required of a prince in either heavenly or earthly society.⁶³ Agrippa characterizes the sun as honest, pure, prudent, intelligent and wise,⁶⁴ says that things ruled by the sun conduce to glory, victory, and courage,⁶⁵

and describes its natives as wise, faithful, desirous of praise, noble in mind, perspicuous of imagination, mature, zealous, and of good moral judgement.⁶⁶ According to Maplet, the sun's natives are "hawty stomacked, and they are advanced often to great honours and dignities. And the disposition of their minds is such that they be studious of difficult and hard matters, being very desirous of glory and renowne. They be also fast and faythfull in friendship, and constant in Fact and worde. They bee likewise, wise, and Polliticke touching common wealth affayres, and are given much to procure the profit of their country".⁶⁷ The Kalender of Sheepehards says of the sun's natives that

they shalbe fortunate to great promotions, they shalbe cleane and good of faith, and shalbe governour of other people...the children that is borne under the sunne shall desyre honour and science,...and they shalbe of courage good and diligent, and shall desire lordship above other people, they shall geve wyse iudgementes, and their wordes shal sound al sweetely, & he beare any office he shall be liberall, and...many shal seeke to him for counsell,...and he shall be in service with lordes, and by them shal have advantage for his wysedome.⁶⁸

Finally, Lilly describes the character produced by a well-placed sun as follows:

Very faithfull, keeping their Promises with all punctuality, a kind of itching desire to Rule and Sway where he comes: Prudent, and of incomparable Judgement; of great Majesty and Stateliness, Industrious to acquire Honour and a large Patrimony, yet as willingly departing therewith againe; the Solar man usually speaks with gravity, but not many words, and those with great confidence and command of his owne affection; full of Thought, Secret, Trusty, speaks deliberately, and notwithstanding his great Heart, yet is he Affable, Tractable, and very humane to all people, one loving Sumptuousnesse and Magnificence, and whatever is honourable; no sordid thoughts can enter his heart, etc.⁶⁹

Among "Quality of men and their professions", Lilly lists "Kings, Princes, Emperours, &c. Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants of Counties, Magistrates, Gentlemen in generall, Courtiers, desirers of Honour and preferment", and so forth.⁷⁰

Similarly, Leo, if in a favourable position, produces eminent men with desirable personal qualities. According to Valens, the natives of Leo are intellectual, kingly, stable, good, authoritative, political, just, remarkable, and hate knaves and flattery".⁷¹ Firmicus tells us that

Many toils and dangers are indicated by the ascendant in Leo, but great fame throughout his life. The native will be freeborn, have unlimited power and never use his power for evil: he will secure his possessions by his own efforts, and attain power of command....The MC in Taurus predicts a life in a public place or a temple....The native will be greatly honored by a powerful man, will be knowledgeable in all things and have a great increase in good fortune.⁷²

According to Ibn Ezra, the native of Leo will be an "educated and clever man,...generous,...[and] relying on himself in case of danger" and this sign denotes kings, princes, and nobles.⁷³ Al-Bīrūnī says Leo's children will be kingly, formidable, powerful by nature, and bold.⁷⁴ Indagine says that those born when Leo is on the ascendant are "for the moste parte...troubled with businesse not perteinynge to them selves, whereby thei get them selves immortall name and fame, preferring them selves unto other nacions, loving libertie, neither willynglye suffering subiection: bestowinge all their laboure and travayle to prescribe lawes and ordinaunces to other...a ruler of publyke offices. Also promoted into dignityes by greate menne,

witty in all thinges, and likewyse fortunate in all thinges".⁷⁵ Ferrier says that Leo makes one "courageous, [and] of great heart" and that it produces princes, kings, governors, magistrates, and officers.⁷⁶ He later notes that the sun in Leo indicates "great and incredible advauncement".⁷⁷ According to Arcandam, the native of Leo is "naturally witty, subtile, eloquent, [and] courageous...Likewise hee is bountifull and liberall...naturally gentle and quiet...shall have domination over his country & vanquish his enemies...[and] of honourable personages he shal purchase much wealth, and thereby his house shall be plentifull of money and abundant of riches".⁷⁸

Finally, The Kalender of Sheepehards says that the child of Leo "shall be fayne and hardy, he shall speake openly and shal be merciful,...his benefites shall bee in great, hee shall bee honoured of good folke, & obtaine his enterprise,...shalbe great & puissant, he shal have charge of the commontie,...hee shall come to dignitie and shal be amiably,...[and] he will goe often on pilgrimages".⁷⁹

Both the sun and Leo, then, are regularly credited with producing men destined to be eminent in the political life of their country or city,⁸⁰ and since in Renaissance England prominence on the ecclesiastical scene necessarily entailed political prominence, the subject of the clergy's proper attitude toward the temptations and dangers of prominence is appropriate for "Julye". Chief among the foregoing Solar gifts desirable in the leaders of state or church are wisdom, knowledge, prudence, discretion, justice, liberality, a sense of honour, and religious devotion. However, neither the planet nor the sign gives the virtue most valued by Thomalin (and, less obviously,

by Morrell too)--humility of spirit--the lack of which can have disastrous effects on the exercise of power in the ecclesiastical as well as in the secular establishments, as Thomalin is well aware (cf. 169-202). Indeed, even in the above catalogue of generally favourable effects of the sun and Leo, terms that might make one feel somewhat dubious about the goodness attributed to these rulers (e.g. ambition, the desire for high offices in addition to the mere possession of them) tend to recur.

The effects of the sun and Leo when they are in unfavourable positions are in essence perversions or abuses of the desirable Solar and Leonine traits: the sense of honour and dignity becomes pride and arrogance; the tendency to rise socially and politically becomes ruthless ambition; and rule by law, order, justice, and wisdom becomes tyrannous oppression. Hence, Ibn Ezra says that the sun may produce "the ambition to reach high positions, the attachment to wealth,...and excessive desires".⁸¹ Al-Bīrūnī claims that the sun produces "longing for power and government, hankering after wealth and management of worldly affairs" and that its natives will impose their wills on the ignorant and be harsh with opponents.⁸² According to Firmicus, the sun with the ruler of the chart "makes men full of responsibility but raised up with inflated pride".⁸³ Godfridus claims that the sun as ruling planet produces a man with "wicked thoughts in his heart, he is wicked and avarous,...he is right wicked and grudging in his deeds".⁸⁴ Giorgio says that if the mind of man is evilly disposed then solar influence will make him inflated with pride and covetous of honours.⁸⁵ De la Primaudaye argues that the sun "directeth men to

true wisdome and roiall dignities, and yet if the splendor of the minde be abused, and that it be converted into pride, it mounteth into an ambitious presumption, arrogancie, and scorne of others".⁸⁶

Agrippa similarly argues that if man's mind is not properly disposed, solar influence produces "imperious pride and insatiable ambition".⁸⁷

The Kalender of Sheepehards says that the native of the sun desires lordship over other people, and also, quite appropriate to Thomalin's diatribe in "Julye", that "they shal shew their lives as they were good & holy but they shalbe secrete hipocrites if they give them to religion".⁸⁸ Ferrier claims that an unfortunately positioned sun produces "great pride, excessive ambition, and tyrannie".⁸⁹ Among the classes of people under the sun's rulership, Ramesey lists "Tyrants, Usurpers,...and all such as bear any petty or usurped authority".⁹⁰ Finally, Lilly's evaluation of the poorly placed sun, echoed almost verbatim by Middleton, is as follows:

Then the Solar man is Arogant and Proud, disdaining all men, cracking of his Pedegree, he is Pur-blind in Sight and Judgement, restlesse, troublesome, domineering, a meer vapour, expensive, foolish, endued with no gravity in words, or sobernesse in Actions, a Spend-thrift, wasting his Patrimony, and hanging after on other mens charity, yet thinks all men are bound to him, because a Gentleman borne.⁹¹

The natives of Leo, if the sign is rendered unfavourable, will also become imperious, too ambitious, and arrogant. Vettius Valens, for example, says they are self-willed, dominating, imperious, insubordinate and puffed up in mind.⁹² Rhetorios says they are concerned with politics but also high-spirited, inflexible, and dominating.⁹³ Ibn Ezra says Leo is "scorching hot and destructive",

especially its central degrees, that it denotes "every oppressed land", and that its native will be "peremptory in his word...tending towards contrariness" and have the nature of a wolf.⁹⁴ Al-Bīrūnī indicates that the natives of Leo may be formidable, sharp-tongued, hard-hearted, litigious, knavish, bold, and sinners.⁹⁵ Indagine indicates that those born when Leo is on the ascendant do not willingly suffer subjection⁹⁶ and the sun in Leo "maketh a soute stomache, bolde, arrogant, eloquent and proud: a mocker & scorner, unmercifull, cruel, harde, and harde to be intreated".⁹⁷ Arcandam claims the native of Leo "shall be very covetous, arrogant, bold, and wilfull to all things which he seeth or heareth".⁹⁸ Finally, The Kalender of Sheepehards says the natives of Leo will be "arrogant in wordes" and "great quarrellers".⁹⁹

By making "Julye" an ecclesiastical eclogue concerned with prominence and aspiration (whether that of saintly martyrs, leaders like Moses, or "proude ambitious Pastours"), Spenser has fused the two most frequent associations of the sun: its role as the image of God in the world, and that of astral symbol and patron of the most outstanding individuals. Although the subjects they discuss are Solar and Leonine, neither Thomalin nor Morrell is a thoroughgoing representative of the planet or the sign. Thomalin, of course, is convinced that positions of prominence will be abused far more often than they will be used for the benefit of all, and rejects the effort to become prominent as an option for himself because he considers it too dangerous. His preference for the lowlands because they provide greater "coverture" from the potentially pernicious rays of the sun (17-28) aptly represents his desire to avoid the temptations and

dangers of prominence. Morrell, on the other hand, is willing to risk the sun's threat because he feels that his hills are closer to heaven. He shows Solar and Leonine traits in his preference for high places, his vigour and energy, his magnanimity in wishing to share the benefits of his hill, and in his confidence that what he is doing is both right and practicable. However, his incompletely thought out remarks about lightning and priestly wealth indicate that he is not in complete possession of the Solar traits of wisdom and prudence.

Although the sun is hot and dry and therefore choleric, its heat is usually said to be more moderate than that of Mars so astrologers do not stress its choleric nature;¹⁰⁰ however, Leo is a fixed¹⁰¹ fire sign and the house of the sun and hence is considerably more choleric than the sun. Thus, the natives of Leo are, say Ibn Ezra and Vettius Valens, irascible.¹⁰² Al-Bīrūnī says they are sharp-tongued;¹⁰³ Lilly says they have a fierce countenance.¹⁰⁴ According to Indagine the sun in Leo makes one a mocker, a scorner, unmerciful, cruel, prone to anger, and "enflaminge cholere".¹⁰⁵ Dariot says Leo makes one ireful,¹⁰⁶ and The Kalender of Sheepheards says its natives are "arrogant in wordes" and "great quarrellers".¹⁰⁷ Finally, Arcandam claims that children of Leo are "irefull and sullen. For they will be soone angry, and soon pleased againe: his stomacke, and sudden anger is such, that by reason of his naturalll animosity, he shall sustaine much contumely and displeasure".¹⁰⁸ Later, he says that the native is "naturally gentle and quiet, but yet a derider, and mocker".¹⁰⁹ Neither speaker in "Julye" hesitates to mock and deride the other: Morrell calls Thomalin a "laesie loord" who "rekes much"

of his "swinck", speaks in "fond terms and weetlesse words" in order to "blere" Morrell's eyes (33-6), clatters (207), and is afraid to climb (71-2); Thomalin thinks of Morrell as a "goteheard prowde" both before he speaks to him and after they have conversed for a while (1, 103), and says that he speaks "lyke a lewde lorrell" (93) to think that the hills are closer to heaven than are the plains.¹¹⁰ Although the speakers respond to each other rather testily on occasion, these signs of irritability and irascibility are short-lived and do not disrupt the flow of discussion. Ironically, although Thomalin is the one who eschews the effort to become a prominent figure, he is the one with the greater amount of natural aggressiveness and pugnacity, qualities usually associated with the ambitious rather than with the humble. Even before he knows anything about Morrell, Thomalin assumes that he must have an aspiring mind because he sits on a hill, and hence he enters the conversation in a bellicose frame of mind, and later lashes out in fury at abuses perpetrated by ambitious pastors. Morrell, on the other hand, makes no such a priori judgements on the basis of topographical location and is a generous, well-meaning, and easy-going person; hence, he greets Thomalin in a spirit of amiability and good-natured helpfulness (5-8). Thomalin replies with much greater hostility than the situation requires and in his hasty reply (9-32) does not touch directly on Morrell's claim that the hills are better for flock and herdsman. It is only after this overly enthusiastic rebuff that Morrell's tone too becomes more heated.

Both Leo and the sun, when unfavourably placed, can produce what Cullen calls the dangers of power, the tendencies toward ruthless and

insatiable pride and ambition. The rulership of Leo can also result in the dangers to power, the vulnerability that prominence necessarily entails. Astrologers' accounts of the general fortunes of Leo's natives give partial support for Thomalin's pessimism but rather more for Morrell's optimism, for although the natives have many enemies and often find themselves in danger, they also have friends and usually escape from dangers. For example, Al-Bīrūnī tells us that Leo signifies "many troubles",¹¹¹ while Ibn Ezra informs us that the native will rely on himself in dangerous situations.¹¹² According to Firmicus, the ascendant in Leo indicates many "toils and dangers", but also "great fame throughout life...The native will be greatly honored by a powerful man...But the descendant in Aquarius indicates a life of ups and downs; in some cases there will be popularity and approval".¹¹³ The Kalender of Sheepehards says that the native of Leo "shal have a perril in certaine time, and at xxx, yeere he shalbe awaited to be domaged, but he shall eschewe that perril...and as much as he leeseth he shall win, hee shall come to dignity and...hee shal fall from hie".¹¹⁴ Arcandam claims that the native of Leo will "with good success abide the brunts of malice" and "shall have domination over his country & vanquish his enemies although hee shall obiect himselfe to many afflictions and dangers from the whiche he shall by Gods help right well escape... Of honourable personages he shal purchase much wealth...[and he] shall have a fal from an high place".¹¹⁵ And according to Indagine, when Leo is on the ascendant, Taurus in the midheaven causes the native "to bee suspecte amongst Princes and greate menne...Also promoted into dignityes by greate menne", while Aquarius on the descendant "dooeth

geve bothe increase and losses".¹¹⁶ Indagine further tells us that the sun in Leo causes the native to be "Beset with manye miseries and perilles, out of the whiche he beinge escaped, shall obtaine some common office...lokinge for benefite at the hands of thre noble men,... putting him selfe in manye daungers,...promoting to honours and dignities, and...in daunger of fire, sword, and violence of beasts, whereby he shal dye oute of his owne house or place. How be it by the helpe of God, he shall escape oute of all these daungers".¹¹⁷

Not only is the theme of prominence and its attendant dangers an astrologically suitable subject for "Julye", but Spenser also introduces Archbishop Grindal's misfortunes in an astrologically suitable manner. Like the typical native of Leo, Grindal, by defying the Queen's order to suppress the prophesyings, put himself in danger and suffered a fall from his high office. Spenser, however, does not make Algrind the victim of a simple fall; rather, he was sitting on a hill when an eagle mistook his white head for chalk and "a shell fish downe let flye:/She weend the shell fishe to have brooke,/but therewith bruzd his brayne" (217-229). As a prominent figure in an ecclesiastical hierarchy, Algrind-Grindal is perforce a solar figure, and his hill is a solar and Leonine environment. The eagle, representing the Queen,¹¹⁸ is a solar bird.¹¹⁹ Algrind has a white head; the sun and Leo make their natives fair-haired or bald.¹²⁰ Algrind's brain is "bruzd", and the sun rules the brain.¹²¹ Finally, although one would expect the shellfish to be a lunar creature since the moon rules the oceans and the sign Cancer, a number of authorities claim that the sun rules shellfish too.¹²² In short, everything in the episode is

solar, and hence properly belongs in "Julye".

"Julye", then, is well-adapted to the implications of its celestial rulers. Since the sun is a symbol of God or Christ, "Julye" is an ecclesiastical eclogue. Both the sun and Leo produce people who are prominent and/or ambitious, gifts which the native will develop in either virtuous or wicked ways (depending as always on both the exact configuration of planets and signs and the will of the native), so it is appropriate that "Julye" deals with the question of what sort of prominence pastors ought to seek. Both speakers approve of the kind of prominence that characterizes the saints: being famous for extraordinary virtue, a prominence that is not sought for, but which perpetuates their memory and is, therefore, necessary if they are to serve as exemplars. Similarly they both recognize the need for the kind of prominence that characterizes an effective religious leader like Moses (and, less successfully, Algrind) even though Thomalin does not wish to follow that path. They also concur in deplored those who become prominent for exceptional wickedness. In short, Morrell and Thomalin are in substantial agreement on the purely moral question, although Thomalin overestimates the strength of the temptation to abuse a position of prominence (hence he automatically associates the hills with ambitious pride (1-4), only to qualify this judgement later), while Morrell underestimates it (and must qualify his initial enthusiasm by mentioning Adam and acknowledging the truth of some of Thomalin's points). However, those in positions of prominence are also in precarious positions, for their missteps have greater consequences than do those of the less notable, and they are open to attacks from those

who fear or envy their prominence. It is on the matter of taking these risks that the speakers disagree, and their responses to the story of Algrind encapsulate this divergence. For Thomalin, Algrind's misfortune is proof that the risks are unacceptable. Morrell is more like the native of Leo (who often gets himself into and back out of danger), for he sees Algrind's injury as only a temporary setback, a calculated risk to be taken in stride, and does not let it affect his choice of habitat.

B. "June"

In "June" the "philosopher of the tried estate" (as Cullen¹²³ calls Hobbinoll) unsuccessfully attempts to incite Colin Clout to follow an ambitious course among the rich shepherds in the dales. It is important to keep in mind that although Hobbinoll and Colin discuss poetic aspiration and ambition, a specialized form of the prominence discussed in more general terms in "Julye", neither of them is in fact aspiring, in contrast to "Julye" in which Morrell lives in and recommends the hills they discuss. In "June", Hobbinoll does not aspire, because he is content with his present condition, has found a physical environment that harmonizes with his psychological state (1-8); Colin, because he remains paralyzed by his love melancholy, although, as will be discussed below, he proffers several other excuses. Paradoxically, both Colin's desolate hills and Hobbinoll's rich and fruitful dales indicate the speakers' lack of ambition.¹²⁴ This section explains how the lack of aspiration and the frustration of ambition are suitable in an eclogue corresponding to the moon and Cancer.

