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THE POEMS OF STEPHEN HAWES

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THE POEMS OF STEPHEN HAWES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Practically all that is known of Stephen Hawes, and indeed it is very little, is contained in the Dictionary of National Biography. Subsequent research has, as a matter of fact, tended to put into question the information at hand rather than to add to facts already known.

We cannot speak with any certainty of his terminal dates. Our only clue is to be found in Hawes's poems themselves. In three of the four sixteenth century editions of the "Pastime of Pleasure" appear the following lines after the table of contents:

This boke called y^e pastyme of pleasure was made and compyled by Stephen hawes one of the gromes of the most honorable chambre of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seueth. [Seuenth in the edition of 1555.] The xxi yere of his most noble reygne / chapytted and marked after the table here before sette.

Since the twenty-first year of Henry's reign was 1506, we naturally conclude that the "Pastime" was written in this year.¹ Ll. 3053-4 of the 1555 edition of "The Pastime,"

¹1506 is not altogether accepted as the year of composition. Friedrich Zander in Stephen Hawes' "Passetyme of Pleasure" verglichen mit Edmund Spenser's "Faerie Queene" unter Berucksichtigung der allegorischen Dichtung in England (Rostock dissertation, 1905) takes the view that Hawes has astrologically indicated that the poem was completed after the first of the year or 1507.

the edition reprinted by the Percy Society of 1845 read:

I thought me past al chyldly ygnoraunce
The .xxxi. yere of my yonge flouryng aege

By simple subtraction, we arrive at the approximate date of birth, 1474 or 1475. However, in "The Example of Virtue" (1504) the speaker, associated with the poet, states "By this time, was I sixty years old." As Mead remarks in his introduction to "The Pastime," "One account is obviously as trustworthy as the other."² Furthermore, in the remaining sixteenth century editions l.3054 reads "The .xxi. yere of my yonge flouryng aege."

However, Hawes's insistence that he is young and ignorant compels us to assume that he was born sometime within the decade between 1474 and 1484.

I am but yonge it is to me obtuse
Of these maters to presume to endyte
(ll. 2924-5, Pastime of Pleasure)

Thomas Feilde's "The Controversy Between a Lover and a Jay",³ written in 1530, speaks of 'Young Stephen Hawes, whose soul GOD pardon! / Treated of Love so clerkly and well.' Thus, Hawes was apparently dead by 1530.

What additionally do we know about him? His first commentator was Bale, who wrote:

²Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure, ed. W. E. Mead (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 173, 1927) p. xlii.

³Thomas Feilde, "The Controversy Between a Lover and a Jay," in Selections From The English Poets. The Dunbar Anthology, ed. Edward Arber (London: Henry Frowde, 1901), pp. 192-216.

Stephanus Havues, illustris generis homo, ab ipsa adolescentia cupidus bonis studiis mentem excolendi, relictis parentum aedibus, ad diversas diversarum regionum scholas, pro literis hauriendis se contulit. Doctrinam uero, quam studiorum tempore Angliam, Scotia [m] & Galliam, accurate perdidicit in sermone, in moribus, & in omni uitae suae consuetudine exprimebat. Ingenium ei foelicissimum contigit, & lingua ad omnem dicendi rationem accomoda: totaq[ue] eius uita, ut fertur, quasi iurtutis exemplum fuit. Vnde sapientissimus princeps, Henricus septimus Anglorum rex, ad aulam ad interiorem cameram, & ad secretum cubiculam tandem, sola uirtutis commendatione uocabat."⁴

The next account is that of Anthony à Wood:⁵

Stephen Hawes, or Hawys, originally descended as it seems, from the Hawes, of Hawes in the Bushes, in the county of Suffolk; was instructed in all such literature as this university could at that time afford, but whether he took a degree, we have no register to show it. Afterwards, in his travels through England, Scotland and France, visiting the receptacles of good letters, did much advance the foundation of literature that he had laid in this place; so that after his return, he being esteemed a complete gentleman, a master of several languages, especially of the French, and above all, for his most excellent vein in poetry, he was received in the court of king Henry 7; who being a great encourager of learning, and a judicious understander of men, was by him made at length one of the grooms of his chamber, and highly esteemed by him for his facetious discourse, and prodigious memory; which last did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat by heart most of our English poets; especially Jo. Lydgate, a monk of Bury, whom he made equal, in some respects with Geff. Chaucer.

From the DNB we learn that in 1502 on the occasion of the funeral of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's wife, Hawes received an allowance of four yards of black cloth for

⁴Bale in Rhodenizer, Studies in Stephen Hawes'
"Pastime of Pleasure" (unpublished Harvard dissertation, 1918),
 p. 1.

⁵Ibid., pp. 3-4.

mourning.⁶ On January 10, 1506, the King's private accounts show a payment to Hawes of 10 s. "for a ballet that he gave to the king's grace."⁷ His name, however, does not occur among the officers who received mourning on the occasion of the funeral of Henry VII in 1509.⁸ On January 6, 1521, the household accounts of Henry VIII show a payment to "Mr. Hawse for his play" of 6l.13s.4d.⁹ On January 16, 1523, in the archdeaconry Court of Suffolk, there "is proved the will (made two years before) of one Stephen Hawes, whose property, all in Aldborough, is left to his wife Katharine. It is possible that the testator was the poet."¹⁰

Thomas Warton erroneously attributes to Bacon's "Life of King Henry VII" the following statement: "And [Hawes] is said by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury."¹¹

In recent years one last possible fact has been overturned. "G. S. Humphreys has suggested that it was the poet who was presented by the king to the rectory of Withern (Lincs.), 9 Nov. 1507. If this be so, we learn the approximate date of Hawes's death, for Henry VII presented his

⁶Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (New York: MacMillan and Co.) XXV, p. 188.

⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid. ⁹Ibid., p. 189. ¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871), III, p. 169.

successor (10 Jan. 1510-1511) to the living of Withern, vacant according to the Bishop's Register, 'by the death of Steven Hawys.' Besides affecting several problems of dating [the play of 1521 and the will of 1523], this discovery would explain the reference of his eulogist, Thomas Feylde, to his youth: 'Yonge Stephen Hawes.'¹²

In this dissertation, I shall be unable to introduce any new biographical information which can be accurately substantiated; however, I shall attempt to suggest hypothetical biography, without which, I feel, Hawes's last poem "The Consolation of Lovers" cannot be read with clarity, and biography which will in some measure explain some of the problems in "The Pastime of Pleasure."

Mystery also somewhat surrounds the attempts of biographers to compile the Hawes canon. Bale furnished the first list:

Ubi inter amoena contemplationis ocia, in Anglico sermone composuit.

Delectamentum spiritus Lib. 1.

Amantium Consolamen Lib. 1.

Virtutis Exemplar Lib. 1.

De Coniugio principis Lib. 1.

Alphabetarium auicularum Lib. 1.

¹²G. S. Humphreys, Years Work in English Studies, (1929), X, p. 159.

Templum crystallinum Lib. 1.

Alia (que) nonnulla metro ac prosa congegit, quae a multis in Anglis cum voluptate leguntur."¹³

Hawes is also mentioned in Bales' "Index Britanniae Scriptorum":¹⁴

Stephanus Hawse vel Hawes, Henrico vi j ab interiori camera, scripsit

Recreatorium voluptatis, li.1.

Consolatorium amantium, li.1.

Virtutis exemplar, li.1.

Coniugum Henrici principis, li.1.

Alphabetarium seu abcedarium auium, li.1.

Templum cristallinum, li.1.

The 'Index Britanniae Scriptorum' also contains extracts from collectanea. Among them is the following:¹⁵

The Pastyme of pleasure li.1.

The comfort of louers li.1.

The example of vertu li.1.

The marryage of prince Henry and Kateryne li.1.

The byrdes crosse rowe, li.1.

The temple of glasse, li.1.

¹³Rhodenizer, p. 2.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 3.

The next account, in order of time, and apparently derived from Bale's list is that of Anthony à Wood in the "Athenae Oxonienses."¹⁶

He hath transmitted to posterity several books in English, some of which are in verse, and some in prose, as The Pastime of Pleasure; or, the history of Grand Amour, and la bel Pucell, containing the Knowledge of the seven Sciences, and the Course of Man's Life in This World, London 1555, quart. Written in English Verse, and finished by the author, 21 Hen. 7, dom. 1505-6; about which time it was first of all, I suppose, made publick. It is adorned with wooden cuts to make the reader understand the story the better, and printed in an old English character. But such is the fate of poetry, that this book, which, in the time of Hen. 7 and 8, was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall. He hath also written, 1. The Exemplar of Virtue. 2. Delight of the Soul. 3. Consolations of Lovers. 4. The Crystalline Temple, &c/ one or more of which were in Latin. This author was in great value among ingenious men, in the latter end of Hen. 7, but when he died I know not as yet."

Rhodenizer and others¹⁷ have observed that the entries 'Delectamentum Spiritus,' 'Recreatorium Voluptatis,' and 'Pastyme of Pleasure' in Bale surely refer to the same poem. In each instance all three titles head their perspective lists. It is further conjectured that Wood translated 'Delectamentum Spiritus' into 'Delight of the Soul,' a perfectly legitimate rendering of the Latin. If the conjecture is correct, and I am inclined to believe it is, then we are not dealing with four poems, but one variously entitled.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 9. DNB, XXV, p. 190. Warton, p. 170.

Warton suggests that the entry, "The Marryage of Prince Henry and Kateryne," is possibly a mistake for "A Joyful Medytacyon."¹⁸ This seems likely, particularly if we concede that an error in mistaken identity has already occurred in the lists. Rhodenizer, additionally, offers an intelligent explanation for the error.¹⁹ In the 1509 edition of the "Joyful Medytacyon to all Englande of the Coronation of King Henry VIII," there appears a woodcut of the two royal figures, Henry and Katherine. A casual glance would suggest that the poem dealt with the marriage of Henry, rather than with his coronation. If this conclusion is correct, the only two titles remaining that need explanation are "The Temple of Glas" and the variously titled poem dealing with birds.

Concerning the first, 'The Temple of Glas,' surely we can trust the statement of the poet himself. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes writes:

He [Lydgate] dyde compyle/ and the tyme to passe
Of loue he made/ the bryght temple of glasse
(ll. 1364-1365)

Again we turn to Warton for comment. He suggests that perhaps the "Alphabet of Birds" is another title for the "Armonye of Byrdes," a piece subsequently attributed to

¹⁸Rhodenizer, p. 10.

¹⁹Ibid.

Skelton,²⁰ and reprinted for the Percy Society.²¹ Rhodenizer has remarked, "The moral turn of the piece may have caused Bale to think that it was written by Hawes. If so, we have explained away another of our author's supposedly lost works."²²

Concerning the books 'in prose' mentioned by both Bale and Wood, we have no evidence. It hardly seems likely that the 'ballet' or the play would have been written in prose, if indeed written by Hawes at all. Yet, the curious piece "The Consolation of Lovers" affords us some interesting evidence, if it can be taken literally, that Hawes wrote more than two poems dealing at least in part with love.

I durst not speke unto her of my loue
 Yet under coloure I dyuers bokes dyde make
 Full pryuely

(Speaking of love letters) unto my bokes all

In all my bokes/ fayre fortune doth moue
 For a place of grace

[These lines describe only three of the poems by Hawes.]

However, with confidence we can establish a canon of only five poems, the editions of which will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

1. "The Example of Virtue." The poem was written in 1503 or 1504, judging from the sub-title, "Made and

²⁰Warton, p. 170. "Alphabet of Birds" in Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages. (London: Percy Society, 1846), VII.

²¹Ibid.

²²Rhodenizer, p. 11.

compiled by Stephen Hawes, one of the Grooms of the Most Honourable Chamber of Our Soverign Lord, King Henry VII, the nineteenth year of his most noble reign; and by him presented to our said Soverign Lord." Wynkyn de Worde published the poem on three occasions, c. 1509, c. 1510, and April 20, 1530.²³ The only text of the poem published since 1530 is the unfortunately modernized version prepared by Professor Arber in 1901.²⁴ For explication I have chosen the 1510 text available on microfilm.²⁵

2. "The Pastyme of Pleasure." William Edward Mead has edited the 'Pastyme' for the Early English Text Society,²⁶ which is the text I shall use in this dissertation. In the 'Introduction' to the text, Mead has extensively treated each edition and reprint,²⁷ to which the reader is referred. Perhaps a brief listing of these editions and reprints is in order. The 'Pastyme' witnessed four sixteenth century printings: 1509, 1517, 1554, and 1555. In 1831 the 1554 text was reprinted by the poet Robert Southey. In 1845 the Percy Society reprinted the Tottell edition of 1555.

²³H. S. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1475 to 1557 (London: Cambridge at the University Press, 1952), p. 252.

²⁴Stephen Hawes, "The Example of Virtue," in Selections From The English Poets. The Dunbar Anthology, ed. Edward Arber (London: Henry Frowde, 1901), pp. 217-295.

²⁵S. T. C. 12945, Ann Arbor Microfilm.

²⁶Mead, p. xiii. ²⁷Mead, pp. xxix - xli.

Until 1927 and the Early English Text Society edition, the poem appeared only in part in anthologies.

3. "The Conversyon of Swerers." The poem was printed three times in the sixteenth century: 1509 by Wynkyn de Worde, 1551 by Willyam Copland for Robert Toye, and c. 1530 by John Butler.²⁸

4. "A Joyfull Medytacyon to all Englonde of the Coronacyon of kyng Henry the Eyght." The poem was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509.²⁹ In 1865 both the "Conversyon of Swerers" and "A Joyfull Medytacyon" were reprinted for the Abbotsford Club, edited by David Laing.³⁰ The Abbotsford edition is the text I shall employ in this paper.

5. "The Coforte of Louers." There is only one copy of a single edition of this poem, printed c. 1511 by Wynkyn de Worde. This unique copy, formerly owned by the Earl of Dysart, was purchased by the British Museum in 1938.³¹ The Museum kindly permitted a microfilm to be made of the text, which I use in this dissertation.

It is my intention to examine in detail all of the five known poems by Hawes. For each poem I shall follow the

²⁸Bennett, p. 252.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Stephen Hawes, The Conversyon of Swerers: A Joyfull Medytacyon (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1865).

³¹"Two poems by Stephen Hawes and an Early Medical Tract," British Museum Quarterly, XIII (1938-39), p. 7.

same basic approach: (1) to outline the contents of each poem; (2) to summarize all available scholarship; (3) to advance an explication which will show the relationship of the poems to their sources, which will account for the employment of certain 'medieval' devices, and which will examine Hawes as a creative artist.

CHAPTER II

THE EXAMPLE OF VIRTUE

A. Summary

In the Prologue which like the poem is in Chaucerian rhyme royal stanza, Hawes recalls that poets of antiquity contrived books for the profit of humanity. Since he is 'naked in depured eloquence,' he is afraid to write; since he is 'very blynde in the poetys art,' he must lay art and rhetoric aside. Even with these shortcomings, however, the poet must write:

But somewhat accordynge to my wyll
I wyll now wryte for to fulfyll
Saynt Poules wordes and true sentement
All that is wryten is to oure document

Next the poet apologizes to his three great predecessors exclaiming:

O prudent Gower in langage pure
Without corrupcyon moost facundyous
O noble Chauser euer moost sure
Of frutfull sentence ryght delycyous
O vertuous Lydgat moche sentencyous
Unto you all I do me excuse
Though I your connyng do now use

It is a September evening, signified both by astrological description and descriptions of nature. As the poet sleeps, Morpheus comes to him in his dream and says, "Come, walke with me in a medowe amerous." The poet obeys; in the meadow which is now described, he beholds a 'ryght fayre Lady, of myddel stature," bedecked with pearls. She offers to be

his guide to protect him from moral frailty. The poet asks her name, confessing that he is

. . . . yonge, and sore to blame,
Of vyces full, and in vertue lame.

Youth, as he is soon to be called, will gladly let the lady guide him so long as her advice and counsel be determined by moderation. She informs him her name is Discretion and proceeds to counsel him, by paraphrasing Biblical passages, which she calls prouerbes: if Youth will be ruled by her, he will have joy without end. But if Youth is without her, he will be often a victim of sin. It is her responsibility to give courage to Youth so that he may learn right from wrong. It is her function to teach Youth "by wyse example and morall doctryne" the way to eternal bliss.¹ The precepts that he must learn are listed: he must forsake all evil company;² he must be true in word and deed;³ he must remember that the world is forever transitory⁴ and that after one's deserts will come his need;⁵ he must love God always but also dread him;⁶ and for no man's pleasure should he sacrifice his principles.⁷ In addition he must be true to himself, faithful

¹Wisdom 8:17. ²Proverbs 1:10, 15 and 4:15, 27.

³Ecclesiastes 5:3. ⁴Ecclesiastes 1:2.

⁵Wisdom 3. Romans 2:6. Proverbs 12:14 and 13:21.

⁶Ecclesiastes 12:13, 7:31-32. Proverbs 1:7 and 9:10.

⁷Ecclesiasticus 4:26.

to his king,⁸ obedient, loving only when loved in return,⁹ resisting flattery.¹⁰ Next, she remarks upon the insecurity of the world, 'alway turnynge lyke to a ball.' Then she endows Youth with the insight to realize "The grete derysyon whiche is in Youth that he may not se no thyng appropred to his prosperyte."

They go to a 'hauen syde' and board a ship, loaded with spices. Aeolus, with blasts, begins to roar. They move over water called Vain Glory in the ship named the Vessel of the Passage Dangerous; the Captain Good Comfort; and the Steersman Fair Passport.

After a tempestuous journey, they arrive at an island, where they find a boat of marvelous wood. There are diamonds on the rocks, gold underfoot, and redolent flowers everywhere. Youth asks who has domination of this island. Discretion replies that four ladies hold the rule: Dame Nature, 'That daily formeth, after her intent, every beast and living creature'; Dame Fortune, who sets 'the strings in tune of ev'ry person'; Dame Hardiness, who 'often ruleth by her Chivalry' and who "to gete honour and wordely tresure," often sets out in adventure; and Dame Wisdom, sister to Discretion, who 'inclineth ever to benignity'; who

⁸Ecclesiasticus 17:14.

⁹Ecclesiasticus 6:17.

¹⁰Ephesians 5:6.

. . . medeleth not with fraude nor subtylyte
 But maketh many noble clerkes
 And ruleth theym in all theyr werkes

These four have long studied in the law, presumably of the universe, to determine which should have pre-eminence. None of them will withdraw her claim until Dame Justice gives sentence. Discretion bids Youth to follow her into the wondrous castle where they live. She leads him by a frequented path to a valley, in which a castle shines with towers of adamant and golden vanes. Roebucks run under the boughs of trees; hunters chase, far behind.

Finally, they reach the castle. They are permitted entrance into the castle ward by Humility, and pass into the hall, hung with an arras. Depicted on the arras is the story of the prudent Josephus, who when asked by the emperor Tiberius why he kept the same servants about him so long, replied in a parable: Once there was a man asleep. He was wounded full piteously, and on his wounds were many a fly. Josephus moved them away. The man awoke and asked why he had done this, for now, he maintained, hungrier flies will come to bite him 'ten times more grievously'!

Youth observes the roof, wrought by marvelous geometry, embellished with many kinds of 'wanton fowlys'. On his right, sitting on a throne, is Dame Fortune, richly appareled, turning her wheel. Beside her are the Nine Worthies, whom Hawes mentions but does not list. Discretion points out

"that in dame Fortune is no stablenes." Sometimes she smiles; sometimes she frowns. She is false and ever changing.

Next they go to the throne of Dame Hardiness, where she is sitting in her 'cote armure' bearing a shield, the field of which is azure, wherein is set a ramping lion. She holds a large and marvelous sword of gold. She is served by a 'noble Vyrgyn' Minerva, who first made armour. Her chamber is resplendent with aromatic flowers, and illuminated by means of a carbuncle. She is surrounded by nine armed queens: Asia, Saba, Hippolyta, Hecuba, Europa, Juno, Penthesilea, Helen, Polyxena. Discretion reminds Youth that even these wondrous creatures surrendered to Death.

They leave the chamber of Hardiness and walk forth to the dwelling place of Dame Sapience, 'so full of blys,' built in the 'place soth of fastness, withouten taste of wordely bytternes.' Youth remarks (rather out of character) that Sapience 'eche estate sholde haue in gouernaunce.' It is better to have 'good puryaunce at the begynnynge' than it is 'to wyssh for thynges myspent.' She is so fair to look on that were Virtue dead, it would revive again in her.

Sapience welcomes them, and when she learns that Youth wishes to serve her, she offers counsel, based partially on Scripture and partially on Lydgate's "The Churl and the Bird":

Of other mennes wordes be thou not bolde
And of theyr promys make no behest

And yf thou here an yll tale tolde
 Gyue no iugement but say the best¹¹
 So shall thou lyue euermore in rest
 Who lytell medeleth is best at ease
 For well were he that all myght please

Beware kepe the from grete offence
 That thou condempned be not by ryghtwysnes
 Whan she doth gyue her mortall sentence
 Without peace or mercy cause her reles
 Her iugement of mortall heynes
 That the best frende to the wyll be
 The for to socour in grete necessyte

But yet in theym haue none assyaunce
 As fyrst to synne thynkyng that they
 At the ende to the wyll be delyueraunce
 Nay ryghtwysnes wyll dryue theyn away
 For of all synnes without delay
 Suche synne in hope it is the moost
 For it is the synne of the holy ghoost

Next, Sapience gives commands to Youth, having appointed him groom of her chamber, an appointment paralleling Hawes's own career:

Thynke on the ende or thou begynne¹²

 Be neuer taken in dyabolycall engyne
 But that repentaunce may loose the sone
 Of that grete synne that thou hast done

 Trust not to moche in fortunes grace

 Presume no ferther than the behoueth¹³

¹¹Ecclesiasticus 19:10.

¹²Proverbs 20:21 and 24:11.

¹³Proverbs 22:5 and 25:27; Ecclesiastes 7:1; Ecclesiastes 7:1; Ecclesiasticus 3:22. See also John Lydgate, "The Churl and the Bird." Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. Otto Glauning (London, E. E. T. S., E. S. 80), II, stanza 30.

Or that thou speke call to remembraunce
 Unto what mater thy worde shall sygnyfye¹⁴

 For a thyng lost without recouer
 Loke that thou neuer be to pensyfe¹⁵

 Proue thy frende in a mater fayned
 Or thou haue nede¹⁶

 Be thou neuer so blynde in wylle
 Yet loke thou be reformed by reason¹⁷

 Eschew also the synne of pryde¹⁸ . . .

Youth elects to 'longe tary' with Sapience, who wisely teaches him. Then he departs with Discretion, who admonishes him to let 'vertuous myrth' be his game.

They walk forth to the tower of Nature, 'gylted full of sonne bemys.' As Youth marvels at the beauty, Discretion leads him behind fair Nature, where he sees cruel Death lurking.

They finally arrive at the chamber of Dame Justice, 'Clene of conscyence, without corrupcyon, and neuer bespotted with the synne of couetyse.' Dame Justice enters and ascends to her throne of pearls. The four Dames follow. With due respect, they bow before Justice.

¹⁴Ecclesiastes 5:1; Ecclesiasticus 4:34; 18:19;
 Proverbs 13:3.

¹⁵"Churl and the Bird," stanza 31.

¹⁶Ecclesiasticus 6:7.

¹⁷Ecclesiasticus 32:24.

¹⁸Proverbs 16:8.

First, Dame Hardiness pleads. She maintains that without her men cannot rise. Three things are necessary to a State: sword, law, and trade. But it is fear of the sword that protects the other two. It was she who gave power to Hercules, to Hector, to David, to Caesar, Arthur, and Charlemagne. When a man seeks praise and honor, she gives the chief help.

Sapience denies the claims of Hardiness. Without the cunning of Sapience, Hardiness could not even present her arguments. Sapience says that she will prove that she is the 'grounde of the artes seuen.' Without her no man can go to heaven. Man has liberty only when he has her. Hardiness is, to be sure, the cause of rebellion. She is the cause of man rising against his Lord. Caesar won his fame by wiseness, not by Hardiness alone. It is Sapience who leads man to heavenly grace, through Jesus Christ. Sapience denies even that Hardiness is the most necessary property of the knight. There are six properties that are more important: prudence, loyalty to sovereign, liberality to the common, strength to defend the right and amend the wrong, mercy, and almsgiving to the poor. Since Sapience is of the King's council, she should have pre-eminence.

Fortune speaks next. She claims that neither Hardiness or Sapience can accomplish anything without her help. She says that she rules men's lives and that without her blessings man's wit is lost labor. Hercules, Hector, David

all achieved fame because of her. But, she argues, to talk as long as Sapience is not necessary. She asks Justice for pre-eminence.

Forth comes Nature. 'Where I lacke . . . man is but dede, and turned to clay.' Nature gives; this neither Wisdom nor Hardiness can deny. Even though a man may lack Wisdom, Fortune, or Hardiness, still he lives on until the power of Nature ends.

At this point Justice intervenes. She commands all four to unite in the jurisdiction over Man. To this they all agree. 'With that, Dame Justyce' bids farewell and goes 'into her chaumbre close, ycleped Conscience.'

Nature, Fortune, and Hardiness depart to their chambers. Sapience, Discretion, and Youth remain behind. Sapience and Discretion suggest that Youth marry Cleanness, a woman of marvelous beauty. (So reports Nature.) Youth can win her provided he has from Sapience the power 'that he all frayltye may eschue.' Sapience tells Discretion to escort Youth.

Youth and Discretion leave the castle. They enter into a 'Grene' where birds are making melody. They cross a river named Ephesene, where there is a meadow 'both longe and wyde.' They come into a great wilderness, and they walk in darkness. The moon is behind a 'blacke and mystye clowde.' Among sharp thorne and wild beasts they roam. They see the lion, the wolf, and the bear, and many serpents all around.

By a sweet smell they recognize the panther. Soon they pass into a 'herber of pleasaunce.' A young lady, in fresh array, lusty of intent, approaches riding on a goat. She begs Youth to 'fulfyll the fleshly pleasure.' Both Discretion and Youth refuse her, and on they go.

Next, they meet a Lady 'olde and amyable, syttinge in a castell both fresh and gay, on a olyphauntes backe.' In her hand she holds a cup of gold, set with precious pearls. She informs Youth that she is the 'Lady of Rychesse, the Quene of Wealth and Wordely Glory.' She begs Youth to accompany her. But Youth refuses her, saying he will not 'hunt in the Parke of Pryde,' which is mortal foe to Cleanness.

Discretion informs Youth that the wildness represents worldly trouble. The first lady they met was Dame Sensuality. The second was Pride, 'enduyd with couetyse.'

They go farther until they find themselves in a maze, signifying the 'besynes of wordely fassyon.' Soon they come upon a beautiful woman whom Youth does not immediately recognize. It is Sapience who has come to lead him to Cleaness. She tells him that she has often been near him and has given him counsel.

They proceed to a river side where Youth perceives a royal castle of marble, black as jet. The only passageway to the castle is over a narrow bridge, 'not halfe so brode as a hous rydge.' Suddenly Youth looks up and beholds a

glorious maiden; it is Cleanness, 'the sterre of excellence.' Youth speaks to her, saying that he wishes to cross over the bridge. She replies that the water represents the troublous world. He cannot cross unless Sapience guides him, Discretion standing on the other side helping. They lead him to the bridge. On it he sees written:

No man this brydge may ouer go
 But he be pure without neglygence
 And stedfast in goddes byleue also
 If he be ignoraunt and do not so
 He must nedys into this water fall
 Ouer the heed and be drowned with all

Youth is lead over the bridge, and they come to a 'preuy place,' where is written:

This is the kyngdome of grete grace
 No man by yonde this marke may trace
 But yf he be brought in by dame wysedome
 If he so be he is moche welcome

They enter into the glorious castle into a hall paved with precious stones. There they behold Cleanness and her father, the King of Love. He is a curious sight, indeed. He is girt with willows and is blind. He has two large wings.

His body is naked. In his right hand he holds a dart; in his left hand a torch. He wears a bottle around his neck. One leg is armed; the other naked. Sapience explains the 'sygnifycacyon.' Love may not see and is, therefore, blind. He supposes that no man who loves by natural kind can do anything but reveal his love in his utterance. His nakedness signifies that true love desires nothing but the very

person and the body. His wings signify that his love flies only to the person he loves well. Love is also stricken with a dart that makes man complain. When it wounds the heart of man, it burns like fire. Then love is ever hot and dry until his lady gives him drink of mercy. One leg is armed to defend the right love and amend the wrong. The naked leg betokens charity. Thus, 'Charyte, ryght Loue, and good Concorde, with stabylnes reyneth in this myghty Lorde.'

They approach the throne of the King of Love, and Sapience explains the symbolism of the three crowns worn by Cleanness. They represent her virginity: one is for people of perfect religion; another for maidens keeping chastity; and the third for true widows.

Youth is introduced, and the King informs him that whoever marries his daughter must slay the Dragon of three heads, betokening the world, the flesh, and the devil. Sapience replies that Youth will obey the command. She turns to Youth and tells him not to be afraid. She will give him sword and shield and armor. She then arms him after the description in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (6:13-17):

This is the armure for the soule
 That in his epystole wrote saynt Poule
 Good hope thy legge harneys shall be
 The habergyn of ryghtwysnes gyrd in chastyte
 They plackarde of besynes in braüches of almes dede

Thy shelde of beleue and mekenes for the hede
 Thy swerde shall be the to defend
 The worde of god the deuyll to blende.

Youth and Sapience take leave of the court and go to meet the dragon. They approach the dragon's lair, the place of great oblivion. The serpent comes forth, and after a long struggle, aided by Sapience, Youth cuts off two heads, the world and the flesh. The serpent slinks away, vanquished by Youth. At this point, the poet moralizes on sin, admonishing his readers to follow the path of Good.

Sapience now tells Youth he can marry Cleanness. They return to the castle, where they are met by an entourage of ladies: Dame Perseverance, Dame Faith, Dame Charity (who calls him Virtue,) Dame Prayer, Dame Lowliness. Cleanness with Dame Grace welcomes him. They go before the King. Cleanness is asked by her father if she will marry Virtue. She will. The King of Love calls into his presence Perseverance, Charity, Fidelity, Lowliness, Prayer, and Intelligence and announces his daughter's marriage. He orders Youth to retire to the chamber of 'Clene Conscience,' guarded by a small dog that barks if anyone approaches to assail Conscience.

After three days of rest, Youth arises and meets Cleanness in a glorious garden. She gives him the flower Margarite, 'which is a floure ryght swete and precyous, endowed with beaute, and moche vertuous.' She tells him that this garden is her place of recreation, that there is still another garden they shall enjoy, a celestial one.

It is now time for the wedding. They are led to a chapel of rich construction. There Virtue sees the Ark of God, many Saints, Moses' rod, Saint Austin who brought Christianity into England, the Twelve Apostles, Saint Peter, Dames Prayer, Charity, Penitence, Humility, Faith, Righteousness, Peace, Mercy, Contrition, then Saint Gregory and Bede, Saint Ambrose, and the King of Love, led by Argus. Saint Jerome enters and then four Bishops. Saint Jerome begins the ceremony, addressing the King of Love. Dame Virginitie gives Virtue and Cleanness silver robes. Angels come down to help Saint Peter sing the Mass.

After the ceremony they go to a great hall for the wedding feast. The bride is escorted by Saint Edmund and Saint Edward. Two angels hold each corner of the tablecloth. Saint Peter serves them the bread of the communion, and Saint Ambrose serves them the wine.

But finally the poet is sixty years old and desires 'for to lyue in peace.' Nature has begun to cease her strength. Virtue asks his wife about the other garden she has mentioned. She tells him that the Angel Raphael with all these martyrs and noble confessors will escort him to heaven. Thereupon Virtue kisses his wife. Then the Good Angel comes to show Virtue the Pains of Hell. He sees the Dragon he slew bound in chains, doomed in eternal fire, with the seven deadly sins. He sees Dame Sensuality and the Lady with the cup

of gold. Had he surrendered to them, he would be here too. He sees the various levels of Hell. In the first are the Pagans. It has serpents, devils, black and tedious. The damned souls are tormented with 'hokes rygorous.' They deserve less punishment than others, for they lacked instruction.

In another vault lie the Jews in great pain. There are Devils drawing them along with great hooks. They are punished because they rejected Christ.

In the deepest vale lay Christian souls, in great sorrow, pain, and grief, burning in fire and lying in ice. These are the most damned of souls, for they knew better.

Virtue returns to Cleanness. The entire company breaks forth with a Heavenly Hymn. They rise to heaven and are met by the noble hierarchy. Virtue sees the seven planets entering their houses of the twelve signs. They see the Deity Himself. Virtue and Cleanness are praised.

The poet ends with a prayer for God to keep King Henry and his mother, and advance the union of the White rose and the Red in all Cleanness and Virtue. He asks that Prince Henry, the second treasure of the land, be increased in rest and peace. The poet closes with praise of Hawes' three great predecessors - Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate.

B.

Little more than generalized statements have been made of 'The Example of Virtue.' Lack of interest in the poem probably accounts for this. The Cambridge History of English Literature makes the first of these generalities. Murison writes, 'In his two long poems, he [Hawes] has the same didactic aim - to portray a man's struggles to attain his ideal; moral purity in the 'Example of Virtue, worldly glory in the 'Passetyme of Pleasure! . . .'¹⁹ John Berdan challenges this suggested difference, "I fail to see this distinction."²⁰ Berdan does not expand his statement. Had he, it perhaps would have followed these general lines. Moral purity is the theme of both poems. This purity is demonstrated in both poems with the device of the quest. The chief difference between the two is that in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" the quest receives a much fuller treatment.

A similar kind of distinction between the poems has been stated by Rhodenizer. Rhodenizer makes the well-taken point that Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's poem 'The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man' afforded Hawes an instance of the blending of both the symbolic treatment of the

¹⁹The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (New York: S. P. Putnam, 1927), II, Chapter XIX, p. 259.

