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Spenser, Landscape and Ireland

by

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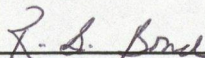
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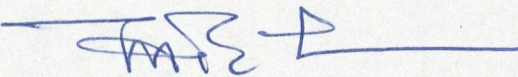
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Spenser, Landscape and Ireland" submitted by Christopher Lorne Frey in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

Turning on differences between "imperial" and "reciprocal" perceptions of landscape as derived from Spenser's poetry (Chapter One), substantiated by feminist and cultural theoretical models and verified by an historical overview of attitudes towards gardens and gardening in England during the Elizabethan period (Chapter Two), this thesis reopens the question of Spenser's complicity in the imperialistic agenda of England vis-a-vis Ireland (Chapter Three). As the record now stands, new historicist accounts prevail and claim that Spenser's outlook was overdetermined by Elizabeth's imperial-minded machine, an organization he represented as a civil servant in Ireland from 1580 until shortly before his death in 1599. Through close reading of various passages from his poetry and prose, I intend to qualify this account by demonstrating how Spenser was affected and indeed moved by his experiences in Ireland to think fondly of the place, not just as an arena for colonization, but as a forum for reciprocity.

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Once we presumed to found ourselves for good
Between its blue hills and those sandless shores
Where we spent our desperate night in prayer and vigil,

Once we had gathered driftwood, made a hearth
And hung our cauldron like a firmament,
The island broke beneath us like a wave.

The land sustaining us seemed to hold firm
Only when we embraced it in extremis.
All I believe that happened there was vision.

(Seamus Heaney, "The Disappearing Island")

CHAPTER ONE

IMPERIAL AND RECIPROCAL PERCEPTIONS OF LANDSCAPE:

TWO PARADIGMS

Two paradigms, each accounting for a human perception of landscape that stands contrary to the other, can be said to exist in Spenser's poetry. On the one hand, the imperial paradigm accounts for individuals who regard natural, uncultivated landscapes as passive agents, upon which they might impose their respective subjectivities. For example, Colin Clout's behaviour as described in the argument for "Januarye" in The Shepheardes Calender suggests the unilinear dynamic central to the imperial paradigm: "fynding himselfe robbed of all former pleasaunce and delights, . . . breaketh his Pipe in peeces, and casteth him selfe to the ground" (29).¹ In this instance, Colin literally imposes his subjectivity onto the landscape by casting "him selfe to the ground." On the other hand, the reciprocal paradigm accounts for individuals who recognize in uncultivated landscapes an opportunity for personal development whereby they interact with the natural environment. Hobbinol's descrip-

¹ With all references to Spenser's shorter poems--everything except The Faerie Queene and Two Cantos of Mutabilitie--The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser (Oram et al.) is the source used throughout the thesis. Therefore, source citations for the shorter poems will usually consist of line numbers only, or (as in the case of "Januarye"'s argument where no line numbers exist) page numbers.

tion in "Aprill" of Colin making a "laye / Of fayre Elisa" while tuning his pipe "unto the Waters fall" (33-36) suggests the circular dynamic--a process of exchange between individual and landscape--that is central to the reciprocal paradigm.

This chapter pursues the implications of the above observations with respect to various junctures in Spenser's poems. But besides further delineating the imperial and reciprocal paradigms, this chapter also establishes a relationship between the two extremes. Not surprisingly, when juxtaposed, the imperial and reciprocal paradigms suggest tensions similar to those revealed by other critical discussions around Spenser's work. As Alexander Dunlop says in The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser's introduction for Amoretti and Epithalamion, often Spenser's poetry embodies tension between extremes of "dominance and mutuality in love, between the flesh and the spirit, between life in time and the timeless structures that may give life meaning" (585).

But rather than conclude that one paradigm represents Spenser's concession to historical reality, "life in time," and that the other must therefore be an impossible ideal he longs for, "timeless structures," both the imperial and reciprocal paradigms should be understood as having implications in the historical sixteenth-century world. Because substantiation for such understanding is provided in the

following chapters, it is worth keeping in mind that this chapter mainly delineates the imperial and reciprocal paradigms using examples from Spenser's poetry. That is, whereas Chapters Two and Three demonstrate the theoretical and historical relevance of the imperial and reciprocal extremes to the Sixteenth Century and Spenser, this chapter simply defines the extremes. I say this beforehand in anticipation of criticism claiming that this chapter gleans a lot of signification from relatively brief passages. My intention is not to build mountains out of mole-hills so much as it is to establish conceptual parameters by which we can recognize in Spenser's poetry the Mole hills, north of Spenser's home at Kilcolman, as the mountains they actually were.

As implied in this chapter's opening paragraph, differences between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms turn on our noticing extreme human behaviours. The imperial paradigm recognizes the human urge to dominate; whereas the reciprocal paradigm recognizes the human ability to appreciate. Thus, an imperialistic perspective can be said to privilege humans with an exclusive subjective authority that allows them to subordinate and determine the character of their surrounding environment based on preconceived notions and stereotypes of right and wrong. On the other hand, a reciprocalistic perspective endorses an exchange--a process of giving, receiving, and returning--between humans and natural landscapes whereby landscapes might be said to possess

their own unique subjective authority. Rather than impose their will, reciprocal-minded humans work with landscapes and create environments based on mutual respect.

Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender engages issues of landscape perception. Admittedly, this engagement is explicitly imperial in nature. That is, as with most sixteenth-century calenders, The Shepheardes Calender is a remodelling of the classical Eclogue tradition whereby "[landscapes] are never truly more than backgrounds" (Pearsall, 3), or hooks, as they might be described, upon which poets hung their moral and political cloaks. For example, in "Julye," Spenser imitates Mantuan's eighth eclogue and associates pride and vanity with mountains, and common, practical sense with lowlands (1-93). Or, in "Aprill," flowers are endowed with moral and political values--humble "Cowslips" and regal "Kingcups" (138-144)--and used to describe "fayre Elisa" (34). In either example, Spenser, in keeping with the imperial paradigm, imposes preconceived ideals onto features of landscape without taking into consideration those features' essential significances.

But working in opposition to this imperial impulse, albeit less explicitly, Spenser also represents a reciprocal perspective by recognizing in natural landscapes the power to affect and to teach individuals. In "December," while lamenting old age, Colin confesses:

And tryed time yet taught me greater thinges,
The sodain rysing of the raging seas:

The soothe of byrds by beating of their wings,
 The power of herbs, both which can hurt and ease:
 And which be wont t[']enrage the restlesse sheepe,
 And which be wont to worke eternall sleepe. (85-90)

Although recognizing "tryed time" as his teacher, Colin admits that his lessons centered on experiences involving features of natural landscape such as the sea, birds and herbs. Moreover, by "December"'s last lines, Colin explicitly recognizes in the landscape a subjective authority equal to his own: "Adieu ye Woodes that oft my witnesse were" (154). Finally, the fact that "December" is presented as a complaint foregrounds dynamics inherent to the reciprocal paradigm. As its argument suggests--"This Aeglogue (even as the first beganne) is ended with a complaynte of Colin to God Pan" (203, emphasis added)--a circular relationship, an exchange of sorts, between "December" and "Januarye" is highlighted.

A more subtle instance of Spenser's notice of reciprocal dynamics is found in "Aprill." As already alluded to in this chapter's opening paragraph, here we find Hobbinol describing Colin's poetry-making process as an exchange between an individual and a natural landscape:

. . . then will I singe [Colin's] laye
 Of fayre Elisa, Queene of shepheardes all:
 Which once he made, as by a spring he laye,
 And tuned it unto the Waters fall.
 (33-36, emphasis added)

Here the component parts of the reciprocal paradigm are accounted for. Poet, place, and exchange are figured by Colin, "spring," and "Which once he made . . . / And tuned"

respectively. In terms of an exchange, the landscape creates a forum for experience to which the poet responds. Significantly, the spring does not submit by tuning itself to Colin's song but nor does Colin surrender his creative authority to the spring. Instead, he receives a gift of experience from the landscape, to which he sets words and music, and then returns his own gift of song. Thus, out of a reciprocity between landscape and man, a poem is made.

A close reading of the passage's end rhymes substantiates the claim that Hobbinol's description implies consideration of the relationship between people and landscapes. When comparing "all"/"fall" to "laye"/"laye," a subtle juxtaposing of imperial and reciprocal extremes is revealed. "All"/"fall" suggests an imperial perspective. The relationship between the terms is unilinear, moving from the strong subject position "all," justified by its precursive status, to the predetermined object "fall." "Laye"/"laye," on the other hand, as an equivoque, creates a dialogue based on reciprocal dynamics whereby either the first or second term is denied singular authority. Each "laye" simultaneously projects and receives its apparent signification from the other. Instead of a hierarchy of being, the effect is playful and circular, like an echo.

That this reciprocal arrangement between "laye" and "laye" in terms of the passage's structure coincides with the passage's narrative description--Colin's shared recipro-

city with the "Waters fall," is an example of Spenser's poetic ingenuity. More significant to the issue of Spenser's awareness of landscape is the fact that Spenser charged lines concerning a relationship between a man and landscape with so much resourcefulness. If intellectual or creative expenditure is an indication of authorial intent, then the rich ingenuity informing the Hobbinol passage supports the observation that Spenser's poetry expresses thoughts concerned with issues of human/landscape relations. And finally, the Hobbinol passage presents the reciprocal paradigm as a viable alternative to the imperial paradigm as a potential modus operandi in the real world.

Spenser's enthusiasm for reciprocity is apparent not just in his considerations of landscape. Other junctures in his poetry also suggest more than a passing utopian concern for dynamics inherent to the reciprocal paradigm. Before resuming my explication of how the imperial and reciprocal paradigms in terms of human perceptions of landscape are represented in Spenser's poetry, and in order to gain a fuller understanding of what reciprocity might have meant to Spenser, it is useful to digress and become familiar with some of these other junctures.

Perhaps in its most conventional form, Spenser represents the dynamics of reciprocity in the image of the Three Graces' dance. For example, Colin's lay, as recalled by Hobbinol in "Aprill," invokes a spirit of reciprocity by

recognizing the Graces as present company:

Lo how finely the graces can it foote
to the Instrument:
They dauncen deffly, and singen soote,
in their meriment. (109-112)

E. K.'s gloss for these lines accounts for what is presumably the conventional significance of the Graces' dance. Generally, he recalls the Platonic notion of tripartite life while drawing heavily on Seneca's De beneficiis. In particular, E. K. emphasizes Seneca's notion of the triple rhythm of generosity, which consists of giving, accepting, and returning, the basis of what I have termed the reciprocal paradigm. As E. K. remarks,

The Graces) be three sisters, . . . otherwise called Charities, that is thanks. whom the poets feyned to be the Goddesses of al bountie and comelines, which therefore (as sayth Theodontius) they make three, to wete, that men first ought to be gracious and bountiful to other freely, then to receive benefits at other mens hands curteously, and thirdly to requite them thankfully: which are three sundry Actions in liberalitey. . . the one having her backe toward us, and her face fromwarde, as proceeding from us: the other two toward us, noting double thanke to be due to us for the benefit, we have done.

As described, the Graces are personifications for giving, receiving, and gratias agere, meaning to return thanks (Wind, 28). By their coming together, the Graces generate circular and reciprocal momentums to establish a general effect, the dance itself, that possesses a greater value than the component parts, the Graces, combined. Paradoxically, the dance cannot maintain itself without each Grace being present. As a result, the relationship between the dance

and the dancers reflects the same process of exchange experienced between the dancers, the Graces. This process of exponential growth is the "double thanke" that E. K. refers to in his gloss. In my own terms, it is a generative effect because it prioritizes creative and expansive energies rather than destructive and limiting impulses, both known to human behaviour.

Spenser demonstrates the generative effect of the Graces' dance again in Book VI, Canto x, of The Faerie Queene. In a passage recalling Hobbinol's description of the reciprocity shared between Colin and a natural landscape, Spenser describes the Graces' dance through Calidore's discovery of Colin's music-making ritual:

. . . the merry sound
Of a shrill pipe he playing heard on hight,
And many feete fast thumping th'hollow ground,
That through the woods their Eccho did rebound.
He nigher drew, to weete what mote it be;
There he a troupe of Ladies dauncing found
Full merrily, and making gladful glee,
And in the midst a Shepheard piping he did see. (10)

In terms of process, Calidore witnesses what Hobbinol had earlier described, a collaboration between poet--"a Shepheard"--and place--"the woods"--resulting in song or poetry. The actual exchange between poet and place is represented by the image of an eccho, that "through the woods . . . did rebound."

But unlike the Hobbinol passage, Canto x makes the analogy between Colin's creative act and the Graces' generative dance explicit. While Colin and the woods collaborate

to celebrate his "faire one, / That in the midst was placed paravaunt" (15), the Graces are invoked to sustain Colin's "faire one." They dance around her and "sweet flowres, that far did smell, / And fragrant odours they vppon her threw; / But most of all, . . . did her with gifts endew" (14). At this point Spenser actually outdoes his Senecan model. By introducing a fourth Grace, a personification of the generative effect initiated by Colin's exchange with the woods and sustained by the three dancing Graces, Spenser implicates poet, place and process as the central ingredients for spontaneous creative expression. Like the example of "laye"/"laye," the relationship between Colin's song and the Graces' dance establishes a forum for reciprocity whereby Colin's singular authority breaks down and becomes a part of the larger experience.

Upon discovering this scene, Calidore suspends his disbelief and enjoys seeing and hearing things to him before unknown:

Much wondred [he] at this straunge sight,
 Whose like before his eye had neuer seene,
 And standing long astonished in spright,
 And rapt with pleasaunce, wist not what to weene.
 (17)

As long as Calidore maintains his initial response of admiration and wonder, and appreciates the experience as he lives and feels it through his senses, he participates in the reciprocal ritual he has stumbled upon. Moreover, Calidore, by placing faith in the generative effect and allowing him-

self to be included in the experience, becomes an essential player in the general effect. In this participatory state, Calidore, like Colin and the Graces, sustains the "faire one," the fourth Grace, the generative effect personified.

But Calidore loses faith and decides to impose his subjective authority onto the scene. Under this imperial-minded assault, the generative effect initiated by Colin's song and sustained by the Graces' dance breaks down:

Therefore resolving, what it was, to know,
Out of the wood he rose, and toward them did go.

But soone as he appeared to their vew,
They vanisht all away out of his sight,
And cleane were gone, which way he neuer knew.
(17-18)

By asking "what mote these dainty Damzels be, / Which here with thee doe make their pleasant playes?" (19), Calidore not only imposes his own subjective authority onto the scene, he also invests Colin with a similar authority, thus alienating both from the reciprocal process they previously participated in. Calidore's question represents a spearhead attack motivated by his imperially-driven single-mindedness and desire to dominate. As a result, the Graces are reduced to objects upon which Calidore and Colin might speculate and gaze. Chapter Two will consider in detail the implications of "gazing" with respect to both the imperial and reciprocal paradigms. For now, it is enough to know that the Graces' generative effect is silenced by Calidore's urgent desire to

have the inexplicable explained.²

Not using the image of the Graces' dance, Spenser also presents the generative effect, associated with the reciprocal paradigm, in his wedding song, Epithalamion. A poem that unabashedly strives to reconcile differences between real and ideal circumstances, Epithalamion maintains at its conceptual center a reciprocity between poet and landscape, husband and wife, that ultimately transcends and gives shape to potential fragmentation and despair. As readers of the poem we experience, much like Calidore on Mt. Acidale, a collaboration between the poem's speaker and his surrounding natural environment.