Although, as I will show below, the moon is traditionally associated with qualities that can only work against possessing and satisfying ambition, some astrologers claim that the moon in some positions gives the good fortune and social prominence that characterize the rich shepherds (21) in Hobbinoll's dales, and Colin as he might have become. According to Firmicus, the moon indicates the "greatest good fortune" if it is on the ascendant in a nocturnal chart, full, and in a sign favourable to it.¹²⁵ He further claims that with the ruler of the chart, the moon makes one stable, appointed to high position, and respected,¹²⁶ and that in its own house or decan in a nocturnal chart it prognosticates income, fame, and positions of power, and produces natives who become "successful, popular artisans, who earn a fortune through their own efforts".¹²⁷ Ptolemy says that the moon, when assisting the ruler of the chart and ascending and waxing, increases the natural endowments of the native and gives "renown, firmness, and frankness".¹²⁸ According to Dorotheus Sidonius, "If the moon is in its house or its term or its exaltation by night, in the cardines or what follow the cardines, then it will be good because [the native] will be well known, [and] abounding in friends and acquaintances".¹²⁹ Al-Bīrūnī says the natives of the moon are respected by others,¹³⁰ and that the moon signifies kings, nobles, noble matrons, and celebrated and wealthy citizens.¹³¹ Agrippa claims the moon is a giver of riches and mitigates the tempests of fortune.¹³² (Macrobius, on the other hand, identifies Luna and Fortuna.)¹³³ Finally, Dariot, Lilly, and Middleton all say that the moon denotes queens.¹³⁴

Thus far it would appear that the moon is a planet propitious to

Hobbinoll's encouragement of Colin. However, Ptolemy tells us that if the moon is waning it gives the native "greater sluggishness and dullness, less fixity of purpose, greater cautiousness and less renown".¹³⁵ Firmicus claims that the moon in its house or decan is a diurnal chart, rather than producing the rich, famous, powerful, and successful, produces "travelling workmen involved in continual dangers, sickness or weakness, and torment of sharp pains",¹³⁶ a condition not unlike that of Colin who feels he can find no place to "shroude" his "lucklesse pate" as "cruell fate/And angry Gods" pursue him from "coste to coste" (14-16). Although Al-Bīrūnī at one point claims the moon denotes kings and nobles, at another he says the native is a "king among kings, servant among servants".¹³⁷ Ibn Ezra links the moon only to vagabonds, oarsmen, messengers, and servants;¹³⁸ Agrippa, despite calling the moon "queen of heaven", "chiefest of Deities", and "mistriss of all the Elements",¹³⁹ says that things ruled by the moon conduce to a common life;¹⁴⁰ Ramesey says the moon "signifieth common people";¹⁴¹ and Dariot, Lilly, and Middleton, in spite of associating the moon with queens, say that it, to use Middleton's words, signifies "the common inferiour sorts of people".¹⁴² In the lists of occupations provided by Dariot, Lilly, and Middleton, careers such as fishermen, sailors, brewers, and water-carriers predominate, so that it is the moon's rulership over common people that appears as most characteristic. Queens are listed largely because the moon signifies all women,¹⁴³ it being believed that the moon is responsible for menstrual cycles.¹⁴⁴ Although the moon, then, according to some astrologers, can be propitious to the search for wealth, success,

fame, it is not so unambiguously favourable to such pursuits as is the sun. In fact, as will be shown below, the qualities most consistently attributed to the moon are more likely to produce the "common inferiour sortes" of people than the noteworthy. "June" alludes to rich shepherds and to Tityrus (Chaucer) as well as presenting the unassuming Hobbinoll and the frustrated Colin, so the ambiguity of the moon's relation to success and ambition has a counterpart in the eclogue.

A similar ambiguity characterizes Cancer. Ibn Ezra, for example, says that the native of Cancer will be "highly respected", but also that the sign denotes "every repulsive individual, plebeians, [and] wanderers".¹⁴⁵ Vettius Valens says the native of Cancer is ambitious and employed in public affairs, but also that Cancer is a slave sign.¹⁴⁶ Firmicus is optimistic on the subject of Cancer's relation to ambition; he says that the ascendant in Cancer "makes the natives sharp in intellect, but the kind who accomplish everything very slowly....They make a living from government or royal occupations, and many people are forced to flatter them for various reasons....The MC in Aries involves the native with powerful men; affords him his daily living from foreign investments....The native will be second in command in his occupation and will be indispensable to his superiors. He will be able to earn a living from literary pursuits and be entrusted with hidden secrets".¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, Al-Bīrūnī says they will be indolent¹⁴⁸ and have such lowly occupations as digging canals, and being sailors, swimmers, or water diviners;¹⁴⁹ and according to Rhetorios, they are "suited to the mob".¹⁵⁰ According to Indagine,

Cancer on the ascendant makes the native "strong, moderate, and grave, by the which gifts he shall be promoted unto publike offices, & have his living by them" and Aries being then in the upper midheaven "maketh him also acceptable unto princes and great men".¹⁵¹ Indagine is not so optimistic about the effects of the sun in Cancer, for he says this causes the native to be "often in daunger, and vexed with manye incommodities, with much poverty & misery. And al be it he be the causer of gaine, yet shal he be never a whitte the richer".¹⁵² He does, however, grant the native "good successe & fortune" often at the age of twenty-six.¹⁵³ Manilius says Cancer gives "skill in making profits", especially from foreign trade, and that the native will be a shrewd, ambitious, grasping, and resourceful businessman.¹⁵⁴

According to Arcandam the native of Cancer "shall be beloved of all men...have government of some castle or hold & shall have authority in the Commonwealth...:[and] shal attain to very great promotion", but on the other hand, he will "sustaine divers and sundry troubles and dangers...fall from high place...:[and] his service and good turnes shall be counted ingrate, unpleasant and annexed to unthankfulness".¹⁵⁵ In contrast to the virtual unanimity of opinion concerning the sun, the question of whether the native of Cancer or the moon will be ambitious and successful in fulfilling ambitions is a matter of considerable uncertainty as far as astrologers' comments having a direct bearing on the subject are concerned: as much depends upon which astrologers one consults as upon the positions of celestial bodies. A similar confusion exists in "June": if one consults Hobbinoll, one finds that Colin was once and could be again the

brilliant young poet who though only a shepherd put Calliope, the Muse of epic, to shame (49-64); if one consults Colin, one finds that of Muses he "conne[s] no skill" (65), that he lacks Tityrus' talent (93-6), and that his early poems were merely "weary wanton toyes" (48).

Although astrologers do not agree among themselves about the likelihood of Cancer's or the moon's producing successfully ambitious people, there are four points on which there is widespread agreement and which do not augur well for aspiration: (1) in Cancer the sun begins its descent toward the south; (2) the moon is a mere reflector of the sun's light; (3) both the moon and Cancer rule over the watery phlegmatic humour and temperament;¹⁵⁶ and (4) the moon and Cancer both produce inconstancy.

The sun both reaches its highest point in the northern latitudes and begins its decline toward the south in the sign of Cancer; however, astrologers, stressing the crab-like movement of the sun, put all the emphasis on its declining. For example, Cattan says this sign is called the crab because the sun reverses its motion and returns toward the equator;¹⁵¹ Manilius notes that "Shining at the hinge of the year by the blazing turning-point which when recalled the Sun rounds in his course on high, the Crab occupies a joint of heaven and bends back the length of day."¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Ibn Ezra notes not that the year's longest day occurs in Cancer, but that the day begins to shorten and the night to grow longer.¹⁵⁹ And according to Macrobius, "we should note in particular that it is in the sign of the Crab that the sun begins to move sideways from the upper part of its course and now to make for the parts below".¹⁶⁰ The Kalender of

Sheepehards points out the lesson of the summer solstice: "Then commeth June, and then is the Sunne hyest in his meridionall, he may ascende no hyer in his station,...and when man is XXXVI, yere [the Kalender begins with January and allots six years of man's life to each month] he may ascend no more, for then hath nature given him beautie and strength at the full".¹⁶¹ The Kalender's choice of a negative formulation ("he may ascend no more") rather than a positive one (e.g. "he is at his peak") reveals that the main point is that from this date on man's life is a steady decline, that if a man has yet to obtain his desires, he must soon abandon hope, as Colin's emblem (Già speme spenta) shows him to have done. The fact that the sun, the very emblem of ambition, glory and aspiration, both reaches its peak and starts its decline in Cancer probably accounts for the ambiguity of Cancer's relationship to ambition and success, and the astrologers' habit of stressing the sun's decline indicates that Spenser's decision to have Colin, the once promising but now despairing poet, appear in "June" to renounce his ambitions and to outline the decline in status of his poetry--from poems that shamed Calliope (57-64) to songs to please himself (72), to spiteful attacks on Rosalind and Menalcas (97-104), to silence (105-112)--is astrologically appropriate.¹⁶²

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, among numerous others, points out that the moon "hab none light of hireself, but borewip and fongip of þe plente of þe sonne"¹⁶³ and, as discussed in the introduction to this study, one of its primary functions is to mediate and transmit to earth the influences of the other celestial bodies. The moon's role

as reflector and transmitter is not the most important of the ways in which it augurs ill for aspiration, but it is a contributing factor, for this role is a passive one: the moon carries out the orders and plans, as it were, of the other celestial bodies rather than initiating its own, and the emphasis on the moon's shining only by reflection makes it appear impotent, having only a borrowed glory.¹⁶⁴ The derivative nature of many of the moon's powers is significant for "June", for one of Colin's explanations of his lack of poetic energy is that he derived his poetic skill from Tityrus, but now that Tityrus is dead and "all hys passing skil with him is fledde", leaving not a drop to animate poor Colin, Colin feels doomed to artistic impotence (81-105). In effect, without a constant influx of Tityrus' power, Colin, is in his own view, like a moon with no sun from which to borrow light.

That much of the moon's power and glory is a pale imitation of the sun's implies that the Lunar intellect will not be of high quality and that the Lunar personality will not be dynamic, and hence that the native will either not be ambitious at all, or, if he is ambitious, not particularly successful. These implications are consistent with the moon's dominance over the phlegmatic character,¹⁶⁵ which John Davies of Hereford describes as follows: "The Phlegmaticke are idle, sleepie, dull,/Whose temper's cold and moist, which drowns the wit".¹⁶⁶ Davies' remarks can be confirmed and added to by a brief survey of what astrologers tell us of the Lunar personality. Ibn Ezra says that the moon causes "excessive introspection, meditation in a mind lacking knowledge, amnesia, phobia, indifference, revelation of secrets, love

of pleasure...prevarication, [and] calumny".¹⁶⁷ According to Al-Bīrūnī, the native of Luna will be pure in heart, forgetful, loquacious, timid, a lover of elegance and amusement, too anxious about women, and not intellectually strong but given to much thought and talk.¹⁶⁸ Maplet says that natives of the moon are "geven to provoke much anger and discord between friends: they be also very envious, agreeed with the prosperity and good fortune and others: they bee also ful of hatred, and in their conversation and manner of lyfe they be verye childish".¹⁶⁹ According to Lylly, the moon makes people "Fantasticall, childish, and folish in their desires, demanding Toyes; and starke madde when they cannot have their will".¹⁷⁰ Ferrier says that in general, the moon produces amiable, peaceable men,¹⁷¹ and, when fortunately placed, men who are "pacified, modest, of good hart, or good will, and easie to indure any thing that one will doe".¹⁷² He adds that when unfortunately placed it makes men faint-hearted and prodigal.¹⁷³ Dariot says Lunar men are fearful, faint-hearted, prodigal, foolish, and full of thought.¹⁷⁴ Bartholomaeus Anglicus points out that "undir þe mone is conteyned sikenesse, losse, fere and drede, harm and damage".¹⁷⁵ And finally, Lilly's accounts of the characters resulting from both a favourably and an unfavourably placed moon are typical. When well-placed, says Lilly,

She signifieth one of composed Manners, a soft, tender creature, a Lover of al honest and ingenuous Sciences, a Searcher of, and Delighter in Novelties, naturally propense to flit and shift his Habitation, unstedfast, wholly caring for the present Times, Timorous, Prodigal, and easily Frighted, however loving Peace, and to live free from the cares of this Life.¹⁷⁶

When ill-placed it produces

A meer Vagabond, idle Person, hating Labour, a Drunkard, a Sot, one of no Spirit or Forecast, delighting to live beggarly and carelessly, one content in no condition of Life, either good or ill.¹⁷⁷

In short, the native of Luna is likely to be otiose, timid, peace-loving, pleasure-loving, usually amiable but sometimes childishly petulant if he does not have his way, and given to thought but unfortunately not too bright.¹⁷⁸ Even should the Lunar individual become ambitious, his personality traits do not augur well for success.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of intellectual qualities, we can easily see that Hobbinoll, the "magister of moderation",¹⁷⁹ is in general terms, the more Lunar-phlegmatic of the two speakers. Hobbinoll is perfectly satisfied with his idyllic surroundings as he explains to Colin:

Tell me, what wants me here, to worke delyte?
 The simple ayre, the gentle warbling wynde,
 So calme, so coole, as no where else I fynde:
 The grassye ground with daintye Daysies dight,
 The Bramble bush, where Byrds of every kynde
 To the waters fall their tunes attemper right. (3-8)

The Lunar man loves peace and tranquility, comforts and pleasures, freedom from the cares of this life, elegance and amusement. It is clear from the passage quoted above and from Hobbinoll's further description of his "pleasaunt syte" (1) that it is ideally suited to the Lunar man: in addition to the natural delights Hobbinoll has just enumerated, it is free from wolves (12), "night ravens", "elvish ghosts", and "ghastly owles" (23-4), the flocks are fruitful and the shepherds rich without, apparently, needing to work hard (21-2), and friendly faeries, Graces, Muses, nymphes, and Pan himself provide

elegant entertainment "when Phoebe shineth bright" (25-32). In such safe, otiose, and prosperous environs ambition is needless.¹⁸⁰

Given such phlegm-inducing surroundings (Hobbinoll (3-8) stresses their coolness, moisture, and fertility, all lunar qualities), it is not surprising that Hobbinoll's "wandring mynde" (2) has abandoned its lunar propensity to "flit and shift" its habitation.¹⁸¹ Hobbinoll and his environment are reflections of each other:¹⁸² the calmness, simplicity, and temperateness of the surroundings manifest themselves in Hobbinoll as affability, kindness, gentleness, and liking for pleasant but predictable places and situations that contain a minimum of stress. His love of ease, plenty, and pleasure in an unthreatened locale is his chief Lunar trait, but he does show others as well. He demonstrates his Lunar goodwill, kindness, and amiability in his sincere, though unsuccessful, attempt to alleviate Colin's misery and have him participate in the "pierlesse pleasures" (32) of the dales. The Lunar man is fearful and timid; this is not the strongest force in Hobbinoll's character, but as soon as Colin reminds him of the hills, it is Hobbinoll who conjures up nightmarish visions of ghosts, ravens, and owls to contrast with the serenity of his dales. And at the end of the eclogue he seems to reflect some of Colin's dismay, for as he addresses his sheep, he no longer talks of the lustrous Phoebe presiding over nightly dances, but of his fear that the night with "stealing steps" might "forsloe" his flock (119).¹⁸³

Colin Clout is clearly not a phlegmatic person, but in "June" his Saturnian character manifests itself in some ways that are, on the surface at least, consistent with the moon's rulership of the

month.¹⁸⁴ For example, natives of Luna are given to travelling, whether it be a part of their job or because they are loath to settle down and get a steady job.¹⁸⁵ Hobbinoll's wanderings may be over, but not those of Colin:

But I unhappy man, whom cruell fate
And angry Gods pursue from coste to coste,
Can nowhere fynd, to shroude by luckless pate (14-16).

However, as was noted in chapter I, the natives of Saturn are also travellers; moreover, Colin's inner turmoil and sense of being persecuted by irascible deities resemble more closely the nightmares and fearsome visions that haunt Saturnians than they do the placid mind of the phlegmatic. Similarly, Colin's desire to pipe to please himself in a lowly grove (71-2) appears at first to be a phlegmatic wish, but upon closer examination, the contrast with the Lunar Hobbinoll is more striking than is any similarity. Hobbinoll enjoys his dales not only because of the temperate climate and the pleasant flora and fauna, but also because of the social pleasures of piping and dancing with his fellows. Social interaction is the very thing Colin flees in order to pipe for himself alone. "June" itself belies Colin's claim that these songs will be pleasurable in any normal sense of the word: Colin is as agitated, brooding, and wretched in "June" as he is elsewhere, and despite saying that his songs please himself, he laments his inability to compose the kind of poetry he wants to (105). The "pleasure" he has in mind consists of aggravating his miseries with Saturnian poems like the "August" sestina (95-6), and wanting, but not being able, to avenge himself on Rosalind and Menalcas for their supposed treachery (most astrologers say that Saturnians are spiteful

and envious of others' successes; Maplet, as seen above, says the same about natives of Luna; and some claim that Cancer causes fits of anger like that of Colin here).¹⁸⁶ According to some authorities, natives of Luna are childish, have foolish desires, and become, in Llyl's words, "starke madde when they cannot have their will". These comments aptly describe Colin's petulance and impotent fury over Rosalind's preferring Menalcas to him. Colin's response seems all the more childish when we note that there is no convincing evidence that Rosalind ever has anything but scorn for Colin, that his desire for her is anything except foolish, so he is losing something he never had in the first place.¹⁸⁷ This Lunar effect too is consonant with Colin's Saturnian nature, for frustrated desires are one of the commonest sources of pathological melancholy, and love melancholy in particular. So, although Colin's restless travelling, his desire to seek out a lowly grove, and his petulant response to Menalcas' success are compatible with Lunar influences and thus suitable topics for "June", their particular manifestations in Colin here are of a piece with his Saturnian character. It is as though his basically melancholy temperament acts as a filter allowing only those Lunar/phlegmatic effects that are consistent with it to appear.

In order for one to be both ambitious and able to realize these ambitions, one must be discontent with his present condition, and have the vigour to try to change it. A contented and phlegmatic man like Hobbinoll will not become ambitious; however, Colin both has a measure of energy and is extremely discontented with his present state and so is more likely to become ambitious. But if aspiration

is to develop and bear fruit, one also needs fixity of purpose coupled with adaptability and flexibility of means, and a clear, steady, sharp mind. As can be seen from chapter I, however, Colin's love melancholy has distorted or aborted these qualities: his energy has become debilitating psychological turmoil rather than a source of power; he has become "unwise and witless", as he admits in "December"; if personal happiness is his goal, then his purpose is fixed, but he lacks flexibility of means, for he regards the winning of Rosalind as the only way to attain satisfaction. This obsession with Rosalind has resulted in chaos in every other area of his mental life. In "June" the moon reinforces the "unsteadfastness of wit" and the confused judgement given by the malevolent Saturn, for the moon's most well-known effect is to produce inconstancy. What is, perhaps, not quite so well-known is that this inconstancy manifests itself in several ways: the desire for travel or for changing dwelling place (see note 185), the infidelity of which Colin accuses Rosalind, the love of novelty, mental instability, intellectual inconsistency, and versatility or adaptability.¹⁸⁸ Ptolemy, for example, says that in some positions the moon helps the character of the native "in the direction of greater versatility, resourcefulness, and capacity for change; at the nodes, in the direction of greater keeness, activity, and excitability".¹⁸⁹ Later, he explains that the moon rules infancy because of the "suppleness and lack of fixity" in the child's body, the "changeability of its condition, and the imperfection and inarticulate state of its soul".¹⁹⁰ Ferrier claims an unfavourably positioned moon causes "inconstancie, lightness of spyrite, [and

makes one] faint-harted [and] faythlesse".¹⁹¹ Maplet says natives of Luna are "naturally unstable & movable, without fidelity and constancy".¹⁹² According to Indagine, the moon "causeth madnesse, unstedfastness, moistnesse, and slouth",¹⁹³ and "doth brede instabilitie and unstedfastness, the which in a man bringeth also al kind of mischiefes".¹⁹⁴ The Principles of Astronomy tells us that the moon "doth induce mutability" and those born under it "will not bee stable witted".¹⁹⁵ The list of authorities can be extended indefinitely.¹⁹⁶ Cancer too, since the sun reverses direction in this sign, is said to produce various types of inconstancy, especially transient outbursts of anger (see note 186). Vettius Valens says the native of Cancer is easily corrupted, unstable in opinions, thinks one thing but says another, does not remain in one line of business, and is given to roaming and living abroad.¹⁹⁷ Ferrier says Cancer makes one "modest, slowthfull, unconstant, and effeminate".¹⁹⁸ Firmicus and Indagine both point out that the natives' financial resources will be in a regular state of flux.¹⁹⁹ Ibn Ezra characterizes Cancer as "variable" and notes that it denotes wanderers.²⁰⁰ Finally, Al-Bīrūnī claims that the native of Cancer is "fickle and changeable".²⁰¹ Lunar and Cancerian variability (a more neutral term than inconstancy) can, then, manifest themselves in several desirable and undesirable ways. In "June", however, this variability serves only to reinforce Colin's Saturnian immobility, rather than to overcome it, for in Colin variability appears as confused, inconsistent arguments against aspiration. Colin shows versatility and resourcefulness in generating excuses for abandoning poetic aspiration, but their inconsistency and

shallowness reveal that they are rationalizations designed to obscure the fact that the real reason for his lack of aspiration is his obsession with Rosalind.