²⁰ John Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (New York: MacMillan, 1920), p. 80.

whole course of human life and the romance.²¹ Rhodenizer emphasises the translation as a controlling source of the 'Pastyme of Pleasure.' His only major problem, as he sees it, is explaining why the 'Pastyme of Pleasure' is not a poem dealing with the contemplative life, which is the theme of the 'Pilgrimage.' The answer, he believes, is that Hawes had already treated the contemplative life in 'The Example of Virtue.'²² Yet, some questions remain unanswered: if 'The Example' is a poem designed to reflect the contemplative life, why does Hawes dwell at great length on the necessary contributions to man from Dame Hardiness? Why does Youth pass through the 'waters perilous'? The 'besynes of Wordely

²¹Rhodenizer, pp. 24-191. Partially, Rhodenizer's method in establishing the importance of the Romance as an influence on Hawes is to copiously list parallels. For example, the theme of the life story of a hero, beginning in the Springtime of youth, through marriage, and ultimately to death is common with "Sir Beves of Hamtoun," "Horn," "Sir Guy of Warwick," and "Richard Cour de Lion." The pilgrimage itself is found in "Li Romans de Caute," "Le Songe D'Enger," "La Voi de Paradis," and "The Pilgrimage of Man." The lady of the vision, an element of "The Pastyme of Pleasure" is also found in "Morte Arthure." The chance meeting is a characteristic of "Sir Amadas" and "Thomas of Erceldoune." Rhodenizer contends that greyhounds as gifts are quite common in the romance, citing "Guy of Warwick," "Horne Childe and Maiden Rimmill" and "Sir Gowghter" as examples. The picturing of the Trojan story and other historical themes on walls is common with "Kyng Alisaundre." "Tristram ed Isolta la blonde," "Roman de la Rose," "Amis and Amie," "Perceval of Gallois," "Octavian," and numerous Charlemagne legends. The necessity of becoming a knight as a prerequisite for accomplishing deeds is an aspect of "Guy of Warwick." All of these themes, common to various romances, are found in "The Pastyme of Pleasure."

²²Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Fassyon'? Why must Youth apply chivalry, which is a wordly knowledge and useful only in the "besynes of wordely fassyon," to defeat the three headed monster? Why is the father of Youth's bride, Cleanness, partially Cupid the erotic God if the poem is a revelation of the contemplative life?

Also his nakednes doth sygnyfy
 That true loue nothyng e ellys desyreth
 But the very persone and eke body
 That he so well and feruently loueth

· · · · ·
 And also loue is stryken with a sharpe darte
 That maketh a man for to complayne
 Whan that it hath wounded sore his herte
 It brenneth hote lyke fyre certeyn
 Than loue his purpose wolde fayne atteyne
 And is euermore booth hoot and drye
 Tyll his lady gyue hym drynke of mercy

My basic view of this poem is that it is inconsistent and deals with problems the beginning poet apparently could not resolve. But I am not at all sure Hawes consciously was making a distinction in this poem between the "active" and "contemplative" lives. It is the very failure to distinguish between the two that creates conflict.²³ There is certainly no confusion in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." Grand Amour makes his choice between two paths:

²³I am certain that to try to discuss the poem in terms of the "active and contemplative lives" is to force Hawes into terms with which he was not consciously concerned. I completely agree, however, with an unpublished opinion of Paul G. Ruggiers: "It would seem to be obvious that in Hawes's view, even if we weigh the scales on the side of contemplation, the contemplative life was securely founded upon a knowledge of the secular, profane world, even that a knowledge of life is a necessity or is inevitable."

This is the strayght waye of contemplacyon
 Unto the joyfull tower perdurable.
 Who that will vnto that mancyon
 He must forsake all thinges variable

and

This is the way of worldly dignitie
 Of the active life

It seems safer to assume, Hawes being a court poet, that his intention in writing the 'Example of Virtue' was to provide a typical doctrinal poem. Professor Arber is, perhaps, correct in his statement: "By 'Example' we are to understand a Pattern of excellence; the life of one whose conduct ought to be imitated."²⁴ And, perhaps, the real distinction between 'The Example of Virtue' and 'The Pastyme of Pleasure' besides the differences in incident and the like, is as F. J. Snell observes: "It [The Example of Virtue] is, if possible, even more courtly in tone [than 'The Pastyme of Pleasure'], but, on the other hand, it is more distinctly Christian."²⁵ In this dissertation I shall take the view that "The Example of Virtue" is the forerunner and model of "The Pastime of Pleasure" and that the basic difference between the two is the result of a wiser and more accomplished poet retreating his own material.

²⁴Arber, p. 217.

²⁵F. J. Snell, The Age of Transition (London: George Bell and Sons, 1905), p. 119.

"The Example of Virtue" falls rather abruptly into two parts. The first consists, as we saw, of a debate between Fortune, Hardiness, Nature, and Sapience²⁶ - the second, the battle with the three headed giant,²⁷ the marriage of Youth (virtue) to Cleanness,²⁸ and the ascension into the heavens.²⁹ At cursory glance, the first part has little indeed to connect it with the second part, other than the carry over of Youth, Discretion, and Sapience. Why then did the poet include the first part?

There are perhaps three reasons. In the only extensive article on "The Example," "Stephen Hawes and 'The Court of Sapience,'" Whitney Wells carefully traces the parallels between "The Example"³⁰ and "The Court of Sapience." concluding that the latter was a major force shaping the former, thereby, serving as an indirect influence on "The Pastime of Pleasure." "The Court of Sapience" includes a debate between the Four Daughters of God, and we might, therefore, conclude that the presence of this major device in the influencing work called for the employment of the same device in the influenced work, no matter how strained its inclusion might be.

We might secondly conclude that the Debate contributes to the major thesis of the poem, to bring the 'soul to blesse

²⁶See pp. 19-21.

²⁷See pp. 24-25.

²⁸See pp. 25-26.

²⁹See pp. 26-27.

³⁰Whitney Wells, "Stephen Hawes and 'The Court of Sapience,'" RES, VI, (1930), pp. 284-294.

eterne' by 'wyse example and morall doctryne.' For the debate accomplishes precisely this. Youth (Virtue) learns that man needs in their proper proportions Sapience, Hardiness, Nature, and Fortune in order to achieve eternity. And we see the poet groping for variety. Up to this point, the point of the debate, the poem has been singularly heavy in "morall doctryne." Now the poet concentrates on "wyse example." That Hawes could not justify equating Fortune, Hardiness, and Nature with Sapience is certainly a subsequent concern of this paper. As Hawes worked out his poem, he found himself constantly "loading the dice" in favor of Sapience - (assuredly a defect in the poet's art.) Nevertheless, these two defects do not alter the fact that Dame Justice gives as her final decision that each should cooperate and aid man rather than vie for supremacy.

Third, it strikes us that the Debate establishes by "wyse example" what man must learn and employ in life and that the second part of the poem, at least in conception, is the actual application of the first part, the same device, I shall attempt to show, controlling the arrangement of "The Pastime of Pleasure." That this organization has a falling off, again does not alter my argument, for it only follows that if the poet could not satisfactorily equate the four "Dames" in the first part, he would have more difficulty revealing their direct influence upon man in the second part.

Hawes has selected four of the most basic ingredients of the courtly man to enact his debate: sapience, fortune, nature, and hardiness. Without these four the knight cannot exist. But almost instantly the purpose of the debate is confused. The original argument dealt with the problem of which debater was more responsible for man's existence and success in life. Obviously, then, Justice must rule that each is essential; however, the argument actually takes the direction of deciding which is most important to man, which is most responsible for his greatness. And it becomes clear that Sapience is the most important shaping force. And it also follows that on these latter grounds there cannot actually be an argument between Nature and Sapience. One creates man, and the other is concerned with man only after his creation. Immediately after the debate, when the four ladies should aid Youth in his pursuit of Cleanness, Fortune adds nothing. Already she has been reduced to a mere poetic fiction [Mars calls her such in "The Pastime of Pleasure."] Nature's contributions are slight indeed. She begins to take away strength from the poet, and this is all. Only Hardiness and Sapience genuinely shape the course of Youth's (Virtue's) life, and it is Sapience by far who is the controlling influence. Although it is the decision of Justice that the four shall equally share in governing man, Hawes shifts the major emphasis upon Sapience, an emphasis he was to use as the controlling force in his second poem, "The Pastime of Pleasure."

Our first glimpse of Nature occurs while she is seated on her throne busily creating "all thynges." The poet is awed by her beauty, but Discretion reveals that Death is at her back. It seems to be the purpose of Discretion to reveal to Youth that Nature, and for that matter, Hardiness and Fortune are all transient. In direct contrast, Sapience is not! The description fulfills the requirement of "wyse example," but hardly strengthens Nature's stand in the debate. We next observe Nature when she presents her argument. She claims that she is "moost comfort to Humanyte." She maintains that she is the "orygynall of mannes creacyon." a property given by the Deity. What she gives, no power can destroy. This concept of Nature is certainly conventional, and Hawes could have formed its expression from many sources. Chapter XIV, for example, of Caxton's Mirrour of the World, a piece Hawes obviously was familiar with, is devoted entirely to Nature and her operations.³¹ "Ovre Lord God created alther first nature, ffor she is the thyng by whiche alle creatures and other werkes haue dured and lyue, what someuer they bee ordeyned of God vnder the heuen. Without nature may nothings growe, and by her haue all thinges created lyf."³² In this statement alone Hawes could have found the concept of Nature he employs in "The Example of Virtue."

³¹Caxton's Mirrour of the World, ed. Oliver H. Prior (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. CX, 1913), pp. 43-48.

³²Ibid., p. 43.

Additionally Hawes had in mind the "De Proprietatibus Rerum" of Bartholomeus, for he directly invites his readers "who of their properties [man, fowl, animal, etc.] list to read, / Let him look in the book of Bartholomew." And from Bartholomeus Hawes could have derived this conventional view of Nature as creating force.

There is evidence that Hawes knew the "De Planctu Naturae" of Alain De Lille. Again, this work could have supplied him with his simple view of Nature.³³ However, Hawes is not at all interested in the tradition of Nature as more than "activity as a creator," extending from Bernardus Silvester through Alain, and Jean de Meun³⁴ including even to a certain extent Gower and Lydgate. Genius as the actual agent of creation, employed by the previous writers, is not a concern of Hawes.

Hawes does briefly, in a fleeting moment, suggest that Nature exerts an influence over the destiny of man other than life and death. In stanza 139 he writes:

The lawe of nature doth man lynde
Both beste foule and fysshe also
In theyr degre to do theyr Kynde
Blame theym not yf they do so
For harde it is euer to ouer go

³³Alain De Lille, "The Complaint of Nature," translated from the Latin by Douglas M. Moffat (Yale Studies in English, 1908), p. 237.

³⁴Edgar C. Knowlton, "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods." JEGP XIX, (1920), pp. 236 ff.

The kynde of nature in her degre
For euery thyng must shewe his proprete

This is not, it would seem, even the Claudian view that Nature "through her complaint can intervene in the course of history."³⁵ It more apparently describes a pre-formed plan such as that mentioned in "The Metalogicon" of John of Salisbury. "Nature is, according to some . . . a certain genitive force, implanted in all things, whereby they can act or be the recipients of action. It is called "genitive," both because everything obtains a Nature as a result of being brought into existence, and because this nature is for each being its principle of existence. Everything derives its suitability for this or for that form [from] its composition."³⁶

In Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's "The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man," a major influence upon both "The Example of Virtue" and "The Pastime of Pleasure," a slight echo of this same idea occurs. Perhaps Hawes had it in mind:

I [Nature] leue no thyng in on estat,
But maké eche thyng, by deglyn,
ffor to drawé to hys ffyn.³⁷

³⁵E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York: Bollingen Series XXXVI, 1953), p. 106.

³⁶The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury, translated by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1955), p. 28.

³⁷Guillaume de Deguileville, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, translated by John Lydgate (London: E. E. T. S., LXXVII, 1899), p. 92, ll. 3446-3448.

Yet it seems even here that the major force of Nature is to create and eventually destroy. A somewhat similar expression appears in Lydgate's "Reason and Sensuality."

This emperesse, y yow ensūre,
 I called was Dame Nature,
 The whiche in every Region
 Is most worthy of Renoun,
 Not onoly touchinge his beaute,
 But moost eke of Auctorite;
 For this is she that is stallyd
 And the quene of kynde called,
 For she ys lady and maistresse
 And vnde god the chefe goddessse,
 The whiche of eithe, this no dout,
 Hath gouernaunce rounde about,
 To whom al thing must enclyne
 For, through purveance dyvyne,
 No man may contrairie nor with-seye
 Nor his lawes disobeye."³⁸

From Lydgate Hawes may have drawn the powerful image of death lingering behind Nature. In the "Assembly of the Gods" Atropos remarks concerning his office of death bringing:

For when she [Nature] forsaketh any creature,
 I am ay ready to take hym to my cure.³⁹

I think, therefore, for the most part Hawes has re-created a conventional Lady Natura, one whose limitations are those which the poets and philosophers of the past have called to our attention over and over again, a dame who can hardly claim control over the destiny of man against the charges of

³⁸John Lydgate, Reason and Sensibility (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. LXXXIV, 1901), pp. 7-8.

³⁹John Lydgate, Assembly of the Gods (London: E. E. T. S. LXIX, 1896), pp. 454-455.

Sapience and even Hardiness. Dismissing the one possible suggestion that Nature influences man in his daily life, we must assume that Hawes's lady is responsible for creating man and eventually committing him to death, a power that compels her to be deemed necessary to man, but not a power comparable to the complete evolution of the virtuous man, the responsibility for which Sapience, Hardiness, and even Fortune have more valid claim.

And yet, perhaps this view misses a subtlety intended by the poet. Perhaps he wished his reader instantly to see the impossibility of equating Hardiness and Sapience with Nature and Fortune. Perhaps this is his very point. It well might be his intention to ally the two qualities over which man can exert influence, namely his own sapience and his own hardiness, against those two qualities over which he has no influence, Nature and fortune, and by inference deny the importance of the latter. The topos "arms and studies," "sapientia et fortitudo" has a long and distinguished literary history.⁴⁰ To associate these together would be a natural concept for Hawes. Equally distinguished is a tradition which links Fortune and Nature together, both sharing in man's endowment.⁴¹ Nature in her speech even reflects the view that the properties of Nature and Fortune are sometimes allied and confused:

⁴⁰Curtius, pp. 173-179.

⁴¹Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge: Harvard, 1927), pp. 65, 66, 80.

Also Dame Fortune may not well let
 Me of my course, though she it thought
 In sundry wise; my deeds are so wrought.

The chief objection of admitting such a subtle device of denying accident, fate, predetermined control over man, is, of course, that we must not accept the verdict of Justice literally. We must assume that it is an ironic scene, an assumption hardly born out by the rest of Hawes's labors. It seems wiser to assume that Hawes, in the process of working out a pre-conceived debate, simply could not balance the scales properly. Certainly when he employed the same four figures in the subsequent work, "The Pastime of Pleasure," he places both Nature and Fortune in considerably minor positions.

Fortune is described in the most conventional of terms. She disassembles: sometimes she laughs; sometimes she glowers. She is forever turning her wheel, exalting some and then causing them to fall. We needn't look directly for a source, for the concept is present in the three authors Hawes praises, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. It is the Boethian Fortuna with which Hawes was surely familiar. The concept is so widespread in the Middle Ages that Hawes could have learned it in the manner that one is exposed to any general information.

Fortune's arguments are conventional, too. She claims she is responsible for man's "comfort, wealth, and rychesse." It is interesting to note that Fortune does not comment upon the way she hinders man, and for what purpose. In "The Pastime of Pleasure," insignificant as she is, she at least tries to

justify her caprices, claiming she is necessary to prevent man's pride from overthrowing him. But in this poem, "The Example of Virtue," she makes no claims to divine plan and in no way claims to affect man's salvation. Only Sapience makes this claim. Fortune limits herself only to the physical world and its immediate rewards, clearly in the Boethian tradition. Fortune also weakens her own argument in two other ways, and one wonders if Hawes intended to weaken her. For authority she cites "in olde tyme." She argues that warriors went to idols to pray that their Gods would ward off the power of bad fortune. In the middle of a heavily didactic Christian poem, the emphasis upon idols and idolaters casts Fortune in a suspicious light, particularly since Sapience is the way of the true Lord. This suggests that Fortune is as false as the false gods.

Secondly, Fortuna must argue "by reason." The necessity to resort to reason, Sapience claims, supports her own arguments. Fortune in refuting Hardiness states:

Yf Fortune be awaye, she [Hardiness] may not auayle
For they, by reason, must lose the batayle

There is present in the Middle Ages a strong tradition, stemming from Roman times, that attempts not to deny Fortune but rather to combat her, to limit her powers. The primary forces in this tradition are reason, which is the life of wisdom; courage, which is a part of fortitude; and virtue.⁴²

⁴²Ibid.

Hawes, who was admittedly a disciple of Lydgate, was perhaps familiar with Lydgate's poem "Mumming at London,"⁴³ in which he would have found this tradition in a variant form. After a discussion of Lady Fortuna, a description which well could have influenced that of Hawes in "The Example of Virtue," Lydgate comments upon the four ladies who protect us from her: prudence, righteousness, fortitude, and temperance.

Fortune's only argument against Sapience is that she alone can bestow worldly wealth and comfort. This is not much of a claim since these are not what Sapience claims jurisdiction over. Fortune is rather summarily dismissed by Nature who maintains that one's capabilities and properties are in-born, capabilities and properties which Fortune cannot alter. The only dame Fortune answers to any extent is Hardiness, and even here one senses the fallacy of trusting fate rather than prowess in battle, and traditionally Sapience and Hardiness are forces which limit fortune's powers.

Dame Hardiness is a somewhat ambiguous figure. She appears first of all to consist of strength. Hawes says of her that "no man the victory of her might get." She is surrounded by Nine Queens, apparently corresponding to the Nine Worthies who surround Fortune, who are armed and "of great fortitude." Furthermore, these ladies are "hardy in corage." Hardiness' own plea emphasizes her quality of strength. She

⁴³Minor Poems, II, p. 682.

is responsible for the conqueror's victory. A realm is upheld by three forces, the law, merchants, and the sword, the last of which is the most important! Next she describes how the Nine Worthies achieved worldly success and glory, claiming it was her chivalry, her prowess, her hardy courage, her strength, that brought victory. This is a disorganized list and one that consists of repetitions and overlappings. Perhaps the difficulty lies in the problem as Curtius would explain it that there was no "system of the virtues" of the knight.⁴⁴ It would seem, rather, that there were several "literary" traditions, and that Hardiness reflects aspects of one, a non-Christian so-called "system." Not once does Hardiness claim any origins in Deity; nor does Fortune. Nature does, but only briefly, but Sapience unreservedly makes claims even to the point of sermonizing. And this is another way in which Sapience "comes out better" than anyone else in the debate.

It is easy, therefore, for Sapience to dismiss the claims of Hardiness; she merely resorts to another tradition. Sidney Painter would have us believe that the main seeds of Feudal chivalry were loyalty, generosity, courtesy, prowess, prestige and glory.⁴⁵ It is Painter's contention that at

⁴⁴Curtius, p. 535.

⁴⁵Sidney Painter, French Chivalry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), pp. 32-35.

least two other "systems" or traditions of chivalry existed, Religious Chivalry and Courtly Chivalry.⁴⁶

Hardiness's claims, if we accept this division, would fall most nearly in Feudal chivalry, strength and courage corresponding with prowess, and prestige and glory being common to both. Sapience attacks the assertion of Hardiness on different grounds. She claims that there are six powers more necessary to Knights than Hardiness. These are Prudence to withstand evil, Loyalty to sovereign and Redeemer, Liberality among the commons, Strength to defend the right and to exclude all manner of vices, Mercy, and finally Charity to the poor in their great need.

"The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry," translated and printed by Caxton from a French version of Ramón Lull's "Le Libre Del Orde de Cauayleria"⁴⁷ contains in a convenient list all of the qualities of knighthood referred to by Sapience, those subsequently explained by the King of Love in "The Example of Virtue," and the re-worked, more amplified list of chivalric virtues explained by King Melyzyus in "The Pastime of Pleasure." Caxton's list of virtues includes the following: a knight must maintain the faith; he must defend his lord and maintain justice; he must have prowess; he must maintain social order; he must have courage which is superior to

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 65-148.

⁴⁷Caxton's Order of Chivalry, (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 168, 1926).

strength and which is always tempered by prudence or discretion; he must defend the weak and helpless; he must protect the people; he must eschew swearing and impurity and must be humble; he must be courteous and hospitable; and he must love the commonwealth.⁴⁸

It is noteworthy that among the knights led by Virtue and Grace in "The Assembly of the Gods" are all of those powers listed by Sapience as superior to Hardiness save loyalty: Prudence,⁴⁹ Liberality,⁵⁰ Strength,⁵¹ Mercy,⁵² and Charity.⁵³ The list easily could have suggested to Hawes the speech of Sapience.

Curiously enough, Hawes abbreviates this list (the Caxton list) when the King of Love arms Youth (Virtue) and expands somewhat the list when Melyzyus instructs Grand Amour. In "The Example of Virtue" the armor, after the manner of Paul in 2 Cor. 6:7, Ephesians 6:13-17 is described:

This is the armour for the soul,
That in his "epistle," wrote Saint Paul.
Good-Hope thy Leg-harness shall be,
The Habergeon of Righteousness girded with chastity,
The Placard of Business, with branches of Alms-deed,
The Shield of Belief, and Meekness for the head.
The Sword shall be, thee to defend,
The Word of God, the Devil to blend!

(stanza 196)

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 23-43, 113.

⁴⁹Assembly of the Gods, p. 796.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 811. ⁵¹Ibid., p. 797.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 986, 1194. ⁵³Ibid., pp. 804, 1435.

In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Melyzyus describes the ideal knight, one of many instances in which material in "The Example of Virtue" was experimented with, tested, and finally reworked or discarded in the subsequent poem of greater scope:

Knyghthode he sayd was first establysshed
 The comyn welthe in ryght to defende
 That by wronge it be not mynysshed
 So every knyght must truely condyscende
 For the comyn welthe his power to extende
 Agaynst all suche rebelles contraryous
 Them to subdue with power vycoryous.

[Sapience in "The Example of Virtue" accuses Hardiness of causing rebellion]

For knyghthode is not in the feates of warre
 As for to fyght in quarrel ryght or wronge
 But in a cause whiche trouthe can not defarre
 He ought hymselfe for to make sure and stronge
 Justyce to kepe myxte with mercy amonge
 And no quarell a knyght ought to take
 But for a trouthe or for the comyns sake

For fyrst good hope his legge horneys sholde be
 The habergyon of perfyte ryghtwysnes
 Gyrdle fast with the gyrdle of chastyte
 His ryche placarde sholde be good besynes
 Brauded with almes so full of larges
 The helmet mekenes/ and the shelde good fayth
 His swerde goddes wordes as saynt Foule sayth

Also true wydowes he ought to restore
 Unto theyr ryght for to attayne theyr dower
 And to uphold and maynteyne euermore
 The welthe of maydens with his myghty power
 And to his souerayne at euery maner hower
 To be redy true and eke obeysaunt
 In stable loue fyxt/ and not varyaunt

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The final argument that Sapience resorts to in order to deny Hardiness her due is simply that without reason Hardiness cannot avail. Caxton translates, "To his [a knight's]

hors is giffin in his hed a testier to signify that a knyght ought to do nan armes without resoun; for lik an hors goth to fore the knyght Right soo ought Reason goo to fore all that a knyght doth/ For al werkes without reason ben ryces in hym."⁵⁴

Although Justice proclaims all four dames shall aid man, it is clear again that Hawes is inclined to acknowledge Sapience as the foremost necessity and, as a matter of simple demonstration, will conduct Youth on the remainder of his journey through life predominately controlled by Sapience and her sister Discretion.

The chief source for Hawes's view of Sapience is the Bible. If he was aware of the tradition that carefully distinguished between knowledge, science, wisdom, and sapience, he chose to ignore it. He freely uses Wisdom, Sapience, and Prudence to identify Dame Discretion's sister, and in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" he employs the term science, meaning simply knowledge or wisdom.⁵⁵ The Court of Sapience, which as has been indicated, served to a major extent as a source for "The Example of Virtue," treats of three courts within the Castle of Sapience. The first, Science, "deals with actualities and Intelligence [the second] with supernatural phenomena, which the five senses cannot perceive."⁵⁶ The

⁵⁴Order of Chivalry, pp. 85-86. ⁵⁵Mead, p. 258.

⁵⁶Curt Ferdinand Bühler, The Sources of the Court of Sapience (Leipzig: Bernhard Fauchnitz, 1932), p. 14.

third court, Sapience, "combines earthly and divine knowledge . . . Religion is the sum of all knowledge, and there can be no wisdom that is not intrinsically connected with the religious scheme."⁵⁷

This view, conventional as it is, is somewhat different from that of Augustine, whom Hawes cites in the "Conversion of Swerers," who distinguished between science and wisdom in more definite terms. Science to him is "reasonable action in regard to temporal matters."⁵⁸ "The work of wisdom is the contemplation of eternal verities."⁵⁹ Furthermore, Augustine distinguishes between Prudence and Wisdom. "Prudence tells us what to seek and what to avoid."⁶⁰ "Wisdom is nothing other than the truth in which the highest good is apprehended and held."⁶¹ To Augustine Sapientia is the "conviction that fides is the gateway to understanding."⁶² Augustine's definition, to quote Buhler, is the same as that in the Catholicon of Balbus and is implied in the duties of the

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁸Vernon J. Bourke, Augustine's Quest of Wisdom, (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1947), p. 215.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Whitney J. Oates, Basic Writings of Saint Augustine (New York: Random House, 1948), I, p. 822.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 825.

⁶²Roy W. Battenhouse, A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 289.

Divine Hierarchies as given by Dionysius Areopagiticus.⁶³ If Hawes knew Augustine's view, he ignores it, or for that matter, any view which distinguishes the terms sapience, prudence, etc.

In The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury further distinctions are made. He writes, "Prudence, according to Cicero, is a virtue of the conscious soul, a virtue whose object is the investigation, perception, and skillful utilization of the truth."⁶⁴ Additionally he writes, "our forefathers used the words 'prudence' and 'science' with reference to temporal sensible things, but reserved the terms 'understanding' and wisdom for knowledge of spiritual things. Thus it is customary to speak of 'science' relative to human things, but of 'wisdom' with regard to divine things."⁶⁵

Sapience or Wisdom or Prudence as used by Hawes involves all the aforementioned distinctions. And probably the major reason Hawes makes no clear cut divisions in his terms is that his major source does not, The Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

With minor exceptions all of the "wise utterances" of both Sapience and Discretion are simply paraphrases of verses from these books.⁶⁶

Sapience admonishes Youth to "proue a frende in mater fayned." This is, needless to say, worldly advice. And of

⁶³Bühler, p. 11.

⁶⁴Metalogicon, p. 221.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 222.

⁶⁶See pages 14-15 and 17-19.

its type to differs not at all from Discretion's counsel to "loue neuer unloued."

The point, then, is that Sapience and Discretion are scarcely distinguishable in the majority of precepts they leave with Youth. Both advise him in matters temporal and spiritual. They both, indistinguishable, treat of sapience, wisdom, prudence, and science.

And yet, Hawes does distinguish between them not in terms of what they say, but in terms of what they do. Sapience is described as responsible for bringing man to the abode of "joye, vertue, and grace," to the place of "vertue, heale, lyfe, and saluacyon." In the debate she claims that she is the ground for the Seven Liberal Arts, which, she claims, is the pathway to Heaven. Man can have no pleasure without her. She is indued with grace. She is the lodestar of heavenly doctrine and the spring of comfort, joy, and solace. She proceeds from the Strength of the Holy Ghost and he who knows Sapience will behold the Deity. Hawes clearly associates Sapience with grace and Salvation on Biblical authority. Subsequently in the poem she invisibly accompanies Youth and Discretion on their journey, ever at hand to save him. When Youth approaches the bridge over the troublous waters, Wisdom must aid him. The inscription over the bridge reads "This is the Kyngdome of Grete Grace. No Man Byyonde this Marke may Trace,/ But yf he be brought in by Dame Wysedome . . ." Wisdom's function, therefore, is to lead man to the throne of

the Deity Himself, and that she does in "The Example of Virtue." In a much subtler fashion she does the same in "The Pastime of Pleasure," which will be treated in Chapter III.

Discretion, on the other hand, at times acts in the capacity of Science and Prudence as defined by Augustine and John of Salisbury. To Hawes Discretion partially means judgment, discernment. The Catholic Encyclopedia defines Prudence as "an intellectual habit enabling us to see in any given juncture of human affairs what is virtuous and what is not."⁶⁷ This ability to discern is apparently what Hawes had in mind as the distinguishing feature of Discretion. In Lydgate's "A Pageant of Knowledge" the fusion of Prudence and Discretion partially occurs, "Discrecion . . . conserueth reames, by prudent polycy."⁶⁸

It is interesting to note that there is a similarity between Hawes's Dame Discretion and Joseph representing 'Discrecyon' in "The Stodye of Wysdome." Here Discretion "signifies the grace of purity which follows upon a true knowledge of self."⁶⁹ This closely parallels Discretion's gift to Youth, an "informacyon" that permits him to realize that Youth can see "nothyng appropred to his prosperyte."

⁶⁷The Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York: Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), XII, p. 517.

⁶⁸Minor Poems, II, p. 726.

⁶⁹"A Tretyse of be Stodye of Wysdome" in Deonise Hid Diuinite (London: E. E. T. S., 231, 1955), p. XXXVI.

"The Stodye of Wysdome" also defines discretion as that virtue "which recognizes the good and chooses it, and has the power to separate the good from the evil."⁷⁰ Again we are dealing with what seems to be Hawes's notion of discretion. In this same treatise Joseph, discretion, is the brother of Benjamin, contemplation or the study of wisdom. Wisdom and Discretion are sisters in "The Example of Virtue." Much effort is expended to carefully point out that Joseph of necessity was born before Benjamin. Discretion must precede Wisdom. In "The Example of Virtue" Discretion appears first and offers to lead Youth to her sister Sapience, but only if Youth will be ruled by her first.

Thus, Discretion in "The Example of Virtue" when she is distinguished from Sapience becomes the activity of discerning virtue from evil in worldly affairs. It is she, therefore, who must guide Youth to the castle of Dames Hardiness, Wisdom, Nature, Fortune, and Justice. It is she who must point out that Death is lurking always behind Nature, Fortune, and Hardiness. It is she who must guide Youth through the Wilderness and make comment upon those whom they meet. And it is she who must support Youth across the bridge to the other side where Dame Wisdom stands to assist.

⁷⁰Ibid.

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The poem itself opens with little originality. Following his professed master, Lydgate, Hawes begins with a conventional astrological and seasonal commentary,⁷¹ neither of which seems to have any significance. The month is September; it is night. The poet, who is asleep, is suddenly awakened by Morpheus, who takes him for a walk in a "meadow amorous."⁷² The poet is surrounded with "many a fair flower," and the trees are "distilling redolent liquor." It is the conventional meadow of youth, appropriate enough since it introduces the journey of the poet himself, Youth. He meets Discretion who takes Youth over, and Morpheus, his function ended, drops out of the poem. Discretion and Youth approach a wondrous castle, the description of which clearly is influenced by Lydgate's "Temple of Glas."⁷³

On the walls of the castle are hung cloths of arras, made of fine gold, telling the story of Josephus and Tiberius.⁷⁴ The source of this parable is obscure. Josephus Flavius does not tell the story in his autobiography. He does,

⁷¹Assembly of Gods, p. lili.

⁷²Compare with Assembly of Gods, stanzas 2-3; Chaucer's Invocation to "House of Fame"; and Gower's Confessio Amantis, Book II, ll. pp. 3039 ff.

⁷³John Lydgate, Temple of Glas, ed. J. Schick (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. LX, 1891), CXXIX.

⁷⁴See page 16.

however, remark on several occasions that he had a host of guards. In one instance a citizen of Tiberias asks him why he retains these guards. It well may be that Hawes confuses Tiberias with Tiberius and rewrites a popular story, or it may be the confusion already existed in such a tale popularly circulated. Its function, at any rate, is clear enough. It is a pithy little sentence with a wise and clever ending, a fitting inclusion into a poem that deals most heavily with the steps to salvation through Wisdom.

Following the debate, which has already been discussed at length, Sapience recommends to Youth, now devotedly pledged to her, that he marry Cleanness, reported marvelously fair by Dame Nature.⁷⁵ The allegory takes a new turn, or rather a new demonstration of the former primary thesis, how Sapience and Discretion enable Youth to reach a state of Grace and then salvation. Cleanness resides in a castle which is called the "Kyngdome of Grete Grace."⁷⁶ No one can enter unless he is guided by Wisdom and is himself "pure without neglygence."⁷⁷

Thus, Youth in his wanderings through the maze of "worldly busynes" must prove himself pure. He first meets a lady riding on a goat who desires of him the "fleshly pleasure." He, of course, scorns her and proceeds on his journey,

⁷⁵"Example of Virtue," stanza 151.

⁷⁶Ibid., stanza 180.

⁷⁷Ibid., stanza 179.

encountering the "Lady of Richesse" mounted on an elephant holding a cup of gold set with pearls. Youth treats her contemptuously too. It seems likely that Hawes based his allegorical figures "Pride endued with covatice" and Worldly pleasure or Dame Sensuality on a fleeting description in "The Assembly of the Gods":

Next whom came couetyse, that goth so fer and wyde,
Rydyng on a obyfaunt, as he had ben aferde.

.
And next hym on a goot folowyd Lechery.

(Stanza 90)

Hawes describes "Pride endued with covatice" as sitting in a castle on an elephant's back. He could have found such a description of a "castle" in Mandeville's Travels,⁷⁸ a work Mead is persuaded Hawes was familiar with.⁷⁹ The description of the lady with the cup of gold set with pearls can be ultimately traced to "Apocalypse."⁸⁰ Yet, here she is the "great harlot," her cup full of the "abomination and

⁷⁸Mandeville's Travels, ed. Paul Hamelius (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 153, 1919), p. 127. It should be noted that the same suggestion could have come from Caxton's Mirrour of the World (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. CX), p. 76. There is additional evidence to support the view that Hawes was influenced by Caxton's work. The seven liberal arts are treated by Caxton, p. 28; the description of nature is similar to that in "The Pastime of Pleasure," p. 43; the sweet breath of the panther is remarked upon, p. 76; Hell in the middle of the earth, rank with fire, ice, stench, and oblivion appears in this work, pp. 106-108; and the Vergil anecdote which appears in the "Pastime of Pleasure" appears here in an abbreviated form.