Initially, Epithalamion's speaker calls on the landscape to respond, through an echo, to his wedding song:

So Orpheus did for his owne bride,
So I unto my selfe alone will sing,
The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring.
(16-18)

But as the poem proceeds, the speaker becomes increasingly engaged with features of the natural landscape, and with the spirit of reciprocity. First, he calls on his bride: "Bid her awake therefore and soone her dight, / For lo the wished day is come at last" (30-31). Then the landscape itself is

² Perhaps W.B. Yeats best captures the essence of Calidore's interruption in his popular speculation, "O body swayed to music, O brightening glance, / How can we know the dancer from the dance?" ("Among School Children," 1927). Of course, Yeats, the poet, only asks the question; he does not offer solutions: the question is introduced at the poem's conclusion.

recognized in association with the bride for possessing its own creative authority, as given agency through the call for nymphs:

Bring with you all the Nymphs that thou can heare
Both of the rivers and the forrests greene:
And of the sea that neighbours to her neare,
Al with gay girlands goodly beseene.

* * *

The whiles doe ye this song unto her sing,
The woods shall to you answer and your Eccho ring.
(37-55)³

By this point in the poem a reciprocity between poet and place is well established. Rather than claim sole authority for the poem's generation, the speaker continually credits the woods' sustaining "Eccho" and "ring," as indicated by the poem's refrain. Thus, the circular and generative dynamics found in the Graces' dance are recreated in Epithalamion. The relationship between the speaker's wedding poem and its component parts--the speaker and the woods--reflects the same reciprocity of giving, receiving and returning that is experienced between the component parts. As a result, in keeping with E.K.'s gloss on the Graces, a "double thanke" occurs because the generative effect of process is appreciated.

³ Anticipating the historian Keith Thomas' claim that the Elizabethans expelled the pagan divinities from literary landscapes in order to disenchant and dominate the natural world (as referred to in Chapter Two of this thesis, 40), I point out that Spenser appears to counter this trend by empowering his landscapes with an ability to act on their own behalf through the means of pagan deities. "Epithalamion" is not the only poem where Spenser does this. Throughout his canon we find natural landscapes brought to life especially by nymphs.

ated.

These junctures--in E. K.'s gloss on "Aprill," Book VI, Canto x of The Faeire Queene, and Epithalamion--demonstrate that reciprocity, as a concept, was familiar to Spenser. And rather than present it as something unattainable in real terms, these junctures suggest that he considered reciprocity to be very much a part--albeit it an apparently fragile one--of this world. Significantly, Spenser consistently maintains the point of contact between the ideal of reciprocity and the reality of human experience in natural landscapes. Calidore discovers the Graces and Colin on Mt. Acidale in the woods. Similarly, Epithalamion's speaker is discovered singing in the woods. In both cases, features of natural, uncultivated landscapes provide opportunities for the expression and exploration of dynamics inherent to the reciprocal paradigm. And yet, as indicated at this chapter's outset and as will now be discussed in detail, such opportunities are continually checked by the opposite, imperial extreme.

The month of "Januarye" in The Shepheardes Calender begins by framing Colin Clout, Spenser's hero-poet, as "A Shepheard's boye (no better doe him call)" (1). Immediately, readers are faced with language invoking the imperial paradigm. Colin, as a representative of pastoral and adolescent status, is objectified and placed at a low level on the hierarchy of being in both generic and physical terms. He is

neither epic nor adult. "Januarye"'s argument, preceding the poem proper, reflects similar unilinear dynamics--the imposition of hierarchy as a necessary feature of existence--suggesting an imperial perspective. The argument describes Colin as "newly (as semeth) enamoured of a countrie lasse called Rosalinde: with which strong affection being very sore traveled, he compareth his carefull case to the sadde season of the yeare, to the frostie ground, to the frosen trees, and to his owne winterbeaten flocke" (29).

In terms of the imperial paradigm, "Januarye"'s argument defines human experience as a product of hierarchical, linear, and noncircular designs. Moreover, the argument recognizes in humans, and specifically male ones as represented by Colin Clout, a singular subjective authority that dominates all other things. On either side of Colin, we find Rosalind and a winter setting, "frosen trees" and "frostie ground." A specific ranking order is implied by the relationships contained within this hierarchy. Because Rosalind is not present and represents an ideal, she affects Colin, who is "enamoured of [the] countrie lasse," but he cannot affect her. The winter setting, on the other hand, because it is present and very real, is available to receive the brunt of Colin's expressed emotional anxiety.

According to the argument, Colin's relationship to the winter landscape is initially perceptual and then physical.

He first "compareth his carefull case to the sadde season of the yeare," which is to say he imposes his state of mind onto his surroundings, and then "hee breaketh his Pipe in peeces, and casteth him selfe to the ground," literally a physical assault against the landscape. The implication of Spenser's syntax cannot be overstressed. It reflects a world view that considers human experience to be a linear process, beginning with an idea and eventuating in some physical manifestation within the environment. Colin is the focal point because only he is capable of translating ideas into action. The casualties of this process are found at its margins. Both the idea, including its sign, in Colin's case "Rosalind," and the physical environment are silenced as constructions for giver and receiver respectively.

Although still organized around a hierarchical framework, "Januarye"'s poem proper resists the unilinear, non-circular dynamics foregrounded in the argument. Of a change in perspective, the reader is first notified by a transition in narrative voice. Colin's first-person lament immediately punctures and deflates the argument's omniscopic authority as asserted by its third-person point of view:

Ye Gods of love, that pitie lovers payne,
 (If any gods the paine of lovers pitie),
 Looke from above, where you in joyes remaine,
 And bowe your eares unto my dolefull ditte. (13-16)

In essence, the reader witnesses a minor coup d'etat whereby Colin's subjective authority temporarily wrestles control away from its objective keeper. (It might be said that

Colin defies the narrator's dominating gaze by discovering his own voice.) Thus, the external narrator of the poem proper who frames Colin's lament not only establishes a continuity between the argument and the poem itself, but the opportunity to compare and contrast imperial and reciprocal perspectives is made explicit.

Contrary to the argument's imperial outlook concerning the relationship between humans and landscapes, Colin's personal lament strives for a circularity in human experience based on reciprocity. To be sure, the winter setting and Colin can be seen to participate in an exchange of sorts whereby both the perceived and perceiver are freed from determinate boundaries of object and subject. Unlike the unilinear relationship between Colin and landscape as presented in the argument, Colin's personal lament breaks down boundaries between himself and his environment. Significantly, this environment is a natural landscape.

Lines nineteen through forty-two of Colin's lament are especially relevant to the matter of landscape, reciprocity, and the act of making poetry. Having addressed his audience, the "Gods of love," Colin then describes what he experiences, an exchange between poet and place that makes possible the poetry he creates:

Thou barrein ground, whome winters wrath hath wasted,
 Art made a myrrhour, to behold my plight:
 Whilome thy fresh spring flowrd, and after hasted
 Thy sommer prowde with Daffadillies dight.
 And now is come thy wynters stormy state,
 Thy mantle mard, wherein thou maskedst late.

Such rage as winters, reigneth in my heart,
 My life bloud friesing with unkindly cold:
 Such stormy stoures 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.

You naked trees, whose shady leaves are lost,
 Wherein the byrds were wont to build their bowre:
 And now are clothd with mosse and hoary frost,
 Instede of bloosmes, wherwith your buds did flowre:
 I see your teares, that from your boughes doe raine,
 Whose drops in drery ysicles remaine.

All so my lustfull leafe is drye and sere,
 My timely buds with wayling all are wasted:
 The blossome, which my braunch of youth did beare,
 With breathed sighes is blowne away, and blasted,
 And from mine eyes the drizzling teares descend,
 As on your boughes the ysicles depend. (19-42)

Unlike the argument which endorses objectification and subordination of a marginalized landscape, Colin initiates an exchange that breaks boundaries down and establishes a context for reciprocation between poet and place, center and margin. Instead of only projecting his emotional anxieties onto the landscape, he recognizes in the surrounding environment, and hence empowers it with, a subjective authority similar to his own.

In terms of rhetorical devices employed by Spenser, the reciprocal paradigm represented by Colin's experience in the winter setting is facilitated in three ways. First, by addressing the ground and trees not as objectified others but as familiars with personal pronouns, "Thou barrein ground" and "You naked trees" (emphasis added), Colin gives to the landscape an anthropopathic vitality--a vitality that the imperial-minded argument claims to be unique to humans.

Moreover, Colin empathizes with the ground and trees and the seasonal change they must endure, "Thy mantle mard, wherein thou maskedst late" and "whose shady leaves are lost, / Wherein the byrds were wont to build their bowre." Instead of keeping the landscape at an objective distance, Colin counters this imperialistic perspective by embracing the ground and trees as equal, feeling beings.

Granted, there are generic and even class factors that influence how we might interpret Colin's attitude towards landscape. Because he is a shepherd in a pastoral world, Colin's intensely emotional behaviour and his being "in tune with nature" are actions that readers likely expect. Indeed, the association of pastoral literary convention with the reciprocal paradigm (and in turn the imperial model with epic) should not be overlooked. But the fact that Colin and the landscape become one through a process of reciprocity should not be overlooked either. When read literally, Colin's behaviour challenges the desire to dominate as maintained by the imperial paradigm.

Spenser's second rhetorical manoeuvre facilitating the reciprocal paradigm revolves around the conceit of nature-as-mirror-to-the-human-condition. A conceit that "so pre-occupied the Renaissance imagination" (Bradford, 3), the mirror was conventionally used as a metaphor to enhance rather than cast doubt on an imperialistic objective gaze. For example, the popular English A Mirror for Magistrates

(1559) applied the humanist belief in morality and the perfectibility of man to the problem of government. As Alan Bradford suggests, the Mirror was "a pointed invitation to the magistrates of the realm to view themselves and contemplate their own potential destinies" (17). Furthermore, amongst sixteenth-century English poets, the conceit itself was often imposed on natural landscapes:

The point is that the natural scene is placed in the perspective of the governing metaphor, a metaphor that is all the more compelling in that it remains latent, implicit, submerged. We see everything with a kind of double vision: before us is the winter landscape, but in our mind's eye is the fallen peer, the ransacked fortress, the deserted hall. Thus the "mirror" effect . . . is produced: nature becomes a mirror of the human condition. (Bradford, 19)

Bradford's explanation recalls the dynamics of the imperial paradigm. As was the case in "Januarye"'s argument, a unilinear descent from idea to landscape with man as mediator provides structure to the nature-as-mirror conceit. Essentially, a landscape is first perceived (or "governed" to use Bradford's appropriate term) as metaphor, a construct of man's mind, and then acted on by imperial ambition. Throughout this process there is no sense that individuals actually appreciate landscapes for what they are. Instead, they thrive on what landscapes might become depending on their personal initiatives.

But along with substantiating this reading of the mirror conceit, Colin's lament can also be read to counter Bradford's claim. By calling upon landscape in such a way

as to empower it with its own subjective dimension--"Thou barrein ground, . . . / Art made a myrrhour, to behold my plight"--Colin makes explicit the winter setting's power to perceive, that is "behold." By reversing conventional roles of perceiver and perceived, Colin throws into question Bradford's claim that the mirror conceit expresses exclusively the human urge to dominate and shape landscapes. In this way, Colin's lament in "Januarye," Spenser's first word in the context of his career as a published poet, prepares readers for his last word, as read from Two Cantos of Mutabilitie. Here we find the power of landscape to affect humans made explicit; whereby Dame Nature is revealed as "far greater and more tall of stature / Then any of the gods or Powers on hie" (VII 4). Like the natural winter landscape Colin experiences, Dame Nature is perceived by all creatures, "looking in her face," but she also perceives, "At length, she looking vp with chearefull view." (57).

Finally, if we revert to "Januarye," the third rhetorical device employed by Spenser which suggests reciprocal dynamics is the structural relationship between the four stanzas containing lines nineteen through forty-two. Upon determining the relationship between these stanzas, we discern a pattern recalling the reciprocal rather than imperial paradigm. In stanzas four and six, Colin does not begin with his own identity and then discover its objective correlative in the landscape; rather, he defines himself first

in terms of landscape and then discovers that identity within himself.

For example, after sympathizing with the "barrein ground"'s "mantle mard" Colin realizes that "Such rage as winters, reigneth in my heart, / My life bloud friesing with unkindly cold." Or, only after sharing the trees' sense of loss--"You naked trees . . . / Wherein the byrds were wont to build their bowre"--does Colin express his own misgivings--"And from mine eyes the drizzling teares descend, / As on your boughes the ysicles depend." In each instance, by beginning in terms of landscape features and ending with an account of Colin's emotional despair (a pattern confirmed by its subsequent repetition from stanzas four/five to six/seven), Spenser challenges the imperial paradigm's notice that human authority necessarily precedes nature's own. This challenge, in conceptual terms, is represented by an exchange between poet and place. In more concrete terms, it is represented by a shared reciprocity between Colin and his winter setting whereby the "mantle mard" affects Colin in ways similar to his affect on it.

The structural arrangement between stanzas supports earlier observations made regarding Spenser's use of personal pronouns and the nature-as-mirror-to-the-human-condition conceit. By addressing the land first and then himself, Colin promotes a circular dynamic that allows for the landscape to be appreciated as an equal rather than as a subor-

dinate. Furthermore, the structure demonstrates in literal ways the nonneutral aspect of mirror play. Because the winter landscape is empowered with a subjective authority before Colin turns to describing himself, rigid subjective and objective distinctions are made suspect. Once Colin makes himself vulnerable to the influence of landscape's winter features, humans and mirrors appear to become one.

Ultimately, the point is not whether or not the landscape actually "sees" Colin. Instead, what we realize is that Colin is willing to accept himself as a feature within the surrounding natural landscape. That is, as a piece of "frostie ground" or a "frozen tree," he denies his subjective authority in favour of the landscape's own natural terms. But the reciprocal implication of Colin's lament does not erase the imperial paradigm's representation in "Januarye"'s argument. Indeed, it is worth noting that Colin's reciprocal experience is qualified at the poem's conclusion by the framing narrator and his imperial, unilinear perspective. After Colin suspends himself in silence, "Both pype and Muse, shall sore the while aby" (71), the narrator reinforces closure, "So broke his oaten pype, and downe dyd lye" (72), and brings the poem to its official conclusion.

Admittedly, the general effect of "Januarye" is apparently more imperial than reciprocal. Recognizing the framing narrator's allegiance to the argument's imperial per-

spective, we can see that Colin's lament is contained and qualified by an imperial attitude. But if "Januarye"'s poem proper is read literally and if one considers the relationship between Colin and the winter landscape as it is actually described, a reciprocal-minded check or brake on the apparently dominating tendencies of imperialism is found. Therefore, although Spenser does not cast aside the imperial paradigm's unilinear perspective, it can be said that he does support an alternative ethical foundation for human/landscape relations based on reciprocity. That is, Spenser suggests that humans should not simply consider landscape as a passive target for their selfish desires but should also appreciate it for what it has to offer in itself.