A survey of Colin's justifications for abandoning poetic aspiration shows that he easily moves from one line of defense to another despite the incompatibility of the different arguments. His first approach does not explicitly develop into such a defense, but is clearly related to the subject. When contrasting the ease, leisure, and security of Hobbinoll's locus amoenus with the cruel fate and angry gods that pursue him from coast to coast, he tells Hobbinoll "Thy lovely layes here mayst thou freely boste" (13). The implicit justification for his literary sloth here is that Hobbinoll's "pleasant syte" is conducive to poetic composition, whereas the constant travel and danger to which he is subject preoccupy the mind so much that poetry is impossible. In other words, this is a geographical or environmental version of the truism expressed by Cuddie in "October": "The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,/Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell" (100-101).²⁰² The important point is that, while the argument that the poet's mind must be free from care is a strong one, Colin here attributes his troubles entirely to hostile external forces not to his own excessive passions.

Hobbinoll is not convinced by Colin's talk of angry gods and quickly suggests that since the hills are so inhospitable Colin should join him in the dales. Since, as was noted in chapter I, one's surroundings can affect one's mental and physical health, Hobbinoll here gives sound, if incomplete, medical advice. His elaborate evocation

of the delights of the dales is a sort of charm to free Colin's mind from its bewitchment by the hills (cf. 18), to exorcise visions of angry gods, ravens, ghosts, and owls and replace them with images of friendly faeries, Muses, Graces, nymphs, and Pan piping and dancing in the moonlight.²⁰³ While Hobbinoll's attempt to use cheerful words as therapy does take Colin's mind off the supposed malevolence of the supernatural, it hardly effects a cure, for its main result is to reinforce Colin's sense of loss by reminding him of what he regards as his distant past. His distorted image of himself as an old man is the basis of his second line of argument; namely, that when he was young, before love enchain'd him, he participated in the very delights Hobbinoll describes (33-5), but

ryper age such pleasures doth reprove,
My fancye eke from former follies move
To stayed steps: for time in passing weares
(As garments doen, which wexen old above)
And draweth newe delights with hoary heares. (36-40)

The numerous flaws in this argument demonstrate Colin's intellectual instability. First, he is still a boy, so the argument is irrelevant. Second, it is a complete shift of attitude from his first speech in "June": what he earlier called a regained Eden, he now calls youthful follies; what he earlier regretted his inability to attain has now become something whose loss is both natural and desirable. Ironically, at the very instant his mind performing an about face, he claims his fancy has moved to "stayed steps".²⁰⁴ Third, he claims to have found "newe delights" with age, but he gives no clear indication of what these delights are, and it is difficult to reconcile this assertion with his complaints about cruel fate and angry gods.

In the next stanza Colin backtracks somewhat to linger over the details of his youthful activities (41-6). This remembrance of things past, far from cheering him up, merely deepens his sense of loss and leads to his third line of explanation of his arrested poetic development:

but yeeres more rype,
And losse of her, whose love as lyfe I wayd,
Those weary wanton toyes away dyd wype. (46-8)

Although he presents the loss of Rosalind as equivalent in importance to "yeeres more rype", the explanation differs substantially from his second one. Since Colin has staked so much on winning Rosalind's affection, his failure to do so means that the moral and emotional content of this explanation is different from that in the previous stanza. "Weary wanton toyes" is only a faint echo of the moralistic tone of riper years' reproving pleasures and follies. More importantly, we hear no more of "newe delights" that come with age, for the "toyes" of youth are simply wiped away, not supplanted by something better.

What began as a moralistic argument of the type used by Thenot in "Februarie" and Piers in "Maye" has given way to melancholy brooding.²⁰⁵ Colin's first three attempts to justify his poetic inactivity, then, are totally incompatible and illustrate the current instability and weakness of Colin's intellect, qualities appropriate to both Luna and Saturn: being exiled from "paradise" by angry gods is not consistent with a characterization of that paradise as a series of outgrown follies; the replacement of youthful follies by the delights of age is incompatible with the simple eradication of these pleasures by age and the loss of Rosalind. The third argument resembles the first in

its nostalgic tone, but the circumstances have altered considerably--unrequited love is quite different from angry gods.

Hobbinoll now intervenes (49-64) and gives us his version of what Colin calls follies. Hobbinoll's account of Colin's past poetry is corroborated by other shepherds throughout the Calender and implies that Colin's denigration of his talent is ill considered. Far from being "toyes" Colin's songs were socially useful and a powerful source of harmony: they delighted other shepherds, held an Orphic power over nature, and put the Muses themselves to shame. Hobbinoll's praise, though, is not idle flattery merely designed to cheer Colin up. He hopes that by reminding Colin of his former abilities (Hobbinoll stresses that he is talking about the past), and of how valuable he was to the pastoral community, he will be able to stimulate Colin's pride in his earlier abilities and prominence, and to shame him into resuming his proper role. This tactic, though apparently medically sound since physicians recommend such things as moral lectures to cure love melancholy, is a resounding failure. It fails not only because love melancholics resist treatment, but also because Hobbinoll (exhibiting, perhaps, some lunar doltishness while trying to exercise some of its versatility) applies the theory incorrectly. The approved method is to point out the folly and sins of love, the frailties of women in general and the beloved in particular, and if need be, to slander her.²⁰⁶ Hobbinoll, though, instead of trying to make Colin feel foolish for being so distraught over a mere woman, tries to make him feel guilty for abandoning his friends and vocation. Hobbinoll's shift of focus to the effects rather than the cause puts all the blame on Colin him-

self, and, even though that may be where the blame does lie, this approach denies the woebegone lover the privilege of feeling victimized by feminine wiles and wickedness. As a result, his distress is increased, for if he does not see the woman herself as undesirable, he cannot simply dismiss her from his thoughts and he finds himself in a predicament of his own making with no well-defined means of extricating himself.

In what I have called his first three arguments, Colin posited something external as the cause of his loss of poetic aspiration: (1) fate, gods, environment; (2) growing old; (3) loss of Rosalind. In responding to Hobbinoll's praise of his early poetry, Colin introduces a fourth line of argument: "Of Muses Hobbinoll, I conne no skill/....I play to please my selfe, all be it ill" (65-72). Colin simply denies all the truths that Hobbinoll has just uttered: faced with an implicit accusation that he has wasted his socially invaluable talent, he tries to alleviate the burden of guilt by denying that he ever possessed such talent. This denial undercuts his first three arguments, for if indeed Colin had had no special aptitude, there was no reason to produce the earlier explanations for his not exercising it.²⁰⁷

Along with his disclaimer of special abilities, Colin introduces more inconsistent arguments and claims.²⁰⁸ He argues, fifthly, that the Muses "holden scorne of homely shepheards quill" (67). We know from Colin's poems in "Aprill" and "November" and from his own testimony in "December" that this is just not true. But Colin's assertion is inconsistent even within the context of "June" alone, for when

Hobbinoll includes the Muses in his earlier description of the dales, Colin may castigate the entire scene as folly, but he does not deny the friendly relations between Muses and shepherds. Colin introduces a further element of confusion when he claims that ever since he heard of the "rebuke and Daunger" (69) accruing to Pan for challenging Phoebus, the traditional leader of the Muses, he "never lyst presume to Parnasse hyll" (70). This argument about the dangers of aspiration would be more plausible, if it did not contradict everything else we know about Colin's past. We know from "Aprill" and "December" that before falling in love with Rosalind Colin had no qualms about presuming to "Parnasse hyll" and Hobbinoll has just reaffirmed that fact. We also know from "December" that Colin was a better poet than Pan, for Pan was accompanied by nymphs, while the "wiser Muses after Colin ranne" (48). The "December" passage clearly aligns Colin with Phoebus, not with Pan as he suggests in "June". Moreover, Colin now says that it was not until after he heard about the Pan-Phoebus contest that he abandoned aspiration. Not only does this claim clash with the arguments from "ryper age" and loss of Rosalind, but we do not know when Colin heard this story. This detail never reappears in the Calender, and one would expect that such a significant revelation, if it were true, would show up as a major turning point in Colin's summary of his life in "December". The conclusion that the claims that Phoebus and the Muses scorn Pan and shepherds are merely an ad hoc argument, part of the miscellany of confused, incompatible, and irrelevant excuses that Colin is providing, is inescapable.

The last two lines of the stanza in which Colin claims to pipe in lowly grove to please himself merely add to the confusion. We are now required to see him simultaneously pursued from coast to coast, living in hills where "harbrough nis to see" (19), and sitting comfortably in a lowly grove. His assertion that he pleases himself is as hollow as his earlier claim about the new delights of age, especially when we later find that this pleasure consists of painting out his unrest (78-80) and seeking, through verse, revenge on Menalcas and Rosalind (97-104).

Colin's next claim, "Nought weigh I, who my song doth prayse or blame" (73) is similarly unsatisfactory, in both of its possible senses. One meaning is that Colin does not care about the responses of others to his songs. However, since he has already said that he abandoned poetic aspiration because Rosalind (whom he had tried to win with verse) has rejected him, and that the hostile response of the Muses and Phoebus to pastoral poetry has intimidated him, and since he later says he wants to pierce Rosalind's heart with "poynt of worthy wight" (100), it is clear that he does care about audience response. The other meaning is that Colin no longer cares whom he praises or blames in his songs, i.e., that he is relinquishing his responsibility as a didactic, epideictic poet.²⁰⁹ However, his immediate decision to make Rosalind and Menalcas the subjects of poems of blame belies this claim.

Colin's sixth argument is not unlike Thomalin's fear (in "Julye") of the temptations to corruption of prominence: "With shepheard sittes not, followe flying fame:/But feede his flocke in fields, where

"falls hem best" (75-6). Colin has shifted from arguing that pursuit of fame is dangerous, to arguing that it is immoral. Despite this disclaimer, we know that Colin in the past has "followed flying fame" with no sense of doing ought amiss. Similarly, he later shows no qualms about publicizing his unrest, Menalcas' "villanee" (104) and Rosalind's alleged infidelity---all of which are designed to draw attention to himself (should they come to pass) and make a shambles of his earlier claim to pipe to himself in an obscure grove. Moreover, Colin's implication that the pursuit of fame is necessarily incompatible with tending one's flock is inconsistent with his subsequent presentation of Tityrus who achieved fame without neglecting his flock and even helped other shepherds with theirs (81-92).²¹⁰

Colin's seventh argument is that Tityrus, who taught Colin the art of poetry, is dead, and "all hys passing skil with him is fledde" (81-92). This argument is a variation on Colin's earlier assertion that he possesses no special talent. However, his account of Tityrus shows that Colin's problem is not that Tityrus is dead, but that Colin himself has failed to follow his mentor's example. Tityrus' verse was therapeutic because he treated his woes lightly, remained in the company of other shepherds, and also told merry tales; Colin's is not, because he shuns company, tells no tales, and constantly dwells on his misery. The extent of Colin's misunderstanding of Tityrus' example is shown by the use he would make of such talent if he felt he had it. He would "learne these woods, to wayle [his] woe" (95); that is, instead of easing his woe, he would indulge himself in it and impose it on nature. He would also publicize the supposed misdeeds

of Rosalind and Menalcas, not primarily for socially useful didactic purposes, nor as a means of blackmailing Rosalind into reciprocating his attentions, nor even as means of making himself feel better, but largely as a means of embarrassing them and causing them discomfort (97-104). Colin's justification of his loss of poetic aspiration on the grounds that Tityrus is dead is, then, no more satisfactory than his other six arguments. In short, although Colin is versatile and ingenious²¹¹ in bringing to bear so many arguments, they are, suitable in a Lunar eclogue, a collection of misunderstandings, irrelevancies, and contradictions. With a mind so befuddled, Colin, even if he were to become ambitious again, would find it difficult to climb "Parnasse hyll", for that requires not only a "vacant head" but a clear one.

In "Julye" and "June", then, Spenser handles the themes of prominence and aspiration in ways that are suitable to the celestial governors of these months. Since the sun and Leo are consistently linked to people of prominence, and to the temptations and perils besetting them, "Julye's" debate covers these subjects and provides a diverse catalogue of notable men, whether they fared well or ill. Although both the moon and Cancer can be linked with aspiration, their most well-known properties (the moon's shining by borrowed light only, the sun's reversal of direction in Cancer, the rulership of both over the phlegmatic character, and the various kinds of inconstancy they produce) do not augur well for any ambitious impulse. Hence, in "June" neither speaker is ambitious, and Colin provides a bewildering series of rationalizations to justify his loss of aspiration. Moreover, in depicting Colin, Spenser stresses those aspects of the lunar/

phlegmatic personality that are in accordance with the Saturnian/melancholic temperament and thus maintains consistency in Colin's character while simultaneously adapting it to the month.

II. Addenda

A. The Supernatural in "June"

When Hobbinoll elaborates on the landscape in which Colin finds himself, he points out that the soil "bewitches" Colin (18) and says that Colin's world is peopled by "night ravens", "ghastly owles", and "elvish ghosts" (23-4). These items not only suit the fearful visions that afflict melancholics, but also suggest malevolent supernatural forces. These connotations are apt in an eclogue presided over by the moon, since one of its mythological manifestations is Hecate who, as the Oxford Classical Dictionary says, is "generally associated with uncanny things and the ghost-world", and with black magic and sorcery from Euripides onward.²¹² Moreover, devils molest men during certain phases of the moon, according to the Malleus Maleficarum "because they cannot...operate except through the medium of the natural powers. Therefore they study the aptitudes of bodies for receiving an impression; and because, as Aristotle says, the brain is the most humid of all the parts of the body, therefore it chiefly is subject to the operation of the Moon, which itself has the power to incite humours. Moreover, the animal forces are perfected in the brain, and therefore the devils disturb a man's fancy according to certain phases of the Moon, when the brain is ripe for such influences".²¹³ We do not, of course, need to assume any literal meddling of the supernatural in "June", but it should be noted that as a victim of malevolent Saturnian melancholy Colin is naturally susceptible to visions of such things,

and it is suitable that Hobbinoll mention them in the month belonging to the planet that can "ripen" this tendency in Colin's brain.

According to D. D. Waters, "Spenser's symbolic-witchcraft elements juxtapose the 'winding witche', 'elvish ghosts', and 'friendly Faeries' in 'June' (ll. 20-25) with E.K.'s 'bald Friars and knavish shavelings' as the very opposite of good shepherds", and "both the gloss and the poem interrelate such symbols as witchcraft and priests as false shepherds and false teachers".²¹⁴ I have no quarrel with Waters' reading of E.K., but his comments do not seem appropriate to the eclogue. First, "June" is not an ecclesiastical eclogue, so the context does not justify such a purely ecclesiastical interpretation. Second, and most important, Waters and E.K. must do considerable violence to the poem in order to generate this reading. They must yoke "elvish ghosts" and "frendly Faeries" together as part and parcel of superstition and Catholicism, whereas Hobbinoll clearly and strongly presents them as very different things: "elvish ghosts", "night ravens", and "ghastly owles" are all attributes of Colin's nightmarish landscape, while the "winding witche" and "frendly Faeries" are in the company of the Graces, Muses, nymphs, Pan, and Phoebe as features of the prosperous and safe dales. Furthermore, Waters misinterprets "winding witche" as having something to do with witchcraft, whereas the Oxford English Dictionary tells us that the term "witch" was applied generally to various trees having pliant branches, especially the witch elm and the mountain ash, and quotes this very line from the Calender as an example of this usage.²¹⁵ The witch elm is noted for having broad leaves and more spreading branches than does the common

elm. In short, far from being a symbol of spiritual seduction by Roman priests, the "winding witche" is a detail suitable to Hobbinoll's locus amoenus.

B. Medicine in "Julye"

Macrobius assigns two principal activities to the sun: (1) it "gives saving health to all, for its kindly warmth is believed to bring health to everything that has breath";²¹⁶ (2) less frequently, "it kills and destroys living creatures when it sends a pestilence among them in times of immoderate heat".²¹⁷ The ability of the sun both to cause disease and bring health is further discussed by, for example, Comes, Cartari, Fraunce, and Ross, while the Homeric Hymns, Orphic Hymns, de la Primaudaye and du Bartas stress the sun's function of giving health.²¹⁸ Given this regular association of the sun with health and disease (and of course Apollo is the father of Asclepius²¹⁹) it is fitting that medicine and medical metaphors play such a large role in "Julye".²²⁰ For example, Thomalin's allusion to the "pyne, plagues, and dreery death" (24) caused by the dog days stands also as a symbol both for the personal dangers incurred in being prominent and for the greater potential for corruption among the prominent than among the obscure. Later, Morrell makes it clear that he regards the financial health of shepherds as a sign of their spiritual health (211-12), rather than of corruption, and two of his major defenses of the hills are that they are healthful for flock and master and that medicinal herbs grow there. Thomalin, of course, regards the hills, as well as the sun, as a source of disease not health. Although they disagree

about what constitutes health and a healthy environment, Thomalin and Morrell both use physical health as a metaphor for spiritual health.

In his defense of the hills, Morrell specifically draws our attention to two medicinal herbs--melampode and terebinth--which, although they do not appear in any of the lists of solar plants and herbs I have consulted, nor in the lists for any other planet, are perfectly suited to the "Julye" context. According to Gerard, melampode (black hellebore) grows on rough and craggy mountains.²²¹ Dioscorides notes that it grows on Helicon and Parnassus, but that that from Helicon is the better.²²² Generally, he says it grows best in rough, high, and dry places.²²³ This herb received its name from one Melampus, a goatherd who used it to cure the madness of the daughters of Proteus.²²⁴ Finally, Gerard tells us that it is hot and dry.²²⁵ Thus, melampode is a perfect herb for Morrell to mention since it is hot and dry like the sun, grows in high places, received its name from another goatherd, and, as he says, is good to cure "madding kiddes" (87). Terebinth, too, is appropriate: it also grows on hills (Pliny mentions Mount Ida)²²⁶ and is hot and dry.²²⁷ Not only are the references to health and disease suitable to "Julye", then, but Spenser has also selected herbs that are appropriate to the hills and to the sun.