⁷⁹Mead, p. 227 n. 261; p. 228 n. 344.

⁸⁰Apocalypse 17:4.

filthiness of her fornication." Precisely why Hawes changed the specific vices around is obscure unless he subtly wished to connote fleshly pleasure as well as pride.

Nevertheless, Discretion carefully points out that Pride and "carnal frailty" are particularly abominable to Cleanness, through whom Youth shall have possession of the "Heavenly Kingdom." We are thus led to the interpretation of Cleanness.

In "The Court of Sapience" Chastity is described as follows:

. . . the Mayde eke Chastyte,
 In whos heede was III garlandis of renoun:
 Oon for virgyns and theyr relygioun,
 Ooon for spowsyd peple that lyuyn clene,
 The thryd for wydows, yef they pure conteyne.
 (Stanza 216)

These directly compare with Hawes's description of Dame Cleanness:

This lady is clene without corrupcyon
 And wereth thre crownes for her vergynyte
 One is for people of perfyte relygyon
 And other for maydens keyping chastyte
 The therde for true wedowes as thou mayst se
 (Stanza 190)

Of all the attendant virtues in the Kingdom of Grace in "The Example of Virtue," Chastity is noticeably absent. This is understandable, for Cleanness to Hawes was Chastity. And assuredly it is a Chastity with emphasis originally upon virginity, but with deeper meaning too. The Middle Ages

considered chastity to consist of seven branches or stages,⁸¹ undedicated virgins, the repentant unchaste, married people who are true to one another, widowed folk, dedicated virgins, clerks in order, and finally the state of religion. It is this last state that Cleanness represents as the marriage partner in the Kingdom of Grace who can lead Virtue or Youth to the Heavenly Throne.

After þe ensauple of seynt Poule schulde þe goode religious - forzete the world and lete it bihynde hym, and alle þe goodes euere lastyng haue alwey to fore his eien, and euere-more go for þ fro vertue in-to vertue, al for-to he come to þe hil of þe endeles ioie, where he schal loue hym parfytliche and þanke hym wip-out ende. Pis is þ blessing whider þat þe ift of cunnyng ledeþ hem þat kepeþ clenness of herte and of body, as we haue schewed here-tofore; & perfore seip oure lard þat blessed be þe clene of herte, for þei schulle see God."⁸²

It is little wonder then that Hawes singles out "fleshly desire" and "wordly vanity" as those vices particularly offensive to Cleanness. To ascend to the state of Chastity, these two must be left behind. Youth overcomes the temptation of these two, but he must at least symbolically destroy them. He, therefore, is commanded to destroy the three headed monster, signifying the World, the Devil, and the Flesh. With the help of Sapience, and we presume at least indirectly with the help of Hardiness although she like Nature and Fortuna more nearly representing attributes of the

⁸¹The Book of Vices and Virtues, ed. W. Nelson Francis (London: E. E. T. S., 217, 1942), pp. 243-272.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 269-270.

world has already been minimized by Dame Wisdom, Youth destroys the World and the Flesh. Virtue, then in the allegorical framework, led always by Wisdom seeking Purity in the Kingdom of Grace destroys the power of the world and the flesh. The Devil, it would appear, must be destroyed by the Deity Himself.

So far the young poet has been confronted with several problems in reconciling story with allegory. The Debate is the first instance of this; the partial confusion of the powers of Discretion, Fortuna, Nature, Sapience, and Hardiness is another. (In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes completely overcomes the difficulties of his allegorical dames and puts them clearly in their proper stations as they affect man's life.) Furthermore, there is the problem of Youth as a person and Youth as an allegorical figure. That is, he creates a narrator whom he wishes to respond both as Youth, the allegorical figure, and Youth as a lover, a lover with passion. The difficulty with this is that Cleanness is fundamentally Chastity. Hawes must have sensed this problem, for he dismisses the fervent love between Youth and Cleanness as expediently as possible. Youth (Virtue) does kiss his wife fervently, but in the same breath he announces he is sixty and tired of the world.

Hawes has traced the course of his hero through the mechanical workings of an allegory. Youth represents the abstraction Virtue. When the hero for the first time suddenly

indulges in social patter in the garden, the abstraction virtue yields to something more concrete. The result is amusing:

Than to her I sayd my lady dere
Beholde this weder so clere and fayre
How royall walkynge that it is here

Immediately thereafter, fortunately, it is Virtue and Clean-ness speaking rather than knight and lady.

But the other gardyn is celestyall
That longeth to us by enherytaunce
And is entayled to us in generall
For our clene lyfe and vertuouse gouernaũce
Lyke a place of pleasure you to repayre
Amonge the floures so swete of ayre

In "The Pastyme of Pleasure," Hawes avoids the difficulties involved in allegorical abstractions. Whatever else Grand Amour and La Bell Pucel are, they are always young lovers. In fact, with little difficulty, one could read "The Pastyme of Pleasure" simply as a romance with educational stanzas added.

This duality which Hawes has difficulty with, that of passionate love which sexuality rewards and the love of abstractions rewarded only through a blending or a union, is perhaps best seen in an examination of the father of Clean-ness, the King of Love.⁸³ Hawes does not call him Cupid, and yet he partially partakes of Cupid's powers and influence. He is winged, blind, carries a dart and a burning torch

⁸³See page 23-24.

- all characteristics of the conventional Eros. Hawes in explanation attributes the kind of passion in him that we associate with worldly love:

It the torch brenneth hote lyke fyre certeyn!
 Than Loue hys purpose wolde fayn atteyne
 And is euermore booth hoot and drye
 Tyll his Lady gyue hym drynke of mercy.

But in the next stanza he symbolically represents the "ryght that longeth unto amyte," "Charyte," and "wrong loue for to amende." In summary Hawes says that "Charyte, ryght Loue, and good Concorde, with stabylness, reyneth in this myghty Lorde." This duality is curious, to say the least, but not inexplicable as C. S. Lewis would remark.⁸⁴ Dante, Usk, and Spenser also do something like this.

Ultimately Cleanness and Virtue (as he is now called) are married. The procession is a staggering one: saints, martyrs, virtues, angels, the King of Love guided by Argus. A wedding banquet follows which, of course, is as Hawes puts it, "a ghostly fest." It is symbolically a communion. Quickly, and he was wise to do so, Hawes passes over the wedding itself and the feast as such. He is more interested in reciting the angelic group that witness the union of Virtue with Cleanness.

Abruptly Virtue tells us he is now sixty years old and desires to live in peace. (It would hardly be appropriate

⁸⁴C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 285-286.

- if possible - to describe the married life of Virtue and Cleanness!) The angel Raphael takes him to view the "Pains of Hell." It is Whitney Wells' view that the description of Hell quite likely is based on an anecdote of St. Macarius like the one from Caxton's Golden Legend.⁸⁵ The description of the three levels is the same in both, and there appears to be no reason to doubt that Hawes had this legend in mind. However, the anecdote alone does not account for the characteristics of Hell as Hawes listed them: endless pain, both hot and cold; a dungeon, long and wide and deep; mortal darkness and heaviness; serpents foul and odious; the Seven Deadly Sins. Hawes could have gotten these characteristics from countless homilies and sermons dealing with the torments of Hell. It might be pointed out that these descriptions, however, do appear in the Cursor Mundi, a work Hawes surely knew.⁸⁶

Finally Virtue and Cleanness are brought to the Kingdom of Eternal Glory midst the glorious singing of the Heavenly Host. They behold the Deity, and the poem proper ends. Hawes has fulfilled his promise. By "wyse example and morall doctryne" Youth has been guided by Wisdom to Salvation.

The poet's epilogue is a prayer to God to save King Henry and to preserve the royal bud, Prince Henry, descending

⁸⁵Wells, p. 293.

⁸⁶Cursor Mundi, ed. Rev. Richard Morris (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101, 1875-1893).

from the union of the red and white roses. Hawes describes the union as one that shines "in all clenness and vertuous courage," thereby flatteringly associating Elizabeth with Cleanness and Henry VII with Virtue. Subsequently Hawes describes Prince Henry as "surmontynge in vertue and myrour of beautye," an echo of a phrase used previously to describe Youth. But it is a mistake, I think, to try to examine the poem too closely in the light of historical representation. We run immediately into the problem of two voices, that of the poet speaking sometimes and other times, that of King Henry. It is certainly problematical to associate the King of Love with the father of Elizabeth of York. Problems arise: if King Henry is Youth (Virtue), why is Prince Henry described in the same terms? It seems better advised to assume that the union of Henry and Elizabeth is like that of Virtue and Cleanness rather than to assume their union is that of Virtue and Cleanness in the poem.

It is necessary to consider this problem, for it rises again in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" concerning Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell. If "The Example of Virtue" is the predominant pattern for "The Pastyme," as this dissertation maintains, it would indeed be helpful to establish an historical allegory in the first poem to serve as a guide in understanding the second one. Unfortunately, this cannot be conclusively accomplished. For a continued discussion of this

matter, the reader is referred to the sixth chapter of this dissertation wherein the problem will be extended to include Hawes's third allegorical poem, "The Cōforte of Louers."

CHAPTER III

"THE PASTYME OF PLEASURE"

1

The poem opens with the familiar device of the dedication, in this case to Henry VII. Immediately Hawes associates "grace" and "gouvernaunce" with Henry, terms which reappear often in "The Pastyme of Pleasure," particularly in reference to the two grayhounds which Dame Fame leaves with Grand Amour to accompany him on his journey. Next, Hawes comments upon Henry's claim to the throne, remarking that the "grace of God" has surely placed Henry "oboue vs all to haue the soueraynte."

In the third stanza Hawes praises Prince Henry, descended "by the ryghtfull lyne," noting his virtue and claiming that of fame he shall "attayne the hye renowne."

Hawes closes the prologue with a description of the poet's art, commending Lydgate, and apologizing for his own "lacke of scyence."

Summaries of the poem are plentiful and readily available.¹ It would, therefore, seem more profitable to

¹Mead, pp. xx-xxvii; Warton, pp. 172 ff; John M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (New York: MacMillan, 1920), p. 79; Henry Morley, English Writers (London: Cassell, 1891) VII, pp. 73-74; English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey, ed. Eleanor Prescott Hammond (Durham: Duke University, 1927), pp. 271-286.

use instead, the table of contents of the author himself, or if not the author, the printer.²

Here, begynneth the Passetyme of Pleasure.³

How graunde amoure walked in a medowe and met with fame envyronned with tongues of fyre. ca.	.i.
Of the swete reporte of fame of the fayre lady la bell pucell in the toure of musyke. ca.	.ii.
How Fame departed frome Graunde amoure and lefte with hym Gouvernaunce and grace/ and howe he went to the toure of doctryne. ca.	iii.
How he was let in by countenance the porteresse/ & of the meruaylous buyldynge of the same toure. Capi tulo	iiii.
How scyence sent hym fyrst to gramer wher he was receyued by dame congruyte. ca.	v.
How he was receyued of logyke. ca.	vi.
How he was receyued of rethoryke/ and what rethoryke is. ca.	vii.
Of the fyrst parte called Inuencyon/ and a commen dacyon of poetes. ca.	viii.
A replycacyon agaynst ignoraunt persones. ca.	ix.
Of dysposycyon the .ii. parte of rethoryke. ca.	x.
Of elocucyon the thyrde parte of rethoryke with colourynge of sentences. ca.	xi.
Of pronūncyacyon the .iiii. parte of rethoryke. ca.	xii.
Of memory the .v. parte of rethoryke. ca.	xiii.
A cōmēdacyō of Gower/ chaucer/ & lydgate. ca.	xiiii.
Of Of Arysmetryke. ca.	xv.
Of musyke mundayne/ humayne/ & instrumētall.	xvi.

²The Table of Contents is missing from the only extant copy of the 1509 printing, which is an incomplete copy, lacking altogether thirty-eight pages. The 1517 edition, by the same printer is the earliest complete text. (Information from Mead, xxix) Thus, if Hawes himself did not write the Table of Contents, at least the first printer did. However, since there is evidence that Hawes personally supervised the first printing, it is quite possible that he designed the Table of Contents. (In the Parliament of Venus episode, Godfrey Gobylyue describes the ugly damsel who rejected him. Ll. 3780-3781 of the text read, "Lo here the figures of them both certayne/ Iuge whiche is best fauourde of them twayne." These lines are followed by a wood-cut depicting the two, an indication that Hawes was planning both the text and the "illustrations.")

³Mead, pp. 1-4.

How graunde amour was enamoured of la bell pu= cell in the toure of musyke/ and met with counsayle in a temple. ca.	xvii.
Of the dolorous and louely dysputacyon bytwene la bell pucell and graunde amour. ca.	xviii.
How la bell pucell graunted Graunde Amoure lo= ue/ and of her dyspytous departyoge. ca.	xix.
Of the grete sorowe that graunde amoure made af ter her departyne/ and of the wordes of counsayle. Ca= pitulo.	xx.
How Graunde amoure wente to geometry/ & what geometry is. ca.	xxi.
Of dame astronomy. ca.	xxii.
Of the derecte operacyons of nature. ca.	xxiii.
Of the fyue Interyall wyttes. ca.	xxiiii.
Of the hye influences of the supernall bodyes. Ca= pitulo.	xxv.
How graunde amoure departed frome the toure of scyence/ and wente to the toure of chyualry where he was let in by fortytude. ca.	xxvi.
Of the meruaylos argument bytwene Mars and fortune. ca.	xxvii.
How mynerue ledde Graūde Amoure to kynge Melyzyus whiche made hym knyght. ca.	xxviii.
How he departed frome kynge Melyzyus with his grehoūdes and attendaunce his varlet and met with false reporte/ that chaunged his name to Godfraye go bylyue. ca.	xxix.
How graūde amoure in the temple of Venus made his supplycacyon. ca.	xxx.
The copy of the lettre that Venus sent to la bell pu= cell. ca.	xxxi.
How Godfraye gobylue was taken of correccyon & punysshed. ca.	xxxii.
How graunde amour dyscomfyted the gyaunt with thre heedes/ & was receyued of .iii. ladyes. ca.	xxxiii.
How he mette with Perceyeraunce/ & reposed hy3 in the manoyr place of dame comforte. ca.	xxxiiii.
How he vaynquysshed a gyaunt/ with seuen heedes and was receyued of .vii. ladyes. ca.	xxvi.
How he made oblacyon to the goddes Pallas & say led ouer the tempestous flode. ca.	xxxvi.
How he dyscomfyted the wonderfull monstre of the vii. metalles made by enchaument. ca.	xxxvii.
How he was receyued of labell pucell. ca.	xxxviii.
The maryage of graūde Amour & labell pucell.	xxxix.
How Whan graunde Amour had lyued longe w la= bell pucell was arested by aege that brought vnto h̄y polycy and auaryce. ca.	xl.
How he was arested by dethe. ca.	xli.

How remembraūce made his epytaphy on his graue. ca.	xlii.
How fame came in to the temple with burnyge tones/ and other prayse. ca.	xliiii.
How tyme came in to the temple in meruaylous semyltude/ and of his replycayon. ca.	lxiiii.
How eternyte came in to the temple/ and of her vertuous exortacyon. ca.	xlv.
The excusacyon of the auctour. ca.	lxvi.

2

The major work expended on "The Pastyme of Pleasure" has dealt with the attempt to ascertain its source or sources. The first of the long list of "source" tracers was Thomas Warton whose remarks were little more than an unsupportable generalization: "The personifications [in "The Pastyme of Pleasure"] indicate the writer's familiarity with the provençal School."⁴ Next in order was the dissertation of Burkart which rather carelessly claimed that the entire plan came from "The Court of Sapience."⁵ His assertion was attacked by Natter, who in turn decided in favor of the "Margarita Philosophica" of Gregorius Reisch: and the "Image du Monde" of Gautier von Metz.⁶ For the long and important section of Hawes's poem dealing with the Tower of Doctrine,

⁴Warton, p. 171.

⁵Eugen A. Burkart, Stephen Hawes' "The Pastime of Pleasure," Allegorical Poem, Critical Introduction to a Proposed New Edition of the Text (Zurich dissertation, 1899), p. 51.

⁶Hans Natter, Untersuchung der Quellen von Stephen Hawes' Allegorischen Gedichte "Pastime of Pleasure" (Passau dissertation, 1911) pp. 21, 42-43.

Courthope has suggested the "Marriage of Mercury and Philology" of Martianus Capella as the leading influence.⁷ For the "character of the narrative" he suggests Malcroy's "Mort d'Arthure," a view which has been rejected by most commentators.⁸ Rhodenizer finds the major influences to be De-guilleville's "Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine" and the vast storehouse of the "Romance."⁹ Zander avoids the problem of the major source but does discuss the parallels between "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and Mandeville's Travels.¹⁰ C. W. Lemmi notes the parallels between "The Pastime" and Boccaccio's "Amorosa Visione."¹¹ Subsequent critics have cast their votes variously, denying and supporting these suggested sources.¹² Certainly these source studies are necessary for the complete appreciation of Hawes's creativity, but there is always

⁷W. J. Courthope, A History of English Poetry (London: MacMillan, 1919) I, p. 382.

⁸Ibid. ⁹Rhodenizer, passim.

¹⁰Friedrich Zander, Stephen Hawes' "Pastyme of Pleasure" Verglichen mit Edmund Spenser's "Faerie Queene," unter Berücksichtigung der Allegorischen Dichtung in England (Rostock dissertation, 1905) pp. 98-103.

¹¹Lemmi, pp. 195-198.

¹²Murison, Cambridge History of English Literature, II, p. 263 agrees with Courthope that the "Margarita Philosophica" and the "Image du Monde" are the chief sources. Dr. Potter as quoted by Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (New York: MacMillan, 1920) p. 82 and Berdan lean toward the "Image du Monde." Additionally Berdan grants at least partial credit to "The Court of Sapience," p. 82. Whitney Wells emphasizes the influence of "The Court of Sapience" filtered through

present the hazard of overlooking how Hawes, or for that matter any poet, actually utilized the material he borrowed. Certainly, in the case of the Tower of Doctrine Hawes was interested first of all in describing the functions of the Seven Liberal Arts. His descriptions are so general that it really matters little precisely where he got his information, and he well could have gotten it from any of the previously suggested sources. It seems to me more important to realize that in the very possibility of several sources we have an insight into the poet's method. If Hawes is interested in only one feature, he is concerned with glorifying the past and longing for its continued application in the present. He, therefore, incorporates the "essences" of medievalism in his poems, essences that he came across repeatedly in his readings of the past. To assume that he copiously borrowed anything other than conventions and popular knowledge, themes, devices, etc., with exceptions such as verbal echoes

"The Example of Virtue." Robert Spindler, "The Court of Sapience (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 120 ff. lists the parallels between "The Court" and "The Pastyme." Mead inclines toward the "Margarita Philosophica." Hammond, p. 269, rejects both "The Court of Sapience" and the "Margarita Philosophica" in favor of Rhodenizer's claims for the Romance and "Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine." C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (London: Oxford, 1936), pp. 81, 271, endorses Martianus Capella and Deguilleville. Apparently the only U. T. C. listed copy in the United States of the dissertation by Karl Heindl, Untersuchung der Quellen von Stephen Hawes' "Pastime of Pleasure" (Munchen, 1932) is lost. It would seem that others have had difficulty in seeing this work, for no comment upon its contents has been published.

of a Lydgate or a Chaucer, or specific hints such as Chaucer's treatment of the dolorous lover, seems to me to be dangerous. The very "encyclopediac" quality of Hawes's poems argues against immediate, major sources.

As varied as the sources suggested are the reactions of the critics. The poem surely enjoyed popularity in the sixteenth century. If not, how else can we account for the number of editions printed between 1507 and 1555?¹³ Furthermore, we note the eulogy by Feilde which in some respects elevates Hawes to the position of a Chaucer.¹⁴ At least two subsequent poets took suggestions from Hawes's work, William Nevill in his "Castell of Pleasure"¹⁵ and Spenser in his "Faerie Queene."¹⁶

Thereafter, differences in opinion began. Warton in the tradition of praising the poem wrote:

'The Pastyme of Pleasure' is almost the only effort of imagination and invention which has yet appeared

¹³See Introduction, p. 9.

¹⁴See Introduction, p. 2.

¹⁵William Nevill, "The Castell of Pleasure" (London: E. E. T. S. 179, 1930), Introduction, passim.

¹⁶There is a dissertation dealing with the influence of Hawes on Spenser. (See Chapter I, n. 1, p. 1.) Although Zander's overall view that Hawes was the predecessor of Spenser in the blending of allegory and romance, and that Spenser gives evidence of being familiar with Hawes's poem is well taken, his proof is shallow. He has selected correspondences that are germane to allegory and romance in general, rather than those restricted solely to "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and "The Faerie Queene."

in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction.¹⁷

Three nineteenth century critics were as stern in their condemnations as Warton had been kind with praise. Schick quotes Sir Walter Scott, who called Hawes "a bad imitator of Lydgate, ten times more tedious than his original."¹⁸ Thomas Ward quotes Thomas Campbell: "Even his name may be omitted without any treason to taste."¹⁹ Thomas Wright, who edited the poem for the Percy Society was equally unkind:

The Pastime of Pleasure ... is one of those allegorical writings which were popular with our forefathers, but which can now only be looked upon as monuments of the bad taste of a bad age."²⁰

Perhaps overly laudatory were the remarks of Elizabeth B. Browning: "Mrs. Browning says that 'The Temple of Glas' forms, with 'Piers Ploughman,' the 'House of Fame,' and Hawes's 'Pastime of Pleasure,' one of the 'four columnar marbles, on whose foundation is exalted into light the great allegorical poem of the world, Spenser's 'Faerie Queene.'"²¹

¹⁷Warton, p. 171.

¹⁸John Lydgate, "Temple of Glas," ed. J. Schick, (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. LX, 1891) p. clvi.

¹⁹Thomas H. Ward, The English Poets (New York: MacMillan, 1918) I, p. 176.

²⁰Pastime of Pleasure, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Percy Society, 1846) XVIII, Preface.

²¹'Book of the Poets' in E. B. Browning's Greek Christian Poets and English Poets, p. 123 as quoted by Schick in "Temple of Glas," p. cxliv.

In the twentieth century Hawes's reputation has been extremely slight. To Jusserand he lacks vitality²²; to Ward he has "little of the fluency of Lydgate, and none of his vigor ... and bad taste is conspicuous in every canto"²³; to Berdan he is "guilty of lack of inventiveness"²⁴; to Murison in The Cambridge History of English Literature the poem has "confused metre, slipshod construction, bizarre diction"²⁵; to H. S. Bennett "the poem is a depressing specimen of very early sixteenth century versifying, and what interest it has is more for the student of literary history than for the lover of poetry"²⁶; to C. S. Lewis he was a bad poet who lacked poetic faculty.²⁷

What little praise the poet has received has been incidental, for the most part, to critics' summaries of the allegorical meaning, and the meanings attached to the poem by these commentators are certainly varied:

²²J. J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People (London: Putnam, 1914) II, pp. 112-113.

²³Ward, pp. 175-176.

²⁴Berdan, pp. 83-86.

²⁵Cambridge History of English Literature, II, p. 271.

²⁶H. S. Bennett, Chaucer in the Fifteenth Century (London: Oxford, 1947), p. 155.

²⁷C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1954), p. 128.

1. "'The Pastyme of Pleasure' is a notable link between the old metrical romances and the old didactic allegories, on the one hand, and 'The Faerie Queene,' on the other."²⁸
2. "His aim in it ['Pastyme of Pleasure'] is to exemplify a transcendent education, to show by what degrees of study and prowess perfection can be reached."²⁹
3. "'The Pastime of Pleasure' offers us not the familiar spectacle of a man conducted on an academic Cook's Tour by a supernatural being, but the decidedly unusual one of a Mediaeval lover inspired to intellectual and moral self-improvement by a woman."³⁰
4. "In it ['The Pastime of Pleasure'] Hawes attempts to give new life to two outmoded and decaying expressions of medieval thought - chivalry and scholasticism."³¹
5. "Thus he [the modern reader] would find it ['The Pastyme of Pleasure'] a compendious statement of what the Tudor gentleman was supposed to retain out of the mental and moral gatherings of the Middle Ages, and the romantic or humorous gildings would be pleasantly added unto him."³²
6. "The Pastyme of Pleasure" represents the courtly tradition of the castle allegory."³³

²⁸W. A. Neilson and K. G. T. Webster, Chief British Poets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (Boston: Riverside, 1916) p. 432.

²⁹Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (New York: MacMillan, 1929), p. 165.

³⁰C. W. Lemmi, "The Influence of Boccaccio on Hawes's 'Pastime of Pleasure,'" R.E.S., V, (1929), pp. 195-198.

³¹Bennett, p. 155.

³²Albert C. Baugh, A Literary History of England (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), p. 325.

³³Nevill, p. 24.

In one way or another, all of these views are correct, but it remains for a close analysis of the poem to harmonize them. And in this analysis "The Example of Virtue" must repeatedly be suggested as the chief, governing model for the allegory, a view that has variously been entertained to different degrees.³⁴

3

"The Example of Virtue told of Youth's long journey aided by Discretion and Sapience to the Kingdom of Grace. Only after Sapience and Discretion help Youth across the frail bridge is Youth prepared to combat the three-headed giant - the World, the Devil, and the Flesh. It would seem, then, that one must first reach the Kingdom or State of Grace, according to Hawes, before he can accomplish his meritorious deeds. This attitude corresponds exactly with the accepted Catholic concept of Grace: "Grace is the

³⁴Mead, p. lxxx, notes that although there is considerable differences in the plan and content of the two poems, the poet's thoughts are "moving substantially in the same channel, and that in making 'The Pastime' he takes as much of 'The Example' as he can use and adjusts it to his new plan." Murison in The Cambridge History of English Literature, II, p. 259, notes parallel features in the two poems. Witney Wells in his article previously cited, p. 286, argues that the very fact that Hawes used "The Example" as a pattern for "The Pastyme" explains the heavy debt "The Pastyme" owes "The Court of Sapience." Berdan, p. 821, infers that Hawes constructed the second poem on the same lines of the first. Hammond remarks that "Hawes repeated in the 'Pastime' every device, narrative or rhetorical, which he had used in the 'Example,'" p. 268.

supernatural help of God for salutary acts granted in consideration of the merits of Christ ... It is destined only for actions which have a necessary relation to man's eternal salvation."³⁵ The "supernatural help" of God took chiefly the form of Sapience in "The Example of Virtue." It is no different in "The Pastime of Pleasure." In at least twenty-eight instances Sapience and its synonyms prudence, knowledge, cunning, reason, understanding,³⁶ are called the necessary powers to attain fame, victory over one's enemies, love, friends, salvation, and heaven.³⁷ Fame, herself, a personification of the first order, for it is the pursuit of fame that generates Grand Amour's quest, associates the highest of worthy deeds with wisdom. She cites four instances of her power to spread reknown with her "flammynge tongues." She tells Grand Amour to recall Saturn, the first king of Crete, who by "his grete sapyence" and for "his connynge" accomplished great deeds and was well beloved; King Melyzyus, who "taught" his men great accomplishments; Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, whose chivalry won many a victory; and Hercules, who by "his grete wisdom"

³⁵Catholic Encyclopaedia, XII, p. 690.

³⁶See Chapter II, p. 40. Hawes uses the terms interchangeably.

³⁷11. 56, 136, 205, 232, 295, 477, 550, 572, 1100, 1154, 1536, 1550 ff, 1563 ff, 1575, 1728, 1792, 1869, 1897, 2353, 2435 ff, 3108, 3330, 3425, 3761, 3784, 3796, 3945, 4375, 4697, 4708, 4815, 5329.

fought only for the commons' sake. Furthermore, it is the demonstration of Sapience's actual operations, contributions, power that gives impetus to the rest of the poem. In the "Example of Virtue" Hawes merely claims that Sapience is essential to God's plan. He shows it to be so in "The Pastyme of Pleasure," and following the well-founded and traditional theory that the Seven Liberal Arts are the fountainhead of wisdom, Hawes elaborately discusses them, indicates the "knowledge" of each in God's plan, and subsequently through the ingenious device of the romance, demonstrates them.

Hawes tells us repeatedly that he has written the poem to "eschewe the synne of slouthe."³⁸ The paramount virtue by which sloth or idleness is subdued and thwarted is the studying and acquiring of wisdom.³⁹ More precisely, wisdom means at least in this poem, the Seven Liberal Arts. He writes that in these days people do not adhere to the seven sciences "to eschew theyr slouthe."⁴⁰ We now begin to comprehend the complexity of this allegory and in some sense to explain what has seemed to some critics an excessive attention to detail. Hawes, first of all, writes a

³⁸See particularly the "Excusacyon" of the author, ll. 5803 ff.

³⁹Proverbs, Chapters 19-20.

⁴⁰"Pastyme," l. 572

poem which shows a knight passing through the arduous studies of the Seven Liberal Arts, after which he lives his life utilizing the knowledge he has gained. The reader, on the other hand, is re-introduced to the seven sciences and once again pursues their studies. I insist upon re-introduce. Hawes never presumes that he is presenting a full treatise of the Liberal Arts. He admits that he is abbreviating:

"Now wyll I cease/ of lusty rethoryke
I maye not tary/ for my tyme is shorte"
(ll. 1289-1290)

"In my natyf language I wyll not Oppres
More of her werke for it is obscure
Who wyll therof knowe all the parfeytnes
In phylosophy he shall fynde it right sure
Which all the trouthe can to hym dyscure
No man can attayne perfyte connynge
But by longe stody and dylygente lernynge."
(ll. 2871-2877)

"To you experte in the seuen scyence
Now all my maysters I do me excuse
.
Vnder obedyence and the correccon
Of you my maysters experte in connynge
I me submytte now with hole affeccyon
Vnto your perfyte vnderstondynge
As euer more mekely to you inclynynge
With dylygent laboure now without doutaunce
To detray or adde all at your plesaunce."
(ll. 2920-2933)

And, as Grand Amour "eschews idylnesse," so does the reader. It is for this reason that Hawes can call his poem "The Pastyme of Pleasure," for in reading it, one is engaged in pleasurable, profitable pastime.

The poem, then, like the "Example of Virtue" treats of salvation through the Grace of God, grace that is essential

before the accomplishment of those acts which lead to salvation. But, in "The Example" the hero is Youth, i. e., man. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" the hero is Grand Amour, and is the courtly man. He, therefore, does not wind his way over the troublous waters of life to the Kingdom of Grace; he is in a state of Grace at the beginning of the poem. This observation was partially made by F. J. Snell, who wrote:

Grand Amoure is mercifully preserved from the moral disfigurements incidental to advanced life, which is further evidence that in "The Pastime of Pleasure" Hawes does not reflect common experience, ever so scrupulously guarded from disabling falls and mortifying failures. He takes the view that the highest type of physical beauty, can only be evolved under favouring conditions, actually realized in the case of a fortunate minority, to whom the world is rather a palaestra than an arena or a battlefield.⁴¹

From the beginning of the poem Grand Amour is accompanied by two grayhounds, grace and governance who appear and reappear throughout the poem.⁴² In the prologue to the poem Hawes associates grace and governance with both King Henry and Prince Henry, never doubting that they both have been given grace and governance by God. Grand Amour, although not directly designed to represent Prince Henry, does suggest in part the heir apparent, a matter to be treated subsequently; the Prologue, therefore, suggests that Grand Amour is already in a state of grace.

⁴¹Snell, p. 117.

⁴²"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 895, 2491, 2996, 3415, 3459, 3824, 4312, 4420, 4503.

Additionally, it must be noted, Grand Amour is always "fortunate." He finds the correct path "by fortune or chance"; he meets La Belle Pucelle "by fortune." No less than twenty-two times Grand Amour's course is forwarded by fortunate circumstance.⁴³

Last, Dame Fame tells Grand Amour that he can achieve La Belle Pucelle if he will do as she says,

To the toure of doctryne/ ye shall take your waye
 You are now within/ a dayes Journeye
 Bothe these grehounde/ shall kepe you company
 Loke that you cheryeshe them full gentely.

(ll. 298-301)

It almost seems pre-determined that Grand Amour will win his lady love. When he arrives at the Tower of Doctrine, he actually sees an arras describing his adventures and revealing his ultimate victory.

Thus, in Grand Amour we have a virtuous knight already of the elect, who is accompanied by grace and governance. The immediate demonstration of this theme is revealed in the Tower of Doctrine, after which the narrative presents the "literal" working out of the wisdom of the seven sciences.

⁴³"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 71, 75, 420, 960, 1605, 1685, 1502, 1722, 1790, 1831, 1940, 2078, 2083, 2310, 2424, 2115, 3565, 3875, 4058, 4344, 4520, 4568, 4683.

This concept of Grand Amour explains the curious opening of the poem. It is not the conventional treatment of a poet falling asleep and dreaming his tale. As a matter of fact, the poem opens with Grand Amour walking in a meadow. He "fortunately" comes upon a marble statue, nine feet tall, her arms outstretched, pointing with one hand the path of contemplation, with the other the way of "worldly dygnyte of the actyfe lyfe" and the path to the tower of La Bell Pucell. Grand Amour chooses the latter and winds his way. Afar he sees a vision. It is a statue nine feet tall of copper. On its breast is written:

This is the waye/ and the sytuacyon
 Vnto the toure/ of famous doctryne
 Who that wyll lerne/ must be ruled by reason
 And with all dylygence/ he must enclyne
 Slouthe to eschewe/ and for to determyne
 And set his hert/ to be intellygyble
 To a wyllynge herte/ is nought Impossyble
 (ll. 134-140)

Grand Amour is not part of the "vision" device; he is in the "real" world of the poem, the world which precedes the dream or vision. The vision itself tells of the rewards of the Tower of Doctrine, and its purpose. The poet is concerned with revealing the power of wisdom, the grandeur of God as it is contained in wisdom, rather than with the struggling man on his path through life, often times distracted and led from his goal. For this reason, the poem opens with

a very real Grand Amour deciding instantly upon the path to "wordly glory." For Grand Amour to have the vision instead of the poet accomplishes three purposes: it permits Hawes immediately to treat Grand Amour without the conventional device of the poet falling asleep and dreaming, and to let Grand Amour have the vision is further evidence that he is "a privileged mortal."⁴⁴ The third accomplishment is that it insists upon a real Grand Amour, a real La Bell Pucell, and a real love affair instead of simply an abstract one contained in a dream, as the marriage of Virtue and Cleanness had been in "The Example of Virtue."