Expanding on the close reading of passages from Book VI, Canto x of The Faerie Queene and Epithalamion initiated earlier in this chapter further demonstrates how Spenser continually qualifies definitive support for the imperial paradigm by encouraging consideration of the alternative reciprocal extreme. Concluding this chapter in such fashion begins to foreground the issues central to Chapters Two and Three. Through further analysis of how Spenser promotes and reconciles differences between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms within his poetry, we can give shape to a framework for understanding the poet's experience of landscape outside his poems in the larger context of Elizabethan colonialism and Ireland.

As discussed earlier, both Canto x and Epithalamion juxtapose imperial and reciprocal paradigms. Calidore initially experiences an exchange of sorts with the natural landscape of Mt. Acidale but then proceeds to shut that experience down by imposing an imperial perspective on Colin and the environment. Similarly, but in an inverse fashion, Epithalamion's narrator repeatedly asserts his own subjective voice onto the landscape only to then appreciate the landscape's unique response, via an echo, to his vocal assault. Much like "Januarye," rather than indicate a personal preference for either the imperial or reciprocal mode, Spenser leaves readers to consider the differences between these extremes at their own discretion.

For example, after objectifying Colin's song and the Graces' dance and thus alienating himself from the surrounding landscape, Calidore unintentionally reveals his ignorance concerning the generative effect and its relationship to reciprocity. As a representative of the court--he is an epic hero questing in service of the Fairy Queen--Calidore is at a complete loss to appreciate the central importance of reciprocity in Colin's pastoral world. We expect Calidore to be perfect, in tune with everything as it were. And yet it appears that it is specifically Calidore's courtly disposition that makes him incapable of feeling comfortable as a participant in the ritual of exchange initiated by Colin. To alleviate his discomfort, Calidore asks Colin for

that landscape awareness--sensitivity towards the natural environment --is crucial to an individual's self-development. Recalling Spenser's letter to Raleigh and his claim that "the generall end therefore of all [The Faerie Queene] is to fashion a gentleman," one can say that Spenser's advice to gentlemen includes the necessity of getting outdoors and appreciating nature for its own sake. As shall be discussed in Chapter Three, this qualification for being a gentleman has profound implications when applied to Spenser's own experience as a colonialist in Ireland.

In terms of suspending an either/or distinction between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms, Colin's re-education of Calidore reintroduces a reciprocal perspective into Calidore's range of immediate experience. But rather than one paradigm dominating the other, what transpires is a collaboration between the two. Calidore's education not only involves increased environmental awareness but also reasoned understanding. Therefore, both his apprehensive and comprehensive needs are simultaneously satisfied. Or, to use Bacon's terms, Calidore engages both branches of knowledge, "discovery" and "impression."⁴

I believe that the view here presented by Spenser is

⁴ As Bacon explains in The Advancement of Learning, "this [knowledge of ourselves] hath two branches: for us all leagues and amities consist of mutual Intelligence and mutual Offices, so this league of mind and body hath these two parts; how the one discloseth the other, and how the one worketh upon the other; Discovery, and Impression" (III: 367).

optimistic and not necessarily idealistic. It seems Spenser considers a balance between imperial and reciprocal perspectives to be possible through a certain process of education. Much like Contemplation's re-education of Red Cross knight in Book I, Canto x, Calidore learns on Mt. Acidale to reconcile his impulse to dominate with his ability to appreciate. Only then can either knight become truly more gentlemanly and, in turn, advance on their respective quests.

Epithalamion concludes with a similar optimism recognizing a possible reconciliation between imperial and reciprocal paradigms. Recalling the speaker's collaboration with the landscape, represented by the "Eccho"'s sustaining "ring," the poem achieves a natural, harmonious conclusion. To be sure, as speaker and landscape experience a continuum of reciprocity, marked by the poem's refrain, their mutual exchange is eventually immortalized in an image of embrace between newly weds:

Poure out your blessing on us plentiously,
 And happy influence upon us raine,
 That we may raise a large posterity,
 Which from the earth, which they may long possesse,
 With lasting happinesse,
 Up to your haughty pallaces may mount,
 And for the guerdon of theyr glorious merit
 May heavenly tabernacles there inherit,
 Of blessed Saints for to increase the count.
 So let us rest, sweet love, in hope of this,
 And cease till then our tymely joyes to sing,
 The woods no more us answer, nor our eccho ring.
 (415-426)

As implied by this nuptial prayer, the reciprocity in-

initiated by speaker and place will continue to prosper in the consummation between husband and wife. And yet, as in "Januarye," rather than conclude favouring reciprocal over imperial dynamics, a balance is struck. Implicit in the newly wed's prayer is the notion that their offspring will "long possesse" "earth" to ensure their immortal glory. Thus, even within his reciprocal cocoon, the bed chamber, Spenser's speaker alludes to possession, a feature of the imperial paradigm, as an adequate response to landscape. As a result, like Calidore's exchange with Colin, a balance of sorts is achieved between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms. Ultimately, the poem leaves readers to contemplate the differences between contrary attitudes towards natural landscape.

Having delineated the reciprocal and imperial paradigms using Spenser's poetry, we can make two generalizations concerning Spenser and landscape. First, it seems reasonable to conclude that Spenser considers landscape within his poetry beyond the usual classical model that informed much sixteenth-century literature. Rather than simply use landscapes as backdrops, Spenser occasionally foregrounds landscape and its relationship to humans as an issue in itself. Second, although Spenser's poetry appears to favour dynamics maintained by the imperial paradigm, there is sufficient weight--in terms of literal space and creative energy expenditure--behind the concept of reciprocity to justify it

as a legitimate check on its imperial counterpart. In light of these generalizations, I now propose the premise upon which the following chapters depend. That is, the different attitudes taken towards landscape as defined in Spenser's poetry are paradigmatic of different attitudes taken by Elizabethans, including Spenser, towards landscape in general, and, more specifically, towards Ireland and its peoples.

CHAPTER TWO

GAZING AND GARDENS: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL
CONSIDERATIONS

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

(Walter Raleigh, Discoverie of Guiana, 1595. 96)

Licence my roaving hands, and let them go,
 Before, behind, between, above, below.
 O my America! my new-found-land,
 My kingdome, safeliest when with one man man'd,
 My Myne of precious stones, My Empirie,
 How blest am I in this discovering thee!

(John Donne, "Elegy 19: Going to Bed," 1633)

Such was that happy Garden-state,
 While Man there walk'd without a Mate:
 After a Place so pure, and sweet,
 What other Help could yet be meet!
 But 'twas beyond a Mortal's share
 To wander solitary there:
 Two Paradises 'twere in one
 To live in Paradise alone.

(Andrew Marvell, "The Garden," 1681)

Chapter One demonstrated how two paradigms, accounting for different perceptions of landscape, can be said to exist in Spenser's poetry--the imperial and the reciprocal. Furthermore, Chapter One implied that of these two paradigms it is the imperial and not the reciprocal extreme that accounts

for conventional attitudes concerning landscape during the Elizabethan period. This chapter's epigraphs, from writers representing or responding to central aspects of Elizabethan ideology, encourage this observation. By using the metaphor of "Maydenhead" and implying an act of aggression nothing short of rape, Raleigh objectifies and thus alienates himself and his readers from Guiana's natural landscape. Donne is equally representative of the imperial paradigm by his insistence on possession as the means by which one establishes a relationship with either other humans or natural landscapes. Marvell, on the other hand, criticizes such behaviour. He longs for a time when people are not driven by an impulse to dominate and possess, a time, we must assume, that is not within his immediate range of experience, a time that is more sympathetic to reciprocity.

Encouraged by suggestive examples of textual support as provided by Raleigh, Donne and Marvell, this chapter substantiates Chapter One's tacit assertion that the imperial paradigm accounts for dominating tendencies within the Elizabethan world view. Moreover, this chapter begins to define a marginal voice that is critical of these tendencies with respect to the specific landscape projects of courtly Elizabethan gardens. Not surprisingly, this marginal voice bases its authority on an awareness of dynamics common to the reciprocal paradigm. Ultimately, this chapter intends to demonstrate how the issue of human/landscape relations,

as introduced in Chapter One in terms of Spenser's poetry, is relevant and applicable to Elizabethan culture at large. Chapter Three will make the necessary leap of logic whereby Spenser's apparent ambivalence towards favouring either the imperial or reciprocal paradigm within his poetry is interpreted as possible resistance to the imperial perspective as reflected in Elizabethan colonial policy vis-a-vis Ireland.

To facilitate this chapter's substantiation of imperial and reciprocal perspectives as active features of the Elizabethan world, the following discussion is divided into two parts. Part One, "Gazing," juxtaposes current theoretical approaches with my own theoretical model and points out what appear to be interesting analogies. Specifically, feminist and cultural theorists provide some further insights into the distinction that I have drawn between imperial and reciprocal extremes. Moreover, these theorists assist in making the connection between discussing concepts in the abstract (Chapter One's agenda) and locating those concepts in concrete, cultural terms. Therefore, Part One concludes by demonstrating how the imperial and reciprocal paradigms were expressed in terms of general attitudes towards natural landscape in the Sixteenth Century.

Part Two, "Gardens," using the critical terms made familiar in Part One, reads closely a specific example of landscape management in Elizabethan England. Through an analysis of sixteenth-century gardening strategies, Part Two

delineates, once again, a difference between imperial and reciprocal-minded approaches. And as demonstrated in Part One, Part Two shows that, even in the more specific instance of popular garden presentations, the imperial paradigm accounts for the predominant aesthetic standard. But regardless of the imperial aesthetic's ascendancy as the standard form for cultural expression in garden layouts, both Part One and Two recognize that a reciprocal-minded outlook was not absent. From the margins of Elizabethan society, a pro-reciprocal voice was sounded. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude Part Two with a consideration and comparison of two specific junctures in Spenser's poetry that deal with garden-types, his presentation of the Bower of Bliss and the Garden of Adonis.

I. Gazing

As derived from Spenser's poetry in Chapter One, the imperial model accounts for the human urge to achieve singular authority and thus make subordinate the surrounding environment. Rather than challenge themselves by considering the intrinsic value of the landscape before them, humans representative of the imperial paradigm engage a unilinear process whereby they impose fixed ideas onto the physical environment regardless of long-term consequences. As made evident by Raleigh's projection of "virgin" stereotyping onto

Guiana, or Donne's projection of "New World discovery" rhetoric onto his bedroom companion, the object in question is recognized not for its intrinsic value but only for its potential to satisfy the desires of its beholder.

Laura Mulvey's theory based on the gaze is a useful conceptual model for understanding the issues at stake when considering differences between imperial and reciprocal paradigms. In general, working from a feminist perspective, Mulvey regards reciprocity between equal partners as a necessary prerequisite towards establishing a "healthy," "civilized" society. Specifically, she argues that the gaze stands as an obstacle to this harmonious (and perhaps utopian) end. Mulvey defines the gaze as the "straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and spectacle" (1975, 14). Specific to her interests, Mulvey criticizes narrative cinema, Hollywood-style, as an agent for twentieth-century capitalism, and as a promoter of gazing in the service of unhealthy, consumer-obsessed social discourse:

In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness. (19)

Negative social implications of the gaze revolve around the issue of one-sided control. In Mulvey's imperfect

world, the gaze is exercised by men, while women consistently represent those objects which are gazed upon. Thus, Mulvey's logic proceeds, men control women because men determine aesthetic standards for the image of woman. This standard is inevitably based on male desire, which is traditionally unsympathetic to female desires.

By juxtaposing Mulvey's theory of the gaze with my own model, some interesting analogies can be made. Much like the imperial paradigm's account of human/landscape relations, Mulvey's gaze signifies a process of experience in which boundaries between subject and object become fixed as differences between an active perceiver and a passive perceived. In terms of process, the end result of gazing is inevitably unilinear in that men dominate and shape the image of woman.

Jessica Benjamin extrapolates on Mulvey's premise of the gaze. Like Mulvey, Benjamin criticizes the propagation of anti-exchange sentiments in a society determined by gaze dynamics. But Benjamin goes so far as to propose a remedy for the problem. She explicitly argues that a reconfiguring of the phallo-centric gaze based on a dialectic of control is the only means of achieving a gender-balanced world:

If I completely control the other, then the other ceases to exist, and if the other completely controls me, I cease to exist. True differentiation means maintaining the essential tension of the contradictory impulses, to negate and recognize. (151)

If "to negate" is to give--to take something away from one's

self and add it to an "other"'s self--and "to recognize" is to receive--to accept something from someone else (or, if a reversal of terms is effected, thus implying that "to negate" is to take and "to recognize" is to give)--then Benjamin describes the process of exchange accounted for by the reciprocal paradigm. As is the case with the Graces' dance or Colin's music-making, Benjamin's model prioritizes the tension achieved by juxtaposing "equally" weighted extremes as the essential nature of a healthy relationship. Moreover, like the generative effect of the reciprocal paradigm, Benjamin's dialectic of control is self-sustaining. By continually asserting and withdrawing their subjective authorities, the component parts of Benjamin's model guarantee themselves a future for further expression.

As suggested above, Mulvey's theory of the gaze and Benjamin's dialectic of control provide insight into the distinction I have drawn between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms. Using the terms made familiar by these feminist theorists, Calidore's interruption of Colin's song on Mt. Acidale could be assessed as a classic case of "gazing" which disrupts an ideal display of "control dialectics." Or, it could be said that the speaker of Epithalamion oscillates between "gazing" upon his bride-to-be and engaging in a "dialectic of control" with the woods that surround him. Furthermore, the imperial model's representation of single-mindedness and the human urge to dominate notices

similar dynamics as the modern, consumer-obsessed society Mulvey defines. In both cases, pleasure is determined by one's success in achieving an illusion of control whereby expectations determined by convention are met.

Admittedly, a significant difference between my landscape interests and Mulvey's and Benjamin's gender interests may be said to exist. Perhaps it is extreme, even reductive, to equate gender discrimination with landscape exploitation. But, as suggested by excerpts from Raleigh, Donne and Marvell, to the Renaissance imagination the difference between images of woman and landscape are surprisingly slight. For example, by equating Guiana's landscape with the image of woman, Raleigh's commentary represents a point where issues of gender/landscape and consumerism/imperialism intersect. Donne's poem is equally telling. By addressing his lover as "O my America! my new-found-land," Donne does not hesitate to blur differences between gender and landscape. Therefore, I begin to wonder if, for Mulvey, Benjamin and myself, the central issue is not so much to sympathize with victims--women or landscape--of gazing subjects as it is to come to terms with the processes that perpetuate such victims.

Hayden White, a contemporary cultural theorist, provides further insight into the processes involved in both imperial and reciprocal-minded strategies. In his discussion of language formation and the human need to trope (1978),

White defines tropes as "deviations from literal, conventional, or proper language use, swerves in locution sanctioned neither by custom nor logic." And thus troping is "a movement from one notion of the way things are related to another and a connection between things so that they can be expressed in a language that takes account of the possibility of their being expressed otherwise" (2).