C. The Sun and the Prophesyings

Since the sun is the source of all light in the corporeal universe and is also the visible image of God in the world, it is frequently associated with clarification of all sorts: intellectual insight, divine revelation, and prophecy, for example. In the Homeric

Delian Apollo, for example, Apollo declares on the day he is born that forthwith he "will declare to men the unfailing will of Zeus",²²⁸ and the accompanying Hymn to Pythian Apollo chronicles how the god after various wanderings established the oracle at Delphi, the priests of which "know the plans of the deathless gods" and are instructed by Apollo to "show mortal men [his] will, and [to] keep righteousness in [their hearts]".²²⁹ The suppliant in the Orphic hymn to Apollo addresses the deity, in part, as follows:

O Delian king, whose light-producing eye
 Views all within, and all beneath the sky;
 Whose locks are gold, whose oracles are sure,
 Who omen good reveal'st, and precepts pure.²³⁰

According to Macrobius, "To that power of the sun...which presides over prophecy and healing men have given the name Apollo."²³¹ Later he tells us that Apollo "is given the name 'Delius', because by the light that he sheds he makes all things clear...and visible",²³² and that he "is called 'Delphian' as making clear things that are invisible,...that is, because the brightness of his light makes clear what is dark".²³³

Fulgentius says that the ancients chose Apollo "as the god of omens, either because the sun turns into clear light everything obscure, or because in its rising and setting the orb gives effect to interpretations of many kinds".²³⁴ Comes lists prophecy and divination among the activities presided over by Apollo, and asks "Et de faict qui est-ce qui descouvre plus la vérité que le Soleil, & qui chasse plus que luy toutes les ténèbres & obscuritez de l'esprit de l'homme?"²³⁵ He then tells us Apollo is called "Delien, pource qu'il manifeste les choses cachées".²³⁶ According to Cartari, Apollo signifies "that superior

light and understanding, which illuminateth and enknowledgeth the intellectual parts of men",²³⁷ and, alluding to Porphyry, calls attention to "that pure vertue of the sun, which cleareth and refineth human intellect, and infuseth ingenious conceits into the brains of men".²²⁸ Finally, Agrippa, lists among the gifts man receives from the sun "perspicuity of imagination, the nature of knowledge and opinion,...counsell, zeal, light of justice, reason and judgement distinguishing right from wrong, purging light from the darkness of ignorance, [and] the glory of truth found out".²²⁹

Although Thomalin and Morrell do not explicitly discuss illumination, revelation, or prophecy, these significations of the sun are relevant since a number of the examples cited by the speakers implicitly involve the obtaining and disseminating of divine revelations. Most obvious in this respect are Moses and Christ, both associated with the hills and with revealing and explaining the will of God to men. Similarly, the hill-dwelling saints and Abel clarify by their examples what mode of behaviour is most pleasing to God. Finally, the Muses communicate otherwise inaccessible insights to poets who in turn embody them in a concrete form and disseminate them.

There are no instances in "Julye" of prophecy in the sense of divination, omens, or foretelling things to come;²⁴⁰ however, that is not the only sense of the term. I Corinthians XIV distinguishes between the two modes of divinely inspired utterance, one that the Geneva translators call "speaking in a strange tongue" and one that they call prophesying. Speaking in strange tongues is the Christian analogue to the speech of the Delphic prophetess whose unintelligible exclamations

had to be interpreted by attendant priests,²⁴¹ while prophecy is divinely inspired speech that can be understood by others. Hence, "He that speaketh strange language, edifieth him self: but he that prophecieth, edifieth the Church".²⁴² If we think of prophesying in this sense, we can regard figures like Moses, Christ, the saints and inspired poets as prophets and hence solar figures suitable for "Julye". Now that Colin Clout has lost contact with the true source of inspiration, it is appropriate that he is excluded from "Julye".

But the relevance of prophecy for "Julye" goes even further, for St. Paul gives explicit directions for the handling of divinely inspired utterances:

When ye come together, according as everie one of you hathe a psalme, or hathe doctrine, or hathe a tongue, or hathe revelacion, or hathe interpretacion, let all things be done unto edifying. If anie man speake a strange tongue, let it be by two, or at the most, by thre, and that by course, and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him kepe silence in the Church, which speaketh languages, and let him speake to him self, and to God. Let the Prophetes speake two, or thre, and let the other iudge. And if anie thing be reveiled to another that sitteth by, let the first holde his peace. For ye may all prophecie one by one, that all may learne, & all may have comfort....Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophecie, & forbid not to speake languages. Let all things be done honestly and by order. (I Cor. XIV 26-40, Geneva trans.)

St. Paul's directives bore fruit in Elizabethan England. Out of the official projects for the improvement of ignorant ministers, and also from the spontaneous enterprise of the Puritan clergy grew what came to be known as the prophesyings. The precise structure of the prophesyings varied from parish to parish but the general pattern of them, and Grindal's role with respect to them are thus described by the New Cambridge Modern History:

Grindal fell foul of the queen on the issue of 'prophesyings', regular gatherings of clergy and laity much favoured by the puritans, at which the clergy expounded passages of Scripture and criticised each other's expositions while the laity listened. The view taken of these exercises naturally varied. To the puritans a thorough knowledge of scripture was all important, and this was a way for ministers to acquire it and learn how doctrine could be derived from the Bible, whilst the laity benefited from their expositions. On the other hand, the dangers of controversy were obvious and an illiterate or uneducated laity...could well be bewildered, misled, or scandalised. From the royal point of view prophesyings were occasions which could well be used for religious, if not political, sedition. Within a year of his translation to Canterbury Grindal was ordered by the queen to suppress them and at the same time to reduce the number of licensed preachers in each county. He refused to obey, setting out the value of sermons and prophesyings as he saw it and at the same time taking up the attitude, classical in Calvinist as in Catholic tradition, that it was not for a lay sovereign to dictate religious matters but be guided and limited by her clergy. This was a dangerous doctrine in England, where the royal supremacy was looked upon as the keystone of the established church, and certainly not one welcome to the imperious Elizabeth. Her reply was to order the bishops by royal letter to suppress the prophesyings, and to place Grindal under house arrest and suspend him from office in June, 1577. He remained adamant, finally offered his resignation, but died in 1583 before it could be accepted.²⁴³

An allusion to Grindal need not, of course, entail an allusion to the prophesyings, as that in "Maye" demonstrates,²⁴⁴ but such a clear reference to his fall as that in "Julye" does do so, and despite variations in the details of different readings of Spenser's allegory²⁴⁵ it is generally agreed that it concerns this controversy. Since the prophesyings were concerned with illuminating the intellect and with clarifying and making known to man the word of God, they were a Solar activity; hence it is appropriate that Spenser alludes to them in "Julye", along with the figures who receive and/or transmit divinely inspired insights.²⁴⁶

Notes

Chapter VI

¹Firmicus, p. 30, and Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, pp. 168-9.

²See Macrobius, Saturnalia, pp. 114 ff, and Cartari, passim.

³F. N. Arnoldi, "L'Iconographie du Soleil dans la Renaissance Italienne", in Le Soleil à la Renaissance: Sciences et Mythes (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, and Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), p. 531.

⁴Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 485, 488.

⁵Cartari, E₄r.

⁶Cartari, F₂r.

⁷Comes, pp. 520-1.

⁸Giorgio, p. 214.

⁹Giorgio, p. 124.

¹⁰Agrippa, p. 283.

¹¹Fludd, quoted by A. G. Debus, "The Sun in the Universe of Robert Fludd", in Le Soleil à la Renaissance: Sciences et Mythes, p. 268.

¹²Fludd, quoted by Debus, p. 270. The foregoing celebrations of the sun's glory and majesty are all drawn from adherents to a geocentric view of the cosmos, a view that puts the sun in the centre of the planets since there are three planets above it and three below it. However, this mode of praise is not foreign to adherents of the heliocentric system. Copernicus sounds no different from Agrippa, Fludd, or Giorgio when he says that "In the middle of all sits the Sun enthroned. In this most beautiful temple could we place this luminary in any better position from which he can illuminate the whole at once?

He is rightly called the Lamp, the Mind, the Ruler of the Universe; Hermes Trismegistus names him the visible God; Sophocles' Electra calls him the All-seeing. So the Sun sits as upon a royal throne ruling his children the planets which circle round him" (quoted by Debus, p. 261).

¹³ In astrological theory the heat of the dog days is the result of Sirius' (the dog star) rising with the sun and adding its own heat to that of the sun. Manilius (pp. 317-19) tells us that Sirius "barks forth flame, raves with its fire, and doubles the burning heat of the sun. When it puts its torch to the earth and discharges its rays, the earth foresees its conflagration and tastes its ultimate fate: Neptune lies motionless in the midst of his waters, and the green blood is drained from leaves and grass. All living things seek alien climes, and the world looks for another world to repair to; beset by temperatures too great to bear, nature is afflicted with a sickness of its own making, alive, but on a funeral-pyre: such is the heat diffused among the constellations, and the whole sky consists of the light of a single star." Although it is true that Piers in "October" tells Cuddie to sing of "bloody Mars", he is clearly referring to Mars' role as deity and suitable symbol for heroic poetry, rather than to Mars as a planet. Moreover, he does not claim that Mars is actually present, so "June" and "Julye" are unique in asserting the presence of their respective planetary rulers.

¹⁴ I will show below that the specific topics discussed in "Julye" are suitable to its being ruled by the sun and Leo, but here it should be noted that all three ecclesiastical eclogues are well-suited to their celestial patrons: Mercury the messenger, the archetypal agent of the divine and god of eloquence is, as seen in chapter V, suitable to "Maye's" concern about the need for a learned, eloquent, versatile, and effective clergy; Venus, the planet of love, harmony, friendship, and gracious social interaction is the embodiment of qualities shown in the relationship between Hobbinoll and Diggon in "September". Similarly, I will show the suitability of "June" to the moon and Cancer below, but note here that the other two Colin eclogues in this pattern match the significations of their celestial rulers as shown in chapters IV and V.

¹⁵ Montrose, "Courtship", 47-8.

¹⁶ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 61-2. MacCaffrey (101-2) also sees the two eclogues as closely related, but her overall argument is less convincing than those of Montrose and Cullen. She argues that "Julye" lies at the center of the Calender and in many respects is its pivot. In both June and Julye the Fall of Man is mentioned explicitly; and an awareness of our fallen state is crucial to an understanding of both eclogues. Julye can also be

read as an affirmation of the pastoral life understood in terms of biblical metaphor, rather than in the literal terms of Hobbinoll's stanzas in June--upon which, in fact, it serves as a commentary.

The two EmbTems of Julye clash and cooperate to make Spenser's point. In medio virtus, says Thomalin; In summo felicitas, says Morrell.

The moral seems plain: virtue and happiness are incompatible in this life, since one cannot be in medio and in summo at the same time.

Or rather, one cannot unless one is aware of the figurative ranges of meaning for these terms, which support the Christian paradox of the exaltation of the lowly. Spenser presents the shepherd and goat-herd in a paysage moralisé which one of them interprets correctly (that is, figuratively) and the other presumptuously (that is, literally)....What emerges from Julye is a definition of two versions of 'shepheards simpleness'--simple-mindedness, and a sophisticated awareness of the true meaning of simplicity." Attractive as

MacCaffrey's argument is, it is not possible to endorse it fully.

First, she assumes that Morrell the goatherd is consistently literal-minded, while Thomalin reads the landscape figuratively. This is not entirely true, as D. R. Shore ("Morrell's Earthly Paradise and the Varieties of Pastoral in Spenser's July Eclogue", English Studies in Canada, 5 (1979), 1-15) points out, for despite his frequent literalism Morrell is the one who first associates hills with saints, Eden, and poetic inspiration, while Thomalin presents a world that is prosaic and dangerous, and advances the literal-minded arguments that hills are to be shunned because they are more exposed to the elements and that if one falls there one will suffer more injuries than if one falls on the plains. Second, both speakers approve of Algrind, and it is not clear how her reading can accommodate this figure whose elevation is both literal and figurative. Third, like most readings that defend one of disputants, MacCaffrey's requires a rather restrictive interpretation of the paysage moralisé, despite her distinction between the literal and the figurative, a problem that is compounded by the fact that neither Thomalin nor Morrell is too scrupulous about maintaining such a distinction. Whether one takes them metaphorically or literally the hills represent, as Cullen puts it, "a continuum of moral possibilities rather than a single and certain immorality" (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 60).

Cullen then indicates (in note 12) a series of hills in the Calender that have either a good or a neutral moral status. In "June" the issue becomes even more confusing, since for Hobbinoll living in the dales signifies his content with his present condition and hence his lack of aspiration, while for Colin, moving to the rich dales is a precondition for climbing "Parnass hyll", and inhabiting the hills he is now in signifies his lack of ambition. In the Calender as a whole, then, there is simply no straightforward signification one can attach to hills and plains. Fourth, MacCaffrey's argument assumes that Thomalin and Morrell are radically opposed in principle, and this, as I will show below is not quite the case. Finally, she seems to assume, like Durr (284), that because he is a goatherd not a shepherd, Morrell is ipso facto among the reprobate. But as Cullen (p. 60, n. 12) shows, goats appear elsewhere in the Calender "without

apparent disapprobation" and if goats are indeed intrinsically wicked "Thomalin is certainly inconsistent in asking Morrell and his goats to come down to the plain". To Cullen's apt citations should be added the fact that in "Julye" itself Thomalin concedes that a goat can "hallow" an altar (135-6), so even for Thomalin goats cannot be an inevitable sign of moral depravity.

¹⁷H. Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 44. For similar views, see E. A. Greenlaw, "The Shepheards Calender", Publications of the Modern Language Association, 26 (1911), 432; H.S.V. Jones, A Spenser Handbook (New York: F.S. Crofts and Co. Inc., 1930), p. 49; Durr, 284; Nelson, pp. 46-7; and Hamilton, 180. For a discussion of MacCaffrey's reading, see note 16, above.

¹⁸Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 2.

¹⁹Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 2.

²⁰Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 3.

²¹Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 60.

²²In his Cheape and Good Husbandry (London, 1614, pp. 81-2), Markham explains that goats "delight to live in mountains that be high, craggy, and full of bushes, Bryers, and other wood, they will feed in any plaine pastures, but their speciall delight is in brousing upon trees, they are so nimble of foote, that they will go in places of the greatest danger". Because of the goat's facility in dangerous places, special qualities are required in a goatherd; according to Columella (On Agriculture, trans. E.S. Forster and E.H. Heffner, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1954, II, 281-3), the "herd-master ought to be keen, hardy, energetic, well--able to endure toil, active and bold--the sort of man who can make his way without difficulty over rocks and deserts and through briars; he ought not to follow the herd like keepers of the other kind of cattle [i.e., oxen, cows, sheep], but should usually precede it". Morrell and his goats are thus well-chosen to embody the themes of the dangers and difficulties involved in high places.

²³See Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 50-62. The point that he makes about ambition in "Julye" is similar to his argument that in "Maye" Piers' fear of doing or suffering evil limits his capacity for doing good (see p. 48).

²⁴J.H. Anderson, "The July Eclogue and the House of Holiness: Perspective in Spenser", Studies in English Literature, 10 (1970), 18.

²⁵Anderson, 21. The views of Cullen and Anderson on the Calender as a whole are in fact quite compatible. They are clearly in agreement about the "fullness without priority" and the polarization of viewpoints as well as about the suspended as opposed to actualized resolutions of the poem's various conflicts. Their differences are largely in matters of emphasis: Anderson stresses the deadlock of polarized attitudes, while Cullen puts greater emphasis on the components of the unrealized solution implied by this deadlock, that is, on what Anderson calls the "moral and imaginative implications" that "challenge the apparent simplicity of argument".

²⁶Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 5.

²⁷Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 9.

²⁸Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 9-10.

²⁹Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 11.

³⁰Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 12.

³¹Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 12.

³²Shore's term "non-pastoral activity" is not entirely satisfactory. Insofar as the term simply refers to the fact that pastoral is a static genre, it is unobjectionable. However, Shore also uses it, in reference to Algrind's sitting on a hill, to mean the actual historical circumstances to which the incident alludes. But since in "Julye" pastor clearly means priest, Thomalin and Morrell are as much emblematic reflections of the world of non-pastoral activity as is Algrind (see e.g. McLane, pp. 188-215). Spenser depicts all three figures as inhabiting the same world (e.g., Algrind has conversed with Thomalin ("Julye", 157) and Piers ("Maye", 75)), although their attitudes and behaviour within that setting differ. Since action is foreign to pastoral, Grindal's rank and activities are expressed as Algrind's sitting on a hill, a fact that poses an awkward problem for Shore's reading, for in terms of what they are actually doing in "Julye" there is not that much to distinguish Algrind from Morrell: it is difficult to see how one character sitting on a hill can represent non-pastoral reforming activity while the other thinks he is an unfallen paradise.

³³Cf. Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 8.

³⁴Hoffman, p. 32.

³⁵Hoffman, p. 33.

³⁶Shore ("Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 12) claims that "in the pastoral environment the first priority must be the shepherd's own contentment". Now, while it is true that this contentment is an important issue in "Julye", it is unlikely that it is the "first priority" since the eclogue deals with the shepherd as priest and I know of no theology that posits the priest's contentment as the first priority. As the discussion of medicines implies, of far greater immediate concern is the well-being of the flock. As most of Shore's study implies (particularly the discussion of Algrind), a crucial theme of "Julye" is the extent to which the shepherd's concern with his own contentment is compatible with concern for the flock and with humility of spirit.

³⁷This argument is rash not because of any inherent wickedness in wealth itself (Hobbinoll in "June" (21-2) points out that in his *locus amoenus* both the shepherds and the flocks are well-off), but because, as Thomalin has been arguing, such wealth may either distract the priest from his duties or be obtained at the expense of the flock. Morrell simply assumes rather hastily that shepherdly wealth is a sign of more general prosperity. It should also be noted that archbishop Grindal (i.e., Algrind, whom both speakers admire), although he lived simply, "was also most careful in preserving the properties and incomes of his bishoprics" (McLane, p. 152), and complained to the Queen in 1576 that in many parishes "it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend" (quoted by McLane, p. 152). Grindal's position thus lies between Thomalin's extreme distrust of money and Morrell's unthinking enthusiasm for it.

³⁸Shore ("Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 11) points out that for Thomalin "the story of Algrind merely proves that heights are in fact dangerous. If he were pressed on the question of Algrind's initial association with lowness, Thomalin would presumably reply that the worthy Algrind would have been even more praiseworthy had he had Thomalin's own good sense in avoiding areas of potential danger".

³⁹Shore, "Morrell's Earthly Paradise", 4. Shore, like the critics to whom he is reacting, consistently selects terms such as "aspiring mind" that are virtually guaranteed to have a negative connotation in a Renaissance context to characterize the desire for advancement. These heavily negative terms are so inappropriate to his perception of Morrell's motives that Shore tends to forget (except in the case of Algrind) that aspiration is not always morally culpable, and may form a part of Morrell's motivations in its more innocent sense. See also note 32, above.

⁴⁰ Spenser frequently uses the tradition that associates mountains with visionary experience; two notable examples are the Mount of Contemplation (The Faerie Queene, I.x.) and Mount Acidale (The Faerie Queene, VI.x.).

⁴¹ Curiously, there is almost a reversal of positions at this point, for Morrell points out that Thomalin's satiric outburst is potentially dangerous meddling (207-10). Satiric attacks on the behaviour of those in the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially when launched by another clergyman, are likely to make the satirist prominent in the eyes of those he rebukes. Grindal was no satirist, perhaps, but his fate shows that indeed "harme may come of melling" with the schemes of the more powerful. So if he is not wary, Thomalin may expose himself to the very dangers he solicitously avoids. However, Thomalin has done his utmost to make his point and keep a low profile at the same time: he claims that no such wicked shepherds inhabit England, that such abuse is a characteristic of Rome, and that it is Palinode who provided the information, and is therefore responsible for any "errors" it may contain (180-4, 203-4). Although Morrell as a hill-dweller is accustomed to taking risks, he does not wish to create risks by deliberately antagonizing the powerful. Hence, although he admits that Thomalin makes some telling points, he chooses not to follow them up but instead to offer a generalized, poorly thought out, and unconvincing defense of clerical wealth (211-14).