The vision itself, though not directly of another world or life, is a revelation of the way to achieve another world, that of salvation. It must be noted also that the statue announces the purpose of Grand Amour, the reader, and the poem itself, "slouthe to eschewe" through reason or the Tower of Doctrine.

⁴⁴In Schicks' edition of "The Temple of Glas," pp. cxvii-cxx, there is a brief discussion of the history of the vision, from Ezekiel, Daniel, St. Paul, St. John through early medieval individuals such as St. Patrick, St. Brandan, Alberic, etc. He notes the turning of the vision into a poetic theme by Lyndsay, Dunbar, Deguileville (a work Hawes, it has been argued, based "The Pastyme" on), the "Pearl" poet, and, of course, Dante. He further comments on the vision as a poetic device as used by Boethius, Chaucer, Lydgate, etc. Whether or not Hawes actually intended the vision to indicate that Grand Amour is privileged is open to doubt, but the view does have the advantage of explaining an otherwise puzzling section of the poem.

After reaching the Tower of Doctrine, Grand Amour is escorted to Dame Grammar. She tells him that her function is to teach the knowledge of speaking directly and of writing by true orthography. When Grand Amour is admitted into the presence of La Bell Pucell in the garden, he falls on his knees and immediately announces his suit and his purpose. The night before Counsel had instructed him as follows:

Loke what ye saye, loke it be deryfyde
 From perfyte reason, well exemplyfyde.
 (ll. 1936-1937)

The entire dialogue of Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell is a demonstration, as it will be shown directly, of the principles of rhetoric, the third Liberal Art, and of logic, the second. Grammar plays its part, too. There is, of course, not a perfect "system" involved, but the suggestion is present.

Grammar remarks that philosophers of old studied to "eschewe idleness." They did not feed on "the pumped carkes with fode delycyous." They "folowed not theyr flesshe so vycyous"; they "ruled it by prudent gouernance." They "coueyted not no worldly treasure." In this short passage, grammar and her teachings are developed as antagonists of four of the seven deadly sins (sloth, lechery, gluttony, avarice) and by correlation, all seven. Besides

the numerous references to these sins subsequently in the poem, two aspects of the narrative structure are inspired by them. Godfrey Godylvue (go-belive, i. e. go quickly) is the normal, economical way to represent the seven deadly sins (i. e. the monstrously dressed, odious, foul-speaking fool).⁴⁵ The final canvas of the poem, the passing by of time, eternity, etc., features these sins in solemn procession. In one instance Hawes even repeats a phrase, with a minor change "the pomped clerkes with fode delycyous." It seems more than coincidental that in the tower of Dame Doctrine she twice remarks how cruel death shall turn the victories of sin into nothing:

They thynke nothyng, they shall from it pas
Whan all that is/ shall be tourned to was
(ll. 559-560)

and

. . . for they [followers of vice] nothyng prepence
How cruell dethe doth them sore ensue
(ll. 568-569)

In the final setting of these sins, Hawes solemnly sounds the chords of "erthe of erthe" and asks why one follows sin knowing its pleasures are transient and its woes eternal.

Next Hawes specializes grammar by commenting upon "a nowne substantyue." It is a poor passage, very weak and unmusical, but an important one. Miss Hammond suggests that

⁴⁵Rhodenizer, p. 233. As instances of this statement he cites the Castle of Perceverance, Magnyfycence, and Mundus Et Infans.

this passage underlines her view "that the 'Pastime' is a very young prince's manual."⁴⁶ This creates a problem in dating the poem. The poem was published in 1509. A note following the Table of Contents remarks, "This boke called *f* pastyme of pleasure was made and compyled ... the xxi yere of his [Henry VII's] reygne ..." It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the poem was written in 1507, the "xxi yere" of Henry's reign. In 1507 Prince Henry was sixteen years old, hardly a very young prince and surely not one engaged at that moment in the study of the "nowne substantyue." Furthermore, as early as 1499 Erasmus wrote that the young Prince had sent him a clever note challenging his pen.⁴⁷ On the other hand, if we assume an earlier date of composition to accommodate an age younger than sixteen for the Prince, we question the authenticity of the date computed from the first edition. The passage, it is wiser to assume, was designed not as specific instruction but merely as a suggestion of the entire province of grammar. Hawes does not write for a rapid reader. It was his intention to write a poem which would almost line for line and stanza for stanza suggest an entire area of thought. It is for this reason that he repeatedly reviews for his reader the highlights of

⁴⁶Hammond, p. 269.

⁴⁷Frank A. Mumby, The Youth of Henry VIII. (London: Constable and Company, 1913) p. 4.

Grand Amour's journey up to that point wherever he deems a review is necessary.

Hawes continues with the notation that grammar permits one to have perfect "intelleccyon of a lytternal cense and moralyzacyon to construe everything ententyfly." This notion constitutes the basis of Hawes's poetic doctrine which he voices in "The Example of Virtue" (stanza 125), "The Cōforte of Louers" (stanza 1), and "The Pastyme of Pleasure" (l. 35, 50-54, 715-721).

He concludes his section on Grammar with the observation that "by worde the worlde was made orygynally" and that word is "sentencytous Jugement." The final note is in itself a suggestion of the wisdom of God exemplified and finding concreteness in, the study of grammar and the Liberal Arts.

Each of the Seven Liberal Arts in turn will utter the same kinds of provocations which will be echoed and demonstrated by the narrative thread of the poem. Perhaps this is repetition and prolixity, the two criticisms most commonly leveled at Hawes, but it is also his purpose and concept of the poem. His intention is to write an exhortation to a courtly group to abandon their corrupt living and to abide by the wisdom of God, which Hawes sees demonstratable in a poem in which the hero pursues the study of the Seven Liberal Arts, which lead man to Heaven itself.

Grand Amour continues his journey to the abode of Dame Logic. This is a brief section and is so general it could not possibly be mistaken for a treatise. Rather it is intended to suggest or review in the reader's mind knowledge he already has. Dame Logic instructs Grand Amour of her powers. By logic one is able to discern good from evil. Extending this statement, Logic is able to admonish Grand Amour of the righteous path. She warns Grand Amour of the "worldly wretchednes amyddes the erth, in hell most horryble." In the final lines of the poem, specifically during the parade of the Deadly Sins, the question is asked repeatedly - Why does man forsake goodness to indulge in transient pleasure? If Hawes were not to discuss another aspect of learning, he already has compelled his reader to realize through the study of grammar and logic, that the life of corruption leads to eternal pain. Only if one "eschews edlenes," can he be saved. If he studies the Arts, he is employed in virtuous pastime, the contemplation of God.

Following the practice established in his discussion of grammar, Hawes defines his art specifically and demonstrates it. Logic is the ability to discern the "false from the trewe," particularly helpful in argument. She says that it is only logical that if God made Hell, it is no wonder that he punishes man who had "intellygence to knowe good from

yll." This, an implied syllogism, is the demonstration of what logic is, just as the "nown substantive" demonstrates an aspect of grammar. Its function is to provoke the reader's mind. The specific example used, the punishment of man who had "intellygence to knowe good from yll." is an echo of the third level of Hell described in "The Example of Virtue,"⁴⁸ where the Christians who "knew better" were placed. Since the love of Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell is designed to demonstrate the wisdom of the seven sciences, we expect each of the major aspects of the love to demonstrate specific sections of the "treatise" of the seven arts. Thus, the third level of the "lovers' hell" that Grand Amour visits in Capitulo XXXII echoes this section on Logic. This level, the lowest, contains men who seduced and then abandoned their lovers, the inference being that they were aware of the corruptness of such an action.

Subsequently in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" logic as a method is utilized. Besides the various references in general to logical reasoning and the like, Hawes again implies syllogistic thinking and in the context of argument or persuasion, in which area Dame Logic says she is particularly helpful.

Mars denies the power of Fortune saying that she is neither "ony thyng substancyall/ Spirituall or elles

⁴⁸"Example of Virtue," stanza 275-277.

yet terrestryall." (ll. 3198-3199) Since she is neither, she is nothing, for a "werke" must be grounded in one or the other.

Secondly, Venus honoring the supplication of Grand Amour causes Sapience to write La Bell Pucell a letter which persuades her to exile Disdain and Strangeness from her realm. Venus, in the letter, argues that La Bell Pucell is the fairest creation of Nature. Is it not nature's avowed purpose and duty to "her fayre sede to sowe"? Thus, why does she reject Grand Amour?

Finally, in the closing stanzas of the poem Time to prove the "blessed virginity" of Mary argues that since God is the god of nature, that He made nature Himself,

Why may he not than the pure nature take
By his godhede of the vyrgyn Mary
(ll. 5719-5720)

Each of these scenes consists of an agent employing "Logic" as Hawes has defined it, and the reader is expected in his careful study of the poem to see the correspondence of these scenes with the section itself on Logic.

Next Grand Amour arrives at the Chamber of Rhetoric. Grand Amour falls on his knees and addresses "Dame Rethoryke" with praise and laudation. Deftly Hawes inserts, through the lips of Grand Amour, a prayer asking that the glorious Dame

come to his aid and help him "clense away the myst of ygoraunce." Then he asks her to describe her authority.

She replies that rhetoric was founded by reason in order to govern well and prudently man's words. It consists of five parts without which there can be no sentence of truth.

The first of these is invention springing from the five inward wits, which together comprise the common wit. Invention determines what should be accepted and what should be rejected. Second is imagination, which makes the poetic content eloquent and which makes sententious reasoning by cloaking a truth with cloudy color. Third is fantasy, which exemplifies the new-found invention. Next is good estimation which aids the poet in "breuyacion," i. e., economy of presentation. Last is retentive memory which causes poets' thoughts to be immortal.

Into these definitions Hawes weaves commentary on how the poets of old should be praised for their inventions, the "foe of idleness." He states that their purpose was to "feign" fables to eschew idleness with amplification. They should be honored, for they immortalized the great and their worthy deeds; they should be praised because all cunning springs from them.

Instantly we note a re-statement of Hawes's leading theme, that the wisdom of the sciences, in this case

Rhetoric, is the enemy of Sloth. Further, we note that the poets themselves fought idleness in the process of composing, a notion that Hawes insists is his purpose for writing.⁴⁹

They feigned their fables with "amplyacyon." Hawes could easily mean the rhetorical term amplification, for the divisions of it that Gunn lists in reference to the "Romance of the Rose" are precisely those devices Hawes employs to emphasize the significance of the Seven Sciences: exemplum, collatio or similitudo, expolitio, expolitio cum rationibus, afferre contrarium (the least used), and definitio.⁵⁰ It might also be noted that this instance is the first appearance of the word amplification in English.⁵¹

To backtrack, we now take note of the discussion of the five inward wits and see how Hawes utilizes "amplification," as it has already been indicated that he did, in the sections dealing with grammar and logic. When Grand Amour sees La Bell Pucell in the Tower of Music, the following description occurs:

The comyn wyt/ dyde full lytell regarde
Of dame musyke? the dulcet armony
The eres herde not/ for the mynde inwarde
Vennis had rapte/ and taken feruently

⁴⁹"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 44-45, 5809-5810: "The Conversyon of Swerers," last stanza.

⁵⁰Alan M. F. Gunn, The Mirror of Love (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1952), pp. 83-84. Mead, pp. LIV ff.

⁵¹Mead, p. 230.

Ymagynacyon/ wrought full pryuely
 The fantasy gaue/ perfyte Iugement
 Alway to to her/ for to be obedyent

By estymacyon/ moche doubtfully I cast
 Wheder I shoulde/ by longe tyme and space
 Atteyne her loue/ or elles to loue in wast
 My hert sobbed/ and quaked in this cace
 I stode by her/ ryght nere in the place
 With many other/ fayre ladyes also
 But so fayre as she/ I neuer sawe no mo

The feest done/ dame musyke dyde go
 She folowed after/ and she wolde not tary
 Farewell she sayde/ for I must parte you fro
 Alas thought I/ that fortune doth so vary
 My sadde body/ my heuy hert dyde cary
 I coude not speke/ my hert was nere broken
 But with my heed/ I made her a token

Whan she was gone/ inwardly than wrought
 Vpon her beaute/ my mynde retentyfe
 Her goodly fygure/ I graued in my thought
 Excepte her selfe/ all were expulcyfe
 My mynde to her/ was so ententyfe
 That I folowed her/ into a temple ferre
 Replete with Ioye/ as bryght as ony sterre
 (ll. 1485-1512)

This scene is an "expolitio cum rationibus" of the corresponding section of rhetoric. Not only did Hawes intend for the reader to review the rhetorical section on the inward wits, but also it is an indication that the love of Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell will demonstrate the section on rhetoric itself. It is a love story, true, but it is also an amplification, a fable hidden under cloudy colors, demonstrating the knowledge of the Seven Arts, which knowledge "eschewes sloth."

Hawes has not yet exhausted the discussion of the five inward wits. In the meadow of astronomy, Grand Amour

is instructed through "afferre contrarium" that the eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth, and the hands are not inward wits but are outward ones. Then Astronomy relists the inward wits, noting that it is the common wit that must act first upon the outward ones. The passage is by no means simply repetition. It appears as a necessary part of Astronomy's discussion of Nature. Thus, we are reminded directly and intentionally of rhetoric as a new discussion, that of Nature, is evolving.

Still within the discussion of the five inward wits, we notice "good estimation." Hawes interprets this as "brevyacion." There are, of course, ample reasons to assume that Hawes did not apply this principle to his own composition, but at least he thought he did. Subsequent to this discussion Hawes tells us on several occasions that he must move on quickly, that he must not tarry.⁵² The apology is an unfortunate device, it is true, but justifiable to a poet who is with true ingenuity telling a romantic tale that is allegorical and yet one which demonstrates directly his concept of poetry.

In this same section we see another device of Hawes, and in this instance, perhaps again an unfortunate one. Twice he insists upon calling "economy of presentation" the

⁵²"Pastyme of Pleasure," pp. 1289-1290, 1444-1449, to cite only two instances.

process of "numbering." Sometimes by "numbering" Hawes means counting, as when Dame Arithmetic uses the word. Other times, however, Hawes means listing, a vocabulary game in which he sees how many different times he can use a single word. Instances of Hawes's fondness for this type of vocabulary game are his uses of "fortune," "nature," "measure," "grace," to cite a few. It may be bad art, but it is a conscious device employed to recall to the reader various sections of the "cunning" of the Liberal Arts, the importance of which is Hawes's chief insistence.

Following the discussion of the five inward wits Hawes draws special attention to the poets of old. It is a natural extention, for Hawes has remarked upon the inward wits in terms of the ancient poets. In this brief passage of praise we are reminded of "The Pastyme of Pleasure" itself and its purpose. Hawes singles out three areas of praise: that the poets of old wrote to overcome Sloth, Hawes's avowed purpose; that they immortalized the great and their worthy deeds, Hawes's avowed design inspired by Dame Fame who promises immortality to Grand Amour; and that they are responsible for our cunning, Hawes avowed content. Thereupon Hawes infers that this third area may not be fulfilled in his own generation, for "now a days" people are rude and blind with folly. Nor can they "moralize the scriptures they read." This passage augmented by a similar passage in "The Comforte of Louers" suggests that

Hawes's poems may not have been as universally acclaimed as he would have wished them to be. At any rate, it seems clear that Hawes is studiously informing his audience of the direction in which they must go to appreciate and profit by the romantic tale that follows.

Next Grand Amour learns of "disposition" the second part of "crafty rethoryke." This second part is the taking of high matter and distilling it. An "exemplum" of this is the legend that Mercury through his preeminence indued people with eloquence. By disposition Hawes means at least partially the poetic fiction adopted by the poet. Hawes says that people sometimes attribute powers to the constellations. Although man actually has free will and is not at all influenced by the stars, one may claim there is an influence for poetic purposes. These two "exempla" find amplification subsequently in the poem. Hawes calls upon Mercury to aid him and give him eloquence. We recognize this, of course, as the poetic fiction Hawes has explained. When Grand Amour plans to meet La Bell Pucell in her garden, Counsel carefully notes the astrological signs to insure success. From Hawes's careful explanation of disposition, we assume that Counsel's calculations are a poetic symbol of the lover ascertaining the propitious moment to present his suit. After Hawes's comment, we hardly are compelled to take astrological signs to insure success. From Hawes's careful explanation of disposition, we assume that Counsel's

calculations are a poetic symbol of the lover ascertaining the propitious moment to present his suit. After Hawes's comment, we hardly are compelled to take astrological divination seriously; rather we are all the more impressed with how carefully the love story "amplifies" the formal learning of the poem.

Continuing, Hawes includes under disposition the problem of determining what form to use, i. e., argumentation or narration, and the like. If the matter is difficult, narration should be used. If it is easy, argumentation is the proper form.

This that I wryte is hard and couert
(1. 855)

So the poet employs narration! Surely it could not be clearer that the poet is demonstrating his "hard and couert" matter through a narrative story. The romantic tale, then, is not simply a "sugar pill" that follows the educational stanzas of the poem, thrown in as an added attraction; it is the necessary "cloud" that covers up the difficult matters, to be understood and "moralized" by the diligent mind.

Still dealing with disposition, Hawes next discusses how law was not in the world until "rethorycyans founde Justice." Before this, people sailed in a "tumbling barge." Common as this image is, it becomes a unifying device of the poem insisting, whenever it is used, that the poem be remembered as a narrative journey. In the initial stanzas Hawes

addresses Henry as "saylynge forthe well in the shippe of grace." Subsequently, in his address to the poets, Hawes compares his own attempt at poetry as sailing upon the sea of "storyhy ygnoraunce." La Bell Pucell leaves the tower of music, setting forth in a mighty barge. Grand Amour himself must later take a boat, too, to reach the realm of his love. In this same passage Hawes introduces a new key phrase, "evil treason." Hereafter he often speaks of the cruelty of treason. Finally this concept becomes personified in a single creation, the monster of seven metals designed "to delecte syr Graunde Amoure with the feruent fyre of euyll treason." Each of the hostiles Grand Amour meets is specifically an enemy to true love, but allegorically they suggest the opposite to various aspects of the Seven Liberal Arts. In this single instance, the "evil treason" of the monster recalls the "evil treason" of this passage concerning rhetoric and is an amplification of disposition, just as the entire romance of Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell is an amplification of all the Arts.

Then we are informed that the draughtes of the poets set us in order and give us "grace and gouernaunce" to live directly. This acts not only as a summary of disposition, but of rhetoric itself. It also recalls the entire program of the Arts and finally the poem itself and its purpose.

The third part of rhetoric, Hawes's next consideration is "elocucyon." It is the embellishing of a matter in

few words sweet and sententious. It is the telling of a tale in dulcet speech, excluding the barbary tongue, selecting Latin or English. Subsequently, Hawes discusses "example" as one of the aspects of elocution. By way of anticipating this section, Hawes indulges in one of his rare, homely proverbs to illustrate the importance of select diction:

But what auayleth euermore to sowe
 The precyous stones amonge gruntyngge hogges
 Draffe vnto them is more meter I trowe
 Let an hare and swyne be amonge curre dogges
 Though to the hares were tyed grete clogges
 The gentyll best they wyll regarde nothyngge
 But to the swyne take course of rennyngge
 (ll. 925-931)

Aureate language, as Hawes describes it, constitutes one of his most notable poetic characteristics. Of course, the liberties that Skelton, Hawes, and in part Barclay took with the language, to say nothing of Lydgate, are looked upon today with displeasure and rightly so. But this defense can be offered that in their own time such efforts of "refining" the language were laudable. The finest single sketch of Hawes's poetic excesses is offered by Verè L. Rubel, whose comment is repeated in full:⁵³

The diction of Stephen Hawes is aureate in a different way from that of Skelton. His devotion to Lydgate led him to strive for language as far removed as possible from that of ordinary speech. Here is no relief by satire and vulgar humor; here are no homely terms and few archaisms. The task of continuing the

⁵³Verè L. Rubel, Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941) pp. 37-39.

exornation of the language is sedulously pursued with unremitting zeal. Vergil and Cicero had "clarifyde" Latin,

From whens my mayster Lydgate deryfyde
 The depured rethoryke/ in englysshe language
 To make our tongue so clerely purfyed
 That the vyle termes/ should nothyng arage
 As lyke a pye/ to chattrre in a cage
 But for to speke/ with Rethoryke formally
 In the good ordre/ withouten vylany.
 (ll. 1163-1169)

For Hawes, the purpose of poetry was to express ideas with "clowdy fygyres," "colour crafty," "Termes eloquent":

For thoughe a mater be neuer so good
 Yf it be tolde/ with tongue of barbary
 In rude maner/ without the dyscrete mode
 It is dystourbaunce/ to a hole companye
 For to se them/ so rude and boystously
 Demeane themselfe/ vtteryng the sentence
 Without good maner/ or yet intellygence.
 (ll. 1198-1204)

Depaynted, depured, degoute and degouted, domifyde, dulcet, emyspery, fallacyous, facundyous, perdurable, reflareth, solacyous, sentencyous, tenebrous are favorite words. Hawes likes epithets that end in -y, such as craggy roche, cruddy fyrmament, stormy pery, fyry leames. At times he combines native and aureate words with curious effect:

What it sholde take/ and what it shall abiecte.
 (1. 707)

Whether the mater be longe or breuyate.
 (1. 742)

Thruh cloudes derke/ vnto the odyble.
 (1. 1137)

To se the fayre the lowe or altytude.
 (1. 2795)

To detray or adde all at your pleasaunce.
 (1. 2933)

What sholde I wade by perambulacyon.
 (1. 4487)

His labyrinthine orotundity admits tautological phrases like clerely clarifyde, orguell pryde, rubyes rubyconde, vaynfull vanyte, and grandiloquent lines:

More lyker was/ her habytacyon
Vnto a place/ whiche is celestyall
Than to a terrayne/ mancyon fatall.
(ll. 663-665)

Without Wysdome/ truely exemplyfyed
His propre deth/ hymselfe he nutryfyde.
(ll. 2261-2262)

Her redolente wordes of swete influence
Degouted vapoure moost aromatyke
And made conuersyon of my complacence.
(ll. 5264-5266)

Yet haue they nature which is angelycall
For nature/ natyrynge/ naturate made all.
(ll. 2741-2742)

The last, although good scholastic philosophy, is nevertheless an instance of laborious traductio which Hawes repeats a number of times.

It can readily be seen that in a style like this there is little place for archaisms. Save for ywis, neven, and wonne, convenient rime words, they are few and unimportant if we except the occasional use of past participles with y-: yclyped, ychesyled, ywrought. There are a number of Chaucerian locutions: it vayleth right nought, put in ure, attaste the well of fruytfulnesse, youre lady gent, all fere frome me to asterte, for to endyte, with helpe of vertu so swete and sote, and the following lines indebted to the Prologue of The Canterbury Tales, the idea of which had already become stereotyped in English Poetry:

Lyke a place of pleasure/ most solaeuous
Encensynge out/ the aromatyke odoure
Of zepherus brethe/ whiche that euery floure
Through his fume/ dothe always engendre
So as I went/ amonge the floures tendre.
(ll. 66-70)

Besides demonstrating his theory of diction in the poem itself in incidental description, narration, exposition, Hawes carefully demonstrates the antithesis of this theory

in the Godfrey Gobylyue episode. Not only is Godfrey's speech and the description of him crude and coarse, but also the diction is almost free of heavily Latinized words. And, it is by no means accidental that Godfrey speaks in a dialect of Kent! True enough, such dialectical devices have traditionally been used for humor; still the almost tediously careful Hawes supplied a remarkable instance of the "barbary tongue." Such deliberate distinction in diction is further supported by the change in verse during the Godfrey Golylyue scenes. Feeling that his chosen Chaucerian seven line stanza was altogether too noble for Godfrey, Hawes resorts to the riming couplet. The Godfrey episode, then, is among other things an amplification of the section on eloquence, presenting the antithetical view.

In contrast with Godfrey's speech, and placed as a reminder of this section on eloquence, Hawes informs us that Pallas speaks "in depured verses of crafty eloquence." Later, he writes of La Bell Pucell's "depured and lusty rethoryke."

Following the commentary on dulcet language, Hawes again remarks on the old poets who "couered theyr scyptures [sic]," which "to the euyll for theyr abusyon [misuse or perversion] doth gyue payne." It hardly seems merely a requirement of the narration that Godfrey Gobylyue is placed by Correction in the "lovers' hell." It seems equally

certain that it is the narrative demonstration of this passage on elocution.

Next the poet discusses how the "olde poetes ... [took] of beest or lyrde ... a semylytude." Under colour of these beasts they cloked the moral sense. We need only point out that Grand Amour must combat several serpents and the like on his journey, and as a highlight two remarkable beasts, one with seven heads and one made of seven metals. Under the cover of these fables, the truth arises "concludynge reason, rychess, and connyng, / Pleasure, example." After citing instances of example such as Cerberus, Hercules and the Seven headed Hydra, Hawes comments upon Troy and Rome, showing how Troy was destroyed by vanity and Rome by wrathful controversy within itself.

Directly and specifically Hawes has so far introduced the Seven Liberal Arts as eternal enemies, first of all, to sloth, the nourisher of all sins, and subsequently to covetice, gluttony, lechery, envy (deftly introduced while speaking of the ignorant who despise learning because they do not understand) and now to pride and wrath. It is only natural that, in keeping with his theme, Hawes now closes his section on eloquence with restatements of the greatness of the Arts and the poets who teach them:

Thus the poets conclude full closely
 Theyr fruytfull problemes/ for reformacyon
 To make vs lerne to lyue dyrectly
 Theyr good entent and true construccyon

Shewynge to vs the hole affeccyon
 Of the waye of vertue welthe and stableness
 (11. 1114-1120)

The fourth part of rhetoric is pronunciation. By this Hawes means "chere and countenance." He argues that one must affect the proper humble and moderate voice in accordance with his audience. Thus, he wears a dolorous "chere" if his tale is sad, and a joyful countenance if his tale is glad. We assume that Grand Amour practices this rule when he approaches La Bell Pucell. His words suggest he does. But we actually do not have to guess. La Bell Pucell says finally to Grand Amour after he has presented his argument:

Thoughe at the fyrste I wolde not condescende
 It was for fere ye dyde some yll entende

 I demed ofte you loued me before
 By your demenour/ I dyde it aspye
 And in my mynde I Iugued euermore
 That at the laste/ ye welde full secretly
 Tell me your mynde/ of loue ryght gentlylly
 (11. 2255-2259)

Hawes tells us that the poet avoids the "boistrous and rude" of governance. Again we look to Godfrey as a designed demonstration of the opposite to that which rhetoric deems correct, and to Grand Amour as the perfect example.

The last part of rhetoric is "memoratyfe." This is the process of acquiring images in a "closed male" which the orator or poet has at hand to remind him of the moralizations he wishes to make. Each tale represents a different

sententious point. This part of rhetoric need not be discussed specifically here, for this entire chapter takes as its basic view that each section of the narrative or romantic thread of the poem is an "image" for an important "moralizacyon" of the Seven Liberal Arts.

Hawes, as it would be expected, closes his discussion of rhetoric with a laudatory address to poets, particularly to Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, inferring that all the matters he has listed under rhetoric are realized in the poems of these three.

8

The Quadrivium is next. Hawes says even less of its first member, arithmetic, than he did of logic. As Mead has commented, the poet prudently decided to avoid detail, "for no genius can transform addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division into tolerable poetry."⁵⁴ Following his pattern of giving a specific instance of each science, Hawes describes the Chamber of Arithmetic as painted all about in gold in "perfyte nombre." Other than this special mathematical term, "perfyte nombre," Hawes does not become involved with the science itself, another indication that he was not presenting a treatise, but rather the outlines of a treatise for the purpose of "recall." However, he does employ the terms "to adde/ detraye/ and to

⁵⁴Mead, p. lviii.

deuyde," in specific reference to numbers. Subsequently when he discusses God as the first arithmetician, he writes:

All maner nombre/ in his mynde were had
Both to detraye/ and to deuyde and adde
(ll. 1441-1442)

Again, we recognize a device of Hawes, that of associating a single word or phrase with one of the educational sections and employing it elsewhere in the narrative part of the poem. At the conclusion of the entire section on the Liberal Arts, Hawes invites the "experts in the seven sciences" to take his "lytell werke" and "detray or adde" at their pleasure. In the "excusacyon of the auctore," in the final lines of the poem Hawes addresses the poets again and remarks, "adde or detray by your hye sapyence."

Dame Arithmetic claims she is in the midst of all the sciences and is essential for numbering their works. Hawes is inordinately fond of numbering in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." That he made a very special use of the number seven to suggest a correlation of the seven deadly sins, the seven liberal arts, the seven cardinal virtues, the seven headed giant, the seven planets, the beast of seven metals, I think is obvious. Beyond that I submit that he employed enumeration and numbering to suggest simply arithmetic itself. He does not appear to have any other symbolism in mind. He specifies that the marble statue giving choice of the two ways in life is nine feet tall. So also is the copper statue of the vision. He numbers the five parts of

rhetoric, the five internal wits, and the five external gates. He tells us that Pucell's ship weighed five hundred tons. He uses such lines as:

My hert sekened/ and began waxe sore
 A mynute .vi. houres/ and .vi. hours a yere.
 (ll. 1600-1601)

As Grand Amour approaches the tower of geometry, he thinks to himself:

The altytude all in my mynde I sought
 Syxe hondreth fote as I by nombre thought.
 (ll. 2552-2553)

The seven-headed giant carries an ax that was in length ".xx. fote and more." When the giant swings and misses Grand Amour, the stroke lights beside a stone wall, "thre fote and more." As Grand Amour strives to gain equal ground with the giant, he mounts twelve steps in the rocks. The giant himself is described as fifteen feet in height. True enough, such specificity occurs in the romance, and the allegory, too, for that matter, but in the light of the other instances I have suggested, and of those I shall suggest subsequently, it seems quite possible that Hawes was overtly demonstrating the importance of "nombre," the property of arithmetic.

The tower of music and the formal appearance of La Bell Pucell have been carefully prepared for by the poet.

From the outset of the poem, the reader has awaited this moment. To insert the romantic meeting in the midst of the educational studies was a happy idea, for the mechanical routine of the poem is interrupted. When the initial meeting with Pucell and the lovers' debate in the garden are over, Grand Amour returns to his studies with an unremitting fervency; he is desirous of completing them as fast as possible to win his love. This "enthusiam" is, Hawes would hope, contagious, and the reader renews his "studies" too with the added realization now that Grand Amour is approaching the perilous journey."

But the idea is doubly clever, for Hawes chooses the Chamber of Dame Music for the assignation. As Grand Amour enters the chamber, he sees Dame Music playing on the bass organs in accordance with "dyopason, dyapenthe, and dytesseron," the specific terms of the science, the listing of which constitutes Hawes's method of treatment. In the "temple" is a great crowd of people, among them La Bell Pucell. Dame Music approaches Pucell, and the two leave. Grand Amour follows them into the inner Chamber and addresses Dame Music with his usual laudatory terms, saying:

Your prudence reyneth, most hye in renowe
 For you be eur/ ryght concordant
 With perfyte reason (ll. 1536-1538)

The poet's skill in or perhaps mania for playing with words is again apparent. Grand Amour uses a key phrase in his

address, "ryght concordant," for immediately Dame Music remarks that her special property is "concorde." It is she that sets the seven sciences in perfect "concord," so that they, the seven arts, become the "waye and perfyte doctryne to the Joye aboue which is celestyne," a restatement of the entire significance of the Seven Arts, that the proper and careful study of them leads to the contemplation of God and salvation. After several associated comments, which will be discussed presently, Dame Music calls for her minstrels to play. They play "mamours the swete," and Music commands Grand Amour and Pucell to dance. A fuller treatment of the entire courtship of Pucell by Grand Amour follows the discussion of the tower of chivalry;⁵⁵ our immediate concern, therefore, is that music, the harmonizer of the Seven Liberal Arts now acts as the harmonizer of the romance and educational sections of the poem! The poetic demonstration of the powers of "concordance" of music find expression in the perfect joy and harmony of Grand Amour. It is true that Grand Amour must now suffer the "loueres maladye"; nevertheless, music has prior to this been poetically responsible for their first glorious meeting. Grand Amour actually calls La Bell Pucell,

The floure of comforte (l. 3826)

⁵⁵See pp. 122 ff.

Before the dance Music used a medical comparison to explain her power. She says that the "perfyte physyke" resembles music. When the inward entrails turn contrary so that nature cannot work directly, then physyke sets the parts in order. So also does music set the soul in order. However, the soul is not dependent upon the body; thus, when the sciences and music set the soul in harmony or order, they are not correcting the body, but are leading the "soule to heuen." Several times Hawes resorts to medical learning to demonstrate his moral.⁵⁶ Besides letting each one correlate the others as poetic devices, Hawes is again demonstrating specifically how the learning of the sciences is beneficial and all-inclusive, and it follows, the key to sapience.

10

After Pucell returns to her homeland, Grand Amour resumes his studies. He leaves Music and goes to Dame Geometry. Hawes describes her tower, remarking that the roof

⁵⁶But there is a salve and remedy therfore
 So for your payne and your sorowe grete
 Councell is medycyne (ll. 1695-1698)

A physycyen truely can lytell decerne
 Ony maner sekene/ without syght of Vryne
 (ll. 1702-1703)

See also comments on the Humours, ll. 1863 ff.,
 p. 289.