Using these definitions, White develops a theoretical model whereby he considers the wild man to be a master trope of western thought. Thinking specifically about literature from the early colonial period, White contends that terms such as "wild man" were used "not merely to designate a specific condition or state of being but also to confirm the value of their dialectical antithesis" (151). Thus, according to White, images of wild men as presented during the Renaissance period--for example, Caliban from Shakespeare (The Tempest) or the salvage man from Spenser (VI iiii The Faerie Queene)--tell one less about any specific "other" and more about certain anxieties within the culture that produced that image. White accounts for these anxieties as being the result of human fears concerning the unknown:

All this points to the fact that societies feel the need to fill areas of consciousness not yet colonized by scientific knowledge with conceptual designators affirmative of their own existentially contrived values and norms A given culture is only as strong as its power to convince its least dedicated member that its fictions are truths. (153)

White does not associate troping with the rhetoric of

landscape, exemplified by Donne in "Elegy 19," nor does he make explicit a connection between troping and imperialism. Nonetheless, White's conceptual parameters, as outlined above, provide another approach by which to come to terms with my own theoretical model. Ultimately, he is discussing in cultural terms, dynamics central to the imperial paradigm. White's concept of troping implies that human experience is defined by an unilinear process that begins in the mind and ends as some form of expression in material terms. Therefore, the power to convince--that is, to effectively trope--is inextricably linked to one's ability to subordinate the surrounding physical world, including not only human adversaries but landscapes as well.¹

Like Mulvey's "gaze" and contrary to Benjamin's "dialectic of control," White's concept of "troping" accounts for a non-reciprocal process. When considered together, these three theoretical models provide insights into dynamics of human experience that are based on our desire to control and our willingness to collaborate with things--peoples and landscapes--beyond our conventionally determined subjective grasp. The imperial and reciprocal paradigms

¹ Although speaking of the relationship between western Europe and the Orient, Edward Said complements White's observations. In Said's terms, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (1978, 3). Both White and Said are delineating a process of cultural development that is, to use my terms, more imperial than reciprocal.

take into consideration a similar range of dynamics. Moreover, White's consideration of the wild man in terms of early colonial rhetoric helps to justify my own application of the imperial and reciprocal paradigms to the Sixteenth Century. Before moving into the specific example of English Renaissance gardens, a general overview of the Elizabethan attitude towards landscape is useful. It will demonstrate how the imperial paradigm's notice of the human urge to dominate natural landscapes accounts for the prevailing sentiment of that period.

Keith Thomas recognizes an evolution in human behaviour between 1500 and 1800 that saw a change in how humans perceived the natural world, including beasts and landscapes. Specifically, he points out that beasts and landscapes were increasingly regarded less as subordinates to humans and more as equals (51). And thus, based on his time frame, Thomas observes that the Tudor and Stuart regimes account for the subordinating extreme. The prevailing world view during these regimes was that "the world had been created for man's sake and that other species were meant to be subordinate to his wishes and needs" (17). Moreover, their "characteristic attitude was one of exaltation in hard-won human dominance" (28). With respect to landscape, Thomas observes:

Agriculture stood to land as did cooking to raw meat. It converted nature into culture. Uncultivated land meant uncultivated men(15) The pagan divinities of grove, stream and mountain had been expelled,

leaving behind them a disenchanted world, to be shaped, moulded and dominated. (25)

Texts from the Elizabethan period making specific reference to issues of landscape confirm Thomas's general observation. For example, much like Raleigh's claim to Guiana, John Derricke describes Ireland as an Edenic paradise ripe for commercial exploitation:

A goodly brave Piramides,
 erected passyng high:
 From whence all corners of the lande,
 I might at large discerie.
 From whence I did behold and see,
 moste noble flowyng streames:
 Fit for the Marchantes of the worlde,
 to saile from foraine Realmes.
 Wherein were sondrie store of beastes,
 in waters that doe live:
 To whom their proper names I am,
 unable for to give.
 Yet were thei suche as doe maintaine,
 and serve for common wealth:
 By yeeldyng plentie to the soile,
 where store of people dwelth.
 Yea suche and suche (if credite maie,
 be given unto me than:)
 As doe refreshe the hongrie soule,
 and serve the use of man. (1581, Part I)

Here the narrator, Derricke himself as a one-time visitor to Ireland, reflects an attitude towards the Irish landscape representative of the imperial paradigm. From the vantage of a pyramid's apex, Derricke's view is sweeping and all encompassing; he can see "all corners of the lande." Moreover, much like Adam as presented in Milton's Paradise Lost, Derricke's narrator asserts his quasi-divine intelligence by ignoring the "proper names" of beasts and, we assume, imposing his own labels onto the natural environment.

By discrediting all that has preceded him in the Irish landscape--possibly including indigenously determined names for things--Derricke further reinforces his subjective authority at the expense of the natural environment. Implicit to this omniscopic perspective is the fact that Derricke is divorced from the reality of the landscape he considers his own. He indicates a superficial interest, at best, with getting to know Ireland beyond its potential as "store" for commercial enterprise. This superficial view of Ireland's natural resources ultimately can only facilitate Derricke's pressing motivation to see Ireland possessed and developed by "Marchantes of the worlde."

Thomas's general claim that Elizabethans saw the world as their playground is also supported by more reciprocal-minded observers. Thomas Tusser's "Beleeff," the prefatory poem to his longer work Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry (1571), confesses "trust" in a "God above all Gods, a King above all Kings," who:

. . . clad this earth with herb, with trees, and sundry
fruits,
with beast, with bird, with wild and tame, of strange
and sundry suits;
That intermixt the same with mines, like veins of ore,
of silver, gold, of precious stones, and treasures many
more.

That joined brooks to dales, to hills fresh water
springs,
with rivers sweet, along the meads, to profit many
things:
That made the hoary frosts, the flaky snows so trim,
the honey dews, the blustering winds, to serve as
pleaseth him.

II. Gardens

The Elizabethan garden is an appropriate place to pursue issues of human/landscape relations. As a concept, gardens represent expressions of the human condition--one's relationship to landscape, the world or even cosmos at large--where subject matter and medium intersect. That is, in the act of gardening, features of landscape are used to express a perceived relationship between humans and landscape. This essential coincidence may explain why the garden occupies a central position in the formation and evolution of literary, religious, or philosophical works. For example, a garden in Eden represents the primal scene from where Christians and Jews mark humanity's first intimate connection with the Godhead. Similarly, Plato chooses a garden in Phaedrus as the place in which Socrates discovers a truth to his being that could not possibly be known within the limits of his initial "urban rationalism" (Comito, 65). During the Elizabethan period, the concept of garden continued to provide humans with an opportunity to explore their condition. Shakespeare's garden scenes in Richard II, Jonson's celebration of Penshurst, or Spenser's Bower of Bliss and Garden of Adonis testify to this claim.²

² Pauline Fletcher (1983) provides useful insight into the relationship between humans and their gardens that has implications beyond her immediate Victorian interests. As she observes, "the garden is the most complex and ambiguous

The history of gardens in England, from a slow beginning before the Millenium (AD 500-1000) to more elaborate configurations in Tudor times, is complex, to say the least. To summarize adequately the several details of this history in the space here available would be impossible. With this task, John Harvey has done an excellent job in his book, Medieval Gardens (1981). Essential to his account is a notice of constant tension between nature and art, utility and beauty (Harvey, 29). In order to facilitate my discussion of specifically Elizabethan gardens, some attention paid to Harvey and his recognition of tension is first necessary.

According to Harvey, prior to the Sixteenth Century only the Iberian peninsula had "purely" ornamental gardens whereby pleasure could be said to be an end in itself (48). English gardens, before 1066, were primarily a monastic concern. "Herbariums" (also known as "hortus"), were the standard plan. Usually a square or rectangular plot, divided into four quadrants by pathways, with hedges marking the periphery, and a central feature, usually a lectern, fountain or pool--herbariums emphasized order and balance

of all landscapes. . . . it embodies [man's] own idea of himself, or of his society. In this respect it is a social landscape" (8). Using this premise, Fletcher recognizes a potential in gardens to behave like texts and thus reveal under critical pressure the motivations and ideologies of the people who construct them. See also Charlesworth, Michael (I: 4).

between extremes of beauty and usefulness (60). Therefore, fruit and herb were celebrated equally for their appearance and for the sustenance they offered.

In practical terms, the herbarium's emphasis on balance manifested itself in gardens that were not too large and that strove to encourage and improve on nature rather than destroy or alter it significantly. The act of gardening itself reflected this intuitive appreciation for the landscape's naturalness. As an exercise in spiritual discipline striving for inner peace--a balance between thought and passion--gardening was regarded as worthy preparation for the afterworld. This Christian approach to gardening was consolidated in the image of Adam as a prototypical English gardener (103).

After the Norman conquest brought about more sustained contact with the continent, England's interest in the more purely pleasing potential of gardens began to evolve. Most notable was Henry III's reign. Married to Eleanor of Provence in 1236, Henry ushered a "more highly sophisticated and luxurious culture" into England (70). Increasingly, the garden as a concept in England became a place for escape and sensual fulfillment. An expanding seed trade brought about the introduction of exotic plants which in turn facilitated a specifically aesthetic interest in plants. Moreover, gardens began to expand on the herbarium's rigid layout by including more elaborate features such as ditches, fences,

buildings, turfs, knots and mazes, "mottes" (mounts), and more creative experiments with water (110-114).

Under the Norman kings, gardening began to lose its Christian association as it became more clearly a professional endeavor. The appearance of secular-minded gardening manuals beginning in the Fourteenth Century indicates the beginning of a move away from the strictly spiritual or meditative focus of monastic gardeners. But despite the increasing trend towards bigger and more spectacular gardens, prior to the Sixteenth Century, the herbarium remained standard practice and represented, in Harvey's words, the "horitcultural music of the time" (60). Therefore, relying on Harvey's research, we can conclude that English gardening practice prior to Henry VIII essentially maintained a balance between what might be called the utility and pleasure principles.

The English Renaissance garden experienced a noticeable shift in emphasis when compared to its early predecessors. Specifically, meditative process as the emphasized feature of experience--in which the journey and not the destination is emphasized--was eclipsed by the desire to gaze upon spectacular images. Therefore, in the Tudor period, the English garden began to assume an exhibitionist role whereby it was simultaneously looked at and displayed, with its appearance coded for strong visual and even erotic impact. The shift in emphasis was away from a balance between utility and

beauty towards pure pleasure, and away from "the thinking of a garden as a collection of things that could be eaten, and towards the conception of it as something to be looked at" (Charlesworth, 6). To recall Mulvey's conceptual terms, the garden became an object for the "gaze" by connoting "to-be-looked-at-ness."

Terry Comito accounts for this shift as a "change from closed to outward planning" (6). No longer was the garden itself considered an authority with respect to maintaining a balance between utility and pleasure. Instead, a reversal of authority took place whereby garden visitors imposed their own subjective dimension onto the landscape before them in an attempt to assert their quasi-divine status. As Comito observes, "throughout the sixteenth-century, the changing forms of the gardens themselves reflect the growing absolutism of their owner's claims upon the world" (14). Thus, the English garden became a passive target for the gaze of owners and visitors.

Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536 represents the formal death of the balance between utility and pleasure maintained by the early herbariums. The move to dissolve sacred space as previously defined by small monasteries made available the opportunity to redefine gardening strategies in keeping with current trends of growing secular ambition. Moreover, the Dissolution made available financial resources to be invested in comforts and

luxuries, including self-created pleasure gardens (Harvey, 136). Increasingly, sacred space was turned inside out by wealthy land holders as a means to display material worth rather than encourage heightened spiritual awareness. Thus, in the Sixteenth Century, the garden became a vehicle to make available to one man all the greatness of history (Comito, 16-17).³

To reflect the growing trends in human/landscape relations, what Comito aptly refers to as "the cult of Herculean self," garden layouts began to expand as well as to incorporate new, spectacular features. For example, the garden at Hampton Court introduced dynastic heraldry as a distinctive feature of early Tudor display. As Roy Strong describes:

Each beast, picked out in bright colours with an abundance of gilding, surmounted a post painted either white or white and green, the Tudor colours, and clutched a small vane or flag with either the royal arms or a Tudor rose. Later this scheme was elaborated by the addition of three antelopes, three dragons, three lions, two harts, two greyhounds and three hinds.
(25)

Along with heraldry, squares of grass, sand, brickdust, and later flowers, laid out as knots became increasingly elaborate. To appreciate these sights it was necessary to construct omnisopic vantage points. For example, at Hampton

³ Roy Strong's chapter, "The Heraldic Garden," in The Renaissance Garden in England (1979) is exceptional for describing the changes in gardening patterns that accompanied the changes in perceptions of self. Although I make reference to Strong, his analysis is of such detail and quality as to deserve individual attention.

Court, the Privy Garden was designed to be "best read from the upper windows of the royal apartments" (Strong 33). As a result, summerhouses, gazebos, and lookouts became increasingly standard fare in garden arrangements (Harvey, 140).

Certainly the utilitarian function of gardens did not disappear in the Sixteenth Century. This is made evident by John Gerard's comment concerning plants, "the delight is great, but the use greater, and joyned often with necessitie" (Woodward, 1). But it can be said that by Elizabeth's reign "to-be-looked-at-ness" connoted the central attraction of English court gardens. For example, Sir Robert Cecil designed a garden for Elizabeth to be recognized primarily as an emblem of herself. Rather than plant customary and useful herbs, Cecil had his gardener lay out symbolic flowers and create an arbour entirely out of eglantine (Strong, 46). In the case of Cecil's garden, nature's power to affect humans had been usurped by Elizabethan ideology. It was no longer naturalness for its own sake, but the image of Elizabeth as imposed on that naturalness that brought about pleasure for gazing visitors.

Court garden visitors' accounts from the Elizabethan period indicate the large degree to which an imperial imperative was determining garden design. Robert Laneham describes Kenilworth Castle as it appeared during a visit by Elizabeth, July 9 to 27, 1575:

Untoo thiz, hiz honorz exquisit appointment of a beautifull Garden, an aker or more of quantitee that lyeth on the north thear. Whearin hard all along the Castl wall iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten foot hy and a twelve brode: eeven under foot and fresh of fyne grass: az iz allso the syde thearof toward the gardein, in which by sundry equall distaunce: with obelisks, sphearz, and white bearz all of stone upon theyr curoouz basez, by goodly sheaw wear setz. (69)

Laneham's description is valuable for what is described--objects specifically designed to be looked at--and, perhaps even more important, for what it reveals concerning the outlook of the describer. Laneham's language is the language Calidore uses on Mt. Acidale. He objectifies the view by exercising his need to measure and judge; and thus he divorces himself from a possible experience--based on exchange--with the natural, albeit shaped, landscape. Like Mulvey's theatre-goer, Laneham has become a gazer, who actively delineates a difference between subject and objects, himself and garden features.