⁴² Astrologers most frequently assign ecclesiastical occupations to Jupiter and Mercury. Jupiter presumably receives this sphere of influence because he is the chief Olympian deity, responsible for the laws governing the cosmos and for weighing the fates of men and nations in his golden balance. Moreover, he can be readily conflated with, or allegorized as an approximation of, the Christian God as is frequently done in Medieval and Renaissance literature. Since Jupiter is the Olympian king, he, like the sun, also signifies regal virtues and vices (Fowler (p. 209) notes that the sun and Jupiter were frequently conflated from antiquity to the Renaissance). Mercury's rule includes ecclesiastical offices because Mercury is the god of speech and interpretation, both of which are crucial priestly functions.

⁴³ This is, of course, only speculation and it must be noted that such a scruple did not affect the astrological characterization of Jupiter, for it can equally readily produce bishops as barons. It may be the case that among those thinkers (e.g. Macrobius and Cartari) who treat all planetary deities as manifestations of different aspects of the sun, the sun's role as God is largely in the most general sense of creator and sustainer of the universe, while the more specific functions of judging and law-giving are delegated to Jupiter, and those relating to communication to Mercury, and that this division of labour somehow filtered down into more popular astrology: the major roles of church government, church law, preaching, administering ritual, and

interpretation having been assigned to Jupiter and Mercury, there was nothing left to assign to the sun. The answer probably lies in the early history of astrology when various ancient cultures were beginning to link their deities with those of other cultures with whom they came into contact, and many of these with various celestial bodies. Whatever the details of such cultural cross-fertilization and assimilation, the result for western astrology was that the chief Olympian deity did not give his name to the most prominent of the planets. Since the qualities astrologers attribute to the planets are a mixture of Aristotelian physics and humoral psychology with classical mythology, the attributes of the sun (the most important planet in a physical sense and the most important deity in many primitive religions) become confounded with those of Jupiter (the most important Olympian deity) without ever becoming identical. Essentially, the problem is that astrology wound up with two regal figures.

⁴⁴ Ptolemy, pp. 361-3.

⁴⁵ Ptolemy, p. 445.

⁴⁶ Firmicus, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Firmicus, p. 89.

⁴⁸ Firmicus, p. 88.

⁴⁹ Firmicus, pp. 142-3.

⁵⁰ Ibn Ezra, pp. 198-9.

⁵¹ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 241.

⁵² Al-Bīrūnī, p. 245.

⁵³ Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 250-1.

⁵⁴ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 252.

⁵⁵ Albertus Magnus, p. 70.

⁵⁶ Indagine, L₇r.

⁵⁷ Cattan, p. 25.

⁵⁸Cattan, p. 27.

⁵⁹Ferrier, 13v.

⁶⁰Ferrier, 30v.

⁶¹Dariot, D₃v.

⁶²Giorgio, p. 214.

⁶³Giorgio, p. 124.

⁶⁴Agrippa, p. 334.

⁶⁵Agrippa, p. 50.

⁶⁶Agrippa, pp. 107, 466.

⁶⁷Maplet, 36v.

⁶⁸The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 165-6.

⁶⁹Lilly, p. 70.

⁷⁰Lilly, p. 71. See also J. Middleton, pp. 24-5; Ramesey, p. 56; Principles of Astronomy, B₆v; and du Bartas, p. 217.

⁷¹Valens, p. 9.

⁷²Firmicus, p. 158.

⁷³Ibn Ezra, p. 169.

⁷⁴Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

⁷⁵Indagine, M₆r-v.

⁷⁶Ferrier, 33r.

⁷⁷Ferrier, 35v.

⁷⁸Arcandam, D₄v - D₅r.

⁷⁹The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 192-3.

⁸⁰The places ruled by the sun and Leo are suitable to their presiding over people of prominence. As far as natural topography goes, Al-Biruni (p. 241), Ficino (see Shumaker, p. 130), and the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (Homeric Hymns, p. 327) specifically associate the sun with mountains. Ibn Ezra assigns to Leo "every place difficult to scale...every mountain high and rugged, and every place exposed to the wind" (p. 168). See also Al-Bīrūnī, p. 221; and Lilly, p. 94. However, there is general agreement that among human structures both the sun and Leo preside over the abodes of the mighty--castles, palaces, etc.: see, for example, Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 221, 242; Ibn Ezra, pp. 168, 198; Ferrier, 33r, 31r; Lilly, pp. 72, 94; Agrippa, p. 96; and Ramesey, p. 58.

⁸¹Ibn Ezra, p. 199.

⁸²Al-Bīrūnī, p. 251.

⁸³Firmicus, pp. 142-3.

⁸⁴Godfridus, p. 28.

⁸⁵Giorgio, p. 125.

⁸⁶De la Primaudaye, III, 147.

⁸⁷Agrippa, p. 470.

⁸⁸The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 165-6.

⁸⁹Ferrier, 13v.

⁹⁰Ramesey, p. 57.

⁹¹Lilly, p. 70. Cf. J. Middleton, p. 25.

⁹²Valens, p. 9.

⁹³Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 84.

⁹⁴ Ibn Ezra, pp. 168-9.

⁹⁵ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

⁹⁶ Indagine, M₆r.

⁹⁷ Indagine, O₁v - O₂r.

⁹⁸ Arcandam, D₄v.

⁹⁹ The Kalender of Sheepards, pp. 192-3.

¹⁰⁰ More specifically, they do not stress the violent choleric passions (wrath, fury, fits of violence, etc.) as these belong to the malefic planet Mars. Nonetheless, less violent expressing of choleric can be said to be present in solar ambition, pride, and the tendency to be domineering. When the sun is favourably placed, its tendency to produce manifestations of choleric is mitigated, so the potential excesses of ambition are counter-balanced by solar wisdom, discretion, prudence, justice, and moral rectitude. When, however, it is unfavourably placed, its choleric nature shows itself in the form of insatiable, often tyrannous ambition. But, even when placed unfavourably, the sun is not (according to most astrologers) as destructive as Mars. The dog days, during part of which the heat of the sun, Leo, and Sirius combine to produce catastrophic results (cf. "Julye", 17-28), is an exception to the generally temperate quality astrologers grant the sun.

¹⁰¹ A "fixed" sign is one which the sun enters upon leaving a sign marking an equinox or solstice ("cardinal" signs). After leaving a fixed sign, the sun enters a "mutable" or "common" sign. Of the three signs corresponding to each element, one is cardinal, one fixed, and one mutable. A cardinal sign inaugurates a season and hence borders on the previous one; however, a fixed sign, as the central sign of a season, is not "contaminated" by contact with another season. Hence, a fixed sign is said to more firmly and completely embody the qualities of the element to which it corresponds. Leo as a fixed fire sign is, then, more quintessentially fiery than either Aries or Sagittarius. Leo is the only instance in which the fixed sign belonging to an element actually corresponds well in qualities to the season in which it is found (fixed earth, cold and dry, is Taurus-April; fixed air, warm and moist is Aquarius-January; fixed water, cold and moist, is Scorpio-October). This sort of anomaly results from the mechanical way in which the correspondences are assigned: astrologers begin with Aries, link it to fire and call it cardinal, and proceed through the zodiac assigning correspondences in the orders cardinal-fixed-mutable (repeated four times) and fire-earth-air-water (repeated three times). As a result each sign is individualized (there will be only one which

is both cardinal and earthly, for example), but the correspondences with the elements seldom suit the characteristic weather of the month in which the sun enters the sign. Another source of inconsistency is the implications for personality and elections of calling a sign fixed. A fixed sign is usually said to give a measure of stability (or obstinacy) to one's character, and, in elections, to be good for beginning things one wishes to endure. This interpretation may conflict with the tendency to regard the fixed sign corresponding to an element as the most "pure" form of that element: although one can conceive of fixed fire as meaning "fire made more stable" or "fire subjected to discipline and restraint", it makes little sense to label the quintessentially fiery "fixed".

¹⁰² Ibn Ezra, p. 169, Valens, p. 9.

¹⁰³ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

¹⁰⁴ Lilly, pp. 94-5.

¹⁰⁵ Indagine, 0₂r.

¹⁰⁶ Dariot, C₁v.

¹⁰⁷ The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 192-3.

¹⁰⁸ Arcandam, D₄v.

¹⁰⁹ Arcandam, D₅r.

¹¹⁰ There may be a lorrell-laurel pun here. Morrell has just justified his claim that the hills are close to heaven by pointing out that lightning seldom falls beneath the hills. Not only is the laurel a solar plant (see, for example, Lilly, p. 71; Ramesey, p. 57; Agrippa, p. 52; Fulgentius, p. 55; Comes, p. 332; and Fraunce, 33v) but it is not subject to being struck by lightning (see, e.g. Comes, p. 352; Fraunce, 33v; and Agrippa, p. 52). In calling Morrell a "lewde lorrell", Thomalin may be hinting that Morrell is a far cry from real laurel, or perhaps he is mocking the absurdities of plant lore.

¹¹¹ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

¹¹² Ibn Ezra, p. 169.

¹¹³ Firmicus, p. 158.

¹¹⁴ The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 192-3.

¹¹⁵ Arcandam, D₅r.

¹¹⁶ Indagine, M₆v.

¹¹⁷ Indagine, O₂r.

¹¹⁸ For various readings of the historical allegory of the fable, see McLane, pp. 155-7, and Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 59, n. 11.

¹¹⁹ According to Macrobius (Saturnalia, p. 126), the statue of Apollo in Hierapolis is accompanied by a depiction of eagles in flight because "eagles, by the great speed and height of their flight, indicate the great height of the sun". The eagle in "Julye" similarly soars high (222). For the eagle as a solar bird, see also Al-Bīrūnī, p. 247; Agrippa, p. 53; Maplet, 37v; Giorgio, p. 146; Cartari, F₄r-v; and Lilly, p. 72.

¹²⁰ See, for example, Ibn Ezra, pp. 199, 169; Dariot, D₃v; Agrippa, p. 334; Maplet, 36v; J. Middleton, p. 24; Lilly, pp. 70, 94; Ramesey, p. 57; and Al-Bīrūnī, p. 223.

¹²¹ See, for example, Al-Bīrūnī, p. 247; Ibn Ezra, p. 199; Ferrier, 30v; Agrippa, p. 48; Dariot, D₃v; Albertus Magnus, p. 69; Finé, D₆v; Maplet, in Winny, p. 181; Lilly, p. 71; Ramesey, p. 57; and The Principles of Astronomy, B₆v. The brain is, in fact, ruled by both the moon and the sun: by the moon insofar as mental instability or lunacy is concerned (in "June", Hobbinoll refers to his "wandring mynde" (2) and Colin to his own "lucklesse pate" (16), and in Aprill" (25), the month of the moon's exaltation, we hear of Colin's "madding mynd"), and by the sun because the brain is the seat of the intellectual faculties, by virtue of which man most closely resembles his maker.

¹²² See Agrippa, p. 53; Maplet, 40v; Lilly, p. 71; and Ramesey, p. 58.

¹²³ Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 61.

¹²⁴ In "Julye" the hills consistently imply prominence, but no particular moral stance; in "June" however, the hills and dales have less fixed significations: for Colin to move to the dales would be a sign of aspiration, while for Hobbinoll to remain there is a sign

of his contentment with the tried estate; if Colin remains in the hills he is currently in, it shows a lack of ambition, while to climb "Parnasse hyll" is a sign of ambition.

¹²⁵Firmicus, p. 113.

¹²⁶Firmicus, p. 143.

¹²⁷Firmicus, p. 178.

¹²⁸Ptolemy, p. 361.

¹²⁹Dorotheus Sidonius, p. 224.

¹³⁰Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250.

¹³¹Al-Bīrūnī, p. 252.

¹³²Agrippa, p. 335.

¹³³Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 136: "the moon is Fortune, since she has charge of the body, and the body is at the mercy of the fickleness of change".

¹³⁴Dariot, E₁r; Lilly, p. 81; and J. Middleton, p. 30.

¹³⁵Ptolemy, p. 361.

¹³⁶Firmicus, p. 179.

¹³⁷Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250.

¹³⁸Ibn Ezra, p. 201.

¹³⁹Agrippa, p. 334.

¹⁴⁰Agrippa, p. 50.

¹⁴¹Ramesey, p. 63.

¹⁴²J. Middleton, p. 30; Lilly, pp. 81, 85; and Dariot, E₁r.

¹⁴³Dariot, E₁r; Lilly, p. 81; J. Middleton, p. 30. See also Ibn Ezra, p. 202.

¹⁴⁴See, for example, Firmicus, p. 30; Ramesey, p. 63; and Agrippa, p. 48.

¹⁴⁵Ibn Ezra, p. 166.

¹⁴⁶Valens, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷Firmicus, p. 158.

¹⁴⁸A1-Bīrūnī, p. 217.

¹⁴⁹A1-Bīrūnī, p. 219.

¹⁵⁰Rhetorios, quoted by Gleadow, p. 75.

¹⁵¹Indagine, M₅r.

¹⁵²Indagine, O₁r.

¹⁵³Indagine, O₁v.

¹⁵⁴Manilius, pp. 235-7.

¹⁵⁵Arcandam, C₇v - C₈r.

¹⁵⁶For the moon's rulership over water and phlegm see, for example, Ibn Ezra, p. 202; A1-Bīrūnī, p. 247; Dariot, D₁r; Principles of Astronomy, B₈r; Godfridus, p. 26; Indagine, L₇r; Maplet, 7v; Finé, D₆v; Ferrier, 31v; Albertus Magnus, pp. 72-3; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 169; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 491; Cattan, p. 30; Lilly, p. 81; J. Middleton, p. 29; and Ramesey, p. 63. For Cancer's rule over water and phlegm, see, for example, Ibn Ezra, p. 165; Indagine, O₁r; Lilly, p. 94; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 468; Ferrier, 32v; Dariot, C₁v; and Valens, p. 8.

¹⁵⁷Cattan, p. 44.

¹⁵⁸Manilius, p. 235.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Ezra, p. 165.

¹⁶⁰ Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 145. See also Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 468; C. Middleton, D₁v; and Bouché-Leclercq, p. 137, n. 1. In the reformation of the heavens Bruno envisages in The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast (trans. and ed. A. D. Imerti, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1964, p. 84), the current negative associations of Cancer (e.g., unworthy retrogression, poverty of spirit, retraction of feet from good thinking and doing) are to be supplanted by positive versions (righteous conversion, laudable repentance, and retraction from the false and iniquitous).

¹⁶¹ The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 14. See also Godfridus, p. 65; and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 532. The Kalender of Sheepehards also points out (p. 14) that as the sun in June ripens the corn, so at age thirty-six man's understanding is at its point of perfection. Cullen, quoting this passage, points out that for Colin June is "merely another month of his continuing descent. He has not reaped the harvest of his perfect understanding, but the harvest of his imperfect understanding, as his discussion with Hobbinoll bears out" (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 134).

¹⁶² It would seem reasonable to expect that since the sun and man begin their decline in June they would both be weaker in July; and indeed that is what we do find in accounts (like that in The Kalender of Sheepehards, pp. 13-15) that liken man's life to the months. However, that is not what we find in either the weather or in astrology, for the weather becomes hotter for some time after the summer solstice, and in astrology the sun's own sign, wherein it is powerful not weak, is the one succeeding the summer solstice. So it is consistent to have prominence so vigorously defended by Morrell in "Julye" and its subspecies poetic aspiration so thoroughly thwarted in "June".

¹⁶³ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 489. For further examples, see Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, pp. 164-5; Du Bartas, p. 226; Cattan, p. 29; Giorgio, p. 606; de Ta Primaudaye, III, 190; Agrrippa, pp. 283-4, 334; Fraunce, 42v; and Comes, pp. 239, 246.

¹⁶⁴ Of course, according to several authorities (see Introduction), the sun is the source of all celestial influence and hence is the great initiator of all things, and all the other planets are reflectors, sensitive, so to speak, to certain limited "wavelengths" of astral influence. Some of these authorities, such as Macrobius (Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, p. 164), seem unaware that the planets merely reflect the sun's light, and simultaneously have the planets producing their own light but deriving the power to do so from the sun. The

moon, however, is consistently identified as an astral mirror, while the other planets are treated as initiators. Consistency never quite obtains, however, and astrologers, moved no doubt by the moon's evident control over the tides, give it its own powers (but never light) in addition to its role as passive reflector.

¹⁶⁵ Most astrologers also make Venus a ruler over the phlegmatic humour, just as the sun and Mars rule different degrees and manifestations of choler. Venus, in general, presides over the voluptuous and pleasure-loving types of phlegmatics; the moon over the extreme manifestations such as sloth, dullness, fearfulness and sleepiness. Of course, there is considerable overlap between these two rough categories. See J.W. Draper, The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters (New York: Ams Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 29-43 for a discussion of phlegm and its planetary rulers.

¹⁶⁶ John Davies of Hereford, Microcosmos, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Ibn Ezra, p. 202.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250.

¹⁶⁹ Maplet, 13v.

¹⁷⁰ Llyl, III, 288.

¹⁷¹ Ferrier, 31v.

¹⁷² Ferrier, 14r.

¹⁷³ Ferrier, 14r.

¹⁷⁴ Dariot, E₁r-v.

¹⁷⁵ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 493.

¹⁷⁶ Lilly, p. 81.

¹⁷⁷ Lilly, p. 81.

¹⁷⁸ Firmicus is the only astrologer I have found who gives natives of the moon a good intellect; he claims they are intelligent and even "capable of dazzling people with brilliance" (p. 14).

Firmicus, in fact, diverges rather sharply from the mainstream of opinion on the moon, and the phlegmatic characteristics usually attributed to it as part of its essential nature appear in Firmicus only in certain configurations with other planets, particularly Saturn (cf. pp. 179, 185, 189, 195, and 199).

¹⁷⁹ Cullen's term; see Spenser, Marvell and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 84.

¹⁸⁰ Hobbinoll's idyllic environment bears an unmistakable family resemblance to that of the "Aprill" ode and the Elysian fields of "November". There is, in fact, a gradation within these three settings. The greater benefic (Jupiter) presides over the heavenly locus amoenus, the lesser benefic (Venus) over a poetic locus amoenus (in "Aprill", the idyllic setting exists only within the world of the ode, while that of the frame contains wolves and frustrated lovers), and the moon, mistress of matter and earthly fertility, over the one depicted as an actual physical locale.

¹⁸¹ It is rather odd that the lunar man be said to be both otiose and sluggish and also to move, wander, and travel a considerable amount. The source of this inconsistency is probably the conflict between the moon's essential nature (i.e., its correspondence to water and phlegm) and its astronomical characteristics (it is the most rapidly moving planet and often strays from the ecliptic). Thus, because he is phlegmatic, the lunar man is sluggish, heavy, and slow, while because his ruling planet (or the planet most strongly assisting the ruler) is notorious for rapid, erratic motion, he is said to be a wanderer or great traveller.