"dyde hange ryght hygh and plesauntly/ By geometry made ryght well and craftely." For other than specific instances of geometry, Hawes declares that the tower was quadrant in shape, and that the "knottes" of the roof were "sexangled." Geometry explains her functions. She is responsible for "mesurynge." Fundamentally, she has a mathematical meaning in mind:

By good mesurynge bothe the heygth and depnes
Of euery thyng as I vnderstande
The length and brede with all the gretnes
Of the fyrmamente so compassyng the londe
And who my cunnyng lyst to take in honde
In his emyspery of hye or lowe degre
Nothyng there is but it may mesure be."
(ll. 2576-2583)

Rapidly, however, she expands "mesurynge" into its more general meaning of "moderation":

Where that is mesure/ there is no lackynge
Where that is mesure/ hole is the body
Where that is mesure/ good is the lyuyng
Where that is mesure/ wysedome is truely
Where that is mesure/ werke is dyrectly
Where that is mesure/natures werkyng
Nature encreaseth by ryght good knowlegynge
(ll. 2591-2597)

"The Example of Virtue" was a solemn and moral lecture on how Sapience, repeatedly associated with the Seven Liberal Arts, leads Youth to virtue and then to salvation. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes decided to carefully show precisely how the Seven Arts lead man. His procedure, as has been demonstrated so far, has been to discuss each science and to use key words or phrases to associate each

one with a virtue, or the eternal foe of one of the vices. He additionally treats each Art as a learned science, having its own basic core of knowledge. These two matters, and their suggested or inferred areas of information, comprise the "sapience," or "prudence" or "wisdom" that leads man to virtue and salvation. Rather ingeniously Hawes allegorizes this basic theme, following his own avowed poetic rules, by means of a romantic tale, the wooing and winning of La Bell Pucell by Grand Amour.

In the case of Dame Geometry the specific virtue is "temperance" amplified through the term "mesurynge." And in clearly distinguishing "mesure" as the "grounde of excellence," the inclination to "vertue," the "lodesterre of all grace," and the companion of "wysedome," Hawes is well within a medieval tradition, conveniently summarized by Jessie Crosland:

The Virtue which made the greatest appeal to men's minds as something stable and reliable, whether in art, in chivalry or in love, was the fundamental virtue of moderation, of 'temperantia'; the 'mesure' of the French writers, the 'mize' of the German poets and moralists - the right proportion between too little and too much, the level course between too high and too low.⁵⁷

When we realize that Hawes uses the term "mesure" or a variant form sixty-four times in the short space of eleven stanzas, we hardly blame the careful reader of being reminded of Dame Geometry when he comes across "mesure"

⁵⁷Jessie Crosland, "The Conception of Mesure in Some Medieval Poets," MLR XXI, 1926, p. 380-384.

again, subsequently in the poem. When Grand Amour enters the gate into the tower of chastity, he is let in by Dame Mesure (4164). In the closing moments of the poem, during the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins, the following lines appear in the stanza dealing with Glotomy:

But without mesure full inordynatly
 The body lyueth and wyll not remembre
 How erthe to erthe must his strength surrendre.
 (ll. 5464-5466)

Since Dame Geometry had remarked "Where lakketh mesure there is grete glotomy," we are not surprised to see the term reappear, directly associated again with one of the Deadly Sins.

And certainly in the whole Geometry passage, with its emphasis upon cowardice, iniquity, great outrage, gluttony, punishment occurring "where lakketh mesure," we are again reminded of the Godfrey Gobylyue episode.

The final science is Astronomy. It is Astronomy who shows to man the "course above of heuen." God Himself is the chief astronomer. This affords Hawes the occasion to enumerate the days of creation to signify the great "wisdome" that one gleans from the study of Astronomy. And from the creation of the world, Hawes moves into the creation of Nature, which God made first of all to have "domynacyon." In "The Example of Virtue" hawes unwisely placed Nature and

Wisdom in a debate to determine the chief benefactor of man. Dame Justice rendered the verdict that each should contribute equally, but Wisdom had in actuality won the debate, the reason being that Hawes was writing a poem to demonstrate sapience leading man to Virtue. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes handles his materials in a true proportion of harmony, avoiding the mistakes of the earlier poem. For in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" nature is the symbol of God's creations. Her power is the Divine power, a quality only hinted at in "The Example of Virtue." It is her sphere of influence that governs whether one is fair or foul, happy or unhappy, for she is creation itself. She is not separate from wisdom but contains it. Hawes speaks of the five external offices, the eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth, the hands, which are the perceptive gates to the body, but it is the inward wits that account for discernment and knowledge. Nature, as creation, encompasses both the exterior and interior wits. Sapience is the result of the application by the five inward wits of the perceptions of the outer wits. The whetting or sharpening of the inner wits is the reward of the diligent study of the Seven Liberal Arts. In "The Example of Virtue" the view of Nature was confused and partially contradictory. She was decidedly more of a menace to man than she was a benefit. That is not true in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." Here, Nature is Divine Creation.

To continue his comment, Hawes next remarks upon the heavenly bodies and their virtues. He says that in accordance with the virtues of the sun and the moon, everything has its "growynge." No earthly thing may have life but by the planets as they move to and fro. From the planets man receives his disposition. Hawes does not, and this be underscored, attribute the control of man's destiny to the direct operations of nature. This, of course, was his primary error in "The Example of Virtue." He placed wisdom, controlled by man's own ambitions and diligence into a debate with Nature, the controlling creative force. Who is the winner of the debate? Justice says neither is, but Hawes's purpose had been to laud Wisdom. In his over-ambitious effort to do so, he creates an unresolvable argument, yet still insists on praising wisdom at nature's expense.

In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" he has come to a remarkable conclusion about the powers of nature. She controls man's physical nature, his disposition, his sustenance, but not his fate. Twice Hawes tells us that man has free choice. Prior to this section on astronomy he has asserted free will,⁵⁸ and subsequent to this section he asserts it.⁵⁹ And in the latter instance he clearly explains how nature is part of man's free will.

⁵⁸Mead, p. 833.

⁵⁹Mead, p. 3220.

. . . the hye bodyes whiche man doth dyspose
 The dede to do as hym lyst purpose.
 (ll. 3219-3220)

Notice also that Dame Fame had remarked that if Grand Amour would follow her directions, he would achieve fame!

12

Following the treatment of the seven sciences, Hawes is ready to demonstrate fully the Liberal Arts in the "cloudy" figures of the narrative romance. Grand Amour seeks fame and renown through the love of a beautiful woman, through arduous and diligent perseverance. Point for point Hawes deliberately associates an aspect of Grand Amour's journey with an aspect of the Arts. Much of this I have already indicated. The diligent pursuit of arms and love for glorious fame "writ in the books of eternity" is a demonstration of the diligent pursuit of wisdom which leads the man of virtue to the eternity of God.

And what better pivot point could Hawes find to blend the two parts of the poem, the education sections and the romantic sections, than the subsequent journey to the temple of Mars, directly following the section on astronomy!

The two simultaneous threads of the romance part of the poem are the achievement of valorous deeds and the wooing of Pucell. Grand Amour seeks aid for his future combats from Mars, who, in turn tells him that he must seek aid from Venus for aid in love:

Well than sayd Mars I shall the fortefy
 In all thy warre as fast as I canne
 But for thy payne I knowe no remedy
 For Venus reyned whan that thou beganne
 Fyrst for to loue makynge the pale and wanne
 Ande of the trouthe to make relacyon
 Thou was borne under her Consolacyon [constellation]
 (ll. 3088-3094)

Previously, in the chapter on elocution, Hawes has told us that the operation on man's destiny by the constellations is poetic fiction. In the temple of Mars, after having cautiously explained the influence of nature on man, he can proceed to use a poetic fiction, a "cloudy" figure. Thus, Amour's two-fold actions, the accomplishment of chivalric deeds and the wooing of Pucell, are correlated in the temple of Mars and are poetically prepared for by the poetic fiction of the "hye bodyes" Mars and Venus.

Certainly this is what Hawes had in mind, the distinction between nature's actual contributions to man and her poetical ones. And the distinction between the two occurs in the last section of the educational stanzas and the first section of the remainder of the poem which treats of Pucell and Grand Amour. If we had not been certain before that the romance would serve as an amplification of the Seven Sciences, we see it clearly now, in these key "pivot" stanzas.

Hawes has not finished in his determination to create a fable under the guise of "cloudy" figures. Fortune interrupts Mars and asserts her claims. It seems more than coincidental that in this passage we see again three familiar

figures in debate, hardiness (in the form of Mars), Nature (in the form of Venus) and Fortune. Fortune claims that Grand Amour must pray to her. She determines man's destiny. She was created to curb man's pride. It is she who alters his fate. She tells Mars that he has only the somewhat slight power to make man "disposed" to the powers of Mars if man is born under that constellation:

For to rule man thou hast power neueradell
 Saue after the somewhat is dysposed
 Thy consolacyon hath hym so appesed
 Who vnder the taketh his natyuyte
 Yet god hath gyuen him power to rule the.
 (11. 3167-3171)

Surely this speech by Fortune is a deliberate device of Hawes to again demonstrate the "wysdome" of the Seven Arts, specifically Astronomy. But now Fortune is disposed of Mars proves that Fortune is not celestial or corporal or spiritual. Thus she is nothing

But that poetes hath made a fygure
 Of the for the grete sygnyfycacyon
 The change of man so for to dyscure
Accordynge to a moralyzacyon
And of the trouth to make relacyon
The Man is fortune in the propre dede
 And not thou that causeth hym to spede.
 (11. 3207-3213)

It now becomes clear that the fortunate Grand Amour, as described ceaselessly by Hawes, is a knight of Grace and that the "propre deed" is the salutary act which Grace permits him to accomplish.⁶⁰ The narrative thread is the poetic

⁶⁰See Chapter II, pp. 65-68.

fiction which in the tradition of the poets of old is designed to illustrate a "moralizacyon." Following his own "ars poetica" Hawes punctuates the last half of his poem with a re-capitulation of "poetic fiction or fable" and its purpose. As "example" of this, he selects Mars, Venus, and Fortune, Mars and Venus being the constellations which in fable and allegory control the rest of the poem. In addition to the correspondences between the fable and the Liberal Arts already listed, and in addition to those yet to be discussed, we see the similar theme of the virtuous knight, the man of Grace, engrossed in the diligent pursuit of a goal, the love of a woman, the fame and renown of meritorious deeds leading back to the diligent pursuit of learning, the study of the Seven Liberal Arts, whose "knowledge" is the wisdom of God and the way to salvation.

Hawes has been accused of lack of inventiveness because he "puts his hero solemnly to bed night after night."⁶¹ At least a dozen times Hawes does describe the night and the moon, and the morning and the sun. I am sure argument can be made that it is a tedious device, but not that it is uninventive. We recall astronomy's words:

God gaue grete vertue to the planettes all
And specyally vnto depured Phebus
To elumyne the worlde euer in specyall

⁶¹Berdan, pp. 83-86.

And than the mone of her selfe tenebrus
Made lyght with the beames gay and gloryous
 Of the sonne is fayre resplendysshounte
 In the longe nyght with rayes radyaūte

By these twayne euery thyng hath grouynge
 Both vegytatyfe and cesnatyue also
And also intellectuue without lesynge

..... (ll. 2885-2894)

In view of Hawes's careful description of the poetical function of the constellations, it is evident that Hawes is poetically indicating more than just the passing of time; he is using astrological commentary other than merely to "wrap up" a section neatly by giving Grand Amour a rest. He is indicating the progressive growth of Grand Amour's mind "intellectyue," a "moralyzacyon" signified by a "cloudy" figure.

As Grand Amour listens to the debaters, a beautiful woman approaches him and leads him away. It is Minerva, who according to Dame Fame "vaynquysshed Pallas by her grete worthynesse and fyrste made harneys." She escorts him through the hall where knights are engaged in chess to the chamber of the King of Chivalry, Melyzyus. There is no doubt, indeed, but that this is royalty. His surroundings are rich; his clothing is purple set with rubies. Over his head is a "payne of balaunce" holding his crown and scepter. In his hand he holds a great ball. Sapience in "The Example

of Virtue" explains the "synfyacyon" of these regal objects:

I, Sapience, am of the King's Council;
Which is clothed with purple, that signifieth
The grace and the pulchritude, without fail,
Of great virtues that in him shineth.
For to no vices he never inclineth;
Having on his head a fair crown royal,
That showeth his dignity to be regal.

Which to his people is the chief glory;
Through whom his subjects be direct,
And made obedient to him certainly,
At every hour, by right true effect.
But furthermore by good aspect,
He beareth a ball in his left hand;
The which betokeneth, as I understand,

A King to be a good administrator
Unto his subjects, in every place;
And to be for them a good provisor,
As reason requireth in every case
I, Sapience, do rule his noble Grace.
In his right hand he hath a sceptre,
That doth signify, by right, his rigour.

(stanzas 121-123)

The king of the tower of Chivalry is symbolically, then, directed by reason, by Sapience.

The reason for selecting Melyzyus as the King of Chivalry has posed a problem for more than one critic of Hawes.⁶² Miss Hammond apparently believes that Melyzyus

⁶² Mead, p. 226, remarks that Hawes makes much of Melyzyus, but "it is not altogether clear" why he does so. Hammond, p. 489, remarks, "The importance of King Melizyus in this poem should be noted. At his court the youthful hero receives his training in the arts of chivalry, and from the king personally the order of knighthood. If this poem has a connection with the young prince Henry . . . a compliment to the reigning sovereign would be entirely in place. In the "recuyell" . . . 'Mellyseus' is the lord of

is, because of its frequency, in "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye" a symbol of kingship and is therefore a compliment to the reigning monarch.⁶³ She is correct that the name was designed to compliment Henry Tudor, but there is a stronger argument than the one she advances. Milesius is the legendary progenitor of the Welsh and Irish.⁶⁴ The mythology of the Welsh and Irish describes how the Milesians wandered from Thrace through Egypt and Spain and finally to the British Isles.⁶⁵ Hawes's confusion was a natural one. He fused the powers of the legendary Mellose who founded the craft of taming and breaking horses

the city of Oson; on p. 70 he is king of Epirus; on p. 144 'the king of Mollose,' who has 'founden the craft to tame and breke horses' leads a hundred centaurs to the aid of Jupiter. Rhodenizer suggests a confusion between the two names in Hawes's mind." Bühler, Curt F., "Kynge Melyzyus" and "The Pastime of Pleasure," *R.E.S.* (438-441), Vol. 10, 1934, identifies Hawes's 'Kynge Melyzyus' with Pindar's third "Isthmian Ode," written to celebrate the victories of Melissus of Thebes. Hawes may have heard the story at Oxford or on the continent. It does not presume Hawes read Greek, but if the identification is true, this is the first example of Pindar's influence on English Literature, pp. 438-440.

⁶³Cf. n. 60.

⁶⁴Alice S. Green, History of the Irish State to 1014 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1925), pp. 14-15. Seumas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race (New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1921), p. 1. Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1946), p. 195. Charles I. Elton, Origins of English History (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1890), pp. 135-136, 151-155.

⁶⁵Mary Hayden and George A. Moonan, A Short History of the Irish People (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1922), pp. 5-6.

with King Mellyseus and with Milesius of Spain. Confusion or not, however, we can clearly see Hawes's purpose. What better way to compliment Henry Tudor would there be than to associate the court of chivalry with the progenitor of the Welsh, a race Henry was inordinately proud of. The legend of Milesius was available to Hawes in at least one history of his day, the Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden.⁶⁶ However, the legend is not contained in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Grand Amour's stay in the tower of chivalry is brief. Wisely Hawes is content simply to tell us how diligently Grand Amour studies under the supervision of the wise Minerva. Finally he is deemed accomplished and is led again to Melyzyus who personally knights him and explains the tenets of knighthood. He arms Grand Amour with the spiritual armour as suggested by St. Paul, listed in the forerunner of "The Pastyme of Pleasure," "The Example of Virtue." He informs Grand Amour of the duties of the knight, relying not on the material of Hardiness in "The Example" but on the counter charges of Sapience. His first precept is a direct re-phrasing of Fame's original summary of the practice of the worthy heroes of old:

Knyghthode he sayd was fyrst establysshed
The comyn welthe in ryght to defend
(11. 3361-3362)

⁶⁶Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, ed. Churchill Babington (London: published under direction of Master of Rolls, 1865), I, p. lxxxiv.

Receiving the blessings of truth, fidelity, courage, courtesy, fortitude, consuetude, justice, myserycorde, nurture, concorde, and sapience, Grand Amour takes his leave. Within the fable Grand Amour has specifically mastered the "feates of arms and warre," but in the context of the entire poem, he has again pursued study diligently and this virtuous pastime, an enemy to idleness, has been accomplished through wisdom, Minerva and Melyzyus both rising as symbols of sapience.

Grand Amour selects the path to La Bell Pucell from the outset of the poem. She becomes his ideal, his goal. It is for her that he embarks upon the troublous journey to Dame Doctrine, to King Melyzyus, to the giants he must slay. The poem in one facet is a revelation of Grand Amour's growth which makes him suitable and worthy for reward. This is the ideal of courtly love, perhaps not its actuality, but it is its ideal. "In skeleton form it [courtly love] is the surge of the lover to rise in worth and virtue towards the beloved through the force and energy of desire."⁶⁷ It is, therefore, significant that Grand

⁶⁷Alexander J. Denomy, "Courtly Love and Courtliness" (Speculum, XXVIII, 1953), p. 44. See also A. J. Denomy, The Heresy of Courtly Love (New York: Declan X. McMullen, 1947), p. 21.

Amour is not of the same social class as Pucell, for Hawes wishes to emphasize Grand Amour's great virtue after he has completed his tasks. Andreas clearly tells us that a woman of high nobility would marry a man of lower class only if he have " a most excellent character." In order for a lover of a lower class to win her love," he must be a man with innumerable good things to his credit, one whom uncounted good deeds extol."⁶⁸ We see the purpose, then, of the romantic fable of the poem. It makes the poem "pleasurable" in the larger sense of the word; it makes the "moral doctrine" of the poem more palatable; but more importantly it allegorizes the major thesis of the poem, the path to eternity through the sapience of the Liberal Arts, a path that is wearisome, painful, arduous, woeful, difficult, but ultimately rewarding. It is little wonder then that Hawes has employed the fabric of the romance. The gallant battles signify the victories of the lover over his obstacles; and the pains and woes of the lover, the present concern, signify the pains and woes of the path of prudent virtue to the wisdom of God.

Thus, when Grand Amour actually sees La Bell Pucell, he joins the vast company of sorrowing lovers. The catalogue of them is altogether too long to be listed. Of immediate

⁶⁸Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, with Introduction and Translation by John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia, 1941), Book I, Chapter VI, Third Dialogue, p. 53.

notice to Hawes, however, were Lydgate's "Temple of Glas," and "The Complaint of the Black Knight," and Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" and "Troilus and Criseyde." The supplication to Mars was derived, it would seem, from the "Knight's Tale," the supplication to Venus and the composition of Amour's letter from the "Temple of Glas," and the sorrowing lover from the combination of the four, probably the "Legend of Good Women," too, "The Romance of the Rose" and undoubtedly others. Ten Brink has noted that "Troilus and Criseyde" supplied Hawes the skeleton form of the initial wooing of Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell, remarking that Hawes's lover becomes enamored in a temple, as does Troilus and there is even a correspondence between Pandarus and Councill.⁶⁹

But there are differences which seem ever so slight at cursory glance, which are quite significant in the light of Hawes's allegorical purpose. The first of these is the description of Pucell's effect upon Amour in terms of the five internal wits.⁷⁰ The second major difference occurs when Grand Amour is aided by Councill. Councill's first reaction to Grand Amour's pain, after he has drawn it from Grand Amour in Pandarus fashion, is to remark:

⁶⁹Bernhard Ten Brink, History of English Literature, ed. by Dr. Alois Brandl; translated by L. Dora Schmitz (New York: Henry Holt, 1896), II, cited by Mead, p. 236.

⁷⁰See 76-77 of this paper.

Remembre you/ that neuer yet was he
 That in this worlds/ cyde lede all his lyfe
 In Joye and pleasure/ without aduersyte
 No wordly thyng/ can be without stryfe
 For vnto pleasure/ payne is affyrmatyfe
 Who wyll haue pleasure/ he must fyrste apply
 To take the payne/ with his cure besely.
 (ll. 1793-1799)

Pandarus fleetingly suggests this to Troilus:

For how myghte euer swetnesse han been knowe
 To him that nevere tasted bitternesse?
 (Troilus and Criseyde, I, 639-640)

Councell, however, underscores the view by voicing it often:

After his [Troilus'] sorowe/ had not he grete Joye
 (l. 1812)

After his [Ponthus'] pain/ his lady dyde her cure
 To do him Joye/ honoure and pleasure
 (ll. 1819-1820)

Joye cometh after/ whan the payne is paste
 (l. 1927)

There is in these lines the direct association of the pains and labors of the lover with the pains and labors of study and the subsequent reward. Councell even conveniently summarizes the view:

Labour and dylygence/ is full meruaylous
 Whiche bryngeth a loue to his promocyon
 Nothyne to loue/ is more desyrous
 Than instaunt labour/ and delectacyon
 The harded hert/ it gyueth occasyon
 For to consyder/ how that her seruant
 To obtayne her loue/ is so attendaunt
 (ll. 1947-1953)

Clothed in the language of love, the device Hawes tells us is the primary art of the poet, is the creed of the knight pursuing the "wysdome" of the Arts.

In support of this notion, Hawes has Councell emphasize reason. His philosophy itself, or joy following pain, is a demonstration of his own argument:

Than I [Grand Amour] began/ with all my dylygence
To here hym [Councell]speke/ so grounded on reason
(ll. 1710-1711)

Nothyng there is/ but wysdome may it wyne
(l. 1728)

By your dysease/ I shall by wysdome hole
(l. 1792)

. . . . for you shall neuer lacke
Yf that ye ordre it/ by good reason.
(ll. 1858-1859)

Upon good reason/ and in wordes fewe
(l. 1897)

Loke what ye saye/ loke it be deryfyde
From perfyte reason
(ll. 1936-1937)

So many examples leave little doubt but that "promocyon" necessitates a troublous journey carefully guarded by reason's dictates.

And still Councell underscores the significance of reasonable thinking. When she first approached Grand Amour, he remarked:

. . . . remembre thynges thre
The fyrste is/ that ye may sorowe longe
Vnto yourselfe/ or that ye ayeded be
And secondly in grete paynes stronge
To muse alone/ it myght tourne you to wronge
The thyrde is it myght/ you well ease truely
To tell your mynde/ to a frende ryght trusty
(ll. 1667-1673)

This passage was perhaps suggested by arguments of Pandarus:

. We hym that is allone,
For, and he falle, he hath non helpe to ryse
(Troilus, I, ll. 694-695)

and

Men Seyn, to wrecche is consolacioun
To have another felawe in hys peyne.
(Troilus, I, ll. 708-709)

The difference, though, is that Pandarus employs several persuasive arguments. Pandarus additionally, for example, persuades Troilus that he can actually help him in the wooing of his lover, by whispering in her ear. This is the final persuasion that convinces Troilus to confide in Pandarus. What does it avail him to suffer if his lover never knows of it and consequently never returns the love? But with the help of Pandarus the love has a chance.

Hawes simplifies this argument into the clear cut statement that there are only two possibilities. Councill is directly and concisely appealing to Grand Amour's reason.

This same simplification to underscore logical reasoning is demonstratable a second time. Pandarus asks Troilus what causes his seclusion:

Han now thus soome Grekes maad you Reene?

Or hastow som remors of conscience,
And art now falle in som devocioun,
And waillest for thi synne and thin offence,
And hast for ferde caught attricioun?
(Troilus, I, ll. 553-557)

To Councell's "reasoning" there are only two possibilities explaining Grand Amour's dejection:

It maye so fortune/ ye loue a lady fayre
 Which to loue you/ will nothyng repayre
 Or elles ye haue lost/ grete lond or substaunce
 By fatall change/ of fortunes ordynaunce
 (ll. 1684-1687)

Furthermore, when Grand Amour complains that he has no wealth, Councell dismisses the obstacle with quickness and ease:

What thoughe quod he/ drawe you not abacke
 For she hath ynoughe/ in her possessyon
 For you both (ll. 1856-1858)

Councell's reply is practical and sound and valid in terms of courtly love. Andrew remarks that a woman of wealth should choose of two suitors the poor man of worth rather than the rude rich man.⁷¹ Wealth, obviously, is no obstacle.

But the clearest example of wise or reasonable truth occurs when Councell discusses La Bell Pucell. Hawes in "The Example of Virtue" ignored the tradition of Nature, most forcefully expressed in "De Planctu Naturae" of Alain De Lille, that the primary law of Nature is the reproduction of the species. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes not only includes it, but employs it twice as a means of arguing that La Bell Pucell will return the love of Grand Amour. Councell tells Grand Amour:

⁷¹Andreas Capellanus, p. 169.

. but onely nature
 Shall in her mynde/ make her to account
 The grete losse of youth/ her specyall treasure
 She knoweth she is/ a ryght fayre creature
 (ll. 1878-1881)

This is his most "reasonable" argument. Grand Amour will achieve success, for La Bell Pucell's "natural" inclination must be to love. Hawes in this single scene with Grand Amour and Councell has clipped his apparent source and redesigned the material to show how reason, wisdom, counsel aid the virtuous knight in the depressed and dejected moments in the pursuit of his ideal. It is the language of love, but its allegorical application is the study of the Seven Sciences. There can be little doubt that this was Hawes's plan when we recall that the actual courtship, the meeting of the lovers, the arrangements for the meeting in the garden all suggested the various aspects of Rhetoric, Music, and Astronomy.

15

La Bell Pucell is nature's most glorious creation and throughout the poem reflects nature and her workings. Hawes describes her variously:

Nature her faoured/ so moche in degre
 (l. 424)

. . . I neuer sawe/ so fayre a creature
 So well faourdly/ create by nature
 (ll. 1754-1755)

Nothyng she lacketh as I do suppose
 That is longyng to fayre dame Nature
 (ll. 3869-3870)

So in beaute and vertue specyall
 She dothe excede ony erthely creature
 That is nowe made by fayre dame Nature
 (ll. 4911-4913)

I have maintained that the narrative romance allegorically reflects the Seven Liberal Arts. It has been shown, so far, that in instance after instance, themes, words, phrases, statements in the narration directly reflect the encyclopedic information of the Sciences. I have also maintained that the pursuit of La Bell Pucell by her lover is, in terms of the ideal of courtly love, an arduous and sometimes painful journey, increasing the seeker in stature as he approaches his virtuous goal. In this light I have insisted that Hawes has rather cleverly associated the painful "loueres maladye" with the demands placed upon the diligent student. I shall continue in the endeavor to analyze the poem in this manner; however, at present it is appropriate to place La Bell Pucell herself into this allegorical scheme I have suggested.

If the quest of Pucell is allegorically the quest for the "wysdome" of God through the Arts, we should hope that La Bell Pucell would suggest, from her description, the Seven Sciences. Such an association is present although it is not systematically developed. We are certainly reminded of Logic, Grammar, and Rhetoric in her speeches and

in the manner in which she wisely, having the knowledge to discern good from iniquity, accepts Grand Amour as a lover and rejects Dames Straungenes and Didayne. We can see how she reflects the perfect concord of Music and the moderation and temperance of Geometry, but I think even more important than these correspondences is her association with Nature, with creation, Dame Astronomy. As the embodiment of nature's great art, which in turn is divine creating spirit, she is also the embodiment of God's great creation - wisdom. In her very "perfection," she represents virtue rather than simply an attractive woman. And to Hawes the height of virtue is to "eschew slothe," to study the learned sciences.

Mead has remarked that the "disputacyon" between Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell closely follows the pattern suggested by the second and third Dialogues of Chapter VI of Andreas Capellanus' The Art of Courtly Love, but that it is not necessary to assume that Hawes had read the book.⁷² The course of the debate is a simple one: Grand Amour prostates himself before La Bell Pucell and after a proper amount of rhetorical plea and confession, he is accepted as Pucell's lover. The debate is important, however, for its content complements the rest of the narration. For example, the criminals of love, whom Grand Amour subsequently sees in the "lovers' Hell," are suggested. Pucell herself for a

⁷²Mead, p. 236.

while, until she relents, is the lover who callously denies the salve which will cure the lover hopelessly enthralled. Those who do not release their lovers' pain abide in the first level of the 'Lovers' Hell.' Pucell remarks that she has heard ill tales of Grand Amour, tales which he claims are false, spread by his enemies. In the second level of Hell are "False Report" and those whom he inspired. Pucell on three different occasions tells of lovers who have their way and change or who drop one lover for another as often as it pleases them.⁷³ In the third level of Hell are unfaithful lovers.

Grand Amour tells Pucell that lovers always have three enemies: envy, malice, and perturbance. These terms, as we have noted in the past in other instances, apply to love, but allegorically they are terms which suggest the enemies of the virtuous knight diligently pursuing his ideal. We are reminded of the attacks upon the times in which Hawes deploras those who because they cannot understand the learning of poets, degrade them, slander them, and become nuisances. These hostiles to learning embrace envy, malice, and perturbation. In the "Lovers' Hell" we note that with a simple transference of subject, we could be speaking of those who deny learning, of those who deride it, of those

⁷³"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 2175 ff, 2139 ff, 2160 ff.

who abuse it. That this was Hawes's intention seems doubly certain when we notice such a passage as the following, a tirade against the declaimers of truth and wysdome:

But now of dayes/ the synne of auaryce
 Exyleth the mynde/ and the hole delyght
 To coueyt connyng/ whiche is grete preiudyce
 For insacyatly/ so blynded is theyr syght
 With the syluer/ and the gold so bryght
 They nothyng thynke/ on fortune varyable
 Whiche all theyr ryches/ can make transmutable

The olde sawes/ they ryght clene obiect
 Whiche for our lerynge/ the poetes dyde wryte
 With auaryce/ they are so sore infect
 They take no hede/ nothyng they wryte
 Whiche morally/ dyde so nobly endyte
 Reprouynge vyce/ praysynge the vertue
 Whiche ydlenes/ dyde euermore eschewe.

(ll. 1275-1288)

Here the foes of love and of learning merge in a single word, avarice, to the students of courtly love that which is most incompatible with love. ". . . you should not follow avarice, which, as all agree, cannot remain in the same dwelling with love."⁷⁴

After Fucell leaves, Councell gives Grand Amour final consolation. He tells Amour that wisdom will give him victory in his pursuit of valor in behalf of Fucell. However, the speech is expanded and amplified into a vast laudation of "wysdome" and its powers over man. Again, in a single section, the romantic narration is fused with the educational scenes; the romance is an allegory of the pursuit of the Seven Liberal Arts:

⁷⁴Andreas Capellanus, p. 31.

Remembre he sayde/ that neuer yet was wyght
 That lyued alwaye/ in grete tranquylite
 But that hym happed/ some aduersyte
 Than after that/ whan the payne was paste
 The double Ioye/ dyde comforte them at last

Ye nede nothyng/ for to make grete dolour
 Fortune to you/ hath ben ryghte fauourable
 Makynge you/ to attayne the good fauour
 Of your lady/ so swete and amyable
 No doubtte it is/ she is true and stable
 And demeane you so/ that in no wyse
 No man perceyue/ or of youre loue surmyse

Be hardy/ fyers/ and also coragyous
 In all youre batayles/ without febenes
For ye shall be/ ryght well vycoryous
Of all youre enmyes/ so full of subtylnes
Arme you with wysdome/ for more surenes
Let wysdome werke/ for she can stedfasty
 In tyme of nede/ resyste the contrary

Was neuer man/ yet surely at the bayte
With sapyence/ but that he dyde repent
Who that is ruled/ by her hygh estate
Of his after wytte/ shall neuer be shent
She is to man ryght benyuolent
 With walles sure/ she doth hym fortyfy
 Whan it is nede/ to resyste a contrary

Was neuer place/ where as she dyde guyde
With enmyes/ brought to destruccyon
A remedy/ she can so well prouyde
To her hygh werke/ is no comparyson
 It hath so stronge/ and sure fundacyon
 Nothyng there is/ that can it molyfy
 So sure it is/ agaynst a contrary

Of her alwayes/ it is the perfyte guyse
 To begynne nothyng of mutabylyte
 As is the warre/ whiche maye soone aryse
 And wyll not downe;/ it maye so stourdy be
 The begynner oft/ hath the inyquyte
Whan he began/ wysdome dyde reply
 In his grete nede/ to resyste the contrary

The myghty pryant/ sometye kynge of Troye
 With all his Cyte/ so well fortyfyed
 Lytell regarded/ all his welthe and Ioye

Without wysdome/ truely exemplyfyed
 His propre deth/ hymselfe he nutryfyde
Agaynst his warre/ wysdome dyde reply
At his grete nede/ to resyst the contrary

And where that wysdome/ ruleth hardynes
Hardynes than is/ euer inuyncyble
There maye nothyng/ it vaynquysshē or oppres
For prudence is/ so well intellygyble
To her there is/ nothyng impossyble
Her groundēd werke/ is made so perfytely
That it must nedes/ resyste the contrary
 (ll. 2418-2471)

The Godfrey Gobylyue episode has caused various comments. Rhodenizer noted that Godfrey, called Folly, is the normal economic way to represent the seven deadly sins.⁷⁵ Hammond remarked upon the kinship of Godfrey with the morality plays.⁷⁶ Burkart associated him with "Wikked Tonge" in the "Romance of the Rose."⁷⁷ The Cambridge History credits Hawes with dropping the allegory in this scene and supplying a "keen observation of contemporary life."⁷⁸ To Berdan the scene serves as comic relief. "The tone is one of very broad comedy of the type of the fabliaux; the language is exceedingly coarse."⁷⁹ At least each of these comments save Berdan's contend that Godfrey represents something greatly undesirable, or unsavory and

⁷⁵Rhodenizer, p. 233.

⁷⁶Hammon, p. 268.

⁷⁷Burkart, p. 57.

⁷⁸Cambridge History, pp. 264-265.

⁷⁹Berdan, p. 83.

it is implied by Berdan. I am quite certain, however, that the allegory is not dropped in this episode. This paper has previously maintained that the Godfrey Gobylyue scenes are in direct contrast with the tenets of rhetoric.⁸⁰ I would agree that the episode is intended as an observation on contemporary life. As such, it is an "example," to use Hawes's term, of the several passages in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" which treat of "the evils of the times," the abandonment of virtue and learning, the pursuit of sensual pleasure.