Thomas Platter, while visiting England in 1599, made observations of Nonsuch Palace, Hampton Court and Woodstock. Similar to Laneham, Platter foregrounds the act of gazing as central to his experience of garden appreciation:

Having seen [the Queene's] luncheon served and set out, we went to a tent before the palace and took our luncheon there. Then we retuned to the palace, and were shown the queen's garden laid out as follows. (I: 114)

Platter then proceeds to describe groves, fountains, and topiary: "in the pleasure gardens are charming terraces and all kinds of animals--dogs, hares, all overgrown with plants, most artfully set out, so that from a distance, one

would take them for real ones" (115). With Platter especially, one realizes the degree to which sensual pleasure had become a main, staged feature of the English court garden:

And just as there is a park on the one hand, so opposite this in the middle of the other side there is a maze, similarly decorated with plants and flowering trees, and two marble fountains, so that time shall not drag in such a place; for should one miss one's way, not only are taste, vision and smell delighted, but the gladsome birdsongs and plashing fountains please the ear, indeed it is like an earthly paradise. (117)⁴

To be sure, the pleasure garden as described by Laneham and Platter have a precedent in The Garden of Earthly Delights as found in medieval literature. Moreover, as indicated earlier by Gerard and further substantiated by a poem like Spenser's "Muiopotmos," the utilitarian function of gardens remained constant in Elizabethan gardens. But when compared to the pre-Sixteenth Century herbarium, the designers of Elizabethan court gardens appear to have different motivations for achieving their spectacular effects. Rather than encourage humility--that is, increase visitors' awareness of their reliance on fruits sprung from soil--the

⁴ Platter's visit to the courts of Elizabeth is motivated by nothing short of today's tourism obsession. His observations are very much of the postcard variety as are his actions equally reminiscent of "travelling abroad": "On descent and exit from the church the gardener presented himself, and after we had offered a gratuity to our first guide, the gardener conducted us into the royal pleasaunce . . . After leaving this extensive and pleasant garden, and presenting our gratuity to the gardener, the governor of the royal palace . . . received us" (116-17). On reading passages like this, I am left wondering if Disneyland or Andrew Lloyd Webber operas are possible modern equivalents to the Elizabethan court garden.

court gardens created a space where humans could distance themselves from the natural world as a means to self-satisfaction in their own perceived quasi-divine status.⁵

Like visitor descriptions, gardening manuals from the Elizabethan period suggest that gardens were increasingly becoming a vehicle to serve human vanities rather than encourage a deep-felt understanding for natural landscape.

For example, Gervase Markham argues:

Now, if any shall object, why I doe not rather covet to have these Alleyes or walkes rather all greene, then thus cut and devided, sith it is a most beautifull thing to see a pleasant greene walke, my answere is this, that first the mixture of colours, is the onely delight of the eye above all other: for beauty being the onely object in which it joyeth, that beautie is nothing but an excellent mixture, or consent of colours, as in the composition of a delicate woman the grace of her cheeke is the mixture of redde and white, the wonder of her eye blacke and white, and the beauty of her hand blewe and white, any of which is not sayd to be beautifull if it consist of single or simple colours. (I: 121)

The similarity here between Markham's attitude towards natural landscapes and Raleigh's is striking. In both instances the subjective/human position is defined by imposing onto landscape the image of woman, passive and beautiful. As a result, in Markham's case specifically, rather than appreciate the landscape for its own unique configurations--

⁵ It is worth recalling at this point Red Cross knight's revelation concerning his true name as revealed by Contemplation, "Whereof Georgos he thee gaue to name" (I x). Georgos (Gk: ge earth + ourgos worker) indicates Spenser's belief in a connection between heroic, virtuous identity and one's essential relationship to the natural world. Thus the importance of humility (L: humus earth, ground) is made explicit.

its "greenness" for example, the gardener literally imposes a design based on the ideal of a beautiful woman onto the landscape.⁶

Thomas Hill, also known as Didymus Mountain (a marketing strategy and another example of increasing deception in the business of gardening), is also specific in emphasizing the need for the pleasure principle in gardens. According to him, a "good purpose" for a garden layout includes "delight and comfort of the wearied mind, which [an owner] may by himself or fellowship of his friends conceive, in the delectable sights" (24). Here again, it is the viewer's pleasure that is privileged. Moreover, by emphasizing the central position of owners in their gardens, Hill perpetuates the cult of Herculean self. Along similar lines, William Lawson approaches garden design with wealthy owners in mind. Speaking of the "gods of earth" who spend their days "hearing and judging courtly controversy," Lawson designs his gardens to please their hard working owners:

Nay, it is (no doubt) a comfort to them, to set open their Cazements into a most delicate Garden and Orchard, whereby they may not only see that, wherein they are so much delighted, but also to give fresh, sweet, and pleasant ayre to their Galleries and Chambers.
(I: 136)

In terms of human/landscape relations, the descriptions

⁶ The moment from Markham also recalls Colin's relationship to the natural world as described in "Janu-arye"'s argument and discussed in Chapter One. Again we find a human imposing an idea--as signified by an image of woman--onto a natural landscape.

from Laneham and Platter, and the instructions from Markham, Hill and Lawson, are accounted for more by the imperial than reciprocal paradigm. The Elizabethan court garden emphasized spectacle rather than process--pleasure rather than a balance between pleasure and utility--by encouraging viewers to gaze upon rather than understand the natural features upon which gardens depended. One would not be far off in claiming that Elizabethan court gardeners prostituted nature to substantiate viewers' subjective authorities and satisfy human vanities. But despite the popularity of such imperial practices in garden design, marginal voices critical of such trends and sensitive to the reciprocal extreme did exist.

Thomas Tusser represents one such voice. Despite his complicity with Tudor ideology in general (he regarded nature as a resource for human profit), Tusser resisted the current trend of creating gardens merely for show. Instead, he argued for a more medieval approach to gardening whereby beauty and utility are somehow realigned so that gardens could again teach as well as delight. Tusser tells us in his autobiographical poem, "The Life of Tusser," that after having experienced English court life first-hand, he rejected the "civilized" scene, including its "Cards and Dice, with Venus vice, / And peevish pride from vertue wide." In response to courtly corruptions, Tusser took to "Suffolke soil" and began his career as a reciprocal-minded gardener.

From this geographically marginalized perspective, Tusser not only tended his fields but began criticizing the imperial impulses behind the larger, courtly gardens.

In "A Comparison between Champion Country and Severall," Tusser challenges the notion that size predetermines greatness:

More profit is quieter found,
 (Where pastures in severall be;)
 Of one seely acre of ground,
 Than champion maketh of three.
 Again what a joy it is known,
 When men may be bold of their own?

He also explicitly condemns gardening practices that do not first consider and then enhance a landscape's naturalness:

In Norfolk, behold the despair
 Of tillage, too much to be born,
 By drovers, from fair to fair,
 And others destroying the corn.
 By custom and covetous pates,
 By gaps, and by opening of gates.

In general, Tusser's criticism is pointed. He holds custom--the servant to fashion and trend--responsible for exhausting the natural potentials of landscape. To be sure, Tusser complains that too often Elizabethan gardeners, rather than appreciate the soil for what it can offer, only promote self-ambition--their own and the people they work for--at the expense of landscape. In this sense, Tusser defies the cult of Herculean self including its champions, to use Tusser's term, inherent to mainstream English Renaissance gardening strategies.

Interestingly, outside of Tusser's obvious agrarian

perspective, the most notable critics of imperial gardening practices are poets. For example, Andrew Marvell explicitly attacks the privileging of spectacle and pleasure in garden designs, and laments that these trends simply cater to human vanity, not human understanding:

Luxurious Man, to bring his Vice in use,
 Did after him the World seduce:
 And from the fields the Flow'rs and Plants allure,
 Where Nature was most plain and pure.
 He first enlcos'd within the Gardens square
 A dead and standing pool of Air:
 And a more luscious Earth for them did knead,
 Which stupifi'd them while it fed.
 ("The Mower against Gardens," 1-8)

Implicit in the lines is Marvell's awareness of a difference between the way things used to be and the way they currently stand. "Luxurious Man" has perverted nature by showing it for what it might be rather than for appreciating it for what it is. According to Marvell, the result of such perversion is sure death to the generative forces of nature. Moreover, in building gardens for show, humans have lost touch with a value system based on reciprocity as represented by Nature's willingness to "dispencc":

'Tis all enforc'd; the Fountain and the Grot;
 While the sweet Fields do lye forgot:
 Where willing Nature does to all dispencc
 A wild and fragrant Innocence. (31-34)

Spenser is another poet who explicitly criticizes courtly gardens of his day for their shift away from appreciating naturalness for its own sake. While describing the great natural court of Dame Nature, as it takes place in rural Ireland on Arlo-hill, Spenser offers direct criticism

of court gardens and gardeners:

In a fayre Plaine vpon an equall Hill,
[Dame Nature] placed was in a pauilion;
Not such as Craftes-men by their idle skill
Are wont for Princes states to fashion:
But th'earth her self of her owne motion,
Out of her fruitfull bosome made to growe
Most dainty trees. (VII 8)

Besides its direct reference to "Princes states," this juncture in Spenser's poetry is fascinating because it recalls Acrasia's Bower of Bliss as described in Book II, The Faerie Queene. The mentioning of "idle" in association with specifically courtly gardens--"Craftes-men by their idle skill"--recalls Verdant in the arms of Acrasia--"His warlike armes, the idle instruments / Of sleeping praise, were hong vpon a tree" (xii 80). In both situations, gardens crafted to facilitate pleasure and satiate princes are associated with idleness, and thus they operate as an antithesis to gardens that encourage an engaging and a reciprocal appreciation for nature. In this way it might be said that Spenser anticipates Bacon's observation concerning strictly pleasure gardens: they are "fine devices . . . they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness" ("Of Gardens," 141).⁷

⁷ Another juncture in Spenser's poetry making a distinction between usefulness and pleasure in garden terms is the difference between a "useful" Oake and a "bragging briar" as described by Thenot in "Februarie," The Shepheardes Calender. Or, in the proem to Book VI, while describing the first garden and the flower of courtesy, Spenser observes: "But vertues seat is deepe within the mynd / And not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defynd" (5).

On the strength of this initial connection between the Mutabilitie Cantos explicit criticism of courtly gardens and gardeners and the Bower of Bliss, further analogies between Spenser's literary garden and the popular gardens of his time can be made. The Bower of Bliss as described by Spenser consists of images that recall historical gardens of the Sixteenth Century as described by Laneham and Platter, and as designed by Markham, Hill and Lawson:

Thus being entred, [Guyon and the Palmer] behold around
 A large and spacious plaine, on euery side
 Strowed with pleasauns, whose faire grassy ground
 Mantled with greene, and goodly beutifide
 With ornaments of Floraes pride,
 Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne
 Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
 Did decke her, and too lauishly adorne,
 When forth from virgin bowre she comes in th'early
 morne. (II xii 50)

The specific reference to nature being substantially altered by art in Acrasia's bower is especially relevant to Lawson's summary concerning flower arrangements. As Lawson explains:

And all [flowers], by the skill of your Gardiner, so
 comely, and orderly placed in your Borders and Squares,
 and so intermingled, that none looking thereon, cannot
 but wonder, to see, what Nature corrected by Art can
doe. (137, emphasis added)

Ultimately, the Bower of Bliss is the garden that Lawson describes, in which art "corrects" rather than appreciates nature. Thus, both Lawson and Acrasia create garden spaces based on the imperial paradigm's account of the human urge to dominate naturalness in landscapes. Just as Acrasia dominates Verdant (ME: verd green) so does Lawson dominate

"green" spaces by shaping nature to cater to human desire rather than express its intrinsic balance between beauty and utility.

Moreover, like the gardens found at Woodstock, Hampton Court, and Nonsuch, the Bower of Bliss showcases "final appearances" rather than providing insight into processes. For example, Acrasia emphasizes secular bliss and promises to satisfy human desire immediately, as advertised by the theme song of her theme-park bower: "Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime / For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre" (75). And so again, we find the Bower of Bliss representing features of the imperial rather than reciprocal paradigm. If it were not for the Palmer who "much rebukt those wandering eyes of his" (69), Guyon would have fallen into a gazing reverie only to end up overcome with idleness, out of tune with nature and, like Verdant, in Acrasia's lap.

Spenser contrasts the imperial dynamics represented by the Bower of Bliss with reciprocal dynamics as represented by the Garden of Adonis. This second literary garden recalls the balance between beauty and utility as maintained in medieval gardens. At the Garden of Adonis's center is indeed a pleasure garden, but it does not deny its naturalness. In this garden, art does not correct nature; instead, nature is respected for its own intrinsic worth:

And in the thickest couert of that shade,
There was a pleasant arbour, not by art,

But of the trees owne inclination made. (III vi 44)

Furthermore, in keeping with these reciprocal-minded dynamics, the garden that surrounds this center is identified explicitly for its foregrounding of natural processes: "there is the first seminarie / Of all things, that are borne to liue and die, / According to their kindes" (30). And significantly, there is a conscious lack of worldly gardeners, "Crafts-men," in the Garden of Adonis:

Ne needs there Gardiner to set, or sow,
 To plant or prune: for of their owne accord
 All things, as they created were, doe grow
 And yet remember well the mightie word,
 Which first was spoken by th'Almighty lord,
 That bad them to increase and multiply. (34)

That the Garden of Adonis is representative of the reciprocal paradigm is confirmed by the lack of any strong male presence at all. The garden is found by Venus, who significantly does not gaze at its "goodly flowers" upon her arrival but instead initiates an exchange of sorts whereby she offers her child, Amoretta, to the garden's keeper, Psyche. In turn, Psyche will raise the child with her own daughter, Pleasure, and school them both in "the lore of loue, and goodly womanhead" (51). The moment of exchange between Venus and Psyche is reminiscent of the Graces' dance in that it prioritizes process and generation as represented by female images. A correlation between Adonis's garden and reciprocity is also confirmed by the fact that at its very center exists a "stately Mount" described as the mons veneris, the female genitalia, an image for continued gener-

ation (43).

Significantly, the Garden of Adonis recalls Tusser's and Marvell's more salient points regarding the need to respect natural processes that was not respected in popular Elizabethan court gardens. Rather than concede to the cult of Herculean self, humans in the case of Adonis's garden are denied any real subjective authority because they are considered only component parts in a much larger, eternal process:

All things from thence doe their first being fetch,
And borrow matter, whereof they are made,
Which when as forme and feature it does ketch,
Becomes a bodie, and doth then inuade
The state of life, out of the griesly shade.
That substance is eterne, and bideth so,
Ne when the life decayes, and forme does fade,
Doth it consume, and into nothing go,
but chaunged is, and often altred to and fro. (37)

The Bower of Bliss and the Garden of Adonis can be read as representative examples of the imperial and reciprocal paradigms respectively. At the most basic level, the Bower is a space that thrives on the gaze and subordinates the natural features of landscape to individual desire. On the other hand, the Garden is a space within which exchanges occur and differences between subject and object break down into what might be finally read as the dance of life. In C.S. Lewis's terms, the Bower is a place of "artifice," "sterility" and "death"; whereas the Garden is a place of "nature," "fecundity" and "life" (1972). Or, in Michael Leslie's more recent terms, the Bower is flamboyant and a

site for "rhetoric as manipulative persuasion"; the Garden, is educative and a site for "rhetoric as studious creativity" (1991).