¹⁸² Hoffman (pp. 63-4) suggests that Hobbinoll's "pleasant syte", and indeed all the locales in "June", is not so much a physical place as it is a place in the mind. I do not entirely agree with Hoffman on this point, because it seems to lead to awkward inconsistencies: Hoffman first must assume a naive Hobbinoll who perceives the world as unfallen; then she argues that Colin makes it clear to Hobbinoll that it is a state of mind, not a place, that he has selected; then when Hobbinoll suggests a change of place to Colin, Hoffman argues that Hobbinoll has abandoned the "idea of a simple, unfallen garden". There are significant difficulties with this reading. First, the only suggestion of Eden is Colin's interpretation of Hobbinoll's description, and Hobbinoll cannot abandon a notion he never held. Second, it is not clear that Hobbinoll has abandoned the ideas he did have, for his depiction of Colin's environment is simply an amplification by contrasts of Hobbinoll's own site, not a rejection of a world-view. These difficulties are avoided if we assume that Hobbinoll consistently refers to an actual physical place wherein he is currently speaking with Colin. A literal reading of this section of poem does

not require that we posit Hobbinoll's abandoning a position he never held. In the first two lines of the poem he makes it clear that he has had experience of other places and found this one most to his liking. The fact that he prefers this site tells us that he cannot perceive the world as an unfallen garden. If we assume that Hobbinoll sees the world as unfallen, we are hard pressed to account for his apparently intimate knowledge of the hills, for Colin's first speech does not provide enough information for Hobbinoll's subsequent description. It is simpler to assume that Hobbinoll speaks from experience, than to assume, with Hoffman, that he abandons a notion of Eden only to later replace it with a pagan, mythic paradise. Hoffman's reading requires that we posit three pastoral worlds in the first thirty-two lines of the poem, whereas a more literal reading requires only two--Colin's nightmare world and Hobbinoll's pleasant site. Although the language Hobbinoll uses to describe his site before and after Colin's first speech differs, his two accounts are compatible. His first description is of purely natural phenomena, with nothing beyond Colin's imagination to imply that it refers to Eden, so it is not at all inconsistent to later people it with pagan figures. (Hoffman characterizes what she sees as Hobbinoll's second version of paradise as "a daylight drama in which nymphs who 'chace the lingring night' parade across the stage with rapidity to prepare for Pan, Phoebus, and more dancing and piping" (p. 64). Hobbinoll makes it clear that it is a moonlight drama, for all the piping and dancing occur "when Phoebe shineth bright" (31). Phoebus is not mentioned.) While I do not think it is necessary to claim that the landscapes of "June" are entirely mental places, the settings do harmonize with the minds of the speakers, and a simple change of place will not cure Colin, although, as noted in chapter I, it will help. It is because his desolate environment accords so well with his malady that Colin cannot be persuaded to move. Thus, while it is not necessary to see the landscapes as purely mental states, they do undeniably correspond to the mental states of the speakers.

¹⁸³ The native of Luna is said to be childish and dull-witted, but it is not clear to what extent these terms can be said to justly describe Hobbinoll. Colin Clout brands as infantile follies (33-48) the pleasures Hobbinoll so much enjoys, but, as I will show more fully below, Colin's judgement is not reliable on these matters, for he has already said that Hobbinoll was lucky to have found such an environment. A powerful intellect is clearly not one of Hobbinoll's characteristics, but neither is he as doltish as the children of Luna are said to be. For example, despite his kindness and his sympathy for Colin's distress, he is unable to produce a workable remedy. This may indicate an intellectual shortcoming in Hobbinoll, but it must be remembered that he does suggest the sorts of cures for love melancholy recommended by physicians, and Colin himself is reluctant to be cured by anything short of winning Rosalind. Or, one may wish to see signs of dull-wittedness in Hobbinoll's apparent inability to see that a dale that is idyllic in June will not be so in winter.

But although it can be agreed that Hobbinoll is too optimistic about the life in the dales, it is nonetheless Colin, not Hobbinoll, who links the dales with Eden. Hobbinoll himself is fully aware of nature's violence elsewhere and alters his attitude toward night at the end of the eclogue, so it is difficult to see him as naive (as Cullen, for example, does to a certain extent; see Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 84-5).

¹⁸⁴ Melancholy/Saturn and phlegm/moon are similar in some of their effects. Both humours and planets are cold and lead to sluggishness and inactivity. Moreover, both Saturn and the moon usually make people rather dull-witted.

¹⁸⁵ For the moon's rulership over travelling of all sorts, see Ibn Ezra, p. 201; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 495; Du Bartas, p. 226; Comes, p. 256; Fraunce, 42v; Cartari, H3v; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 169; Albertus Magnus, p. 73; Dariot, E1r-v; Ferrier, 31v; Principles of Astronomy, B8r; Agrippa, p. 336; Lilly, p. 81; and J. Middleton, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁶ For outbursts of anger caused by Cancer, see Bruno, p. 84; Arcandam, C7v; The Kalender of Sheepehards, p. 192; Indagine, M5r, O1r; and Firmicus, p. 158.

¹⁸⁷ That Hobbinoll concurs with Colin in calling Rosalind faithless (115) and E.K.'s tentative remarks that Colin may have found favour at one time (cf. Argument to "June") are not strong pieces of evidence. E.K. is not entirely convinced, and in any case his readings are often dubious. The kindly Hobbinoll is probably acquiescing to Colin's remarks either because he is ignorant of all the details of the alleged relationship or because it is simply easier to go along with Colin than to remind him of Rosalind's scorn. Physicians recommend defaming the beloved's character as a possible cure for love melancholy, and it is possible that Hobbinoll is attempting that tactic. One thing that is clear, though, is that Colin never again maligns Rosalind or mentions Menalcas, so it is most likely that this imputation of treachery is merely the product of the disordered imagination produced by both Saturn and the moon (since Luna produces lunacy). Everything else in the Calender suggests that Rosalind consistently scorns Colin.

¹⁸⁸ The moon in this respect is similar to Mercury.

¹⁸⁹ Ptolemy, p. 361.

¹⁹⁰ Ptolemy, p. 443.

¹⁹¹Ferrier, 14r.

¹⁹²Maplet, 13v.

¹⁹³Indagine, L₇r.

¹⁹⁴Indagine, P₇v.

¹⁹⁵Principles of Astronomy, B₈r.

¹⁹⁶For further comments on Lunar inconstancy, see du Bartas, pp. 217-18, 226-7; Albertus Magnus, p. 73; Giorgio, pp. 131-3; Lylly, The Woman in the Moon, V.i. 334-6; Dariot, D₁r, E₁r-v; de la Primaudaye, III, 190; Agricola, pp. 106, 470; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 495; Cartari, I₁v; Al-Bīrūnī, p. 250; Fraunce, 42v; Lilly, p. 81; J. Middleton, pp. 29-30; Ibn Ezra, p. 202; Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 246; and Firmicus, p. 143.

¹⁹⁷Valens, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸Ferrier, 33r.

¹⁹⁹Firmicus, p. 158; Indagine, M₅r-v.

²⁰⁰Ibn Ezra, pp. 165-6.

²⁰¹Al-Bīrūnī, p. 217. Ferrier (36v), Dariot (C₁v), Finé (Fgr), and the Principles of Astronomy (A₆v) all note that Cancer is favourable for travelling or moving from one place to another. This seems to be true in Hobbinoll's case, but not in Colin's. Colin though is Saturnian, and Saturn bodes ill for travelling.

²⁰²See chapters I and IV for discussions of this passage.

²⁰³Of course, I am not suggesting anything supernatural here. The angry gods, ghosts, ravens, and so forth are just part and parcel of the horrible visions that afflict melancholics. In suggesting that Hobbinoll's description of the dales may be designed as a charm, I mean only the sorts of charms that find a place in Ficinian astral medicine or natural magic, for example, the singing of Solar songs to counter the influence of Saturn. Hobbinoll in essence is trying to use words for therapeutic purposes much as Colin later says Tityrus could ("June", 85-6) and as we saw Willy and Perigot do in "August".

²⁰⁴ Colin's term "stayed steps" is rather ambiguous. In terms of his poetic and emotional development, it describes him perfectly since he has stopped in his tracks. Insofar as the term implies tranquility of spirit or the settling down of a "wandring mynde", it is no more appropriate than it would be if applied to Colin's actual steps. Just as the moon (and Saturn) produces both travel and sluggishness, so Colin himself is a mixture of movement and stasis: he is pursued from coast to coast and his mind is in a constant state of fevered activity, but paradoxically these two kinds of motion produce stasis in the area of prime importance--Colin's poetic and emotional development.

²⁰⁵ Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 86-90), while not seeing Colin's poor arguments as a reflection of Lunar and Saturnian qualities, does see them as confused rationalizations. He argues that Colin distorts both the Mantuanesque and the Arcadian pastoral perspectives in order to justify his lack of ambition.

²⁰⁶ See chapter I for methods of curing love melancholy. Colin himself does seem to try to use the method of slandering the beloved when he calls Rosalind faithless. Such a tactic has little chance of success if the love melancholic tries to use it himself though, for he will have difficulty convincing himself that there is anything wrong with the beloved when he is so far in love with her. It is more likely that Colin's accusation of Rosalind here is simply the result of the lover's variable passions and confused judgement, rather than an attempt to talk himself out of loving her.

²⁰⁷ Colin's fourth argument is in a sense an outgrowth of his second in which he classed poetry among "weary wanton toyes", since both arguments denigrate his verse. There are, however, two main differences: first, in the second argument, the poetry of Hobbinoll's locus amoenus was included with these youthful follies, so Colin was in fact denigrating poetry in general; second, in his second argument he admitted that his songs were a social activity, but now he sees himself as a solitary piper.

²⁰⁸ I am using the term "argument" to designate Colin's actual explanations of why he no longer aspires, and the term "claims" to designate his subsidiary explanations, usually explanations of what he is currently doing, but sometimes further explanations of an aspect of an argument.

²⁰⁹ For a discussion of the epideictic theory of literature, see Cain, Praise, pp. 2-14.

²¹⁰Indeed, Colin forgets about the flock the moment he mentions it, and goes on to discuss the appropriateness of his "rudely drest" (77) rhymes for painting out his unrest. He seems unaware that this obsession with his unrest might be just as incompatible with tending his flock as he claims ambition is. He was, however, aware of this potential conflict of interest in "Januarye" (45-6). Nor does Colin seem aware of the contrast between his unrest here and his earlier claim to have "stayed steps".

²¹¹Although most astrologers do not comment on the capacity for Cancer to endow someone with a strong intellect, and simply label the sign phlegmatic, some do say, with some qualifications, that Cancer can give a good intellect. Manilius (pp. 235-7), for example says the native of Cancer is shrewd, but avaricious and grasping. Arcandam says he is wise and witty but also scornful and mocking (C_{7v}). The Kalender of Sheepehards (p. 192) says he is wise and good, but also avaricious, arrogant, vengeful, and given to strife and discord. Indagine (O_{1r}) says the sun in Cancer makes one witty and wise, but also "full of strife and debate", "deceitful and crafty", hypocritical, and much given to "the love and company of women". He says also that Cancer in the ascendant "maketh a man of a quicke and subtile wit, albeit somewhat slowe" and given to fits of anger that are soon appeased (M_{5r}). Firmicus (p. 158) says the native of Cancer on the ascendant will be "sharp in intellect, but the kind who accomplish everything very slowly...the native will be clever and quick-thinking, but will suffer some kind of pain and mental anguish". So even among those astrologers who do give the native of Cancer some intellectual acuity, this gift is mixed with a host of less desirable things, including an unstable temper, questionable motives, and the inconstancy noted earlier in this section. This aspect of Cancer is not unlike the quality of much of Colin's defense of his lack of aspiration--ingenious by virtue of the sheer number of arguments he can produce so quickly, but tainted by misunderstandings, illogic, self-deception and spite.

²¹²Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 491.

²¹³H. Kramer and J. Sprenger, The Malleus Maleficarum, trans. M. Summers (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971), p. 40.

²¹⁴Waters, 4-5.

²¹⁵The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3798, under the entry entitled "witch, sb³".

²¹⁶Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 116.

²¹⁷ Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 115. On p. 116 Macrobius specifies that "it is constantly a source of health and sends pestilence more rarely".

²¹⁸ Comes, pp. 526, 342, 344, 1060; Cartari, E₄v, G₂r; Fraunce, 33r; A. Ross, pp. 26-7; Homeric Hymns, pp. 343, 359; The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, p. 76; de la Primaudaye, III, 194; and du Bartas, p. 217.

²¹⁹ See, for example, Homeric Hymns, p. 441.

²²⁰ With the obvious exception of Colin's perennial lovesickness, health and disease play a larger role in "Julye" than in any other eclogue. The other major allusions to medical matters in the Calender are Colin's having learned herbal medicine in "December", the ewe's broken leg in "March", and the fox's feigning illness in "Maye". These instances, while certainly not trivial, do not dominate their eclogues to the same extent that the repeated references to medical matters do in "Julye".

²²¹ J. Gerard, The Herball: or, Generall Historie of Plants (London, 1597), p. 826.

²²² Dioscorides, p. 542.

²²³ Dioscorides, p. 542.

²²⁴ Dioscorides, p. 542.

²²⁵ Gerard, The Herball, p. 827.

²²⁶ Pliny, Natural History, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1958), IV, 131.

²²⁷ Gerard, The Herball, p. 1246.

²²⁸ Homeric Hymns, p. 333.

²²⁹ Homeric Hymns, pp. 337-363.

²³⁰ The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, p. 77.

²³¹Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 114.

²³²Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 120.

²³³Macrobius, Saturnalia, p. 126.

²³⁴Fulgentius, p. 54.

²³⁵Comes, p. 342.

²³⁶Comes, p. 342.

²³⁷Cartari, E₄r.

²³⁸Cartari, F₄v.

²³⁹Agrippa, p. 466 (Cf. pp. 283, 334-5). See also Fraunce, 33r-v; Giorgio, p. 124; de la Primaudaye, III, 147, 161-2; and A. Ross, pp. 26-7. Many of the plants and animals associated with the sun and Apollo are linked to prophecy, divination, and prophetic dreams: the laurel (Fulgentius, p. 55; Comes, p. 332), the crow (Comes, p. 325; Cartari, F₁r; Fraunce, 34r), the swan (Comes, p. 335; Fraunce, 34r, Cartari, F₁r) and vervine (Ramesey, p. 57; Agrippa, p. 52).

²⁴⁰It could be argued that Thomalin speaks in prophetic tones when he envisages the proud, ambitious pastors' heaping up hills of wrath. However, this is not sufficient to establish prophecy as a theme peculiar to "Julye", for virtually every time bad shepherds are mentioned so is their ultimate fate at the hands of an angry God (cf. "Maye", 39-54; "September", 100-101).

²⁴¹See S.C. Kaines Smith, Elements of Greek Worship (London: Francis Griffiths, 1906), pp. 127-33.

²⁴²I. Corinthians, XIV.4, in The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition, with an introduction by L.E. Berry (University of Wisconsin Press, c. 1968).

²⁴³R.B. Wernham, ed., The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 109-110. For a more detailed account of Grindal and the prophesyings, see P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 159-207, and Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 219-82.

²⁴⁴"Maye", 75-6: "But shepheards (as Algrind used to say)/
Mought not live ylike, as men of the laye". An allusion to Grindal
in "Maye" is appropriate since many of Grindal's concerns were
Mercurial. For example, he wished to generate an educated and zealous
clergy, and since this is clearly related to preaching and eloquence,
it is a partly Mercurial subject. He was also concerned that
preachers were underpaid, and Mercury presides over financial dealings.

²⁴⁵See Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral,
p. 59, n. 11.

²⁴⁶It might be thought that since the prophesyings were exercises in interpretation, they would be equally appropriate to a Mercurial eclogue. However, Mercury's role as interpreter is usually the narrower one of putting things into words so that others may understand (since as A. Ross, p. 262, says "speech is the interpreter of the mind"; see also Macrobius, Saturnalia, pp. 114-15), while the prophesyings had the broader function of illuminating the mind of the speaker as well as those of the listeners. It is also true that Mercury presides over some forms of divination, but only those of the crudest sort, while true prophecy is the office of Apollo (see, e.g. Homeric Hymns, pp. 401-5). Since the practice itself was called prophesying, and since that is also the term used in the biblical passage on which it was based and defended, Spenser had more compelling reasons to allude to it in the Solar than in a Mercurial eclogue.

CONCLUSION

The present study has discussed in detail a number of ways in which the characters, situations, and themes of The Shephearde's Calender correspond to the significations that various astrological traditions (Ptolemaic, Neoplatonic, medical, etc.) assign to the planetary and zodiacal governors of the eclogues. In essence, it has shown that in this early work the calendrical/astrological framework, far from being merely a gesture toward a later, more mature and thorough-going, use of astrological symbolism, is integral to the very substance of the Calender, and that Yates is correct in claiming that the poem "is in fact truly a calendar with a learned background".¹ It has also considered the eclogues in pairs not usually formed by students of the Calender (e.g., "Maye" and "August") and shown that since these eclogues have the same planetary ruler, such juxtapositions yield meaningful results. Moreover, although an astrological reading of the poem is compatible with many current and more traditional readings, it also points toward several new areas for research and speculation. The rest of this conclusion outlines some of these areas.

The twelve houses of the chart correspond to different spheres of activity and to different life experiences and fortunes generally; hence an astrologer dealing with elections or horary questions pays particular attention to the house governing the activity or question at hand. The third house rules short journeys and in Spenser's third

eclogue Thomalin goes on a brief hunting expedition; similarly, the ninth house rules long journeys and it is in the ninth eclogue that we hear of Diggon's trip to foreign coasts. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine whether such a correlation is coincidental or whether Spenser systematically employed the significations of the houses. Since many astrologers correlate the duodecad of houses with that of signs so that the first house corresponds to Aries, the second to Taurus, and so on, it is even possible that Spenser uses a double system of house-eclogue correspondence--one beginning with "Januarye" and one with "March".

Before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar the date assigned the sun's entry into a sign was about the tenth of the month, so Aries, for example (and hence Mars), rules approximately 2/3 of March and 1/3 of April. Spenser may duplicate this overlap by providing astrologically significant links between successive eclogues, as this study shows is the case for "June" and "Julye", and "December" and "Januarye". Others immediately suggest themselves: Venus presides over singing and dancing, activities common to both "April" and "Maye"; "September's" Libran concern with social justice reappears in "October" in Cuddie's complaints about society's unjust neglect of the poet; and the Martial motifs of "March" appear in muted form in the bays adorning Eliza. The structure and scope of the present study do not permit a detailed investigation of such links, but do provide the groundwork necessary for such an investigation.

This study has occasionally alluded to the significance of the

exaltations and falls of the planets--for example, Pisces is the exaltation of Venus, and "Februarie's" Cuddie has strong Venerean instincts, while Virgo is its fall, and "August" deals with frustrated Venerean instincts--and this subject too could yield fruitful results if pursued further. Three other areas of potentially important further research suggest themselves: (1) the possibility that Spenser may have used Manilius' system of guardian deities for the signs in addition to the more widespread Ptolemaic system of planetary deities (e.g. in Manilius, Neptune rules Pisces and in "Februarie" Thenot alludes to the "sovereign of the seas");² (2) the possibility that Spenser may have considered the significations of constellations that rise with the zodiacal signs; and (3) not strictly astrological but nonetheless significant, the possibility that Spenser was influenced by Palingenius' Zodiacus Vitae requires further study than it has yet received by Spenserians³ (Palingenius' "Capricorn", for example, discusses the education of children and asserts the value of astronomy and astrology, just as in "December" Colin outlines his education and points out that he has studied astronomy/astrology).