But Godfrey represents still other aspects of the poet's theme. He is the enemy to love and it follows, the enemy to Grand Amour's pursuit of learning. Even his appearance as a fool is a disguise to throw Grand Amour off guard.

First of all, he is ugly, malformed, and barbarously dressed - an appearance contrary to the dictates of love. His speech and language offend the careful and delicate rhetoric of love. He tells of his attempts to win various ladies, in violation of the code of secrecy. Of women he speaks crudely and obscenely, an obvious crime against love. He, an ugly man, lays suit to a rich, ugly woman. It is the very opposite of the handsome Grand Amour wooing the noble, wealthy Pucell. As to the woes of the lover, symbolic of the difficulties of diligent study, Godfrey speaks concisely.

⁸⁰Chapter II, p. 99-103.

Who loueth ony for to make hym sadde
 I wene that he become wors than madde
 (ll. 3556-3557)

It is Godfrey's purpose to discourage Grand Amour just as Councill encouraged him. It is no coincidence, then, that Godfrey tells bawdy tales of the mishaps in love of two of the wisest of all men, Aristotle and Vergil! And the tales themselves offend Rhetoric, for they are not designed for man's profit and learning.

The tales are not uncommon, and Hawes adds little to them,⁸¹ except their context. It is Godfrey who tells them as satires on Grand Amour's love and quest. Thus, Godfrey briefly describes Aristotle in terms of the pain-stricken lover:

Was not Arystotle for all his clergy
 For a woman rapt in loue so meruaylously
 That all his connyng he had sone forgotten
 (ll. 3570-3572)

Of Vergil he says:

For on a day for his owne dysperte
 To the courte of Rome he gan to resporte
 Amonge the ladyes the tyme for to passe
 Tyll at the last lyke Phebus in the glasse
 So dyde a lady with her beauty clere
 Shyne through her herte with suche loue so dere
 Than of grete force he must nedes obey

⁸¹Mead lists the possible sources for each, noting that in Gower they both appear in brief form, pp. 238-239. He also notes that the "Vyrigyle" tale appears in Caxton's 'Mirroure of the World,' p. 239. Berdan notes that both tales appear in "The Temple of Glas," p. 83.

She of his mynde bare both the locke and kay
 So was his herte selte vpon a fyre

Grēte was his payne and moche more his care
 (ll. 3628-3639)

The details of their being love stricken strongly remind us of those describing Grand Amour. Godfrey also uses such key words as "imagination" and "inward care" which associate these fabliaux with the love of Grand Amour and Pucell. In both tales the lover is foully treated. This is Godfrey's whole purpose. As "False Report," a description supplied by Dame Fame, he is designed to dissuade Grand Amour from his avowed quest, promising him nothing but pain from his "lady fair." For this reason, he must place sapience in a bad light, an attempt he makes when he tells of Aristotle and Vergil. And since he partakes of the Seven Deadly Sins in general and sloth and lechery in particular, he is seen as the enemy to Grand Amour's greater quest, the quest for knowledge which "eschewes sloth."

17

Rhodenizer suggested that perhaps Godfrey has shaken Amour's faith somewhat so he goes to the Court of Love to have it renewed.⁸² This certainly was Godfrey's intention, but not his accomplishment. To win Pucell Grand Amour was told he must seek aid from Mars and, in turn, from Venus.

⁸²Rhodenizer, p. 243.

He has paid his due at the court of chivalry, and now he must do the same at the Court of Love.

The secretary to Venus is named Sapience. Just as wisdom in the form of Minerva and Melyzyus directed Amour in the study of arms and battle, Sapience aids him in the cause of love. Grand Amour's opening words to Venus are significant:

O Venus lady and excellent goddes
 O celestyall sterre hauynge the souerayne
 Aboue all other sterres as lady and prynces
 As in accordynge vnto your deyte
 (ll. 3804-3807)

Dame Astronomy has taught Grand Amour that Nature, the creating spirit, made the heavenly bodies. Nature's prime area of activity is the propagation of the species. Venus, therefore, queen of the stars becomes the direct agent of Nature, for Venus' chief argument in her letter to Pucell is the explanation of Nature's plan:

What was the cause of your creacyon
 But man to loue the worlde to multeply
 As to sowe the sede of generacyon
 With feruent loue so well conuenyently
 The cause of loue engendreth perfyteley
 Vpon an entente of dame Nature
 Whiche you haue made so fayre a creature

Than of dame nature what is the entent
 But to accomplysse her fayre sede to sowe
 In such a place as is conuenyent
 To goddes pleasure for to encrease and growe
 The kynde of her ye may not euerthrowe
 Say what ye lyst ye can nothyng deny
 But otherwyle ye thynke full pryuely
 (ll. 3958-3971)

Grand Amour tells Venus of his meeting with Dame Fame and the subsequent events that have led him to the Court of Love. He re-echoes the words and phrases that have become the joining threads of the poem, "grace brydled and with grete vertue," "passage harde and troblous," "grace and gouernaunce," "floure of comforte the sterre of vertue celere." Venus herself, in the pattern of wisdom influencing the narration, echoes the philosophy of Councill:

Joy cometh after whan the sorowe is past
(1. 3915)

Grand Amour calls the letter written by Sapience, directed by Venus, of "gentyll fourme." The letter is rich in the rhetoric that Hawes favored, even containing an example of anaphora which Hawes is so fond of:

Wo worthe the tyme that euer he you met
Wo worthe your herte so doynge him wronge
Wo worthe the houre that his true herte was set
Wo worthe dysdane that wolde his purpose let
Wo worthe the floure that can do no bote⁸³
Wo worthe you that perst hym at the rote⁸³
(11. 4050-4055)

The letter is carefully dated September the twenty-second, the year not given.

Thus, the necessary suit to Venus is accomplished in this section, but also we are reminded of the knowledge of the Seven Arts, from Rhetoric, Logic, and Grammar through Arithmetic to Astronomy. It seems that the date itself has little reason for being included unless it is "nombrynge."

⁸³The device continues through three more stanzas.

Grand Amour is now prepared to meet his enemies, the first of which is a three headed giant. Hawes has anticipated this giant in the section on "example" in rhetoric. In explaining allegory Hawes writes:

Of Cerberus/ the defloured pecture
 The porter of hell/ with thre hedes vgly
Like an horryble gyaunt/ fyrse and wonderly

Because alwaye/ his customed tyranny
 Was elate in herte/ by hygh presumpcyon
 Thynkyng hysselfe/ moost strenge and myghty
And secondly/ he was dystruccyon
Of many ladyes/ by yll compulcyon
And thyrdly/ his desyre insacyable
Was to get ryches/ full innumerable

Thus for these thre vyces abhomynable
 They made him/ with thre hedes serpentyne
And lyke a fende (ll. 1013-1025)

When the first giant approaches Grand Amour, his varlet cries:

. here is a fende of hell.
 (l. 4311)

On each of the heads is a silk vane describing its evils. The first head is named "falshed." His special interest is to acquire his neighbor's goods and lands. He also causes "loue to remoue by a grete yllusyon."

The second head is named "ymagynacyon" and its purpose is "loue for to brynge in perturbacyon." Also it is the function of "imagynacyon" to create such a tale that will cause man to fall out of joy into bale.

The third head is named "pariury." It does injury wherever it can. It particularly loves "lucre." Between lovers it makes debate.

This giant is an enemy to love. Each of its heads makes a specific contribution to the destruction of love. Furthermore, Grand Amour has told Pucell that all lovers have three enemies: "envy, malyce and perturbaunce." But the giant is more than an enemy to love; he is an enemy to man and his prosperity in the greater picture of life itself. To covet other's goods partakes of envy and it echoes the remarks of Dame Grammar. To bring people in perturbation is perturbaunce. To be known in "many a towne ... where as I lyst I do great Iniury" is malice. The giant, therefore, fulfills Hawes's allegorical purpose and pattern. In the narrative stream he is Grand Amour's enemy, hostile to love. In the allegorical stream, he is suggestive of the passage on rhetoric and he is an enemy to man on his journey towards joy, which Hawes has defined as the acquiring of the knowledge of God contained the the study of the Arts.

It is only fitting that Grand Amour slay the giant with his sword Claraprudence, given to him by the wise Melyzyus. It is prudence that slays "falshed," "imagynacyon," and "pariury." It is equally fitting that Amour should be twice inspired in his battle with the giant. He thinks of Pucell, his love. He sees the "fayre golden Phebus with his

beames rede" and "than vp my courage I began to hale." Hawes has previously carefully explained the significance of the rays of "depured Phebus," and their contribution to man's "intellectyue" growing.⁸⁴ Grand Amour is inspired both by his love and simultaneously by the rays of wisdom, described by Astronomy!

In conquering the giant, Grand Amour has aided three ladies: verity, good operation, and fidelity. As the hero and his entourage ride away, they quite significantly pass the time "with swete songes and swete armony," the peace and concord of Music.

Grand Amour is warned of his next enemy, "vary-
aunce," and rides to meet him. On the way, however, he encounters the lady Dame Perceverance who tells him that Pucell received the letter from Venus. Dames Strangeness and Disdain had tried to persuade La Bell Pucell to reject Grand Amour, but Pucell had rejected and exiled them instead.

It is interesting that at the same time Grand Amour is thwarting Falsehood, imagination, and perjury with his wisdom La Bell Pucell is fighting the same battle with her wisdom. At the same time Amour is needful of help in his battle with the giant, Pucell is favoring her lover by exiling strangeness and disdain. The first giant represents the ill that others can do to lovers. He represents the harm that an evil suggestion can do to the mind. Deftly, then,

⁸⁴"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 2885-2894.

Hawes has both lovers fight their own inward battles their own way, overcoming their enemies.

The second giant is not simply a repeat of the first. The second giant is "Varyaunce, the 7 hedes of yll experyence." Although this monster, too, partakes of envy, malice, and perturbation, he also represents the harm the lover can do to himself. To be prepared for this battle, Grand Amour spends the night at the Tower of Dame Comfort who counsels him on ways to combat those who are hostile. She repeats the doctrine of Councill and Venus:

Thynke well quod she that in the worlde is none
Which can haue pleasure without wo and care
Ioye cometh after whan the payne is gone.
(ll. 4676-4678)

Then she says:

It may so fortune that la belle pucell
Hath dyuers frendes that be not contente
That her favour ye sholde attayne so well
.
And yf her frendes be with you angry
Suffre theyr wordes and take it pacyently
Agaynst theyr yll do vnto them good
Theyre for to please be alwaye dilygente
.
Thus by your wysdome ye shall them so wynne
Vnto your frendes that dyd you so hate
.
Make theym your frendes without the debate
For euermore the spyryte of pacyence
Doth euercome the angry vyolence
(ll. 4683-4703)

She tells him he will subdue "Varyaunce" with his prudence. Comfort's words of wisdom are for Grand Amour to be wise, to be patient, to abide, the attributes that will destroy the threat to love that the Seven heads of "Varyaunce"

represent: disymulacyon, Delay, Discomfort, Varyaunce, envy, detraccyon, doubleness, all of them pains a lover creates for himself.

And yet, we instantly perceive that Counsel's prudent dictates apply to enemies more general than those hostile only to love.

Grand Amour, then, prepares to meet the giant, anticipated like the three headed giant in the section on "Example." There Hawes describes the Seven headed "Idre:"

. Hercules/ by puyssaunce
 Fought with an Idre/ rygt grete certayne
 Hauynge seuen hedes/ of full grete myschaunce

 Seuen sophyms/ full harde and fallacyous
 This Idre vsed/ in perposycyon
 Vnto the people

 And whan one reason/ had conclusyon
 An other reason/ than is incentynent
 Began agayne/ with subtyll argument
 (ll. 1031-1144)

In like manner, the giant "Varyaunce" has seven "treasons," If one is concluded, another begins to work on the mind of the lover.

With the aid of Claraprudence Grand Amour slays the giant and is greeted by its seven counterparts whom the giant had kept imprisoned in a castle: Stedfastnes, amerous purueyaunce, Ioye After grete heuynes, contynuaunce, pleas- aunce, reporte famous, amyte to louers dolourous, all of them comforts to a troubled mind.

The final battle is the most unusual of the three. By "fraude and subtylte" Dame Strangeness and Dame Disdain have created a wondrous monster of seven metals, a metal from each of the seven planets, each metallic part fashioned when the particular planet represented was in its ascendancy. The monster's name is "malyce preuy."

Strange as the monster is, he is an ingenious creation. When Strangeness and Disdain were exiled, because they could never return again,

With mortall enuy they dyde then coniecte
 To make a fende in lykewyse to delecte,
 Syr Grand Amour with the feruent fyre
 Of euyll treason to lette his desyre.
 (ll. 4952-4955)

The monster is, of course, envy and is an enemy to love. He is much more, though. Hawes has insisted upon treason as the enemy a knight must fight:

And tho that wyll resyste a contrary
 Agaynste theyr kynge/ by Iustyce openly
 For theyr rebellyon/ and euyll treason
 Shall suffre dethe/ by ryght and reason
 (ll. 886-889; in section on Rhetoric)

So euery knyght must truely condyscende
 For the comyn welthe his power to entende
 Agaynst all suche rebells contraryous
 Them to subdue with power vycoryous
 (ll. 3364-3367; Speech of Mylyzyus)

And to his souerayne at euery maner hower
 To be redy true and eke obeysaunt
 In stable loue fyxt/ and not varyaunt
 (ll. 3386-3388; Speech of Melyzyus)

This monster is an allegorical illustration of how treason through "privy malice," "mortal enuy" works with

"fraude and subtylte." Therefore, evil as the monster is, evilly is he made. He is the creation of "enchaunemente," of "sorcery," of "nygromancy." The machinations of the rebel, the traitor are allegorically represented and associated with "black magic," which, of course, is the supreme enemy of the learning of the Seven Liberal Arts.

Grand Amour needs special succor to combat this enemy. He, therefore, goes to the temple of Pallas and asks her aid. Mead remarks that the situation "strongly reminds us of Jason's adventure and the capture of the golden fleece by the help of Minerva."⁸⁵ This well may be true, but note that Grand Amour seeks aid from "wyse dame Pallas, the goddess of wisdom." In verses of "crafty eloquence" she tells of the strange monster and gives Grand Amour a "salve" to withstand the fire of the evil beast. The battle ensues, and Grand Amour wins. His companions remark:

Blyssed be Pallas the goddes gloryous
Whiche that thou taught a perfyte remedy
For to deweyde the crafte of sorcery
(11. 5163-5165)

The salve of wisdom has destroyed the evils of the magician's art, treason, and the last enemy of love.

Now, Grand Amour journeys to the "mancyon" of La Bell Pucell. It is the end of his journey; he has reached

⁸⁵Mead, n. 5087, p. 241.

his ideal. It is not at all strange that the description of Pucell's castle is an echo of the description of the Tower of Doctrine and its inner chambers. It has the same kind of pinnacle figures piping tunes in the wind, the same type of fountain decorated with dragons enameled in red. Its windows are crystal; its roofs are fashioned by geometry. It has flowers strewn in the chambers as were flowers strewn in the Chamber of Logic. It is lighted with brilliant stones as are described by Dame Rhetoric. It does not surprise us at all, for Grand Amour has won his lady, always the allegorical representation of achieving the learned Arts.

After the marriage of the two, time passes rapidly. The initial purpose of the poem had been to show man being led to eternity by sapience. This had been the theme of "The Example of Virtue," and it was Hawes's intention to repeat that theme on a larger and more ambitious scale. Weakly and without complication the very abstract lovers Virtue and Cleanness in "The Example of Virtue" ascend to Heaven and behold the Deity. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" the lovers are allegorical, but they are also real. Hawes must have realized that a simple ascension would not do. He is dealing on the narrative level, not with abstractions but with realities. Therefore, ever so quick as the scene is, and perhaps awkward as it is, Hawes ages Grand Amour to prepare him for death. La Bell Pucell is dismissed, and Grand Amour continues alone. Human as he is on the narrative level, Grand

Amour becomes a victim of avarice. And the conclusion of the poem is at first a confession, which expands into a moral pronouncement. A solemn procession, perhaps inspired as Rhodenizer speculates,⁸⁶ by medieval tapestries passes by: age, polyzy and auaryce, Deth, confession, contrycyon, mercy, charyte, the Seven Deadly Sins, Remembraunce, dame fame who describes the Worthies, tyme, dame eternyte.

This final pageant necessitated by the promise that the way to the Tower of Doctrine would lead Grand Amour to eternity is a solemn warning "to thynke on the ende ere thou begynne." It is a summary of the admonishings throughout the poem to follow virtue and "eschewe slothe." It is fitting that Grand Amour, once Nature had aged him, should fall victim to avarice, for this sin has been underscored by Hawes most heavily, particularly in reference to the people of "now a dayes." And for this sin his soul must go to purgatory,

. for to be purifyed
That after that it myght be gloryfyed
(ll. 5409-5410)

The dirge of Death and the address to the Deadly Sins are the lessons that Logic teaches us, that Geometry and her "mesuryinge" teach us. Each of the sins themselves was included variously in the discussion of the Trivium and the Quadriviu. Dame Fame and her recounting of the

⁸⁶Rhodenizer, pp. 325-327.

Nine Worthies fulfill the promise to Grand Amour that his dangerous passage and difficult deeds will be rewarded. Time and eternity repeat the lessons of Astronomy, and just as the treatise on the Seven Liberal Arts ended with the contemplation of God and creation, so do the warnings of Time and Eternity:

Who that loueth god aboue every thyng
 All his commaundentes he wyl then obserue
 And spende his tyme in vertuous lyuyng
 Ydlenes wyl euermore eschewyng
 Eternall Ioye he shall then attayne
 After his laboure and his besy payne
 (ll. 5769-5774)

The ending is a significant example of the shortcomings of the particular kind of allegory Hawes writes. A fuller discussion of Hawes's allegorical method will be treated in the Chapter dealing with "The Cōforte of Louers"; yet, a few remarks are pertinent now. The employment of "cloudy figures" and "dark conceits" has led Hawes into two traps. His over-insistence on a single word or phrase being variously used to suggest and re-suggest the "sententious moral" of the poet eventually leads to repetition, prolixity, and worse - obscurity. I have tried in this chapter to show how a word triggers an entire concept or theme. I am convinced that the abundance of my proof establishes the validity of my thesis; yet, I must admit, I have been compelled to push word associations and suggestions, perhaps even beyond "the breaking point." I am

certain this was Hawes's intention, but the success of this forced kind of allegory depends upon a reader determined to let the poem fit the formula to the extent that quite often his comprehension of the device is as obscure as the device itself.

Secondly, letting a single word or phrase freely associate with another concept or idea leads to a break down in the allegory itself. The love quest of Grand Amour, the fable designed to "hide the moral," is the arduous, painful, and troubled pursuit of the wisdom of the Seven Liberal Arts, with the subsequent reward and joy. But Pucell the lover poses problems. When Grand Amour kisses her and when he pays the "swete debt due Nature," we can hardly see her as the allegorical representation of the Seven Sciences. This does not happen often, but when it does, it is a shortcoming of the allegory. The love itself works out splendidly; the lover poses difficulties. Grand Amour himself is not simple. He is the most perfect aspect of the allegory, for he is always a man. But what man? He at times is clearly the poet. Elsewhere he is the virtuous knight of "grace and gouernaunce." In several instances Hawes associates him with royalty, with Henry VIII, then Prince Henry.⁸⁷ And what I am objecting to probably would not have disturbed

⁸⁷"Pastyme of Pleasure," pp. 240 ff; 883 ff; 1090 ff; 3365 ff; 3389 ff; 5509 ff.

Hawes at all. That kind of consistency perhaps would not have struck him as a poetic necessity, but it ultimately has disastrous results. In "The Example of Virtue" the poet was painfully clear, explaining each of his symbolic devices. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" he relies upon "cloudy figures" to convey his meaning. In "The Cōforte of Loueres" this kind of mental puzzle leads to obscurity.

CHAPTER IV

"THE CONVERSION OF SWERERS"

Hawes's third poem, "The Conversion of Swerers," saw three sixteenth century printings. It was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. It was reprinted by Wyllyam Copland for Robert Toye in 1551, and it was printed a third time by Johan Butler, date unknown.¹ The poem was reprinted in the nineteenth century and has not been reprinted since.²

Of this poem, its first critic Thomas Warton wrote:

The following is a stanza from the Prologue of the Conversyon of Swerers:

I lytell or nought expert in poetrye,
Remembrynge my youth so lyght and frayle
Purpose to compyle here full breuyatly
A lytell treatyse wofull to bewayle
The cruell swerers which do god assayle
On every syde his swete body to tere
With terryble othes as often as they swere

This is neither better nor worse than the rest, which is a production altogether destitute of pathos, imagery, or invention of any kind."³

Berdan is practically the only other critic to advance an opinion:

The Conuersyon of Swerers reached the dignity of a third edition probably before fifty years had passed. Its appeal must have been based on the impeachable nature of

¹Stephen Hawes, The Conversyon of Swerers: A Joyfull Medytacyon to all Englonde of the Coronacyon of Kynge Henry the Eyght (Edinburgh: Reprinted for the Abbotsford Club, 1865), ed. by David Laing, pp. vi-vii.

²Ibid.

³Warton, p. 188.

its sentiments, since it consists avowedly in quotations from the early fathers against swearing, indefinitely diluted.⁴

It would be interesting to know what specific occasion inspired the poem. A slight suggestion is contained in the prologue:

But all fordrede plunged in nclygence
 My penne doth quake to presume to endyte
 But hope at laste to recure this scyence
 Exorteth me ryght hardely to wryte
 To devoyde ydlennesse by good appetyte
 For idylenesse the grete moder of synne
 Euery vyce is redy to lette ynne

"To devoyde ydleness" was the inspiration, so the poet claims, for "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and "The Cōforte of Loueres." In "The Example of Virtue" he informs us that "all that is written is to our document." In neither "The Example of Virtue" nor "The Pastyme of Pleasure" did Hawes include admonitions of the Third Commandment.

One wonders if Hawes, wishing to include all of the precepts necessary for salvation, made certain that he had treated swearing to be added to his "document." Or perhaps Hawes wished to write a poem about Christ and selected the theme of the effect of "creuel othes." We have reason to believe that he did not treat lightly his presumption in attributing a monologue to Christ:

My penne dothe quake to presume to endyte

⁴Berdan, p. 88.

The third obvious possibility is that Hawes in writing about swearing is reflecting a characteristic of the times, one that was particularly flagrant. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" the poet on five separate occasions attributes excessive sin to his contemporaries.⁵ Hawes is not alone in his charge against his fellow men, "What ... detestable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye."⁶ (Perhaps "The Pardoner's Tale" was an influential piece.)

Or, finally, Hawes, who always selects stable, traditional subject matter, so conventional it is often difficult to detect specific sources, might simply have chosen one of the most popular of all medieval themes, the Passion of Christ.⁷ To this, not without precedent, he has added the

⁵"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 554 ff, 792ff, 897 ff, 1275 ff, 1390 ff.

⁶"A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght," (London: E. E. T. S. XIII, 1871), p. 53.

⁷To enumerate the hundreds of treatments of the Passion of Christ would stagger the ambition of the most zealous of scholars. I, therefore, shall only attempt a partial list, citing first the catalogue found in The Northern Passion, ed. Frances A. Foster, (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 147, 1916), pp. 47 ff. "An author of about the year 1300, setting his hand to compose a narrative of the Passion, would have before him as available material Gospel Harmonies, Biblical commentaries, narratives of the Passion, and shorter works such as sermons, treatises, hymns, etc. The Gospel Harmonies were composed by weaving together all the incidents of the four Gospels to form a continuous narrative. The most famous of these harmonies was Tatian's Distessaron, composed about the year 170. Though this work did not survive into the Middle Ages, Victor of Capua was popularly supposed to have translated it, and his Latin Harmony is often cited as Tatian. Augustine, although he did not write a true harmony, discussed at length in his De Consensu Evangelistarum (c. 400) the

theme of the dismembering of Christ's body by those guilty of violating the second commandment.⁸

points at which the narratives of the Gospels appear to differ, and by following his arrangement, it is possible to construct a nearly complete harmony. Some centuries later another Harmony was composed by Clement of Lanthony (d. 1180). Besides these harmonies which, it must be remembered, contained only the Biblical text, many narratives of the Passion were extant in the thirteenth century, either as parts of longer histories or an independent treatises. In Latin the most popular of these were Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica (twelfth century), Petrus Riga's Aurora (thirteenth century) and Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum Historiale (thirteenth century); among French works were Hermann of Valenciennes' Histoire de la Bible (d. 1189), the Passion de Clermont-Ferrand (tenth century) and a Passion in octosyllabic couplets; while in English the Cursor Mundi (1260-1290), the Southern Passion, and the Passion of Our Lord (c. 1250) were available. Of the commentaries on Scripture, Augustine's In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV, Bede's In Matthaevi Evangelium Exposition, and Rabanus Maurus's Commentariorum in Matthaicum Libri VIII (A. D. 822-826) could be used; among treatises or Meditations were Pseudo-Bernard's Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini, Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini and Liber de Passione Christi etc., Pseudo-Anselm's Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini, Arnold of Chartres's De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi, etc. Besides these may be mentioned the Vindicta Salvatoris, Evangelium Micodemi, and the great collection of legends in the Legenda Aurea. In addition to this vast catalogue of sources, Hawes could have known the "Tretyse of Loue," (E. E. T. S., O. S. 223), printed by Wynkyn de Worde between 1491 and 1494; "Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ," (as titled in E. E. T. S., O. S. 158), written in the middle or second half of the fourteenth century; Lydgate's two "Nightingale Poems," (E. E. T. S., E. S. LXXX), which he tells us in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" he knew; and Lydgate's poems entitled "Cristes Passioun," "The Fifteen Ooes of Christ," and "The Dolerous Pyte of Crystes Passioun" (E. E. T. S., E. S. CVII).

⁸The theme was a popular one, for example, of the sermon: "Sermon 5," Middle English Sermons (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 209, 1940), pp. 22-23. "As to þe wayne takynge of þe name of God by swerynge, it is myscheussly and cursedly vsed, and also dysmembrynge of God, þe wiche askep veniaunge." "Sermon 16B," Ibid, p. 99. "þei haue revysed and bridlyd my

So far Warton's charge of lack of invention is valid enough. Hereafter, however, the poem becomes interesting. Hawes intended to convert swearers by two methods which he interweaves, pity and logic, i. e., common sense reasoning. To present these arguments Hawes selected a "letter," not at all a common device for presenting Christ's words to man; hence, his "penne dothe quake to presume to endyte." The last line of the poem tells us why he selected this form:

This is my complaynte to eternall glory

Of the "complaint" Shick writes:

Further, the "complaints" of the Lady and the Knight, as they present them to the goddess, recall to us a certain species of poetry which was at one time much in vogue in England and France. These "complaints" are usually put into the mouth of a rejected or forsaken lover, bewailing his wretched state, and calling upon his lady for pity. It is not impossible that their origin may have been influenced by Ovid's Heroides, which enjoyed so remarkable a popularity in the Middle Ages."⁹

hondes and my fete, and þei haue nowmbred all my bones, for som caches my hede, som my bonys in is mowthe, like as he wold burst hem all to morcels." "Sermon 18," Ibid, p. 109. "And þus þei (swearers) dismembur he þat is Lord ouer all lordes ..." Note also "The Book of Vices and Virtues," op. cit., p. 62. "þei (swearers) bep feller þan þe Jewes þat crucifide hym, for þei breke none of his bones, but suche swerers hewen hym as smale or smaller þan men dop a swyn in a bucherie." Surely Hawes was familiar with "The Parson's Tale" The Poetical Works of Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1933), p. 293. "For Cristes sake, ne swereth nat so synfully in dismembrynge of Crist by soule, herte, bones, and body. For certes, it semeth that ye thynke that the cursede Jewes ne dismembred nat ynough the precieuse persone of Crist, but ye dismembre hym moore."

⁹Schick, op. cit., p. cxxii.

appeals to the sight and then to the heart, and is the first English pattern poem.¹⁰ The second, a favorite device of Hawes, anaphora, appeals to the reason.¹¹

¹⁰Margaret Church, "The First English Pattern Poems," PMLA, V. 61, (1946), pp. 636-650. After tracing briefly the history of the pattern poem from Asia to Europe, Miss Church remarks, "Hawes in his European tours, and knowing Henry's fondness for fashionable French verse, probably designed The Convercyon of Swerers, the first English pattern poem."

¹¹Bühler in the Source of the Court of Sapience lists the users of the "Wo worthe" stanzas. "This ... stanza the "Wo worthe" one that appeared in "Court of Sapience" occurs in Ashby's Policy of a Prince (st. 99, p. 34), and also in Huth MS. u, folio 144 (printed by Furnivall in "Notes and Queries" -- Fifth Series, Vol. 9, p. 343. There are scarcely any difference in these stanzas, except naturally the spelling. Ashby has:

1. r. "Wo worthe that Iugement that hathe none equite."

1. 6. "Wo worthe that Iuge that wol no gilte save."

1. 7. "Wo worthe that right that may no favour haue."

The Huth MS. reads like the Ashby stanza with these differences:

1. 3. "Wo worthe vengence whiche mercy may nat sease."

1. 6. "Wo worthe that Iuge that may no gilte save."

There are many instances of the use of such lines in Middle English: Gower, Conf. Amant., Lib. VIII, l. 1334 and l. 2582; Piers Plowman, B version, pass IX, l. 59; Hawes, Past. Pleas., p. 152; Gavin Douglas, Palace of Honour (ed. J. Small, Edinburgh, 1874), p. 18. Hawes made extensive use of Wo Worthe stanzas; besides those in the Pastime of Pleasure, there are four such stanzas in "The Example of Virtue" (63-66), and four more in "The Conuersyon of Swerers." There are eight stanzas in "The Conuersyon of Swerers" that require a special note; four of these stanzas begin "Wo Worthe" and the others begin "Blessyd be". The opening line is:

"Wo Worthe your hertes so planted in pryde."

Dr. Carleton Brown's Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse (London 1916-1920), records these eight stanzas as being an independent poem and appearing in MS. Harley 4294. The reading of the Harley manuscript is for all practical purposes exactly like Hawes's verses."

See
 Me (kynde
 Be

Agayne
 My payne (in mynde
 Reteayne

My swete bloode
 On the roode (my broder
 Dyde the good

My face ryght red
 Myn armes spred (thynke none oder
 My woudes bled

Beholde thou my syde
 Wounded so ryght wyde (all for thyn owne sake
 Bledynge sere that tyde

Thus for the I smerted
 Why arte thou harde herted (& thy swerynge aslake
 Be by me conuerted

Tere me nowe no more
 My woundes are sore (and come to my grace
 Leue swerynge therfore

I am redy
 To graunte mercy (for thy trespace
 To the truely

Come nowe nere
 My frende dere (before me
 And appere

I so
 In wo se se
 Dyde go

I
 Crye (the
 Hy

The pattern, as it readily can be seen, is in the shape of wings which, to cite Robert Steele, are "a favourite

Middle Age symbol for the protection of a king, etc., derived from Scriptural sources."¹²

In the stanza preceeding the pattern poem Christ remarks:

Now come swete bretherne to myn habytacyon

In the pattern poem Christ says:

Come nowe nere

In the stanza following the pattern poem Christ pleads:

Come vnto my Joye

The pattern poem is an appeal to the heart of the reader. The outspread wings, the symbol of Christ's protection, invite the sinner, the swearer, to return to the love of God. Its appeal is passion, not reason.

The second metrical exercise is different:

Wo worthe your hertes so planted in pryde
 Wo worthe your wrath and mortall enuye
 Wo worthe slouth that dothe with you abyde
 Wo worthe also inmesurable glotony
 Wo worthe your tedyus synne of lechery
 Wo worthe you whome I gaue free wyll
 Wo worthe couetyse that dothe your soules spyll

Wo worthe shorte Joye cause of payne eternall
 Wo worthe you that be so peuerted
 Wo worthe your pleasures in the synnes mortall
 Wo worthe you for whome I sore smerted
 Wo worthe you euer buy ye be conuerted
 Wo worthe you whose makynge I repente
 Wo worthe your horryble synne so vyolent

¹²Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old Philosoffres
 (London: E. E. T. S., E. S. LXVI, 1894), ed. Robert Steele,
 p. 88, n.

Wo worthe you whiche do me forsake
 Wo worthe you whiche wyllyngely offende
 Wo worthe your swerynge whiche dothe not aslake
 Wo worthe you whiche wyll nothyng amende
 Wo worthe vyce that dothe on you attende
 Wo worthe your grete unkyndess to me
 Wo worthe your hertes withouten pyte

Wo worthe your falshode and your doublenesse
 Wo worthe also your corrupte Jugement
 Wo worthe delyte in worldely rychesse
 Wo worthe debate without extynguyshment
 Wo worthe your wordes so moche impacient
 Wo worthe you vnto whome I dyde bote
 And wo worthe you that tere me at the rote

Blessyd be ye that loue humylyte
 Blessyd be ye that loue trouthe and pacyence
 Blessyd be ye folowyng werkes of equitye
 Blessyd be ye that loue well abstynence
 Blessyd be ye vyrgyns of excellence
 Blessyd be ye whiche loue well vertue
 Blessyd be ye whiche do the worlde eschue

Blessyd be ye that heuenly Joye do loue
 Blessyd be ye in vertuous gouernaunce
 Blessyd be ye whiche do pleasures reprove
 Blessyd be ye that consyder my greuaunce
 Blessyd be ye whiche do take repentaunce
 Blessyd be ye remembrynge my passyon
 Blessyd be ye makynge petycyon

Blessyd be ye folowyng my trace
 Blessyd be ye louyng trybulacyon
 Blessyd be ye not wyllyng to trespace
 Blessyd be ye of my castycacyon
 Blessyd be ye of good operacyon
 Blessyd be ye vnto me ryght kynde
 Blessyd be you whiche haue me in your mynde

Blessyd be ye leuyng yll company
 Blessyd be ye hauntyng the vertuous
 Blessyd be ye that my name magnefy
 Blessyd be ye techyng the vycyous
 Blessyd be ye good and relygyous
 Blessyd be ye in the lyfe temperall
 Whiche applye yourselfe to Joye celestyall

The first half of this poem, the "wo worthe" stanzas inform the reader of a sin, and the second half, the "Blessyd

be" stanzas inform him of the remedies, line for line: It is a simple argument: one is doomed if he follows gluttony for example; he is blessed if he follows abstinence.