While elaborating on differences between the imperial and reciprocal paradigms as outlined in Chapter One, and while expanding the theoretical and historical guidelines discussed in Part One of this chapter, Part Two has demonstrated, using the specific example of Elizabethan gardens, that the common attitude towards natural landscape in the Sixteenth Century was often shaped by impulses accounted for by the imperial paradigm. However, it has also shown that a marginal voice favouring the reciprocal extreme also existed. Therefore, because he represents both the imperial and reciprocal paradigms in his literary gardens, because these paradigms can be correlated with gardening issues current in the Sixteenth Century, and because he champions the Garden of Adonis while disparaging the Bower of Bliss, Spenser appears to advocate an approach to human/landscape relations that challenges the conventions of his time. That is, Spenser resists gaze dynamics as the only process by which humans can construct a relationship with natural landscapes. Instead, he considers a dialectic of control between humans and landscapes as being an equally valid, if not better, means by which to create living environments. How this reading of Spenser and gardens applies itself to the larger issue of Elizabethan colonial policy in Ireland and Spen-

ser's role therein is the focus of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

COLIN-IZING THE COLON-IZER:

SPENSER'S HOME IN IRELAND

Chapter One derived from Spenser's poetry two paradigms for perceiving landscape, each representing an opposite extreme on a spectrum of potential relations between humans and natural landscapes. The imperial paradigm is maintained by individuals who impose their identity on natural, uncultivated landscapes. Colin as described in "Januarye"'s argument and Calidore as presented on Mt. Acidale in Book VI of The Faerie Queene are examples of the imperial paradigm in Spenser's poetry. The opposite, reciprocal, extreme is maintained by individuals who interact with the landscape and are thus affected by its naturalness. Colin's ability to tune his piping with a natural landscape as described by Hobbinol in "Aprill" or witnessed by Calidore in Book VI is an example in Spenser's poetry of the reciprocal paradigm. Furthermore, the reciprocal paradigm is represented by Colin's close association with the Graces' dance. This ritualized dance celebrates mutual exchange--a process of giving, receiving and returning thanks--which is the conceptual center of the reciprocal paradigm.

Chapter Two substantiated Chapter One's introduction of imperial and reciprocal paradigms by discussing different models from twentieth century critics that also attempt to

define differences between processes of unilinear and circular significance. In particular, Mulvey's theory of the "gaze," Benjamin's "dialectic of control" and White's "troping" helped to further differentiate the reciprocal paradigm's circular from the imperial paradigm's unilinear dynamic. Moreover, Chapter Two demonstrated how these contrary paradigms translated themselves into actual sixteenth-century gardening projects. "Reciprocal gardens" respected the natural landscapes they replaced by not masking their natural origins. By emphasizing their utilitarian function, based on a process of growth and decay, reciprocal gardens, as argued for by Tusser and Marvell, do not deny their earthiness. "Imperial gardens," on the other hand, shunned their natural origins and embraced artifice as their aesthetic standard. As witnessed by Laneham and Platter, imperial gardens showcased delightful objects that reinforced courtly conventions and offered visitors an opportunity to escape through illusion the pressing realities of their mundane lives. Chapter Two concluded by finding representations of reciprocal and imperial gardens in The Faerie Queene: the Garden of Adonis and the Bower of Bliss respectively.

In an attempt to respect the reciprocal paradigm's notice of an essential relationship between generation and cyclical return, this chapter expands on and retreats into the arguments initiated and developed in the previous chap-

ters. Specifically, this chapter extends Chapter Two's historicizing of imperial and reciprocal paradigms into a consideration of Elizabethan colonial policy as practised in Ireland. But to do so this chapter also returns to Chapter One's emphasis on Spenser's poetry as the origin from which such considerations begin. Because Spenser was a servant for Elizabeth's colonial enterprise and a resident of Ireland from 1580 until near his death in 1599, the poetry (and prose) he wrote during that time provides an opportunity to discover the practical implications of imperial and reciprocal paradigms with respect to the Elizabethans, Spenser and the Irish landscape. The underlying premise for this assertion is that the attitudes taken towards landscape as derived from Spenser's poetry are paradigmatic of the actual attitudes Spenser took towards Ireland and its people.

Without doubt, Spenser's outlook towards Ireland and its people can be described in abstract terms of either the reciprocal or imperial paradigm, depending on the piece of writing, or the specific moment within a piece of writing. For example, A View of the Present State of Ireland expresses attitudes towards the Irish which openly contradict one another. At one moment the monograph's central character, Irenius, advocates patience and understanding, features of the reciprocal paradigm, as means to alleviating the troubles in Ireland. He accepts the Irish on their terms and what they stand for:

. . . for laws ought to be fashioned unto the manners of the people to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then as I said instead of good they may work ill, and pervert justice to extreme injustice. (11)

Paradoxically, Irenius later recommends imposing a foreign world view onto the Irish without concern for the indigenous peoples' own cultural standards. He advocates martial law, an attitude representative of the imperial paradigm, as a viable method for constructing a colony:

Therefore, since we cannot now apply laws fit to the people, . . . we will apply the people and fit them to the laws, as it most conveniently may be. (141-2)

Spenser's poetry is no less suggestive of mixed attitudes towards Ireland and its people. In "Epithalamion," for example, Spenser domesticates his wedding celebration in the Irish landscape, around the river "Mulla." At times, the poem's speaker embraces this Irish setting. Rather than objectify the landscape as a means to defining his own and his betrothed's identity, the speaker suspends their identity in favour of embracing features of the natural Irish environment:

Wake now my love, awake, for it is time,
 * * *
 Hark how the cheerefull birds do chaunt theyr laies
 And carroll of loves praise.
 The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft,
 The thrush replyes, the Mavis descant playes,
 The ouzell shrills, the Ruddock warbles soft,
 So goodly all agree with sweet consent,
 To this dayes merriment. (74-91)

But at other times he reveals an anxiety towards the landscape. Rather than suspend it, he asserts his subjective

authority by objectifying otherness in the Irish landscape as "drery accents." By setting otherness apart from himself and his betrothed as something to be feared, the speaker implies that such "drery accents" can be mastered subject to the wishes of his own desire:

Let no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,
Be heard all night within nor yet without:

* * *

Ne let the Pouke, nor other evill sprights,
Ne let mischivous witches with theyr charmes,
Ne let hob Goblins, names whose sence we see not,
Fray us with things that be not.

* * *

Ne let th'unpleasant Quyre of Frogs still croking
Make us to wish theyr choking. (334-50)

Other occasions in Spenser's poetry reflect a similar oscillation between an urge to embrace and an instinct to reject the Irish landscape. In Two Cantos of Mutabilite, Spenser describes features of the countryside surrounding his home at Kilcolman castle in terms suggesting a filial devotion to that place:

. . . vpon the highest hights
Of Arlo-hill (Who knowes not Arlo-hill?),
That is the highest head (in all mens sights)
Of my old father Mole, whom Shepheards quill
Renowned hath with hymnes fit for a rural skill. (36)

But, only a few stanzas following his reference to Mole as "old father," Spenser refers to that same mountain landscape as a godforsaken place:

Nath'lesse, Diana, full of indignation,
Thence-forth abandond her delicious brooke;
In whose sweet streame, before that bad occasion,
So much delight to bathe her limbes she tooke:
Ne only her, but also quite forsooke
All those faire forrests about Arlo hid. (54)

Or, in Book V of The Faerie Queene, Irena, a thinly disguised personified Ireland, is perceived to be both ugly and beautiful:

Then vp she rose, and on her selfe did dight
 Most squalid garments, fit for such a day,
 And with dull countenance, and with doleful spright,
 She forth was brought in sorrowfull dismay,
 For to receiue the doome of her decay.
 But . . .

Like as a tender Rose in open plaine,
 That with vntimely drought nigh withered was,
 And hung the head, soone as few drops of raine
 Thereon distill, and deaw her daintie face,
 Gins to looke vp, and with fresh wonted grace
 Dispreeds the glorie of her leaues gay. (xii 12-13)¹

As indicated by these examples from Spenser's prose and

¹ How to account for Spenser's attitude-swings towards Ireland and its people, especially when found within the same work, I leave for speculation. Perhaps Paul Stevens' suggestion that specific moments in Spenser's writing reflect the author's emotional response to specific historical events is a step in the right direction (1994). Thus, depending on Spenser's latest encounter with his local wood kern, whether he received a smile and a handshake or a grunt and a sneer, we get an account representative of either the reciprocal or imperial paradigm. Stevens' suggestion is intriguing because it begins to challenge the argument posited by Philip Sidney that in the Renaissance the poem was mainly taken to be an artistically shaped "product" rather than the distillation of an emotional "process" (The Defense of Poesy). In support of Stevens' suggestion, I might mention George Puttenham's claim that the poet is not only a "maker" but also an "imitator." And that "[the poet's] perfection cannot grow but by some divine instinct (the Platonic call it furor), or by excellency of nature and complexion, or by great subtilty of the spirits and wit, or by much experience and observation of the world" (The Art of English Poesy). It is Puttenham's last point that I wish to emphasize. Here, the Renaissance poet is presented as one who gets out into the world and experiences things. This attitude towards poetry writing challenges the notion that Renaissance poems were only determined by circumstances external to the poet. Puttenham's definition allows for the possibility of spontaneous, emotional responses as a feature of Renaissance poems.

poetry, Spenser was obviously aware of the Irish landscape. At times his writing embraces it. In these instances, Spenser's relationship with Ireland can be appreciated in terms of the reciprocal paradigm. That is, Ireland and its people find in Spenser an enthusiast of their local charms and colours. To be sure, he has engaged in a dialogue of sorts with the Irish landscape that is very much like Colin's tuning of his pipe to the spring as discussed in Chapter One. The Irish landscape can be seen as creating a forum for experience to which Spenser responds. He receives a gift of experience from the landscape, to which he sets meter and words, and returns his own gift of poetry. Thus, out of a reciprocity between Ireland and Spenser, poems are made.

At other times, Spenser's writing denies Ireland and its people their indigenous authority by imposing predetermined conventions, stereotypes as they were, onto them. In these instances we see Spenser distance himself from Irishness and behave in ways indicative of the imperial paradigm. He privileges his English outlook with an exclusive subjective authority that allows him to subordinate and determine the character of the surrounding landscape according to his desire. Granted, differences in Spenser's writing between reflecting an imperial or a reciprocal attitude towards landscape may seem slight. It may be argued that in all cases--whether celebrating singing birds or warning off

dreary accents, describing Irena as either ugly or beautiful--Spenser imposes his Elizabethan will onto the Irish setting. But this argument overlooks a subtle difference contained by Spenser's writing that is not so much signified by the things actually described as implied in the tones by which these things are described. Based on recognizing such tonal modulations in Spenser's writing, my intention is to call attention to the possibility that Spenser was affected and indeed moved by his experiences in Ireland to think fondly of the place, not just in imperial terms as a site for colonization, but as a forum for reciprocity.

As the current debate regarding Spenser's Irish experience stands, it is understood that Spenser's outlook was much more representative of, in my own terms, the imperial rather than the reciprocal paradigm. In terms of a mock judicial inquiry, the New Historicist accounts in particular find Spenser guilty of complicity in the imperialistic agenda of England vis-a-vis Ireland. At their most extreme, Stephen Greenblatt's for example, these verdicts can make out Spenser as if he were an Elizabethan "war-criminal": "the enemy for Spenser . . . is as much a tenacious and surprisingly seductive way of life as it is a military force, and thus alongside a ruthless policy of mass starvation and massacre, he advocates the destruction of native Irish identity" (1980, 187). Or, there is Anne Fogarty's warning, "Spenser is a subtle, sophisticated, but ultimate-

ly dangerous, imperialist" (89). More subtle, but perhaps even less flattering, is Patricia Coughlan's conclusion that Spenser's poetry, if not the words of a leader, at least represents an advocacy of Elizabethan colonial policy from an indoctrinated follower:

Spenser was a monological writer . . . strongly insistent upon the existence of a single authoritative order in the political and social world, and upon the necessity of repressing any dissenting voices, whose very existence is seen as dangerously threatening. (1989, 62)

Underlying Greenblatt's, Fogarty's and Coughlan's readings, and New Historicist accounts in general, is a tacit understanding that Spenser blindly follows the standard prejudices and stereotypes of his time and blindly obeys the establishment's edicts on how to deal with the Irish. To be sure, Spenser was an imperialist, especially in light of how we read him as a promoter of English nationalism. Moreover, what Greenblatt recognizes as Spenser's enemy, a "tenacious and surprisingly seductive way of life," is likely the result of the poet's poor regard for Irish society as determined by cultural pressures Spenser felt long before he arrived in Ireland. Many incidents within Spenser's canon indicate a distrust for the Irish people. In his poetry such misgivings are implied. Episodes such as Guyon's destruction of Acrasia's bower or, more obviously, Talus's battering of Grantorto's legions to liberate Irena can be read as projections of Spenser's own anxieties regarding the threat of "savage" Irish society. As Richard

McCabe refers to them, these episodes stand as "wish fulfillment" for Spenser (1989, 123).

In his prose work, A View of the Present State of Ireland, Spenser's dislike for the people of Ireland is stated outright: "For that is the evil which I now find in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell altogether by their septs and several nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will" (125). In particular, during the second half of the monograph, Spenser's fictional character, Irenius, offers a "final solution" whereby the indigenous Irish would be systematically persecuted and extinguished from Ireland's political and geographical landscape:

The end I assure me will be very short and much sooner than can be in so great a trouble (as it seemeth) hoped for. Although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldier, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad by this hard restraint, they would quickly consume themselves and devour one another. (104)

Irenius's proposed solution is frequently referred to in New Historicist constructions of Spenser's attitude towards Ireland. For example, with reference to the passage's imperial implications, McCabe concludes that "by representing the possession of his own remote Irish estate as an act of conquest, Spenser afforded himself the somewhat illusory satisfaction of extending his English homeland rather than living in exile from it" (1993, 76). The imperial implication of Irenius's proposal--to impose English rule on the Irish setting--is indicative of the generally accepted ac-

count of Elizabethan colonial practice. As reflected in popular gardening strategies at home, English colonial policy also regarded landscape as something to be dominated and shaped to meet individual need regardless of long-term consequences.

John Elliott's comment, "for the Elizabethans, to perceive a landscape was to endow it in the mind's eye with a distinctive shape and purpose, suggesting what it might become if put to proper use" (10), suggests a common denominator between domestic and foreign landscaping projects. In either case, gardens of the court or colonies of the state were perceived by conventional outlook in imperial fashion as representations of their owners' desires. Recalling Raleigh's description of Guiana from Chapter Two, we see Elliot's claim illuminated. By constructing in his "mind's eye" a "distinctive shape and purpose," a potential rape victim, Raleigh projects a rhetoric of improvement onto Guiana, regardless of what Guiana-personified might think.

In the specific case of English colonial practice in Ireland, McCabe's notion of achieving "illusory satisfaction" by extending "English homeland" is especially appropriate. As D. B. Quinn notes in his study of the relations between Elizabethans and the Irish:

[T]he earliest stages of contact between Englishmen and non-English cultures were likely to be governed by the desire to define and limit their inferiority (or non-Englishness) and to find ways of forcing them into a new English pattern, reforming them or obliterating them. (1966, 20)

Consistent with conventional Elizabethan gardening strategies at home--to "define and limit" natural landscapes--Ireland was, according to Quinn, to be dominated and shaped based on the desires of gazing English colonialists.