Greco suggests that the Calender can

be compared to Dee's Hieroglyphic Monad, a geometrical and astrological design based on the circle, the line, and the zodiac signs, and which visually mirrors the image of ultimate cosmic order. Like the works of the Renaissance magi, Spenser's Calender effects an imaginative correspondence between the world of man and the higher realms upon which it is patterned. It functions according to the same aesthetic principles that governed the works of men like Dee and Bruno: through its intricate imitation of a profound and universal truth, the image offers the reader a direct participation in the wisdom it represents.⁴

Greco explains that, in a Neoplatonically conceived magical aesthetics,

By imitating an Idea existent in the Mind of God, the artist infuses his images with the spiritual powers derived from God. Furthermore, we have seen in the astrological magic of Ficino, Bruno and Dee in particular, that the imaginative recreation of celestial patterns, shadows of Ideas in the Divine Mind, were believed to possess the efficacy to evoke the powers of those "Seminal Reasons".⁵

Therefore, by "implanting an image of the universe in the mind of the reader, the power of that divine order could lead the aspirant to a vision of cosmic oneness".⁶ Greco concludes that "What MacCaffrey says about one of Colin's poems is thus equally true of the Calender [sic] as a whole; the poem 'is a kind of charm, evoking in imagination the correspondence of microcosm and macrocosm...'.⁷ As Greco's concern is with a Neoplatonic magical aesthetic, she does not systematically correlate the individual eclogues to their celestial governors (indeed no astrologers in what I have called the Ptolemaic tradition appear in her bibliography); therefore, the results of the present astrological reading, which does make such correlations, have a direct bearing on her tantalizing suggestions. One can readily see that certain parts of poem can serve as charms to solicit quite specific gifts from the planetary deities (e.g. the ode to Eliza to imitate and invoke the Heavenly Venus, and the elegy to Dido to secure the aid of Jupiter against the melancholy and hasty death caused by the malevolent Saturn, to which Colin unwisely exposes himself in poems like his sestina). If the Calender as a whole is modelled on talismans⁸ or charms it cannot be said to be designed to invoke the influence

of any specific planet or sign, or even the good influences alone of all planets and signs, since it figures forth both the good and bad effects of all of them. Nor can Greco's argument that each book of The Faerie Queene aims to effect a moral reformation in the reader through his imaginative participation in a dialectical movement that culminates in the victory of the virtues represented by a planet over the vices represented by that planet⁹ be extended to include The Shepheardes Calender, for in the Calender each speaker is such a composite of the virtues and vices associated with the relevant planet and sign that none appears as unambiguously villainous, and, moreover, the perspective of one speaker never displaces that of the character to whom he speaks. If the poem is modelled on a charm or talisman, it, in effect, images forth the complete range of astral influences and their possible effects, and would seem to invoke even the malevolent. But in Neoplatonic theory all celestial influences are intrinsically good; it is the corruption, imperfection, or indisposition of the recipient that leads to evil results, and since sublunary matter is necessarily imperfect, man must conscientiously make himself a fit receptacle for preserving the initial beneficence of these influences. What Spenser does, then, is image (and thus invoke) all astral influence, while simultaneously showing how its effects vary with the nature of the human recipient. The most important case in point is Colin Clout: when his mind is unencumbered by obsessive thoughts of the misery that rejection by Rosalind has wrought in him, he is capable of responding to the essential goodness of such planets

as Saturn, Venus, and Jupiter, and of seeing beyond the ill effects the heavens can have on imperfect matter (e.g. the course of the seasons, transcended in the "Aprill" ode, and the early death of Dido, transcended in "November"); in such circumstances, he is able to use his Saturnian capacity for concentrated intellectual labour, warmed by a pure Venerean impulse, to build imaginative constructs that evoke beneficent planetary powers (particularly those of Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn) and lead him to a vision of cosmic oneness. Beyond the calendar framework itself stands Immeritô - Spenser who has created Colin's triumphs, dejections, and ultimate failure and indeed the whole microcosmos of the poem itself; in creating the poem itself he has shown his ability to create a "mirror of cosmic order"; in creating Colin's triumphs he has shown his ability to use that mirror as a vehicle for visionary expression; and in promising to produce the epic that Colin cannot, he has shown his faith in his ability to cultivate only the beneficent effects of astral influence. If the Calender is in any sense a charm or talisman, it is also an object lesson in how to cultivate astral influences.

CONCLUSION

NOTES

¹Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age, p. 104.

²See Manilius, pp. 117-19.

³R. Tuve, "Spenser and the Zodiak of Life", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXXIV (1935), 1-19; and J.H. Walter, "The Faerie Queene: Alterations and Structure", Modern Language Review, XXVI (1941), 37-58 have examined the possibility of Palin-genius' influencing The Faerie Queene; no study linking in detail the Zodiacus Vitae to The Shephearde's Calender has come to my attention. The Zodiacus Vitae is, like the Calender, not explicitly astrological in its content, and so may be susceptible to the approach used in the present study of the Calender. A preliminary, but brief and undocumented examination of the Zodiacus Vitae from this perspective by W.G. Old forms Appendix C (pp. 86-92) of F. Watson's The Zodiacus Vitae of Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus: An Old School-Book (London: Philip Wellby, 1908). This is the only attempt of this type of which I am aware.

⁴Greco, p. 194. Dee's monad is the following symbol .

⁵Greco, pp. 102-3.

⁶Greco, p. 194.

⁷Greco, p. 196.

⁸C.V. Kaske, in her "Commentary" on my "Astrology in The Shephearde's Calender", suggests, with well-founded reservations, that the Calender may be modelled on talismans (Proceedings of Spenser at Kalamazoo, 1979, reproduced on microfiche, pp. 281-2). In order for a talisman to be efficacious, it not only must contain the appropriate images, but it must also be fashioned in an astrologically suitable material at an astrologically propitious time. Similarly, a charm must be intoned at a propitious time, in a suitable environment, and so on. In other words, charms and talismans are particularized in their origins as natal charts are in their subjects. If, as the present study argues, Spenser correlates all his eclogues with the significations of their planetary rulers, the poem cannot

literally be a charm or talisman for that would require five planets to be in two signs simultaneously. Nor can it be said to represent a single year, for Jupiter, for instance, cannot be in both Pisces and Sagittarius in one year. Such considerations do not, however, preclude its being a compressed and generalized image of macrocosm-microcosm correspondences and hence similar to a charm or talisman. The poem is, then, a "calendar for every yeare" in the sense that it figures forth not any specific astrological configuration but the general truths of astrological correspondences. In this light the poem's numerous topical allusions can be seen not as features that narrow the focus and significance of the poem down to the problems of Britain (or Spenser) in 1579, but as localized instances of these general truths. Thus, the astrological correlations, like the pastoral conventions themselves, counter the apparent narrowness of significance in topical allusions by putting them in a context that implies that such problems perennially reappear in different guises.

⁹Greco, pp. 210-22.

APPENDIX I

THE DISTRIBUTION OF APPEARANCES, QUOTATIONS, AND MENTIONS OF COLIN CLOUT WITH RESPECT TO THE PLANETS, TRIPPLICITIES, AND QUADRUPPLICITIES

Chapter I pointed out (1) that Colin Clout's ignoring of the sun's presence in both "Januarye" and "December" is, since the sun is the ultimate vital force behind life on earth (and indeed of the whole universe as indicated in Chapter VI), a symptom of his life-denying melancholy, and (2) that Spenser consistently dissociates Colin from any potentially beneficial relationship to the sun, by allowing no trace of Colin to appear in the eclogues corresponding to Leo (ruled by the sun) and to Aries (the sign of the sun's exaltation). Since, especially in mythography, Phoebus presides over medicine and poetry,¹ Colin's exclusion from the contexts of greatest solar power is also emblematic of his failure to cure his "sore hart roote" ("December", 93) and hence of his inability to compose consistently poetry of the high level represented by "Aprill" and "November". Table III is an attempt to measure, in a rough and rather arbitrary form, the strength of Colin's associations with all seven planets. This rough measurement takes into account only the distribution of the appearances, quotations, and mentions of Colin Clout throughout the Calender, and correlates these to the planets' exaltations, falls, and detriments as well as to the zodiacal signs ruled by the planets. It does not take into account the content of the eclogues, Colin's

personality and situation, or the fact that a given sign rules only 2/3 of the eclogue corresponding to it; as a result, the table, though useful, is of limited scope and application. One major gap is that since Colin does not actually appear in any eclogue associated with Venus, the table cannot in any way reflect the fact that he is in love. To assign the point values listed in Table I, I assume a descending scale of values in accordance with whether Colin actually appears in an eclogue, whether another character quotes one of his poems, or whether someone merely mentions him. Since in the scales astrologers use to assign values to the planets' essential dignities and debilities² a planet in a sign it rules usually receives more points than one in its exaltation and one in a sign of its detriment usually receives more "debility points" than one in its fall, Table I also reflects this form of ranking. A planet in its fall or detriment is weak in its influence, so I have given the appearances, quotations, and mentions in these places negative values and followed Lilly in assuming that, for example, the planet's fall is worth as many "debility points" as its exaltation is "dignity points". Since Table III uses the standard glyphs of the zodiacal signs, Table II identifies these.

Table I. Ranking System for Colin Clout's Associations with the Planets
 (Negative values indicate a weak association.)

Appearance (App.) in sign ruled by planet =	6
Appearance (App.) in sign of planet's exaltation =	5
Quotation (Quot.) in sign ruled by planet =	4
Quotation (Quot.) in sign of planet's exaltation =	3
Mentioned (Ment.) in sign ruled by planet =	2
Mentioned (Ment.) in sign of planet's exaltation =	1
Appearance (App.) in sign of planet's detriment =	-6
Appearance (App.) in sign of planet's fall =	-5
Quotation (Quot.) in sign of planet's detriment =	-4
Quotation (Quot.) in sign of planet's fall =	-3
Mentioned (Ment.) in sign of planet's detriment =	-2
Mentioned (Ment.) in sign of planet's fall =	-1

Table II. Glyphs of Zodical Signs

Aries =	♈	Libra =	♎
Taurus =	♉	Scorpio =	♏
Gemini =	♊	Sagittarius =	♐
Cancer =	♋	Capricorn =	♑
Leo =	♌	Aquarius =	♒
Virgo =	♍	Pisces =	♓

Table III. Strength of Colin Clout's Associations with the Planets
(Negative values indicate a weak association.)

PLANET	RULES (a)	RULES (b)	Sign of EXALTATION	Sign of FALL	Signs of DETRIMENT	TOTALS
SATURN	$\text{v}\ell$ (Dec.) <u>APP. 6</u>	mm (Jan.) <u>APP. 6</u>	m (Sept.) <u>MENT. 1</u>	Y (March)	S (June) J (July) <u>APP. (June)</u> -6	7
JUPITER	x (Nov.) <u>APP. 6</u>	x (Feb.)	S (June) <u>APP. 5</u>	$\text{v}\ell$ (Dec.) <u>APP. -5</u>	m (Aug.) II (May) <u>QUOT. (Aug.)</u> -4	2
MARS	mm (Oct.) <u>MENT. 2</u>	Y (March)	$\text{v}\ell$ (Dec.) <u>APP. 5</u>	S (June) <u>APP. -5</u>	S (April) m (Sept.) <u>QUOT. (S) -4</u> <u>MENT. (S) -2</u>	-4
SUN	$\text{v}\ell$ (July)	—	Y (March)	m (Sept.) <u>MENT. -1</u>	mm (Jan.) <u>APP. -6</u>	-7
VENUS	m (Sept.) <u>MENT. 2</u>	S (April) <u>QUOT. 4</u>	x (Feb.)	m (Aug.) <u>QUOT. -3</u>	v (March) mm (Oct.) <u>MENT. (Oct.)</u> -2	1
MERCURY	m (Aug.) <u>QUOT. 4</u>	II (May)	m (Aug.) <u>QUOT. 3</u>	x (Feb.)	x (Nov.) x (Feb.) <u>APP. (Nov.)</u> -6	1
MOON	S (June) <u>APP. 6</u>	—	S (April) <u>QUOT. 3</u>	mm (Oct.) <u>MENT. -1</u>	$\text{v}\ell$ (Dec.) <u>APP. -6</u>	2

What Table III, despite its obvious limitations, shows is that Spenser distributes the appearances, quotations, and mentions of Colin Clout in such a way that we feel Colin's presence most strongly in a Saturnian context and most weakly in a solar one. On the positive side of the accounting (exaltation and rulership of signs, places where a planet is strongest), Saturn is the only planet for which each box contains an entry; the sun is the only one for which no box contains an entry. Moreover, since Saturn and the sun are mortal enemies, the two signs in which the sun is naturally weakest (Libra and Aquarius) are positions of strength for Saturn, and Colin scores points in each. The only sign in which Saturn is naturally weak and with which Colin is associated is Cancer (June). However, as Chapter VI implies, the phlegmatic moon produces several effects that are similar to those of the melancholic Saturn, so the power of Luna compensates for the weakness of Saturn. That Cancer is Jupiter's exaltation does not seem to affect Colin, whose continuing Saturnian frame of mind would (in Neoplatonic theory) be fully receptive only to influences compatible with his gloom and mental turmoil; however, Jovial influence is compatible with Hobbinoll's contentment and the idyllic life in his dales.

Spenser distributes the appearances, quotations, and mentions of Colin so carefully throughout the Calender that Colin is related to all four triplicities and all three quadruplicities too. Table IV shows Colin's relationship to the triplicities: I have assigned a value of 3 to an appearance, 2 to a quotation, and 1 to a mention.

The values appear in parentheses, except for the total for each element.

Table IV. The Triplicities and Colin Clout

Earth	(S , M , R)	--App.	in S (3), Quot.	in M and S (4) = 7
Water	(G , M , X)	--App.	in G (3), Ment.	in M (1) = 4
Air	(I , C , W)	--App.	in W (3), Ment.	in C (1) = 4
Fire	(Y , A , F)	--App.	in F (3)	= 3

Thus Colin actually appears in one eclogue belonging to each element. Furthermore, he is quoted in the remaining two earth signs, so that he is most strongly associated with the sluggish element that corresponds to Saturn and melancholy. Although in the fire sign eclogue "November" Colin's mind reflects the upwards motion of the highest and most refined element by ascending to a vision of Dido in paradise, in the overall design of the Calender he is, because trapped in the "loathsome myre" of love melancholy, least strongly linked to the volatile and aspiring fire. Since earth is analogous to Saturn and fire to the sun (and Mars), the results of Table IV reinforce those of Table III. This mutual reinforcing of Colin's planetary and elemental associations is not likely to be a mere coincidence resulting from the essential natures of the signs and planets, for no planet rules two signs with the same elemental affiliation. Thus, for example, had Spenser put "August" where "Maye" now is, Colin would still be quoted in a Mercury-eclogue but in an air, not an earth, sign. This change would make air the element most closely associated with Colin, but would not alter the total for Saturn in Table III.

Table V shows Colin's relationship to the quadruplicities. The system of assigning values is the same as that in Table IV.

Table V. The Quadruplicities and Colin Clout

Moveable	(Y, ♈, ♎, ♊)	--App. in ♈ and ♊ (6), Ment. in ♈ (1) = 7
Fixed	(♉, ♉, ♋, ♌)	--App. in ♌ (3), Quot. in ♉ (2), Ment. in ♋ (1) = 6
Common	(♊, ♐, ♑, ♓)	--App. in ♑ (3), Quot. in ♐ (2) = 5

Again Colin actually appears in an eclogue belonging to each category. Hence, he is most strongly linked to the moveable signs, signs whose natives are unstable and irresolute, and hence signs appropriate to the effects of Colin's love melancholy. Two of Colin's appearances are in solstitial signs (Cancer and Capricorn), whereas his only connection to the equinoxes is a brief reference to him in the autumnal equinox (Libra, fall of the sun, exaltation of Saturn, ruled by Venus). The equinoxes imply a balance (even if only temporary) of opposing forces; the solstices imply the victory of one extreme over its opposite (again, even if only temporary). The strength of Colin's association with solstices illustrates the fact that he can move from one extreme state (the rapture of poetic vision) to another (the despair of love melancholy), but can no longer maintain a balanced attitude toward life, love, and poetry. The results of Tables III, IV, and V are, then, mutually reinforcing.

Spenser, then, has carefully distributed the appearances, quotations, and mentions of Colin Clout in order to associate Colin with all seven planets, all four elements, and all three quadruplicities. Moreover, as shown throughout the present study, Colin's

associations with the planets (except the sun) are substantive: those in whose signs he appears (Saturn, Jupiter, the moon) produce effects that correspond to aspects of Colin's personality or activity; those in whose signs his poetry is quoted (Venus and Mercury) have significations that correspond to aspects of these poems; that in whose sign he is only mentioned (Mars) has close affinities to the epic to which Colin cannot, but Immeritô can, progress. This careful and meaningful linking of Colin to so many astrological categories implies that the extraordinary weakness of his association to the sun cannot be accidental. Colin, thus linked to the planets, elements, and quadruplicities, is an astrological microcosm; his individuality, however, appears in the relative strengths of these associations. Central to Colin's individual character are the preponderance of Saturnian qualities and the virtual absence of solar qualities.

APPENDIX I

NOTES

¹Although astrologers frequently link the sun to medicine (and health and disease generally), I have found none who link it to poetry. Linking Apollo to music, poetry, or the Muses is common in mythography (see, for example, Fraunce, 33r-v; Cartari, E₃v; and A. Ross, p. 27). Astrologers most frequently associate poetry with Venus (for the pleasure poetry gives), Mercury (for the eloquence and delicate craftsmanship required), and Saturn (for visionary or profoundly philosophic poetry).

²See Lilly, p. 115, for a typical example of such a scale.