Each of the two forms partakes in part of the other in theme, and they both deal with "swearing"; however, they in style and execution are different, one representing an emotional appeal involving the "wings" of Christ's charity, the other involving the simple but resonantly repetitious admonishment of "Wo worthe" and "Blessyd be."

And the two contents constitute the message of Christ, pity and reason ultimately fused in the closing lines of the poem:

With my bloody woude I dyde your chartre seale
 Why do you tere it/ why do you breke it so
 Syth it to you is the eternall heale
 And the releace of euerlastyng wo

And to underscore both, the appeal to passion and to reason, Hawes refers the reader either to the title page containing a wood-cut of the crucified Christ or to the pattern poem which is introduced by a small woodcut depicting the crucified Christ, a second instance of Hawes planning the edition and woodcuts with the printer, Wynkyn de Worde.¹³

Beholde this lettre with the prynte also
 Of myn owne seale by perfyte portrature
 Prynte it in mynde and ye shall helthe recure.

¹³cf. "Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 3780-3781.

The second woodcut, that introducing the pattern poem, is an interesting example of Christian symbolism.¹⁴ Portrayed are several traditional symbols of the Passion: the cock, dice, the ladder, the column, the crossed nails, the hammer and tongs, the scourge, the reed and sponge, and the spear or lance.

Hawes, as was noted in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" was a good politician. Artfully he associated Melyzyus and the court of chivalry with Henry VII's Welsh background. The two greyhounds that accompanied Grand Amour suggested Henry's coat of arms. In "The Example of Virtue" Hawes suggested the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in his closing lines on the wedding of Virtue and Cleanness. In "The Conversyon of Swerers" the politician is still at work. The letter from Christ is addressed "Ryght myghty prynces of euery crysten regyō." Since the letter reminds these monarchs that they have their sovereignty through the grace of God and are responsible to Him to correct the "swearynge" of their subjects, it was wise to use addressees.

¹⁴A convenient summary of the significance of the various symbols employed in the woodcut and elsewhere in Medieval Art can be found in the following works: F. R. Webber, Church Symbolism (Cleveland: J. H. Jansen, 1927), pp. 133-146. Legends of the Holy Rood; Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, ed. by Richard Morris (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 46, 1871), pp. 174-193. F. Edward Hulme, The History Principles and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art (London: Swan Sonnerischein, 1908), p. 88. George Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 267-326.

Furthermore, the final stanza is deliberately ambiguous. It could be addressed to God or to the king, in terms flattering to the latter, even associating his sovereignty with "winged benygnyte" of God.

Go lytell treatyse deuoyde of eloquence
 Tremblynge for dreade to approche the maieste
 Of our souereynge lord surmountynge in excellence
 Put under the wyng of his benygnyte
 Submyttyng the to his mercyfull pytie.
 And beseche hys grace to pardon thy rudnesse
 Whych of late was made to eschewe ydlenesse.

The poem is not lacking in inventiveness. As a practitioner of poetic form and metrical structure, Hawes was an innovator. Even his strongest detractors will concede that in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" a landmark in English literature was reached, the fusing of the allegory and the romance. In "The Conversyon of Swerers" he fuses the "complaint" of the poetry of love with the "passioun" of Christ, blending the themes of abandoning swearing through pity of Christ and abandoning swearing through the infallible logic of the admonitions of Christ. To embellish his theme, he employs the pattern poem, its first instance in English literature, and the device of anaphora, a much honored poetical structure endorsed by Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer. The poet utilizes the woodcut for the final presentation of his material. This can hardly be termed "lack of invention."

However, the poem is "destitute of imagery." There is but one instance in the entire poem:

For lyke as Phebus dothe the snowe relente
So passeth the Joyes of the worlde transytory.

Since Hawes uses artificial and ornate language in each of his other poems (whether effectively used or not is unimportant) the very absence of it in "The Conversyon of Swerers" is surely deliberate. Perhaps the explanation of it lies in the discussion of "disposition" in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." Distinguishing between argument and narration Hawes writes:

And if it be a lytle probable,
From any maner stedfast argument,
We ordre it for to be ryght stable,
And than we never begyn our sentement,
Recityng letters not convenient,
But thys commutacion shoulde be refused,
Wythout cause or thyng make it be used.
(ll. 848-854)

"The Conversyon of Swerers" is "argumentation," and following his own principles of composition. Hawes has selected the diction he deemed appropriate to the content of the poem. It is true that the poem, nevertheless lacks imagery; yet, apparently Hawes intentionally avoided his customary oration and aureate terms and in keeping with the tradition of the homilies, sermons, passion poems, and meditations represented the words of Christ in simple, direct language. We may still dislike the poem, but we must give the poet his due -- what we insist upon he intentionally omitted. It seems somewhat of an impasse.

CHAPTER V

"A JOYFULL MEDYTACYON"

This poem survives in a single defective copy. Although the tract is without date, it is safe to assume it was written the year of the event it commemorates, the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509. Until 1865 and the Abbotsford Club edition, the poem was totally unavailable, and presently is available only in that edition.¹ We again turn to Warton for the single instance of critical statement: "The 'Joyfull Medytacyon' is a very superior piece, and contains some pretty and even elegant passages."² It has been subsequently only listed by commentators save Berdan who called it interesting - not, however, as a poetic accomplishment but because one of its prophecies is completely reversed.³

The poem is introduced by a prologue, as was Hawes's custom. In the first stanza he recalls how the poets of old, a favorite theme, wrote "nothyng in vanyte"; all of their works were grounded "on good moralyte."

This stanza announces the seriousness of the poem, but it also describes the proper poetic diction that should be employed:

¹Abbotsford Club edition, op. cit.

²Warton, p. 188.

³Berdan, p. 88.

Encensynge out the fayre dulcet fume
 Our language rude to exyle and consume

And Hawes, as we have seen in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and "The Conversyon of Swerers" follows his own pattern. In no other poem in his canon is Hawes so particular with a basic image repeatedly varying it and adding to it until it becomes a theme in itself.

In this poem the key phrase is "encensynge out the fayre dulcet fume." The first stanza contains its first usage, to describe the poets of old.

The second stanza is more special. Lydgate is lauded, who made "fayre bookes" "from ydle derkenes to lyght our emyspery." The established image of "encensynge out of" is seen in its first variation, that of lightness out of darkness.

Now, by association, Hawes makes apology for his own inability as a poet. Lydgate honored Henry V, but Hawes is rude and unpoetic. He writes, in perhaps the finest stanza of the poem:

Amyddes the medowe of flora the quene
 Of the goddes Elycon/ is the sprynge or well
 And by it groweth/ a fayre laurell grene
 Of whiche the poetes do ofte wryte and tell
 Besyde this olyue/ I dyde neuer dwell
 To tast the water which is aromatyke
 For to cause me wryte with lusty rethoryke

The poem opens with a hymn to God who united two titles, the red and the white rose in marriage. Although it is praise to deity, it is also a poetic substitute for

genealogy. As in the prologue to "The Pastyme of Pleasure," Hawes cites divine sanctioning for the Tudor succession, not, needless to say, hereditary right. If Hawes were writing in the fashion of Lydgate's poems commemorating the ascension to the throne of Henry VI, and there are no verbal echoes to suggest that he was, he substitutes Divine Right for the carefully listed titles and pedigrees described by Lydgate.⁴

Instead Hawes describes how Henry descended from two glorious roses. In marriage he has taken a "fayre floure of vertue," Katherine of Spain. Summarizing, Hawes unifies his poetic content with his announced image of "enccensynge out the fayre dulcet fume."

Englonde be gladde/ the dewe of grace is spred
 The dewe of Joy/ the dewe holsome and soote
 Dystylled is nowe from the rose so red
 And of the whyte so spryngynge from the roote
 After our trouble to be refute and boote
 This ryall tree was planted as I knowe
 By god aboue thy rancour to downthrowe

Who is the floure that dothe this grace dystyll
 But only Henry the V.III. kynge of his name
 With golden droppes all Englonde to fulfyll

.....

Next, in a curious passage, the weakest section of the poem, a break, as a matter of fact in continuity, Hawes defends the amassing of wealth by Henry VII against the charges of avarice, claiming Henry accumulated riches to

⁴Lydgate's Minor Poems, Part II, "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI," pp. 613-622. "Ballads to King Henry VI upon His Coronation," pp. 624-630.

fight against the Turks. Apparently it was an attempt on Hawes's part to patronize the son by defending his father or it was intended to indirectly warn the son of the dangers of hoarding. Nevertheless, it is inappropriate in context.

Next, however, Hawes designs a very excellent pageant of rhetoric. He applies his image of "encensying out the fayre dulcet fume" to the seven planets poetically calling upon their particular astrological powers to shine down upon England - all that is save Saturn:

Fly on the Saturne with thy mysty fume
 Replete with fraude treason and wyckednes
 To shewe thy beames thou darest not presume
 So cursed thou arte withouten stablenes
 Deuoyde of grace fulfylled with doblenes
 Thy power to Englonde was neuer amyable
 But always euyll vntrue and varyable.

Hawes is citing an ancient tradition in this stanza and the subsequent ones, the tradition of the properties endowed to individuals born under the influence of the various planets.⁵ It would be all the more complimentary to Henry VIII if Hawes were assuming that the coronation were a great rebirth, but such a subtlety is not a necessary interpretation.

From Jupiter Hawes calls for steadfast beams of truth from the "fulgent spere" to incline the hearts of England to serve their sovereign.

⁵For example, see Guy Marchant, The Kalendar & Compost of Shepherds. (London: Peter Davies, 1930), pp. 141-149, or "The Influence of the Planets," (London: E. E. T. S., O. S. 48, 1871), pp. 114-116.

Of Mars Hawes calls for power sent down from "so ferre" to aid in destroying Henry's enemies.

Of Phebus Hawes calls for the beams of love and honor to shine among the lords and beams to illumine the mind of Henry with "lyberalyte."

Of Venus Hawes calls for fervent love to aid lord and commons to serve their sovereign.

Of Mercury Hawes calls for the beams of peace, right, and conscience to shine down on the King's Council.

Of Luna Hawes calls for the encouragement of "inwarde hardynes."

And, in one sweeping sentence Hawes summarizes:

O god aboue/ tronysed in heuen
 In whose wyll resteth euery thyng alone
 The skye/ the erthe/ with all the planettes seuen

 So save our soverayne

The procession from God and the seven planets descends to the estates on earth whom Hawes addresses sometimes with praise, sometimes with obligation:

1. "Holy chirche reioyse"
2. "Ryght mighty prynce our goode souerayne lord"
3. "Ryght noble/ wise/ and excellent pryncess"
4. "And lady Mary prynces ryght beauteous" (Henry VIII's sister)
5. "And all you lordes and ladyes honourable"
6. "And all ye offycers of euery degree"

and finally

7. "Englonde be true and loue well eche other
Obey your souerayne/ and god omnyotent?"

If subjects be true and obey their sovereign, God will send down wealth," the final demonstration of the phrase "encensing out the fayre dulcet fume." With the exception of the single inappropriate comment on Henry VII and the unfortunate promise to "holy chirche" that Henry would protect it, the poem is a well sustained performance. Using a single image "distillation" as a unifying device of rhetoric, although Hawes certainly is not working under the dictates of our term "controlling image," he discusses rhetoric proper; Lydgate; himself; the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth; the flower of Spain, Katherine; the royal bud Henry VIII; the resplendit beams of the planets; and the Grace of God.

It would be unwise and, I think, unsupportable to maintain that Hawes set out to write a poem conceived on a single image, although this is its effect. It would be closer to the truth to see the poem as another instance of Hawes's delight in using the single word or phrase repeatedly and in variant forms, a device used almost to the point of excessiveness in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." But it is conscious rhetoric or poetic diction, and must be considered as part of the poetic principle of "cloudy figures."

In passing, the "excusacio auctoris" is notable. It consists of two stanzas, the first the conventional apology to the King. The second is an address to the ladies of the

court to accept that poet's rude efforts, the poet wishing that fortune would extend him the "connyng" to make his poems more pleasurable to them. This second stanza suggests that Hawes, losing favor with the new king or never having had it, is bidding for the favor of the ladies of court. His first three poems had each been dedicated to Henry VII. To support this possibility we note that the signature reads:

Thus endeth this Joyfull Medytacyon made & compyled
by Stephen hawes somtyme grome of the chambre of our
late souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth.

We notice also that Hawes's last poem is dedicated to the ladies of court, the King not even being mentioned, and that the title page still reads "somtyme grome of the honourable chambre of our late souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth." If Hawes had fallen out of favor with the King, it is little wonder that we do not again with certainty hear of him.

CHAPTER VI

"THE COMFORTE OF LOUERS"

The "problem" which introduces the last extant poem of Hawes treats familiar matters with one exception. Hawes makes his usual apology that he is not "experte" in the science of writing; however, he writes with good motive, "to deuoyde ydlenes." He pays homage to Lydgate and to Chaucer and Gower. But, he says, there are two kinds of fables, those that treat "of loue pryuely" and those that deal with chivalrous acts "done in antyquite."

The poem begins with an astrological description:

Whan fayre was phebus/ and his bemes bryght
Amyddes of gemyny

The narrator is wandering in a green meadow, among the flowers. He muses how God saved from treacherous foes Oedipus, Jonas, Moses, and Charles. (Surely, Charles the Great). With these thoughts on his mind he falls asleep and dreams that he has retired to a beautiful garden. He sees a glorious castle, with golden turrets, with crystal windows. He is approached by a lady "of goodly age" who remarks upon the woeful countenance of the young man, who she thinks has caught a cold.

It is not so the narrator tells her. He is suffering from the love of a beautiful woman for whom he has composed "dyuers bokes" which "under coloure" tell of his love.

After words of comfort and advice, the lady with "sad apparel" informs him he should enter a tower connected with the garden and there he may see his lady of excellence pass by.

Left alone the poet bewails his plight, consoled only with the thought that the books of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate describe how the poet and his lady are brought together. Secondly he recalls that in various buildings of old there are letters prophesying the love of the poet and his lady.

As he reflects to himself and mourns his state, he suddenly sees hanging on the wall, three mirrors set in gold and bordered with precious stones.

Under the first is written:

Beholde thy selfe and thy fautes or thou passe
Over the mirror, hanging by a silken thread is a ponderous sword. As the poet gazes into the mirror, he sees the indiscretions of his life pass by. Reflecting how all mankind is under the judgment of the sword, he passes on to the second mirror.

Over it is hanging a flower of gold in which is set a large emerald bordered with diamonds. It is suspended from a chain of iron contrived with subtle and clever devices to hold it firm. There is a tablet beside it which reads that many a person intending to blind another by craft often instead blinds himself. But he who gazes in this

mirror will learn to know himself, after which he should try to unwind the subtleties of the chain and acquire the emerald.

This gem has marvelous powers. He who owns it will not lose his sight. He need not fear "payne of the head." He shall not perish and that which he begins he shall finish, if it be of rightful cause. He need not fear "nygromancy and fals enchaument." If he is not true to his lady, it will break asunder.

Then the poet gazes into the mirror and perceives how "preuy malyce" has laid traps and "gynnes" for him. Thanking the Holy Ghost for this revelation, he labors until he has unwound the magic of the chain and secured the emerald.

Ath the third mirror he beholds the flaming image of the Holy Ghost and reads a message inscribed in gold, telling of the wondrous nature of the Holy Spirit. Next to the "scripture" hangs a shield and sword. An armored hand firmly grasps the sword under which is a message describing how a great lady of old placed the sword there, not to be removed except by her kindred.

The sword, called preprudence, has three virtues: he who has it shall win without resistance; it secondly increases "all trouth and amyte"; if the bearer be false to the order of chivalry, the sword will reveal the falseness.

The shield, too, is magical. No sword can pierce the armor of the bearer; it will warn him by heating if enemies approach; it will bring victory.

In the mirror itself the poet sees a star casting two beams, one extending toward Phebus, one being deflected. The poet interprets the star to mean that a knight is rising. The broken beam signifies the attempts of enemies to thwart the knight; the beam to Phebus signifies that the knight shall win.

Now the poet approaches the sword and grapples with the armored hand, ultimately wrenching the sword free. As he both rejoices for his new treasures and mourns because of his love, a lady approaches.

She is bewildered to find him here in this royal place. She is equally amazed to see that he has won the sword, the shield, and the emerald. She, therefore, asks him why he is sad since he has indeed been fortunate. He tells her he has not been rewarded in love. Pucell, as she is called, comforts Amour, as he is now called, telling him she will help him, for she has sway over all the ladies.

When Amour tells her that it is she he loves, she is taken back. This is impossible, for she has been promised to a mighty lord.

After a short exchange in which Amour tells of his enemies' attempt in the past to destroy him, Pucell agrees to trust in the judgment of Venus and Fortune.

At this point, the second to last stanza, the text is illegible. Apparently, though, some ladies approach and Amour retires quickly from the temple. Just as suddenly the poet awakens and taking "pen and ynke" writes the account of the dream.

The general framework of "The Comforte of Louers" is a conventional one. In the manner of Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, "The Romance of the Rose," "The Pearl," "Piers Plowman," and his own works ("The Example of Virtue" and "The Pastyme of Pleasure"), not to name countless other instances in Medieval literature, Hawes opens his poem with a dream-vision, the dreamer wandering in a meadow aromatic with flowers. The dreamer belongs to the great tradition of the sorrowing lover, again a device Hawes had already employed in "The Pastyme of Pleasure." The doleful lover finds a confessor to whom he pours out his woes and is, in turn comforted, a situation in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" which was patterned after the Troilus-Pandarus episode of Chaucer.¹

Next the lover proves his worth and accomplishes great deeds, in the case of "The Comforte of Louers," the acquiring of the sword, the shield, and the wondrous gem. The lover then comes upon his lady and after an exchange of courtesies informs her of his love. At first she is

¹See pp. 124-127, Chapter III.

reluctant to encourage him, and among the many instances of such dialogues in Medieval literature, we think foremost of "Troilus and Criseyde" and Lydgate's "Temple of Glas." The final decision is left to fortune and the course of love, a decision that will be a favorable one. The embellishments to the conventional framework are the very guarantee that the lovers will be united.

In the opening lines of the poem the poet muses Cedipus, Jonas, Moses, and Charles were saved from their enemies by the Divine protection of God. He concludes with a prayer:

. than in lykewyse maye he
Kepe me full sure/ from all inyquyte

Although there is no absolute assurance that the poet will be rewarded in this brief supplication, a reverent tone has been established which expands into the grace of God as it is rephrased again and again throughout the poem. And yet, Hawes may have intended this supplication to be a primary indication that the poet will not be thwarted by the enemies of love. In the love poetry tradition Hawes was working with, lovers are rewarded by those to whom they pray.²

When the poet is comforted by the "goodly lady" further evidence of ultimate success is given. He discusses "gentillesse."

²Cf this supplication, brief as it is, with the prayers of the principals in the "Knight's Tale," "The Temple of Glas," and "The Pastyme of Pleasure" itself.

The hygh dame nature/ by her grete myght and power
 Man/ beest/ and foule/ in euery degre
 Fro whens they came at euery maner houre
 Dooth crye the trouthe/ without duplycyte
 For euery thyng must shewe the properte
 Gentyll ungentyll/ dame nature so well tryet
 That all persones it openly espyeth

If Hawes needed a source for this well known notion,
 he would have found it neatly expounded in Caxton's Mirrour
 of the World:

Ryght so nature maketh redy and habandonneth where
 as God wylle; for alle thinges ben made by her and
 entiertiened as God wille make them; and she werketh
 after this in suche manere that, yf she lacke on one
 syde, she recouerith it on that other . . . Yet ther
 is another thyng whiche ought not to be forgotten:
 ffor that one shal be born black or broun, and that
 other whyte, one grete, and another lytil; that one
 shal happen to be wyse and discrete, and that other
 folissh or shewyss; somme be wise and sadde in their
 yongthe, and in their age ben ofte folissh; somme be
 foles yong and olde, and other ben wise alle their
 lyue, yong and olde; somme be fatte and somme be lene;
 somme be seek and somme ben hool; somme be sklendre
 and somme be thych; somme be harde and rude, and somme
 be softe and tendre; somme be slowe and somme be hasty;
 somme be hardy and somme be cowardis; somme be lame,
 haltyng and croked; somme ben wel fourmed in alle
 rightis and poyntes.

These qualities are not, however, hereditary - at
 least to Chaucer,³ the troubadours,⁴ and to Dante.⁵ [It is

³See "Gentillesse" and the hag's speech, ll. 1109-
 1176, in "The Wife of Bath's Tale" in particular.

⁴Maurice Valency, In Praise of Love (New York:
 MacMillan, 1958) p. 44. "The Troubadours debated every-
 thing; they formed indeed a sort of public debating society,
 but on this point all were agreed. Nobility came from the
 heart alone, and the noble heart was an individual char-
 acteristic, the outward sign of which was love. The pos-
 session of the gentle heart could not be deduced from one's

not at all certain, however, that Hawes was familiar with Dante].

Hawes next lists ways in which this gentleness openly appears:

The lorde and knyght/ delyteth for to here
 Cronycles and storyes/ of noble chyvalry
 The gentyllman gentylnes/ for his passetye clere
 The man of lawe/ to here lawe truely
 The yeman delyteth to talke of yomanry
 The ploman his londe for to ere and sowe
 Thus nature werketh/ in hye degre and loue.

Furthermore, if one of the gentle blood is "conuayed to yomanry for nourysshement" nature will worke, and he will in time assume the characteristics of his blood.

The point of these several stanzas seems to be that since Hawes has written love poems to his lady, that since he has entertained only thoughts "without ony spotte of ony maner yll," he has openly shown the outward revelation of the gentle heart, which the Troubadours called the expression of love. It is an attempt to prove his worthiness, which in love poetry is rewarded with the lady's heart. Worthiness, gentle blood are "comforte to Louers," for they bring about ultimate success.

The next indication that love will be fulfilled lies in the words of advice and comfort offered by the goodly

ancestry, but the gentle heart conferred nobility regardless of ancestry."

⁵Valency, p. 45, admits the possibility of ambiguity in Dante's view, but concludes that he "put his chief emphasis on the nobility of the spirit."

lady. Similar to Counsell and Dame Comforte in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" she tells the youthful lover that joy always follows after pain; that God will let him see the lady; that she should be meek and wise and not climb too fast.

So far, then, the lover is comforted by three things: the Grace of God, the gentle heart inborn through nature, the assurance given by wisdom, by reason and sapience.

Next the lover supports his cause by claiming that love is not feigned; it is "a thyng fyrst gyuen by the god of kynde," an echo, of course, of the speech of Venus in "The Pastyme of Pleasure."⁶ It is again an argument for love being successful, a "comforte to louers," for love is a natural process ordained by Nature herself. The lover confides that there are two comforts in life:

Two thynges me comforte/ euer in pryncypall.
 The fyrst be bokes/ made in antyquyte
 By Gower and Chaucers/ poets rethorycall
 And Lydgate eke/ by good auctoryte
 Makyng mencyon/ of the good felycyte
 Of my lady and me/ by dame fortunes Chaunce
 To mete togyders/ by wonderull ordynaunce

The seconde is/ where fortune dooth me bryng
 In many placys/ I se by prophecy
 As in the storyes/ of the olde buyldyng
 Letters for my lady/ depeynted wonderly
 And letter for me/ besyde her meruayllously
 Agrynge well/ unto my bokes all
 In dyuers placys/ I se it in generall

This is clever of Hawes! He associates the lovers found in Chaucer (perhaps Troilus and Criseyde), Gower (any

⁶"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 3958-3971.

and all of the lovers in the Confessio Amantis like Paris and Helen), and Lydgate (the lovers in "The Temple of Glas," for example) with his own lovers, using literature as authority that the two will meet.

In the second instance Hawes apparently is referring to the numerous murals, tapestries, paintings telling of the love of famous people. The meetings of these lovers agree with those in his books ("The Example of Virtue" and "The Pastyme of Pleasure"). Both instances, Hawes reads as prophetic of his own wished for meeting in "The Comforte of Louers."

The three magic mirrors and their concomitant devices are the focal point of the ultimate success of the love. The Romance abounds in magical mirrors which reveal the truth. What child is not familiar with the cruel step-mother of Snow White who chants before her mirror,

Magic mirror on the wall
Who is fairest of them all?

The first mirror in which the poet sees his misdeeds and realizes that only by the Grace of God has he been spared thus far from the judgment of the suspended sword is surely a concrete application of the great "mirror tradition" in which one sees himself reflected. (For example, "The Mirror of the World," "Mirror for Magistrates," "The Mirror of Love," etc.) One need not look for a specific source; it is its application that is significant, grace in the past and

present. The tradition that gave birth to Hawes's second mirror which revealed his enemies is undoubtedly that which is described by W. A. Clouston:⁷

In Europe during the Middle Ages, and even for some centuries later, the pseudo-sciences of astrology and magic were sedulously studied and practised, on lines borrowed from the East; and among the numerous contrivances of the Sidrophels, who professed to "deal in Destiny's dark counsels," Magic Mirrors were much in vogue. Usually a magican was required to cause such a mirror to foreshadow coming events, or exhibit on its polished surface scenes which were being enacted in some far-off land; but the Mirror which the Indian cavalier brought for the lady Canacé appears to have been self-acting. He thus describes its wondrous properties:

This mirour eeke, that I have in myn hond,
 Hath such a mighte, that men may in it see
 When ther schal falle eny adversité
 Unto your regne, or to your self also,
 And openly, who is your frend or fo.
 And over al this, if eny lady bright
 Hath set hir hert on eny manner wight
 If he be fals, sche schal his tresoun see,
 So openly, that ther schall nothing hyde.

While the Indian ambassador is at dinner in the chamber assigned to him, the people are busily engaged in discussing the strange nature of the royal gifts:

And some of hem wondred on the mirrour,
 That born was up into the maister tour,
 How men might in it suche thinges se,

 And sayde that in Rome was such con.

According to a commentator, we have here "an allusion to a magical image said to have been placed by the enchanter Virgil in the middle of Rome, which communicated to the emperor Titus all the secret offences

⁷W. A. Clouston, "On the Magical Elements in Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale,' With Analogues" in John Lane's Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale, (Chaucer Society, 1889), Part II, pp. 300-303.

committed every day in the city." It is very evident, however, that Chaucer does not refer to an image but to a mirror similar to that presented to Canacé -- "in Rome was such con." In one of our oldest English metrical versions of the Seven Wise Masters we are told of the enchanter Merlin -- that

He made in Rome thourow clergyse
 A piler that stode fol heyghe,
 Heyer wel than ony tour,
 And ther-oppon a myrroure,
 That schon over al the town by nyght,
 As hyt were daylight,
 That the wayetys myght see
 Yf any man come to [the] citè
 Andy harme for to doon,
 The citè was warnyd soone.

Most probably Chaucer was acquainted with this version of the story, and did not refer to the image, or rather images, which Virgil is said to have also set up in Rome, and of which some account will be given presently. Gower introduces Virgil's magic mirror in his Confessio Amantis as follows:

Whan Romè stood in noble plizt,
 Virgilè, which was tho parfizt,
 A mirroure made, of his clergie,
 And sette it in the tounès yhe,
 Of marbre, on a piller withoute,
 That they, be thritty mile aboute,
 By day and eke also be nighte,
 In that mirroure beholdè mizte,
 Here enemies, if eny were,
 With all here ordenauncè there,
 Which they ayein the citee caste.
 So that, whil thilkè mirroure laste,
 Ther was no lond, which mizt achieve,
 With werrè, Romè for to griue,
 Wherof was gret enuie tho.

But there is another early English metrical version of the Seven Wise Masters, which may also have been known to Chaucer, and in which both a magic image and a mirror are described as having been constructed by Virgil:

Upon þe est zate of þe toun
 He made a man of fin latoun,
 And in his hond of gold a bal.
 Upon þ zate on the west wal

Virgil kest an ymage oper,
 Rigt als hit were his owen broper,
 Pat al be folk of Romè said,
 Wip pat bal to gider pai plaid,
 Pat on hit hente, pat oper hit brew;
 Manie a man be sop i-knew.
 Amideward be citè, on a stage,
 Virgil made anoper ymage,
 Pat held a mirour in his hond,
 And ouersege3 al pat lond
 Who wolde pas, who wolde bataille,
 Quik he warned be toun, saunz faile,
 About Romè seuen jurneys
 Pous he warned nigt and dais,
 And po pat were rebel i-founde,
 Be Romains gadered hem in a stounde,
 Pai wente pider quik anon,
 And destrued here fon.

The magic images -- without the mirror -- are fully described in the Lyfe of Virgilius, which was probably translated from the French, and which is reprinted in Thoms' Early English Prose Romances: "The emperour asked of Virgilius howe that he might mak Rome prospere and haue many landes under them, and knowe when any lande wolde rise agen theym; and Virgilius said to the emperoure, 'I woll within short space that do.' And he made vpon the Capitolium, that was the towne house, made with carued ymages, and of stone; and that he let call Saluacyon Rome, that is to say, this is the Saluacyon of the cytie of Rome; and he made in the compace all the goddes, that we call manettes and ydolles, that were under the subiection of Rome; and euery of the goddes that there were had in his hande a bell; and in the mydle of the godes made he one god of Rome. And when so-ever that there was any lande wolde make ony warre ageynst Rome, than wolde the godes tourne theyr backes towarde the god of Rome; and than the god of the lande that wolde stande up ageyne Rome clynked his bell so longe that he hath in his hande, tyll the senatours of Rome hereth it, and forthwith they go there and see what lande it is that wyll warre a gaynst them; and so they prepare them and subdueth them."

John Lydgate, in his Bochas -- following Gervase of Tilbury, or Alexander Neckham, perhaps -- reproduces this story, in speaking of the Pantheon:

Which was a temple of old foundation,
 Ful of ydols, set up on hye stages;
 There throughe the worlde of every nacion

Were of theyr goddes set up great ymages,
 To euery kingdom direct were their visages,
 As poets and Fulgens by his live
 In bookes old plainly doth describe.
 Every ymage had in his hande a bell,
 As apperteyneth to every nacion,
 Which by craft some token should tell
 Whan any kingdom fil in rebellion. &c.

It is said that Virgil also constructed for the Roman emperor a palace in which he might see and hear all that was done and said in every part of the city -- perhaps by some peculiar arrangement of reflectors, or mirrors -- and this palace the Chaucer commentator may have confounded with the magic image.

This second mirror reveals the traps and devices set by his enemies. It is a revelation of the present dangers confronting the lover. The emerald is another guarantee that the lover will be successful. Its properties,⁸ taken directly from Medieval lapidaries Hawes tells us,⁹ are an assurance that the lover whose cause is rightful will be rewarded.

The third mirror reveals the future, the rise of a knight. Its validity is supported by an image of the Holy Ghost, the symbol of divine prophecy. The magical sword and shield have properties¹⁰ which, when used in rightful cause, will bring the bearer to the end of his labors.

⁸See p. 176 of this chapter.

⁹These properties are variously listed in the several lapidaries collected by the Early English Text Society, V. 190 for 1933. It is interesting to note that in legend Nero had a great emerald which revealed to him what he wished to know.

¹⁰See p. 176 of this chapter.

These three mirrors, representing Grace and victory in the past, present, and future, are just as the title reads, "Comforte of Louers."

The acquiring of the sword, the shield, and the gem are representative of the salutary deeds a knight must perform. Parallel then with the other indications of victory is the simple formula the knight is following, a formula which brings success. He is enamored, suffers pain, accomplishes great deeds because of his worthiness, thinks always with thoughts pure and true, and ever labors to win his lady's love.

And after diligent and careful argument he persuades his lady to bestow her favors upon him. She is inclined to do so, but must await the final decision of Venus and Fortune.

"The Comforte of Louers" is a carefully planned poem designed to "comfort" lovers, whose cause is true, by calling upon the ultimate victory authorized by history, divine prophecy, reason, philosophy, magic, art, literature, and worthy deeds.

But what else was it designed to mean? Berdan, quoting passages in this last poem of Hawes, generalizes the problem:¹¹

This abstract has been purposely made full in order that the modern reader may have the pleasure, intended

¹¹Berdan, p. 88.

by Hawes for his contemporaries, of guessing the interpretation. And the modern reader, I think, will feel that Hawes underestimates his power of using "couert termes" and "cloudy figures." Herein lies its chief significance. In this, his last poem, he has rejected the appeals to the interest of his reader by introducing either morality or adventure, nor does he, as in the other two poems, vouchsafe any explanation. With any such meretricious weakness rejected, it is thus an example of this theory of art carried to its *reductio ad absurdum*. As such it was never reprinted. The age had lost its interest in these forms of intellectual ingenuity, which became degraded into charades and conundrums. Yet by the poet himself it was probably regarded as his masterpiece. At least, it is the most personal of his poems. And it forms a curious nexus between the other two. The heroine, Pucel, is taken from The Pastime; her father, who is unmentioned in The Pastime, is taken from The Example. Thus in a certain sense The Comfort of Lovers may be regarded as the completion and final summation of the art of Hawes.

Our first reaction to the poem is "To what extent is it autobiographical?" In the "problem" Hawes distinguishes between the tales of chivalrous acts and those of a private nature. As the poem develops, more and more Hawes departs from the conventional, general characteristics of the doleful knight and makes curious, altogether unique descriptions that appear to be meaningful only in a biographical framework:

1. The lady who gives the knight comfort is of "goodly age" and "apareyled sadly." Is she a governess, or more properly, a nurse to the fair lady? She plays the part of Counsel and Comforte, but she does not leave to aid others in distress. She simply departs.

2. If the poem is designed to comfort lovers, why does the ailing knight become specifically the poet of "The

Pastyme of Pleasure"? This is mentioned no less than three times. Of course, Hawes well may have intended to associate his poem with the cause of all lovers, and in that sense, every true lover is its author. He does something like this when the knight claims that he sees himself and his lady love being rewarded in the tales of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower. If this were his plan, it is unfortunate that he insisted upon it so often, for we have difficulty disassociating Stephen Hawes, the poet, with the ailing knight, the lover in general.