Primary sources from the Sixteenth Century make explicit their authors' motivating imperial perspectives. Philip Sidney's A Discourse on Irish Affairs (1578) opposes any reciprocal gestures towards the Irish by the English. His use of terms such as "conquered," "sweetenes of dew subjection" and "feare" is particularly indicative of the imperial paradigm of which he is a promoter:

Truly the generall nature of all contreys not fully conquered is plainly against it. For untill by tyme they fynde the sweetenes of dew subjection, it is impossible that any gentle meanes shoold putt owt the freshe remembrance of their lost lyberty. And that the Irishe man is that way as obstinate as any nation, withe whome no other passion can prevaile but feare . . .
 . . . (The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, III, 49)

Similarly, but with rhymed couplets, John Derricke's The Image of Irelande (1586) champions the imperial paradigm as the means to appropriate colonial expression. Derricke boasts of England's military triumph over "inconstaunt" Irish rebels:

Thus vauntynge foes are tamde,
 by gl[o]ves of warlicke youthes:
 Receiuyng strakes in steede of meedes,
 for their inconstaunt truthes.
 The victours doe retourne,
 thei haue their hartes delight:
 For Woodkarne thei are knocked doune,
 the reste are put to flight.
 Untruste remaineth not one,
 whiche maie the least anoye.
 ("The second part of the Image")

It is from this explicitly imperialistic context--as described by McCabe and Quinn, and substantiated by primary sources from Raleigh, Sidney and Derricke--that New Historicists construct Spenser's attitude towards Ireland. I do not take issue with the conclusions drawn by Greenblatt, Fogarty, Coughlan and McCabe. The work they have done indicates a thorough and responsible reading of primary sources. In particular, their validation of A View of the Present State of Ireland as a credible primary source has illuminated many areas within the larger context of Spenser Studies in new and exciting ways, especially in light of current enthusiasms for post-colonial readings of literature. Indeed, New Historical readings have convincingly contextualized the reality of Spenser's several public careers in Ireland--epic poet, secretary to Lord Grey, Munster plantation owner and Sheriff of Cork--within the larger historical setting of Elizabethan colonial policy.

But the tendency of New Historicist readings to conclude that Spenser perceived his Irish experience only from an imperial perspective needs to be qualified. That is, besides projecting his Elizabethan anxieties onto Irish society, Spenser also was affected by his experiences in Ireland and experienced it in terms explicable with the reciprocal paradigm as well. On this point, I am encouraged by C. S. Lewis's provocative contemplation:

[Spenser] may, as a poet, have needed the very country. There is a real affinity between his Faerie Queene, a

poem of quests and wanderings and inextinguishable desires, and Ireland itself--the soft, wet air, the loneliness, the muffled shapes of the hills, the heartrending sunsets. It was of course a different Ireland from ours, an Ireland without potatoes, whitewashed cottages, or bottled stout: but it must already have been 'the land of longing'. The Faerie Queene should perhaps be regarded as the work of one who is turning into an Irishman. For Ireland shares with China the power of assimilating all her invaders. It is an old complaint that all who go there--Danes, Normans, English, Scotch, very Firbolgs--rapidly become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. With Spenser the process was perhaps beginning. It is true he hated the Irish and they him: but, as an Irishman myself, I take leave to doubt whether that is a very unIrish trait. ('The Irish, sir,' said Dr. Johnson, 'are an honest people. They never speak well of one another.') (Studies, 126)

A qualification of the New Historicist accounts begins by modifying where they locate the essential point of contact between Spenser and Ireland. If only Spenser's relationship with the Irish people is considered, the New Historicists' conclusion that Spenser perceived Ireland imperialistically rings true. But if Spenser's relationship with the Irish landscape is considered to have influenced his awakening colonial consciousness, the conclusion that Spenser embraced and was to some degree influenced by Irishness also claims validity. In other words, using the terms of reference established in Chapters One and Two, Spenser not only perceived Ireland in Calidore-like fashion via an imperial gaze, he also perceived as Colin does in reciprocal ways. And so a distinction in Spenser's outlook can be made between an instinct to colon-ize and an urge to colin-ize--that is, to experience reciprocally and to ap-

preciate first hand the local Irish setting.

Three general notices indicate that reading Spenser's colonial experience in terms of the reciprocal paradigm is worthwhile. First, as set out in Chapter One and implied above, because Spenser's writing contains two paradigms concerning how people perceive landscape, and because the imperial paradigm has been well represented by recent New Historicist accounts, it is logical to assume that the opposite, reciprocal, paradigm can also be discovered and discussed in detail. Second, because an awareness of differing attitudes towards landscape existed within Elizabethan culture at large, as detailed in Chapter Two, it is reasonable to assume that Spenser's poetry--as a product of its time--accommodates similar issues of perception concerning landscape. Michael Leslie's belief that "literary gardens of the English Renaissance depend upon and direct us to contemporary gardening . . . [a]nd that literary commentators look up from their desks and out of windows in order to understand their texts" (1992, 5) supports this line of reasoning.

And finally, in its most lucid moments of representing human/landscape relations, Spenser's writing recognizes in natural landscapes the power to influence the thoughts and actions of individuals. Indeed, Spenser acknowledges that the circular dynamics central to the reciprocal paradigm--an exchange between individual and landscape--are a feature of

colonial experience. For example, Spenser presents outright through Irenius's opening lines the essence of a reciprocal attitude towards landscape, the prioritization of experience over speculation. Responding to Eudoxus's imperial-minded query as to why Ireland has yet to be "reduced" to "better government and civility," Irenius observes:

Marry, so there have been diverse good plots devised and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realm, but they say it is the fatal destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever are meant for her good will prosper or take good effect. (1)

Irenius's response implies a view of Ireland based on experience rather than a response predetermined by conventional stereotypes. Eudoxus, a typical non-travelled observer, wants to know from his armchair in the homeland why English foreign policy fails to succeed in Ireland. Irenius, on the other hand, from Ireland "whence [he] lately came"(1), reports firsthand and refers to other eyewitness accounts. Because he has experienced "that land," Irenius appreciates and presents Ireland's case in a way not available to Eudoxus.

Another occasion where Spenser alludes directly to the reality of the reciprocal paradigm as a feature of colonial experience occurs late in A View. Here, Irenius laments the tendency of English colonizers to become "more Irish than the Irish":

For surely in my opinion [the Anglo-Irish] are more sharply to be chastised and reformed than the rude Irish, which, being very wild at the first, are now become somewhat more civil, when as these from civility

are grown to be wild and mere Irish. (151)

Again, from an experienced perspective, Irenius recognizes the power of the Irish setting to affect its foreign invaders and not simply break under their imperial will. Certainly, the fact that Irenius deplores the corruption of Englishness by Irishness is recognized--what Shakespeare describes as, "For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds / Lilies that fester smell for worse than weeds" (Sonnet 94). But, in terms of process, Irenius foregrounds the circular dynamic inherent to the reciprocal paradigm by implying that despite the apparent impact on Ireland the English have had, Ireland has affected the English in equally substantial ways.

The similarities between Irenius's accounts of living in Ireland as expressed in A View and C. S. Lewis's contemplation as quoted above are remarkable. Both commentators refer to "that land"'s ability to affect and move individuals in ways more profound than those commonly associated with imperial enterprise. According to Irenius and Lewis, Ireland offers its foreigners an opportunity to be acted upon by its local climates and settings and not just stand as a passive receptacle of raw, imperial ambition. Ultimately, they account for the experience of Colin, colin-ization and reciprocity, not only Calidore, colon-ization and imperialism.

This third notice in support of reading Spenser in

light of the reciprocal paradigm initiates a more thorough analysis of Spenser's writing. Because Spenser through Irenius explicitly acknowledges the power of Ireland to affect foreigners, and because of the proximity between Irenius's outlook and Lewis's, it is reasonable to assume that Spenser's poetry and prose--products from the mind of one living in an Irish landscape--reflect elements of the place, not simply as an arena for colonization, but as a forum for reciprocity. Indeed, demonstrating how Spenser's writing reflects the reciprocal paradigm becomes a matter of proving that Spenser practices what his character Irenius claims, that his writing is the work of one who is inevitably turning into an Irishman. That is, despite his public positions, Spenser indeed was becoming as Irish as the Irish, at least in his growing affection for Irish landscape. For reasons of clarity, this demonstration is divided into two parts. Part one considers mainly Spenser's prose work, A View of the Present State of Ireland, and discusses how its composition is indicative of the reciprocal paradigm. Part two, based on close readings of passages from Book VI of The Faerie Queene, Two Cantos of Mutabilitie and "Colin Clouts Come Home Again," addresses the specific issue of how the Irish landscape substantially affected Spenser's colonial experience.

As suggested above, in significant ways Spenser shares much in common with his fictional character, Irenius, as

presented in A View. Like Irenius, Spenser possesses opinions concerning contemporary Irish affairs based on experience and presents these opinions to a decidedly pro-English audience, the Elizabethan world. And like Irenius's exposition, the general effect of Spenser's monograph is paradoxical to say the least. Although A View seems to suggest a fairly single-minded solution to the problems incurred by the English in colonial Ireland, the composition of the text is not necessarily representative of the imperial attitude it is commonly believed to express. Indeed, based on its structure and dialogue form, A View can be said to represent features associated with the reciprocal paradigm. And so we begin to discover dynamics within the text that challenge New Historicist readings of it. Moreover, textual support for W. L. Renwick's claim that "the common impression of Spenser, that he calls only for blood and wishes all the Irish dead, is a misrepresentation" (185) can be said to exist in principle at least.

Contrary to the unilinear dynamic associated with the imperial paradigm, A View is organized around a circular dynamic common to the reciprocal paradigm. As a result, like the dance of the Graces on Mt. Acidale, Spenser's text is as much a celebration of process as it is an advocacy of "final solutions." In terms of its structural mechanics, A View resists the imperial perspective's impulse to dominate and impose a single point of view. Instead, Spenser's

text foregrounds giving, receiving and returning in the guise of a dialogue between two extreme points of view--Irenius, the experienced traveller, and Eudoxus, the stay-at-home critic. The general effect of their dialogue encourages a range of discussions that challenges restrictive narrative control.²

Joel Altman discusses the expansive potentials inherent to dialogue form in The Tudor Play of the Mind. Based on the premise that Renaissance drama could perform in either "demonstrative" or "explorative" ways, Altman suggests that the explorative Ciceronian dialogue was imitated many times in the Renaissance and acted as a foil to the demonstrative Platonic dialogue. In particular, he argues that Ciceronian dialogue maintains "opinion derived from experience [as] generally [a] reliable guide, provided that it is weighed against alternative views, so as to arrive at some probable truth" (69); and that Ciceronian dialogue stands contrary to the Platonic extreme which "urges the necessity of removing the mind from the world of opinion to the realm of pure ideas, and the dialogue gathers opinions only to dis-

² On this point it is worth noting the dialogue between Hobbinol and Diggon Dave as read in "September," The Shepheardes Calender. Here again we find a returning traveler discussing differences between home and abroad with a domestic speculator. And like A View, in the spirit of much Renaissance humanist writing as accounted for by William Oram in his introduction to "Colin Clouts Come Home Again," "September" ends, "not by giving unequivocal answers, but by arguing both sides of a case and forcing the reader to judge for himself" (520).

card them as steps passed over on the climb toward an absolute" (68).

In my own terms, Altman is describing differences between reciprocal and imperial paradigms. Like the reciprocal paradigm, Ciceronian dialogue encourages an explorative process whereby participants emerge with a fuller understanding of the complexities of their condition. Platonic dialogue, on the other hand, is like the imperial paradigm in that it assumes one truth to be absolute and that all experience constructs itself in the service of maintaining that truth. Spenser's A View embodies Ciceronian dialogue and thus in its organization represents a reciprocal rather than an imperial outlook. For example, Irenius's two views concerning the setting of laws amongst the Irish (as presented at this chapter's outset) suggest that the text offers several ways to envision the realities of colonial experience. At some moments it is a matter of "divide and conquer," while at other times it is a matter of accepting and understanding the uniquely Irish countryside and its people. Ultimately Spenser's text encourages freedom of thought from the either/or exigencies common to the imperial attitude, and thus envisions a fuller, reciprocal, colonial reality.

While acknowledging Jean Brink's warning--a warning especially pertinent to A View, which was published posthumously in 1633--that Spenser did not necessarily control how

his manuscripts were presented in published form (1991), my demonstration of how A View operates as Ciceronian dialogue, that is as a text representative of the reciprocal paradigm, begins with its title. In its full original form, Spenser's title reads A vewe of the present state of Irelande. discoursed by way of a dialogue betweene Eudoxus and Irenius.³ Immediately a less than definitive statement of purpose concerning the Irish situation is presented to the reader. A reluctance to impose a single point of view is reflected in the use of an indefinite rather than definite article by which to mark the essay's stand. A vewe suggests an awareness of a larger forum of discussion, a landscape of "views," as it were, within which this particular view must rest. Compare Spenser's A vewe with Derricke's The Image of Irelande. Derricke's title allows for little room to consider alternative points of view. Unlike Spenser's title, it resonates with singular authority and imposes itself on the reader's mind in imperial fashion as the final word on Irish affairs.

A second feature of A View that links it with Ciceronian dialogue is its reliance on digression as a narrative technique. Indeed, digression as a feature of the dialogue

³ The title is here presented as found in The Works of Edmund Spenser. For the purpose of comparing Derricke and Spenser I am using the Johns Hopkins edition as it refrains from making any textual modifications. In the discussion which follows concerning content, I will return to the Oxford edition.

between Irenius and Eudoxus challenges even the limited containment suggested by the text's formal title. To be sure, we are soon made aware that A View is in fact an account of at least two views, Irenius's and Eudoxus's. Eudoxus does not act simply as a sounding board for Irenius's experience-based opinions; instead, he persists with probing questions, interruptions and contrary points of view. These interruptions often end in digression and provide a platform for what Altman describes as the "realm of opinion or probability" unique to Ciceronian dialogue (69). For example, Eudoxus invites a description of Irish history at the expense of Irenius's intended narrative concerning the "inconvenience and unfitness" of Irish law:

Eudox: But this Edward Le Bruce, what was he that he could make himself King of all Ireland?

Iren: I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is the inconvenience and unfitness which I supposed to be in the laws of the land.

Eudox: No, surely I have no cause Therefore, I pray you, tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left I will not forget afterwards to call you back again thereunto: (16-17)

At one point, Eudoxus justifies his repeated intrusions--requests for digressions--into Irenius's presentation:

Then, I pray you, whensoever in your discourse you meet with [Irish customs] by the way do not shun, but boldly touch them, for besides their great pleasure and delight for their antiquity, they bring also great profit and help unto civility. (56)

Significantly, Eudoxus combines the Renaissance's conven-

tional defense of poetry, to teach and delight, with the process of digression. Rather than base the value of a discourse entirely on an intended final destination--the Platonic dialogue's "climb toward an absolute"--this passage implies that digressions in themselves are equally crucial to a text's intended meaning.⁴ To use Bacon's terms, its method is "probative" rather than "magisterial."⁵ Or, in my terms, the reciprocal paradigm's notice of mutual exchange is given equal weight to the imperial paradigm's call for final solutions.

Sheila Cavanagh's article, "Such Was Irena's Countenance: Ireland in Spenser's Prose and Poetry" (1986), assists in finalizing the connection between the Ciceronian features of A View and the reciprocal nature of Spenser's perspective as it was influenced by his experiences in Ireland. In particular, Cavanagh asserts that Spenser was more aware of and sensitive to the Irish situation than other Elizabethan commentators because he actually lived there for fifteen years prior to writing A View. Therefore, Cavanagh claims, rather

⁴ Similarly, Spenser uses digression in the form of romance narrative strategies to give meaning to his epic, The Faerie Queene.