APPENDIX II

THE "FISHES HASKE"

Spenser's apparent reference to the sun's being in Pisces in "November" has led several readers to conclude either that he has committed an error of the most fundamental type, or that he originally intended to put this eclogue in the February position but reassigned it to November after he had composed the present "Februarie".¹ Such suggestions imply either that Spenser's knowledge of astrology/astronomy was extremely poor in 1579 (since the proper assignment of signs to months can be found in the crudest of almanacs and in the Calender's woodcuts), or that the calendar framework is a hastily contrived and imposed organizational device rather than an integral part of the poem's substance. The results of the present study show that in matters of astrology the hypotheses of carelessness or ignorance are untenable (especially since Spenser handles the more complex references in "Julye", 17-28 and "December", 55-60 with no difficulty), just as Cullen's study shows that the eclogues correspond, in non-astrological terms, accurately to the months.²

In the light both of the present study and of Cullen's, then, the passage appears more, not less, mysterious and must be closely examined. What Colin, not Spenser, says is

But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day,
And Phoebus weary of his yerely taske,
YstabTed hath his steedes in lowlye laye,
And taken up hys ynne in Fishes haske. ("November", 13-16)

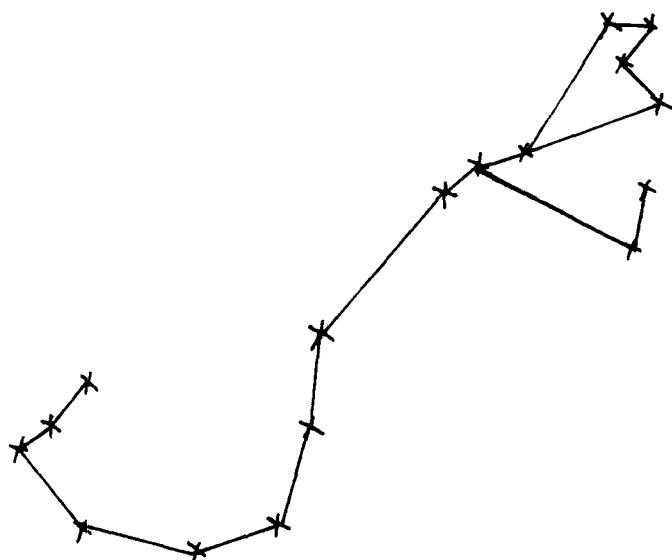
This passage cannot be an astronomical periphrasis of time in any precise sense whether one regards it as "belonging" to either November or February, because it is contradictory: the reference to the "Fishes haske" tempts us to think of Pisces and hence February, but most of the other details are better suited to November. For example, Colin says that winter has "welked" or shortened the days; however, in February the days are lengthening.³ Moreover, although Pisces, being south of the celestial equator, is in a sense a "lowlye laye", the sun when in Pisces is in fact ascending from the lowest "laye"--the winter solstice in Capricorn (December)--while when in Sagittarius (November) it is descending toward the solstice. Indeed in all the signs between the autumnal equinox and winter solstice, the sun can be said to be in "lowlye laye" in the double sense of being south of the equator and descending ever lower. In short, the only detail inconsistent with November is Colin's apparent allusion to Pisces, and he in effect requires us to see the sun as being in two contrary places simultaneously: one in which it is descending and one in which it is ascending; one shortly before the winter solstice and the "death" and "rebirth" of the ecclesiastical year, one shortly before the vernal equinox and the "death" and "rebirth" of the natural, zodiacal year. If one emphasizes the fact that Colin speaks these lines, one can see them as a striking example of the mental confusion produced by his love melancholy and thus absolve Spenser of charges of ignorance or carelessness. If, on the other hand, one assumes, as all Spenserians to date have done, that the lines are somehow in Spenser's voice, then

they truly are mysterious and require further comment. This presentation of a sun simultaneously descending and ascending, and this juxtaposition of the death/rebirth of two calendars both make sense in terms of the death of Dido, of which Colin is ignorant at this point. Dido "the sonne of all the world" ("November", 67) has become "dimme and darke" (67) by descending to the grave, but at the same time her soul "unbodied of the burdenous corpse" (166) has ascended to heaven. Similarly, the lesson of the natural calendar--that although the species endures, symbolized by the rebirth in spring, the individual perishes, symbolized by the death in winter--occupies the first eleven stanzas of the elegy, while that of the ecclesiastical calendar--that for man the natural calendar is only half the story, because it applies to only his body--occupies the remaining four stanzas.⁴

The most telling piece of evidence that this passage is not intended to function as a normal periphrasis of time is that Colin claims the sun is in, not the fish, but the "Fishes haske". The Oxford English Dictionary quotes this line as the earliest use of the word "haske", and accordingly accepts E.K.'s definition: "A haske is a wicker pad, wherein they use to cary fish" (gloss on "Fishes haske").⁵ The compilers of the OED see a relation between "haske" and "hassock" (a rush basket)⁶, and indicate that E.K.'s term "pad" means an open pannier (a basket of considerable size, used for carrying fish and other provisions).⁷ To my knowledge, neither Pisces nor any other constellation has ever been referred to as a

basket by any culture of which Spenser could have had knowledge.⁸

There is, however, a remote chance that Spenser is referring to Scorpio, the sign occupied by the sun during the first third of November, for in the Purgatorio XVIII Dante says that the moon in Scorpio made its stars appear to be "fashioned like a bucket all burning",⁹ an image justified (at least in part) by the disposition of Scorpio's stars:



Scorpio: x's = stars (magnitudes not indicated)

Fig. 6 Scorpio

Extending the meaning of "haske" to include "bucket" is not too far-fetched, so if it could be shown that Spenser is correctly alluding to Scorpio, not Pisces, the mystery of this passage would be definitely solved. The main problem is that unless one either assumes that the shape of the constellation suggested this sort of container to Spenser independent of the passage in Dante or finds a similar description in a writer prior to Spenser, one must show that he is in fact following Dante here and it requires an elaborate calculation to determine that Dante is referring to Scorpio.¹⁰ So, while it is possible that the passage indirectly refers one to Scorpio, it seems more likely that it presents one with an odd situation in which one is led to expect an astronomical periphrasis of time but is then confronted with a totally imaginary constellation (or sign) that nonetheless reminds one of a real one that has no obvious place in "November". The use of such an imaginary asterism is consistent with what I said above (see also note 4), for the error¹¹ is compatible with Colin's confused intellect, while the clear (but not precise or literal) allusion to Pisces still serves to juxtapose the two calendars at the moment that that of grace perfects that of nature.

There is one other possible reading, admittedly highly speculative, that I would like to explore briefly. Line 14 asserts that Phoebus is "weary of his yerely taske", that is, to mark off the duration of the natural year by moving from the vernal equinox, through the signs, back to the vernal equinox. The passage is thus, understandably, usually read as signifying that an individual year is

currently drawing to a close and that the sun is becoming tired. But it is possible, even if only remotely, that Spenser is alluding not to the astronomical conditions obtaining in November or February, but to an astronomical condition obtaining more generally: perhaps he is saying that the sun has become wearied with its yearly task and is quitting early. Two ways of computing a year are relevant here: the sidereal year (the sun's period of revolution with respect to the fixed stars--the actual constellations) and the tropical year (the sun's period of revolution with respect to the vernal equinox--the initial point of the sign Aries). Because the vernal equinoctial point precesses along the ecliptic in the direction opposite to the apparent annual motion of the sun, the tropical year is approximately twenty minutes of time shorter than the sidereal year. This difference is significant in the long run: by Spenser's time the first point of the sign Aries had precessed to about 5° of the constellation Pisces so it was not for nearly another month after the equinox that the sun reached the constellation Aries.¹² In the Proem to The Faerie Queene V, Spenser uses the overlapping of signs and constellations produced by equinoctial precession as a symbol of cosmic and earthly disorder and thus implies that the universe is in a truly orderly and harmonious state only if the signs and constellations coincide. He may be attempting, though less openly, something similar in "November". The precession of the equinoxes can be visualized in two ways. First, as in The Faerie Queene, Proem V, one could picture the constellations moving forward to jostle the signs, an appropriate image with which

to suggest violent disorder and injustice. Second, one could imagine the signs moving backwards through the constellations. The weary sun will reach the constellation Aries "later" every year, but the sign Aries (containing the equinoctial point) obligingly moves back to meet it part way in the constellation Pisces (a "lowlye laye" in comparison to Aries). If one thinks of the beginning of the constellation Aries as the "proper" beginning of the year, then the fact that the sun reaches that point "later" every year can become an effective image of the sun's growing progressively more weary and, consequently, the world's running down. It was assumed that the entire precessional cycle of the equinoctial point was identical in duration with the Great Year when all the stars return to their starting point.¹³

In this interpretation, the "November" passage is not a periphrasis of time at all, but a general statement about the history of the cosmos, with specific reference to the position of the vernal equinox in our era (depending upon the duration assumed for the Great Year, the vernal equinox would be assumed to be in the constellation Pisces for anywhere from 2,000-4,000 years. The equinoctial point entered the constellation Pisces at approximately the time of the birth of Christ.)¹⁴ If the passage is such a general statement about our era, it could appear in any eclogue. This interpretation does, however, require a radically new reading of "ynne": this term will have to mean not the sun's actual position in November (or February, etc.), but specifically the temporary though lengthy sojourn of the

equinoctial point in the constellation Pisces. Of course as Phoebus becomes yet more "weary" he will take up his "ynne" in Aquarius, Capricorn, and so forth. I have not seen the term "ynne" used in this way, but neither have I seen the term used by any astrologers in any context. Since the first point of the sign Aries is the permanent designation of the sun's position at the vernal equinox while the backdrop of actual constellations changes annually, it is not unreasonable to regard the constellation in which the equinoctical point is located as an "ynne" of the sun.

It still remains to be explained why, in this hypothesis, this passage occurs in "November". In terms of the present hypothesis, Colin is referring not only to the sun's and the world's running down in winter, but to an apparent exhaustion and disorder in the whole cosmos: he uses the state of the universe as well as the state of the year as a justification for rejecting Thenot's request that he reawaken his muse, "Lulled a sleepe through loves mis-governaunce" (4). As an illustration of Colin's perspective these lines are better suited to an eclogue in which winter is beginning than to one in which it is ending. In the context of the subsequent elegy, this passage takes on a meaning that Colin cannot have intended, but that Spenser may have. The disharmony or cosmic exhaustion that equinoctial precession symbolizes is only apparent: since the precession is cyclical, what appears as disorder on the small, incomplete scale (the present overlapping of signs and constellations) reveals its orderliness when one views it from the

perspective of its complete form. Similarly, in the elegy Dido's death appears from the limited perspective of the affections of those who knew her to be a sign of disorder--the "wofull waste of natures warke" (64)--but when seen sub specie aeternitatis becomes part of a providential order. Moreover, because the vernal equinox precessed into the constellation Pisces at about the time of the birth of Christ, this astronomical phenomenon can be said to mark the death of the pagan era and the birth of the Christian era, the Olympian Apollo giving way to the Saviour born in a lowly place ("lowlye lay", "ystabled", and "ynne" all echo elements of the Christian nativity story)¹⁵, the transition from the state of nature to that of Grace. Similarly, the elegy moves from the realm of nature to that of Grace, and refashions pagan elements in a Christian context (pagan elements include the elegy form itself, Dido's name, the Elysian fields, nectar, ambrosia). In short, one interpretation of equinoctial precession accords with Colin's melancholic perspective, but only if one takes a partial view of the precessional cycle; another way of regarding a small segment of the cycle contradicts Colin's pessimism and forms the cosmic equivalent of the elegy's movement.

Although I cannot claim to have given the definitive explanation of the "Fishes haske", the above discussion attempts to define the crucial issues and to offer tentative explanations.¹⁶ What can be stated with a large measure of certainty is that the passage cannot be taken as a statement that the sun is in Pisces, since Pisces has never been known as a basket, and that one should not assume that

when Colin makes an error or utters an impossibility, Spenser is doing so also. As possible explanations I suggest three that are not mutually exclusive: (1) the passage may allude to Scorpio and thus be accurate; (2) Spenser may hint so strongly at Pisces in order to emphasize, at a particularly significant point, his juxtaposition of calendars; and (3) the "ynne" referred to may also mean the constellation in which the vernal equinoctial point is temporarily located.

APPENDIX II

NOTES

¹For example, W.L. Renwick in his edition of the Calender (London: Scholartis Press, 1930, p. 184) argues that "Februarie" and "November" have been transposed; G.C. Moore Smith in his review of Renwick (Modern Language Review, XXVI (1931), 458) regards everything else in these two eclogues as suitable to their current positions, and so regards the "November" passage as a simple error in astronomy; and R.B. Botting ("The Composition of the Shephearde's Calender", Publications of the Modern Language Association, L (1935), 425) correctly sees that available evidence is against Spenser's having made an error and concludes that "November" has been displaced from an original February position by the current "Februarie". See also the Variorum edition, VII, pt. 1, pp. 404-5. E.K.'s gloss offers no help, since it is both contradictory and erroneous: he points out in his remarks on "lowly lay" that in November "the sonne draweth low in the South toward his Tropick", an accurate statement about November but not about Pisces, a sign in which the sun is ascending from the tropic; in his gloss on "Fishes haske", he claims the sun is "in the signe Pisces all November", a claim which is doubly wrong since the sun is in Pisces in February and no sign rules "all" of any month. In the Georgics, Virgil mistakenly places the sun in Pisces in November (Georgics, IV. 234). It is tempting to argue that Spenser simply duplicates Virgil's error; however, there is no other reason to consider the Virgilian passage in connection with "November": Virgil is discussing the times of year at which honey is gathered, a subject that is not relevant to "November"; and Virgil's error ultimately arises from his confusing the morning and evening settings of the Pleiades and from his careless borrowing from Aratus, a situation much more complex than that in "November". For a discussion of the Virgilian error, see R.J. Getty, "Some Astronomical Cruces in the Georgics", Transactions of the American Philological Association, LXXIX (1948), 34-40.

²Cullen, Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, pp. 120-48. See pp. 144-8 for his discussion of "November's" correspondence to the month. About the "Fishes haske", Cullen concludes: "The sign of Pisces, then, may be an error or it may conceal some secret purpose, but it in no way substantiates the claim that the calendar framework is incompletely developed either in the November eclogue or in the Calender as a whole" (p. 145).

³This has also been noted by Parmenter (213-14) and Cullen (Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral, p. 145). Herford argues that "welked" refers more generally to the gloom of winter than to its shortened day (*Variorum*, VII, pt. 1, 404). Even if one accepts this reading, the term suits November better than it does February, not only because the gloom of winter consists in part of the shortening of the day, but also because the general gloom of winter is diminishing in February and increases in November.

⁴I am indebted to Dr. C. Wood who has shown me a letter (dated December 9, 1969) he wrote to T.P. Roche in which he develops at greater length an explanation of the "Fishes haske" on the basis of Spenser's juxtaposition of the two calendars. Wood points out that one of Spenser's tasks is to make the calendar (a symbol of temporality) into a symbol of eternity, but that since he cannot effect such a double perspective by, for example, having Christ or Mary looking down on the whole zodiacal cycle to remind man that he does not live without hope (a device used in medieval cathedral representations of the labours of the months and signs of the zodiac), he effects it by juxtaposing the natural, zodiacal calendar to the spiritual, ecclesiastical calendar (January to December). The March to February calendar, as Wood points out, also has spiritual implications if one stresses, not the zodiac, but the conception of Christ (rather than His birth); however, the simultaneous relevance of the two calendrical perspectives is clearer if they do not begin and end at the same point. Wood sees the "November" passage as a relatively unambiguous reference to Pisces designed to look forward from November to February (and thus to remind us of the ongoing cyclic nature of any calendar) and to juxtapose forcefully the approximate endings/beginnings of the two calendars and their implications for man: "Thus nature in eclogue 11 is perfected by grace and the two calendars coalesce at what corresponds to the eleventh hour--the hour concerned with the order of salvation". The major differences between Wood's reading and my own on this point are that I see the two calendars present in the "November" passage itself as well as in its apparent clash with the month in which it is found, and that I prefer to stress also that what Spenser wishes to signify by it is distinct from what it shows us of Colin's mental confusion. I show later in the text that there is also good reason to see this passage as not referring to Pisces at all. Wood also argues that Spenser achieves his double perspective (natural/spiritual) through a double theme of love (roughly speaking, a *caritas/cupiditas* distinction much like that employed by Durr). Although this double (or even multiple) theme of love certainly characterizes much of the Calender, I do not (for reasons apparent from Chapter I) agree with Wood that Colin Clout ultimately escapes from enslavement to his debilitating love for Rosalind and so receives a measure of grace. Finally, it should be noted that Spenser achieves

a double perspective in a way not unlike that of cathedral representations of the labours of the months by having Immeritô function not only within the calendar ("Janurye" and "December") but also beyond it, introducing and concluding the whole poem.

⁵See The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, p. 1262, hereafter referred to as OED.

⁶OED, p. 1262.

⁷OED, pp. 2051 and 2065.

⁸See R.H. Allen, Star Names: Their Lore and Meaning (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963). Although Allen assumes (p. 341) that Spenser is alluding to Pisces, his section on Pisces (pp. 336-44) refers to no one else who has called the constellation, or any part of it, a basket or similar container. I suspect that Allen is just following the natural assumption that Spenser alludes to Pisces because of the emphasis the word "Fishes" receives (being capitalized and italicized) and because there is no other likely candidate. Allen indicates that the ancient Chinese knew a segment of our Sagittarius as the ladle or measure (p. 355); however, a ladle is a far cry from a basket and there is no reason to suppose that Spenser would have known the Chinese tradition. There is also a star in Sagittarius known to the Euphratean astronomers as "the Star of the Proclamation of the Sea" (R.H. Allen, p. 359. Allen points out that the Sea is the quarter of the sky occupied by Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Piscis Australis, and Delphinus, and is called by Aratos the Water); however, to see Spenser as alluding to this star would require a somewhat radical extension of the meaning of "haske" to designate the ocean floor and shore as a gigantic basket, as well as an unjustifiable assumption that Spenser could have known anything about Euphratean astronomy.

⁹Dante, The Divine Comedy, trans. Carlyle, Okey, and Wicksteed and introduced by C.H. Grandgent (New York: Random House, 1932), p. 296.

¹⁰R.H. Allen (p. 363) points out the reference in Dante and indicates (p. 368) that in ancient China part of our Scorpio was called a "basket with handles". His account of names of Scorpio and its parts (pp. 360-72) contains no other terms of this type. For the difficulty of the calculation involved in Dante's passage, see Dante, p. 298, n. 11.

¹¹In connection with the non-existence of the "Fishes haske", it is interesting to note that in his catalogue of astronomical/astrological passages in Spenser, de Lacy never refers to "November". I do not know whether this omission is merely an oversight or an implicit recognition that the "Fishes haske" is probably imaginary.

¹²See Fowler, p. 193. For a lucid discussion of calendrical and equinoctial precession, see Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars, pp. 57-61, and 302-3.

¹³See Fowler, p. 193.

¹⁴For a fascinating but highly speculative discussion of the significance of the coincidence of the astrological age of Pisces with the birth of Christ, see C.G. Jung, *Aion*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), chapters 6-12.

¹⁵Ptolemy (p. 89) points out that the exaltation of the sun is Aries because this sign marks the vernal equinox. At Ptolemy's time, the zodiacal signs and the constellations very nearly coincided so the sun's exaltation was, for all intents and purposes, in the constellation Aries too. Since by Spenser's time the sign Aries overlapped significantly with the constellation Pisces, the sun's exaltation was actually in the "lowlye lay" of this constellation. This is a fortunate coincidence since the paradoxical combination of exaltation and lowness is central to the Christian tradition. It should be noted that I am following Jung (p. 93) in assuming that the vernal equinoctial point precessed into the constellation Pisces at roughly the time of Christ's birth. This assumption, like Fowler's that vernal equinox occurred in 5° of the constellation Pisces in Spenser's time, is not absolutely verifiable by simple calculation because, unlike the signs, the constellations vary in size, there are empty regions between some of them, and the boundaries between them are rather arbitrary. Nonetheless, the approximations are quite good. For example, if we assume that in 1579 the equinox was exactly 5° of Pisces (constellation), and that the constellations are exactly 30° of the ecliptic, and use the modern figure for the rate of precession (50".2 per year), then at the birth of Christ the equinoctial point was in about 27° of the constellation of Pisces. Conversely, if we start at the birth of Christ (rather than with Fowler's figure) but keep the remaining conditions the same, a simple calculation shows that in 1579 the equinoctial point would be in 8° of the constellation Pisces. In short, even when one uses the unrealistic assumptions of equal-sized constellations with clearly distinguished boundaries and the modern figure for the rate of precession, there is a discrepancy of only

3° between the claims of Fowler and Jung. So for all practical purposes, we can assume that the vernal equinoctial precessed into the constellation Pisces at roughly the birth of Christ. Whether Spenser knew about equinoctial precession at this point in his career and, if so, whether he knew or would calculate when the equinoctial point entered Pisces are open questions.

¹⁶ There is a final puzzle or curiosity perhaps associated with the "Fishes haske": the cloud formation framing the depiction of the zodiacal sign at the top of each woodcut is roughly basket-shaped. I thank Dr. C. Wood for bringing this to my attention.

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