⁵ As James Spedding explains in his footnote for the relevant passage from Bacon, "probative is "called Initiativa in the translation; and explained to mean the method which discloses the inner mysteries of science; and distinguished from the [magisterial] not as more secret but as more profound; the [magisterial] announcing the results of enquiry, the [probative] exhibiting the method and process which led to them." (III: 403)

than submit to conventional, imperialist attitudes and project his single-minded vision onto the landscape, Spenser's relationship with Ireland must be considered as "subtle and complex" (24).

Extrapolating from Cavanagh's argument, I believe that Spenser's A View, unlike Derricke's The Image, realistically offers several solutions to England's problem in Ireland. It creates a forum for discussion, an opportunity for experience, by which readers can develop their own points of view. But the text itself denies an absolute truth and thus deserves to be considered as a literary as well as a historical document. After all, Irenius's infamous passage concerning the Munster massacre is as much Spenser's testimony for his own experiences in Ireland as it is blind advocacy of the Elizabethan ideology he served:

Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat of the dead carrions, happy where they could find them. (104)

In this sense, A View attempts to reconcile as much as promote cultural difference. Undoubtedly, this attempt would not have been possible if Spenser himself did not also appreciate Ireland in reciprocal fashion, not simply as a place for colonial projects, but as a place he considered to be home.

Spenser's beginning transformation into an Irishman is made most apparent in his poetry. By the end of The Faerie

Queene, Spenser has become sufficiently disillusioned with the political climate in England to ally his personal vision for peace and justice with natural images, specifically those associated with Irish landscapes. In particular, Book VI questions the common Elizabethan ascription of a higher intrinsic moral value to civilized rather than uncivilized landscapes. The book follows up on its narrator's early suspicions, "Of Court it seems men Courtesie doe call" (i 1, emphasis added), by locating in natural landscapes a rejuvenating moral standard. For example, Canto x describes the encounter between Calidore and Colin in which the piper attempts to re-educate the knight by explaining to him the mystery of the Graces' dance--a symbol for the reciprocal paradigm--while at the same time tuning him into the natural pleasures of "the place" (30):

It was an hill plaste in an open plaine,
 That round about was bordered with a wood
 Of matchlesse hight, that seem'd th'earth to
disdaine,
 In which all trees of honour stately stood,
 And did all winter as in sommer bud,
 Spredding paulions for the birds to bowre,
 Which in their lower branches sung aloud; (x 6)

Colin's emphasis on the positive intrinsic value of natural places is also made apparent in Canto iiii with the introduction of a "saluage man." Recalling Irenius's mention of "those rude Irish" and the conventional Elizabethan perception of the Irish as savages, the "saluage man" is introduced in terms suggestive of an Irish origin:

. . . that neuer till this houre

Did taste of pittie, neither gentlesse knew,
 Seeing his sharpe assault and cruell stoure
 Was much emmoued at his perils vew,
 That euen his runder hart began to rew.
 (3, emphasis added)

Upon witnessing Calepine's "cruell stoure," the "saluage man" takes action, rescues the hapless knight and, significantly, retreats into the woods in order to address Calepine's and Serena's physical needs:

Thether he brought these vnacquainted guests;
 To whom faire semblance, as he could, he shewed
 By signes, by lookes, and all his other gests.
 But the bare ground, with hoarie mosse bestowed,
 Must be their bed, their pillow was vnsowed,
 And the frutes of the forrest was their feast. (14)

The moment is crucial to the reciprocal paradigm in that it recognizes in the "vnsowed," and thus uncivilized, landscape a profound regenerative power. Implicit to this scene is the belief that natural landscapes affect people in positive ways, returning them to health, and are not simply passive receptacles for imperial ambition.

In general, turning on differences between civilized and uncivilized manners, Book VI deals with issues that must have preoccupied Spenser when considering his Irish situation. But rather than concede to conventional Elizabethan expectation, as he does in Book V with Talus's rampant destruction of Grantorto's legions in the kingdom of Irena, Spenser resists in Book VI the assumption that uncivilized is unconditionally a lesser category than civilized. To be sure, the book suggests a reversal of inherent values whereby the "saluage man"'s natural, uncivilized and poten-

tially Irish world displaces Calidore's courtly, civilized and likely English world as the center of Spenser's conceptual universe. As well, features common to the reciprocal paradigm--experiences in landscape involving giving, receiving and returning such as Calidore's re-education or Calepine's regeneration--eclipse those of the imperial extreme. The change in outlook expressed in Book VI is substantial enough to have led Richard Neuse to read it as a "disillusioned" conclusion to The Faerie Queene (1972, 368).

Apparently, by his epic's concluding book, Spenser no longer trusts the abstract--the ideal of courtliness for example--as more civilized than the concrete and particular --the reality of a fixed landscape. In terms of colonial experience, this suggests that Spenser felt more comfortable in the real presence of Irish landscape than he did in the imagined realms of an ideal English court. Indeed, Two Cantos of Mutabilitie, Spenser's closing statement for his epic project--and like A View published posthumously--is explicitly concerned with matters related to the Irish landscape. This poem demonstrates how "complex and subtle" Spenser's relationship with Ireland had become, to use Cavanagh's words. Besides gaining a deep knowledge of Irish folklore, custom and history (as exemplified in A View), Spenser's understanding of Ireland had become profound. As Two Cantos of Mutabilitie makes evident, Spenser's relationship with Ireland began to achieve the reciprocal paradigm's

balance whereby the landscape informed as much as received the weight of his poetic statements.

As a narrative, Two Cantos describes Mutabilitie's attempt to usurp Jove's power over the sublunary realm and the trial which results as held by Dame Nature on Arlo-hill (VII 3). Immediately a colonial imperative can be sensed in Spenser's plot. Issues of power-claims and take-overs are at stake in Mutabilitie's attempt to colonize the universe in her own image:

And now, when all the earth she thus had brought
To her behest, and thrall'd to her might,
She gan to cast in her ambitious thought,
T'attempt th'empire of the heavens hight. (VI 7)

But Mutabilitie's imperially-minded colonization project is terminated by Dame Nature who significantly chooses Arlo-hill, Ireland, as the place to hold her court. At this moment Spenser celebrates the Irish landscape with an enthusiasm indicative of what must have been his own fond thoughts for the place:

And Mole himselfe, to honour her the more,
Did deck himself in freshest faire attire,
And his high head, that seemeth alwaies hore
With hardned frosts of former winters ire,
He with an Oaken gurlond now did tire,
As if the loue of some new Nymph late seene,
Had in him kindled youthfull fresh desire,
And made him change his gray attire to greene;
Ah gentle Mole! such ioyance hath thee well beseene.
(11)

Besides its obvious references to features of the Irish landscape--Arlo-hill and the Mole mountain range, both near Spenser's home at Kilcolman--Dame Nature's court explicitly

represents a natural rather than cultivated setting. In terms of Elizabethan gardens, Dame Nature's court respects the aesthetic standards of a "reciprocal" rather than "imperial" garden. It recalls the Garden of Adonis and not the Bower of Bliss. Worth particular notice is the narrator's emphasis on an absence of artifice and courtly gardeners:

In a fayre Plaine vpon an equall Hill,
 She placed was in a pauillion;
 Not such as Craftes-men by their idle skill
 Are wont for Princes states to fashion:
 But th'earth her self of her owne motion,
 Out of her fruitfull bosome made to growe
 Most dainty trees; that, shooting vp anon,
 Did seem to bow their bloosming heads full lowe,
 For homage vnto her, and like a throne did shew. (8)

Far from an imperial and courtly triumph, Nature's court celebrates its earthiness by embracing processes of growth and decay. In keeping with Tusser's and Marvell's preferred garden standard, or Spenser's Garden of Adonis, Dame Nature's court is representative of the reciprocal paradigm because it never denies its natural origins--what Spenser refers to as "simple honestie" in "Colin Clouts Come Home Again."

Even Dame Nature's verdict reflects the reciprocal paradigm's notice of circular rather than the imperial paradigm's notice of linear dynamics:

I well consider all that ye have sayd,
 And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
 And changed be: yet being rightly wayd
 They are not changed from their first estate;
 But by their change their being do dilate.
 (VII 58, emphasis added)

Unlike Spenser's host of epic heroes, who tend towards blind

rage as their means of establishing order--an imperial, shoot-and-ask-questions-later mentality--Dame Nature listens first and then, after thoughtful consideration of Mutabilitie's case, takes action.⁶ Granted, the end result of passing judgement may still be construed as representing an imperial act, but the process behind that act is undoubtedly reciprocal. Dame Nature takes the case as presented by Mutabilitie, she receives the evidence, and, following deliberation, she returns the case to Mutabilitie in the form of a decision. As a process, there is nothing unilinear about this exchange. Both the plaintiff's and the judge's points of view inform the final judgement such that Mutabilitie the colon-izer is colin-ized, brought to a fuller understanding of the complexities of her existence in the context of Nature's natural Irish setting.

At a glance, two possible explanations exist for Spenser's choice of Arlo-hill and Mole as settings for his narrative. From a perspective shaped by prevailing New Historical accounts, perhaps Spenser simply imposes his story onto the Irish landscape because it is convenient. After all, he can see Arlo-hill from his window at Kilcolman Castle. From this one might conclude that Spenser's relationship with the Irish landscape was not much different than Raleigh's with Guiana. He projects his desire, a narrative

⁶ To further demonstrate Spenser's framing of justice in reciprocal terms, compare Dame Nature's to Mercilla's process of judging (V ix 50).

event, onto the land before him. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the Irish landscape which contained Spenser affected the poet in such a way that he felt compelled to express it in his poetry.⁷ That is, beyond the responsibilities of his public offices, Spenser likely appreciated the Irish landscape at a level more profound than that of a mere imperial gazer. He not only saw it, but for fifteen years he smelled, touched and tasted it. Therefore, that Spenser's poem celebrates the Irish landscape for its own sake should not come as a complete surprise.

"Colin Clouts Come Home Again," of all Spenser's poems, comes closest to making explicit the poet's appreciation of Ireland not just as a target for imperial ambition but as a forum for reciprocal understanding. William Oram's introduction in the recent Yale edition of Spenser's shorter poems makes clear the history surrounding the poem:

In the fall of 1589 Spenser left Kilcolman with his neighbor and patron Sir Walter Raleigh to embark for England. There he must have renewed his court connections and he published the first installment of his epic; according to Colin Clout, he read his work to the queen and eventually, on 25 February 1591, was rewarded with an annual pension of L50. He seems to have returned to Ireland before the official grant, however, for Colin Clouts Come Home Againe (somewhat revised) was not published until 1595 its Dedication is dated "From my house of Kilcolman, the 27 December. 1591". (Oram et al., 519)

⁷ See Richard Wall's "Rolling Down the Lea: Edmund Spenser, Hiberno-English and Anglo-Irish Literature" (Unpublished); especially his discussion around the concept of "dinnseanchas," "the Irish and Hiberno-English term for topography, especially the lore and emotive power of places."

What makes the poem interesting is how Spenser plays with the concept of "homecoming." As indicated by its title, the poem suggests an ambiguity as to where home exists for Colin. Does Colin come home to Ireland? or does the title refer to Colin's return home to England? Surely the poem can accommodate either reading, but in the end Spenser's poem favours Ireland over England as Colin's preferred place of residency. The fact that Spenser himself composed the poem at his "house of Kilcolman" and not in England suggests as much.⁸

The point of no return for Spenser, whereby he makes explicit his allegiance to the "barrein soyle" of Ireland, is found in Colin's response to Thestylis's direct question:

Why Colin, since thou foundst such grace
 With Cynthia and all her noble crew:
 Why didst thou ever leave that happie place [England],
 In which such wealth might unto thee accrew?
 And back returnedst to this barrein soyle,
 Where cold and care and penury do dwell:
 Here to keep sheepe, with hunger and with toyle,
 Most wretched he, that is and cannot tell.

To which Colin answers:

Happie indeed (said Colin) I him hold,
 That may that blessed presence still enjoy,
 Of fortune and of envy uncomptrold,
 Which still are wont most happie states t'annoy:
 But I by that which little while I proved:
 Some part of those enormities did see,
 The which in Court continually hooved,
 And followd those which happie seemd to bee. (652-67)

⁸ Significantly, Robert Welch chooses this narrative event in Spenser's life as the seam through which to begin probing Spenser's subconscious. Welch's Kilcolman Notebook (1994) is a creative work and yet an effective gloss on The Faerie Queene.

From this point forward, much in the spirit of Book VI's reversal of priorities concerning civilized and uncivilized cultures, Colin complains about the English court's addiction to gazing, dependence on artifice and fixation on the appearance of things, "painted blisse" (685). In particular, he complains that this environment is too far removed from natural processes and thus not conducive to contemplating personal development, "self-regard of private good or ill" (682) or to discovering "single Truth." While reading Colin's account of the English court scene, it is worth noting that much of the court imagery Colin draws upon recalls features of the Bower of Bliss, Spenser's example of a garden constructed around the principles represented by the imperial paradigm:

So they themselves for praise of fooles doe sell,
 And all their wealth for painting on a wall;
 With price whereof, they buy a golden bell,
 And purchase highest rowmes in bowre and hall:
 While single Truth and simple honestie
 Do wander up and downe despys'd of all;
 Their plaine attire such glorious gallantry
 Disdaines so much, that none them in doth call.
(723-30, emphasis added)

Thus, Colin has returned to "quiet home," under the Mole mountain range, to "warne yong shepheards" that "[public courtly life] is no sort of life" for those intent on learning such mysteries as the Graces' dance and living out values inherent in the reciprocal paradigm (684-688).

That Colin does not criticize the concept of court but only its material manifestation in England is important to

recognize. Here the shepherd's interest and his creator's coincide. By the end of the poem, we realize that Spenser believes he can best serve the idea of Elizabeth and English civilization from afar, by maintaining his own moral integrity within the nurturing embrace of the Irish landscape.⁹ In a very profound way, Ireland has become Spenser's home, not only for its potential as a target for colonial ambition but for what it offers on its own behalf. In their natural state, Ireland's mountains, woods and rivers provided Spenser with an opportunity to stay in tune with "single Truth and simple honestie." He could engage in a process of exchange with the Irish soil, an experience based on the reciprocal paradigm's notice of giving, receiving and returning, that counters the colonial urge to dominate and shape according to the most recent trends in fashion, an act of violence represented by the imperial paradigm's notice of single-mindedness.

This chapter has attempted to qualify current readings of Spenser's writing that emphasize his complicity in the imperialistic agenda of England vis-a-vis Ireland. In particular, it has demonstrated that along with an apparent regard for Ireland as an arena for colonization Spenser, especially by the later stages of his residency, thought

⁹ It might be said that Spenser follows the advice of his hermit (V vi 14) with respect to how one heals wounds suffered at the mercy of the Blatant Beast, Spenser's symbol for courtly corruption.

fondly of the place and appreciated it for its own intrinsic values. Based on his experiences of the place, Spenser discovered in the Irish landscape a foil to the corruptions of English courtly life. Indeed, by the end of his career as a national poet and also near the end of his life, he began to question conventional assumptions that civilized society was necessarily represented by claims that force is superior to relation, that the abstract is more advanced than the concrete and, in particular, that "civilized" English society was unconditionally better than the "savage" Irish extreme. Spenser, with a pressing political motivation, began to express values represented by the reciprocal paradigm. That is, Spenser the colon-izer was becoming colin-ized as he began to appreciate the "barrein soil" of Ireland and embrace it as home.

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