3. Following is the most puzzling stanza of the poem, singled out for bewilderment by Berdan.¹²

Thretened with sorowe/ of may paynes grete
 Thre yeres ago my ryght hande I dyde bynde
 For my browes for fere/ y dropes doune dyde sweet
 God knoweth all it was nothyng my mynde
 Unto no persone/ I durst my her t to unturynde
 Yet the trouthe knownge/ the good gretest p
 Maye me releace/ of all my p/ p/ p/ thre

This poem was written in 1510. Three years before would be 1507, approximately when Hawes wrote "The Pastyme of Pleasure." In the autobiographical framework, one is tempted to assume that out of fear Hawes for three years refrained from writing any love poems. Since Hawes literally disappears from sight and if we judge by the dedication and title pages of his last two poems never gains favor with Henry VIII, we wonder if it were the result of grand presumption. The

¹²Berdan, p. 87.

lady of "The Comforte of Louers" is not simply a gracious lady of high bearing. She is the queen or princess of a court. She tells the knight that she has authority to aid him if he loves any of the other ladies. The poet addresses her as "your hyghnesse" and "your grace," not significant in themselves but highly suggestive in context. The lover meets her in a tower, decorated with lions, greyhounds, and dragons, symbols of Henry Tudor.¹³ Additionally, the hall is a royal one, for it is rich with golden images of kings, and the windows are "bestoried with many noble kynges." The lady is described a young in age and having blond hair, conventional enough, but the description also fits Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII.¹⁴ Further, the lady of the poem remarks that she has been promised to a mighty lord. La Bell Pucell had claimed this, too, but again we are interested to note that Mary Tudor was the most important pawn piece in her brother's early political machinations being promised and betrothed to Archduke Charles (Charles V) in 1507, and

¹³E. Roland Williams, Some Studies of Elizabethan Wales (Newtown: The Welsh Outlook Press, n. d.), p. 165.

¹⁴Richard Davey, The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey (London: Chapman and Hall, 1911), p. 55. "These [bridal portraits] depict Mary Tudor as a broad-faced woman with an evidently dazzling complexion, small eyes, golden hair, and a firm but rather sensual mouth." From an account in Frank Arthur Mumby's book, The Youth of Henry VIII (London: A. C. Constable & Company, 1913), p. 3 we can determine Mary's age. She was probably born in 1496 or 1497 if she were Henry's junior by five years. Thus, in 1510 she would have been approximately fourteen.

subsequently married to Louis XII in 1514. To add to this rather vague notion that Mary Tudor might be the lady in question, we turn again to puzzling lines:

Alas madame/ unto her than sayd I
 Aboue. *pp.* woules/ dyde me touse and rent
 Not longe agone/ delynge moost shamefully
 That by theyr tuggynge/ my lyfe was nere spent
 I dyde perceyue/ somewhat of theyr entente
 As the trouthe is knowen/ unto god above
My ladyes fader they dyde lytell loue

Seynge theyr falshode/ and theyr subtylte
 For fere of deth/ where as I loued best
 I dyde dysprayse/ to knowe theyr cruelte
 Somwhat to wysdome/ accordynge to behest
 Though that my body had but lytell rest
 My herte was trewe unto my ladyes blood
 For all theyr dedes I thought no thyng but good

Some had wende the hous for to swepe
Nought was theyr besom/ I holde it set on fyre
 The inwarde wo in to my herte dyde crepe
 To god above/ I made my hole desyre
 Saynge o good lorde of heuenly empyre
Lest the mouut with all braunches swete
Entyerly growe/ god gyue us grace to mete

Soma had wened for to haue made an ende
 Of my bokes/ before he hadde begynnyng
 But all vayne they dyde so comprehende
 Whan they of them lacke understandynge
 Vaynfull was & is theyr myssecontryuynge
 Who lyst the trouthe of them for to enfuse
For the reed and whyte they wryte full true

It would seem that the narrator was closely involved in the thwarting of a treacherous plot against the father and house of the lady. Then deliberately, the poet says that he writes true of the red and white roses, assuredly a clear reference to the Tudor dynasty.

4. The shield and sword of the third mirror offer problems. The shield is argent; in it is a green meadow.

There is an olive tree guarded by two lions of azure. There is an armored hand grasping a sword wherein is written pride. The hand and sword were devised by "a grete lady hondred yeres ago." This shield is obviously heraldic, a note inked in the margin of the only extant text of the poem by Joseph Betterton, a former owner. But it is not a shield of any known arms.¹⁵ Is it then simply suggestive of heraldry indicating that the knight who wrests the sword from the armored hand merits knighthood? This seems to be a safe assumption, but it hardly explains the subtlety of the "grete lady hondred yeres ago." Only those who are of kin to this lady can presume to get the sword. Since the lover is successful, he proves he is kindred to the great lady. But what does Hawes mean? Is he associating himself with some great family of the past, thereby claiming nobility? Or is it even a more subtle trick than this. Is the great lady Eleanor of Aquitaine, or Marie of France, or the Countess of Champagne? Is Hawes of kin because he practices the rules and tenets of their court of love? It is an interesting notion, but the

¹⁵There is not a description of a coat of arms that even vaguely suggests the shield in "The Comforte of Louers" contained in any of the following books, save the general notion that lions were traditional emblems of English royalty: Donald Lindsay Galbreath, Papal Heraldry (Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, 1930). William Berry, Encyclopoedia Heraldica (London, n. d.). The Booke of Honor and Armes, printed by Richard Jones, 1590. Loiedan Larchey, Ancien Armorial Equestre (Paris, 1890).

point is we can only guess; Hawes's obscurity has reached its zenith. Furthermore, what does the legend of Pride mean? Is the wrestling for the sword symbolical of the lover combatting his own pride/ Or, is he symbolically destroying the haughty pride of his lover, which is disdainful? In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Grand Amour, prior to his battle with the first giant, comes upon a shield of silver in which there is a lion. Under the shield is the following scripture:

If ony knyght that is adventurous
Of his great pride dare the bugle blowe
..... (ll. 4921-4922)

In this context, similar to that of "The Comforte of Louers," Hawes apparently uses Pride to mean courage, or hardiness. In "The Comforte of Louers" Hawes could quite simply mean the same hardiness or courage. But the symbol is confusing.

5. Is the constant use of the Holy Ghost only a prophetic symbol? Note Hawes's description of the flaming image of the Holy Ghost:

Frome the fader and the sone my power procedynge
And of my selfe I god do ryght ofte inspyre
Dyuers creatures with spyrytuall knowynge
Inuysible by dyuyne flambynge fyre
The eyes I entre not it is not my desyre
I am not coloured of the terrestryall grounde
Nor entre the eres for I do not sounde

Nor by the nose for I am not myxte
With ony maner of the ayry influence
Nor by the mouthe for I am not fyxte
For to be swalowed by ertly experyence
Nor yet by felynge or touchynge exystence
My power dyuyne can not be palpable
For I myselfe am no thyng manyable

Yet vysyble I may be by good apparaunce
 As in the lykenesse of a doue unto chryste Jhesu
 At his baptysme I dyde it with good countenaunce
 To shewe our godhed to be hygh and true
 And at his transfiguracyon our power to ensue
 In a fayre cloude with clere rayes radyaunt
 Ouer hym that I was well apparaunt

Also truely yet at the feest of pentycoste
 To the sones moder and the apostelles all
 In tonges of fyre as god of myghtes moost
 I dyde appere shewynge my power spyrytuall
 Enflambynge theyr hertes by vertues supernall
 Whiche after that by languages well
 In euery regyon coude pronounce the gospell

And where I lyst by power dyuyne
 I do enspyre oft causynge grete prophecy
 Which is mysconstrued whan some do enclyne
 Thynkyng by theyr wytte to perceyue it lyghtly
 Or elles calke with deuylls the trouthe to sertyfy
 Whiche contrary be to all true saynge
 For deuylls by subtyll and alwaye lyenge

Is the poem, allegorically, a moral quest? If it is, we are at loss to explain it.

6. Finally, altogether too many passages are cryptic beyond solution:

In the fyre clerest of euery element
 God hath appered unto many a one
 Inspyrynge them/ with grete wytte refulgent
 Who lyst to rede many dayes agone
 Many one wryteth trouthe/ yet cōforte hath he none
 Wherefore I fere me/ lyke a swarme of bees
 Wylde fyre wyll lyght amonge a thousande pees

or:

Surely I thynke/ I suffred well the phyppe
 The nette also dydde teche me on the waye
 But me to bere I trowe they lost a lyppe
 For the lyfte hande extendyd my Journaye
 And not to call me for my sporte and playe
 Wherefore by foly yf that they do synne
 The holy goost maye well the batayle wynne

There is little doubt, I think, but that "The Comforte of Louers" is a complex composition designed to serve as encouragement and succor to lovers in distress through the prophetic symbolism of history, magic, literature, art, reason, and Divinity. Whether or not the poem is autobiographical or steeped in Christian allegory is only conjectural. In scanning Hawes's poems we can see a steady development toward the specific, the personal. In "The Example of Virtue" Hawes dealt with the generality Youth later called Virtue. He diligently explains his allegory, even when its altogether obvious. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" he deals with a more restricted hero, a knight. But simultaneously he makes his hero more human, placing him in the tradition of the lamenting lover.

Although "The Conversyon of Swerers" is not an allegorical romance, we see Hawes again dealing with the personal, embellishing his poem with altogether familiar Christian symbolism, particularly aspects of the Passion.

In "The Comforte of Louers" Hawes reaches the summation of his "cloudy figures." Explanation and traditional symbolism have been abandoned. In their place Hawes has substituted the cryptic. Hawes has become so particular and specific, personal and concrete, that we must say on the one hand if the poem is strictly a comfort to lovers, the machinery is too ornate; if, on the other hand, he intended some deeper allegorical or spiritual meaning, he has become obscure.

As Berdan points out,¹⁶ Hawes's theory of art has reached the point of "reductio ad absurdum".

¹⁶Berdan, p. 88.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

". . . he [Hawes] could repeat by heart most of our English poets; especially Jo. Lydgate, a monk of Bury, whom he made equal, in some respects with Geff. Chaucer."¹

This statement of Anthony à Wood serves as both a commentary on Hawes's major sources and also as the initial point of departure for analyzing Hawes's failures. Apparently Hawes was inspired in his two major works by a combination of "The Court of Sapience," "The Assembly of the Gods," "Reason and Sensualyte" and Lydgate's translation of Deguileville's "Pilgrimage of the Life of Man." In both "The Conversyon of Swerers" and "A Joyfull Medytacyon" are elements echoing poems by Lydgate dealing with the same subjects. In Hawes's last poem, we see a combination of the previous four, amounting, therefore, to a strong Lydgate influence.

Even the echoes of Chaucer and Gower are for the most part filtered through Lydgate. Therefore, as a continuator of another poet's art, Hawes's chance of survival depended upon the survival of the tradition, a tradition which did not survive.

Even in Lydgate's day the doctrinal poem had run its course. Its themes and devices were commonplace. If we

¹Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses in Rhodenizer, p. 3.

take "The Court of Sapience," "The Assembly of the Gods," "Reason and Sensuallyte," and the "Pilgrimage of the Life of Man" as examples, we note the proper formula for a doctrinal poem. Such a poem contained first of all the quest for salvation, a quest characterized by ordeal and trial, pain and finally enlightenment. It called for a battle between vices and virtues, commonly in the form of a war or a debate. And obviously a battle or debate called for personages, hence, an allegory.

This formula was the chief poetical theory Hawes inherited from the past, a theory traceable to Boccaccio according to Spingarn.²

The reality of poetry is dependent on its allegorical foundation; its moral teachings are to be sought in the hidden meanings discoverable beneath the literal expression; pagan poetry is defended for Christianity on the ground that the references to Greek and Roman Gods and rituals are to be regarded only as symbolic truths. The poet's function, for Boccaccio, as for Dante and Petrarch, was to hide and obscure the actual truth behind a veil of beautiful fictions -- *veritatem rerum pulchris velaminibus adornare*.

Hawes's own adaptation of this theory readily can be seen:

Yet as I may I shall blowe out a fume
 To hyde my mynde underneth a fable,
 By covert coloure well and probable

 For under a coloure a truthe may aryse
 As was the guyse in olde antiquitie

²J. E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (1889), p. 9 in Berdan, pp. 76-77.

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²J. E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (1899), p. 9 in Berdan, pp. 76-77.

Of the poetes olde, a tale to surmyse,
 To cloke the truthe of their infirmitie
 Or yet on joye to have mortalitie.

(Prologue to "Pastyme of Pleasure")

Certainly the fact that Hawes utilized a well-worn tradition is no indication that the results must be failures. But unless new life is breathed into old forms, imitations will remain only imitations. The discussion of Hawes's attempts to revitalize the doctrinal poem is reserved for a subsequent section³; the concern at present is to note his limitations.

The most obvious poetical flaw of the doctrinal poem was its preoccupation with moral content. The great poet can transcend this limitation and never abandon poetry for the sake of moral preaching; the mediocre poet cannot. The mediocre poet hammers away at content, making sure only that the rime pattern is observed. It is little wonder that much of Hawes's poetry is unpoetical when we observe a characteristic stanza from the doctrinal genre he imitated:

She ys clepyd also the Arte of Artes,
 And eke of dethe the meditacioun,
 Hyr beyng eke yset ys in two partes:
 In pure science, and opinacioun;
 Science thyng teacheth by certayn resoun,
 Oppynyon ys in Vncertaynte,
 Whan thyng by reason may not prouyd be.

("Court of Sapience," ll. 1562-1568)

This is no better or no worse than Hawes.

³See pp. 5-11.

And estymacyon doth well comprehende
 The space/ the place/ and all the purueyaunce
 At what tyme the power myghte entende
 To brynge the cause vnto perfyte vtteraunce
 Often it weyeth the cause in balaunce
 By estymacyon ony thyng is nombred
 By length or shortnes how it is accombred.

("Pastyme of Pleasure", ll. 2850-2856)

When we recall that for Hawes poetry was exclusively doctrine, we see why such lines as the previous stanza occurred. We are perhaps unfair to criticize his poetic theory; we at least, however, can deplore his taste.

The doctrinal poem provided yet another influence on Hawes. He observed that the genre took as its theme the whole course of man's life. As such, any matter pertinent to man's existence, was relevant to the poem.

We, thus, find that the doctrinal poem is normally a vast encyclopedia of information the reader of the day should know. If the poem were designed to affect the salvation of man, nothing was deemed unimportant enough to be included if it aided man in his quest. But Hawes must be given his due. He does surpass his predecessors here. As Chapter III of this dissertation has attempted to show, all of the seemingly disconnected and digressive matter in the "Pastyme of Pleasure" has more justification for its inclusion than simply the encyclopedic theory that anything relevant to man's life embellishes the theme of salvation of a poem; the material in the "Pastyme" constitutes the body of

learning of the Seven Liberal Arts or is designed to reflect on and suggest the Seven Liberal Arts.

But perhaps the encyclopedic theory partially explains some of the weaker instances of Hawes's poems. In Chapter V of this paper it was noted that the stanza dealing with the purported avarice of Henry VII was completely out of keeping with the rest of the poem. Its inclusion might be explained in the light of the encyclopedic poem. The poem dealt with the Tudor family. Thus, any comment concerning Henry VII would be relevant. Perhaps a safer illustration is contained in "The Comforte of Louers." In this poem the only absolutely certain use of the Holy Ghost is to serve as a prophetic symbol, that the lovers will be rewarded. Yet, as was pointed out in Chapter VI, why did Hawes so carefully expand and fully treat the mystic features of the Holy Ghost? I have suggested that there could be intended a highly subtle doctrinal theme -- a totally obscure and inexplicable one. Nevertheless, it might be present. In the light of the encyclopedic theory, Hawes may have decided that once he had mentioned the Holy Ghost, it was obviously appropriate and perhaps necessary to treat the matter in full.

From Lydgate and the doctrinal poem directly and from medieval moral literature in general Hawes inherited certain devices. Foremost among these were the vision or dream introduction, astronomical and seasonal descriptions,

the debate, allegorical personages, the Seven Liberal Arts, the Seven Deadly Sins and the Virtues.

As has been noted in Chapters II, III, and VI, Hawes three times utilized the dream device. In each of the same three poems, Hawes employed astronomical and seasonal descriptions. Only in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" did Hawes treat them other than as conventional features, i. e., as connective or introductory stanzas. In the "Pastyme" it may be recalled, Hawes used the vision to indicate one who was in the state of Grace,⁴ and astronomical and seasonal descriptions to mark intellectual growth.⁵ Other than these exceptions Hawes saw the devices merely as pleasing formulae. But, then, none of his immediate poetic predecessors, particularly Lydgate, had used them any differently.

The debate apparently presented problems to Hawes. As Chapter II has suggested,⁶ Hawes could never quite balance his four participants so that the conventional decision that each is necessary to man would be valid. Chapter II has also suggested that Hawes might have included the debate simply because his most immediate source, "The Court of Sapience," concentrated on it. If this view is true, we see the worst feature in Hawes, that of slavish imitation and

⁴See pp. 80-81.

⁵See pp. 94-96.

⁶See pp. 33 ff.

lack of poetic judgment. Seemingly the device of the debate was not a satisfactory one for use in "The Example of Virtue"; consequently, it constitutes the weakest section. However, in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Hawes has firm control of his material. Here he uses the debate again but relegates it to a minor role.⁷ It would appear that Hawes forced its use in "The Example of Virtue," deeming it a necessary feature of the doctrinal poem, employed it usefully in "The Pastyme of Pleasure" in its proper, balanced role, and then never again included it since it did not suit his purposes.

Another feature of the doctrinal poem observed by Hawes was the use of allegorical personages. In the "Example of Virtue" Hawes did little more than take the abstractions personified in "The Court of Sapience" and utilize them, an observation made by Whitney Wells.⁸ Murison and Wells both noted that the same allegorical figures reappear in "The Pastyme of Pleasure."⁹ At the same time, however, as Hawes perfects his art, he alters his personages. Youth or Virtue and Cleanness in "The Example of Virtue" are as mechanical as possible. They simply move against a backdrop of Christian doctrine. When Hawes for a moment tries to make them less

⁷"Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 3109-3220.

⁸Whitney Wells, "Stephen Hawes and The Court of Sapience," pp. 284-294.

⁹Wells, pp. 284-294 and Murison, p. 259.

abstract and more human, the result is amusing.¹⁰ In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" Grand Amour and La Bell Pucell are greatly improved. They are first of all lovers who communicate in the language of love and experience the bliss of happiness. To have made them more human would have made them less allegorically clear. And yet, this is precisely what Hawes may have done in his final poem, "The Comforte of Louers." Grand Amour and Pucell are described with such intimate and special detail that their roles other than as lovers are somewhat obscure. And in this last poem Hawes has completely abandoned the abstract personification, i. e., Truth, Virtue, Sapience, etc. Concomitantly, it is true, as Hawes's personages became more real, more human and personal, his meaning became more vague, the final demonstration of which is included in Chapter VI.¹¹

As Mead points out Hawes's presentation of the Seven Liberal Arts is indeed the conventional treatment.¹² As a matter of fact, Hawes has included less of the customary description of the Arts than usually found in the commentary of his predecessors. It is his application that is noteworthy rather than the actual content. Citing the vast wisdom

¹⁰See pp. 58-59.

¹¹See pp. 188ff. and 196-197.

¹²Mead, pp. xlvii-lxxvii.

literature of the Bible, Hawes maintains that a study of the Liberal Arts is a study of the pathway to Heaven. We can see him contemplating the demonstration of this theory in "The Example of Virtue" in which Sapience guides Virtue to Salvation:

This will I [Sapience] prove, by mine opinion,
That I am ground of the Arts Seven,
And of all good works in communion;
For no man, without me, can go to Heaven!
My deeds be marvellous for Man to neven,
When they be wrought into their degree!
Who that will learn them, he hath the liberty!
(Stanza 99)

The theory was before him in "The Court of Sapience."

And, by ordre of the Artes seuen,
Styre folk to leue the world and drawe to heuen.
(Stanza 315)

The view itself emerged from a combination of Biblical authority and the popular notion that God had preserved the Seven Arts from the great flood because they were divinely created.¹³

Hawes formally states the view in the Tower of Music:

The vii scyences in one monacorde
Eche vp on other do full well depende .
Musyke hath them so set in concorde
That all in one maye ryght well extende
All perfyte reason they do so comprehende
That they are way and perfyte doctrine
To the Ioye aboue which is celestyne.
("Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 1548-1554)

¹³Image du Monde, p. 154.

Once the theory that the Arts partake of salvation is formulated, it is a natural extension to see them as enemies of the seven deadly sins, a correlation somewhat suggested by Dante in The Paradiso and Convivio. In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" all of the Arts become the enemy of Sloth.¹⁴ Grammar becomes the foe specifically of sloth, lechery, gluttony, and avarice.¹⁵ Rhetoric becomes the enemy of envy and covetice.¹⁶ Geometry combats gluttony.¹⁷ Godfrey Gobylyue is a personification of all the deadly sins and is an enemy to Grand Amour's journey. And opposed to each sin is the proper virtue reflected in the speeches of the Dames of Learning, and present in the allegorical personages who aid Grand Amour in his studies. Hawes's listing of the sins and appropriate virtues is conventional enough, but his presentation of their struggle is certainly more subtle than their usual expression.

Hawes, like Lydgate, never tires of versifying sermons. He wished to do for his age what he thought Lydgate had done for his - to teach man to return to the firm foundations of orthodox church. Aware of the depleted ranks of knighthood resulting from the War of the Roses, Hawes longed for a rebirth of Christian Chivalry. His purpose was to champion the cause of turning back to the past. In Lydgate

¹⁴See pp. 76-77.

¹⁵See pp. 82-83.

¹⁶See p. 101.

¹⁷See pp. 110-111.

he found the moral foundation; in the romance he found the chivalric. It was a natural step to blend the two.

And adamant as he was to teach his age, he neglected the present. Therefore, if he knew of the studies of Erasmus, or Colet, More or Linacre, he chose to ignore them. Plato appears to have only been a name to him. Surprisingly, lodged as he was in studying Lydgate, he does not seem to have even known Dante. That he was much of a student of French is arguable, for he does not rely upon any tradition or source available to him only in French. We assume that he knew the language, but if he studied the literature of France, he made no unique application of it, as he does of Latin. However, Hawes was not influenced by Latin literature as much as he was by the Latin of Church fathers.¹⁸ There is only one vague possibility that he knew Greek;¹⁹ almost surely he did not.

¹⁸Warton's statement that Hawes shows "familiarity with the Provençal School" has not generally been accepted. The themes and motifs of that school appeared so regularly in English poetry that it is difficult to maintain that French literature was Hawes's direct source, even when he uses the themes found in Provençal literature. Very likely he read Provençal; certainly Henry VII was fond of it, and Hawes to please his sovereign undoubtedly was familiar with various French texts. But it still cannot be maintained that Provençal poetry directly shaped Hawes's poetical content.

¹⁹Curt Bühler, "Kynge Melyzyus and 'The Pastime of Pleasure,'" R. E. S. X., (1934), pp. 438-441 identifies Kynge Melyzyus with Pindar's third Isthmian Ode, written to celebrate the victories of Melissus of Thebes. He admits that this usage does not argue that Hawes read Greek; however, if the identification is true, "this is the first example of Pindar's influence on English Literature." If Hawes read Greek, this is the only possible indication that he did.

Unfortunately, he shows no signs of being familiar with the Scottish Chaucerians. Nor does he mention or indicate familiarity with Skelton and Bernard Andre. He implies in the Godfrey Gobylyue episode of "The Pastyme of Pleasure" that he knows something of the drama of his day, but he fails to utilize the drama to any extent -- or refuses to.

At least Hawes is consistent; he rejects the present, even to its poetic expressions and new ideas for the past, and it follows, its poetic expressions, and ideas. It cannot be denied, though, that this choice on Hawes's part -- to recapture the days of old -- had its harmful effects on his poetry, mainly by allying him with a tradition that had radically departed from the lyric mode of expression to the extremes of exaggerated and affected diction.

Had Hawes understood the term beautiful fictions employed by Boccaccio,²⁰ we would have had altogether a different poet. It is hardly valid to criticize Hawes's attempt as Bennett does:²¹

In it ["Pastyme of Pleasure"] Hawes attempts to give new life to two outmoded and decaying expressions of medieval thought -- chivalry and scholasticism. He obstinately clings to both of these, although he wrote after the Wars of the Roses and in the first great days of the New Learning.

²⁰See p. 2.

²¹H. S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1947), pp. 155.

We should perhaps criticize Chaucer and Spenser, for they, too, wrote "outmoded and decaying expressions." Hawes believed that England was sorely in need of a chivalric revival. He was deeply convinced that the knowledge of God and the path to virtue lay in the study of the liberal arts. If convictions are not poetic content, what is? And "outmoded" must be used advisedly, for "The Pastyme of Pleasure" did go through four sixteenth century printings, two of them as late as 1554 and 1555.

But where Hawes is at fault is in the methods he chose by which to present his convictions. And the fault is that he, not without precedent, confused rhetoric and poetry, poetic image with, at first, complex symbol and subsequently, cryptogram. We turn to Atkins' summary:²²

. . . it [medieval rhetoric] was subsequently developed by post-classical theorists, by the Encyclopaedists Capella, Isidore and others, until finally it came to mean little more than ornate and grandiloquent speech, amplified by various devices, including countless figures; and so far from being an independent discipline, concerned as in classical antiquity with oratory and the writing of prose; it now became merged in the medieval arts of poetry (poetria) and letter-writing (dictamen), to which it gave both form and substance. This then was the conception of rhetoric expounded in the 15th Century "Court of Sapience" as well as in Hawes' "Pastime of Pleasure" (1506); and from both it is clear that rhetoric and poetic were still being confused and that poetic was regarded as little more than versified rhetoric."

²²J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance (London: Methuen & Co., 1951), p. 69.

Thus, we find Hawes concentrating on deliberately ornate language.²³ It is not an image he is seeking; it is a sound or an embellishment. He becomes so preoccupied with the attempt to clarify the "barbary" tongue that he, of course, employs the absurd:

And fortely, by good estimacion
 He must nombre al the hole cyrcumstaunce
 Of thys mater wyth brevyacion,
 That he walke not by longe continuaunce
 The peramulat waye, full of all variaunce.
 By estimacion is made annunciate
 Whether the mater be long or brevyate
 (ll. 736-742)

This, though, is not quite so revolting as a line of William Nevill, Hawes's only genuine follower;²⁴

O precyous pryncesse of preelecte pulcrytude

Concomitant with Hawes's theory of rhetoric involving aureate language, merciless repetition, puns of a most serious nature, was the fatal theory of the "cloudy figure." Hence, we repeat, "Had Hawes understood the term beautiful fictions, we would have had altogether a different poet." But Hawes did not. To him the poetic figure was simply an allegorical symbol. In "The Example of Virtue" Hawes's first known poem, the theory is at work. For example, Virtue and Cleanness wear white garments at their wedding. This, to Hawes, is a poetic figure. It is a conventional symbol, but it satisfies the

²³See Rubel, pp. 37-40.

²⁴William Nevill, The Castell of Pleasure, ed. Roberta D. Cornelius (E. E. T. S., 179, 1930).

requirement, of the "cloudy figure." One must exercise ingenuity, certainly in this case a minimum amount, to comprehend the poet's fable.

In "The Pastyme of Pleasure" the poet is graduated from "grammar school." He still explains his symbols but not in their immediate context, as Chapter III of this paper has attempted to show. For example, and to serve as recollection, Hawes speaks in the educational passages of the necessity of reason guiding man's actions. Subsequently, Counsell demonstrates this dictum in the Amour-Pucell courtship. Another instance occurs in the scenes in which the greyhounds figure. When they reappear, we know Grand Amour is controlled by "grace" and "gouvernaunce." These instances were poetic purpose to Hawes; they were "cloudy figures" with which poets disguise their truths. Already this preoccupation with the minute allegorical symbol was obscuring Hawes's meaning. For example, if Melyzyus is symbolically the legendary progenitor of the Tudors, and I am convinced Hawes meant him to be, what vague connections he was working with! And if Hawes's poetic theory is progressively making him more obscure, it is simultaneously making him more unpoetical; for in his later works, Hawes is not nearly so careful of his diction as he is of his symbol. Even aureate language is somewhat sacrificed for the cryptic.

In "The Conversyon of Swerers" Hawes reached what he undoubtedly thought was a high water mark of his "cloudy

figure" principle. In this poem he uses graphic symbols to convey his meaning. He no longer appeals to the response of his own poetry so much as he appeals to a pictorial symbol to evoke reaction. He designs a pair of wings which on sight are to raise the reader to the ecstasy of "God's benevolence." To appeal to the reader's pity he refers him to the symbols of the Passion surrounding the woodcut of the crucified Christ. We certainly give Hawes credit for originality and invention, but the point is that in this poem Hawes even permits "printed picture" to take the place of poetic symbol. To the modern reader he is getting as far away from poetry as he possibly can.

"The Joyfull Medytacyon" is in a class by itself. Here Hawes is writing a laudatory poem and returns to the principles of eloquence. And when he abandons, for the most part, his theory of poetic symbol, the result has merit. It is not a great poem by any standards, but of its type it is quite satisfactory. Even in this poem, however, Hawes is preoccupied with content and does not sense or cannot sense an unpoetical line:

Who is the floure that dothe this grace dystyll
But only Henry the .viii kynge of his name
 With golden droppes all Englonde to fulfyll

The culmination of Hawes's twofold theory of aureate language and "cloudy figure" occurs in "The Comforte of Louers." No longer, apparently, is he writing for the Court. He has been reduced to the ladies of the court, and is writing

a poem, designed to be a jig-saw puzzle. If he did not intend it to be, unfortunately, nevertheless, it is one.

It seems to never have occurred to Hawes to concentrate on the poetic image rather than the symbolical image, as he defined it. He is not without poetry. Even so distinguished a critic as C. S. Lewis mourns this fact:

Faculty was what he lacked; there was more and better poetry in him than he could express.²⁵

We are not at all insensitive to such lines as these:

Thus then I slept, tyl that Auroras bemes
 Gan for to sprede about the firmament,
 And the clere sunne with his golden stremes
 Began for to ryse fayre in the orient,
 Without Saturnus blacke encombement,
 And the litle byrdes making melodye
 Did me awake wyth their swete armony
 ("Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 337-343)

O thoughtful herte, tumbled all aboute
 Upon the se of stormy ignoraunce
 ("Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 1296-1297)

After the day there cometh the derke night
 For though the day be never so longe,
 At last the belles ringeth to evensonge
 ("Pastyme of Pleasure," ll. 5479-5480)

Amyddes the medowe of flora the quene
 Of the goddes elycon/ is the sprynge or well
 And by it groweth/ a fayre laurell grene
 Of whiche the poetes do ofte wryte and tell
 Besyde this olyue/ I dyde neuer dwell
 To tast the water whiche is aromatyke
 For to cause me wryte with lusty rethoryke
 (Prologue to "Joyfull Medytacyon")

²⁵C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 128.

But these lines are not part of the actual poems in which they appear. They are connective passages. It is as though Hawes saw his compositions as vast mosaics. He would connect the pieces with a lyrical impulse, but the pieces themselves demanded an altogether different poetical treatment. We praise his inventiveness but deplore his judgment. I am convinced that he could have written greater poetry had he not been laboring under a basically unpoetical theory of craftsmanship.

Hawes's influence on English literature is slight unless we hold with Zander's sweeping statements concerning Hawes's influence on Spenser. Only one poet actually imitated Hawes's style, William Nevill. Roberta D. Cornelius, the editor of Nevill's "nonce" poem,²⁶ lists the verbal similarities between "The Castell of Pleasure" and "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and "The Comforte of Louers." She also notes that there are certain similarities in the plans of these poems and that certain parts of "The Castell of Pleasure" seem to have been inspired by Hawes. She concludes, however, that Nevill's poem is so different in tone and purpose from Hawes's poems that:

The only safe conclusion is that Nevill knew the work of Stephen Hawes, and made some use of it. Since "The Comforte of Louers" is in spirit and intention more closely akin to "The Castell of Pleasure" than either "The Pastime of Pleasure" or "The Example of Virtue," one may regard it as likely that it served as a model for 'Master Guillaume's' poem.²⁷

²⁷Castell of Pleasure, p. 29.

Hawes's influence on Spenser is difficult to assess, and critics vary in their estimate of Spenser's use of the early Tudor poet. Zander credited Hawes with a major role in the shaping of Spenser's poem. He weakened his proof by citing instances in the two poems that probably are from a common, general source - the romance rather than one borrowing directly from the other;²⁸ nevertheless, much of his commentary is worth noting.²⁹ The two poems, "The Pastyme of Pleasure" and "The Faerie Queene" belong to the same allegorical tradition, blending the allegory and the romance. Both were written to appeal to and to furnish the ideal for the noble class:

"Pastyme of Pleasure" conteyning the knowledge of the Seven Sciences and the course of man's life in this world"

... ("Pastyme of Pleasure")

"The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentile discipline."

("Faerie Queene")

H. S. V. Jones notes that Spenser was at least aware of Hawes's poems:³⁰

Whatever were Spenser's sources in mediaeval romance for the story of the first book of the Faerie Queene, his nearest prototypes in allegory will be found in the work of Stephen Hawes. This poet's Example of Virtue and

²⁸Zander, pp. 52-97.

²⁹Zander, pp. 43-51.

³⁰H. S. V. Jones, A Spenser Handbook (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1947), p. 169.

Passtyeme of Pleasure like Spenser's poem partake of moral instruction couched in the terms of the romances of chivalry, the former dealing with the quest for moral purity and the latter with the search for worldly glory. Though the details of these allegories are so conventional that Spenser must have met with them elsewhere, it is difficult to imagine him unaware of the correspondences between Hawes's work and his own. Both Youth in the Example and Grand-amour in the Passtyeme fortify themselves like the Red Cross Knight by donning the armor of God as described by St. Paul, and they go forth to achieve adventures similar to those of St. George. Youth conducted by Discretion will remind us of The Red Cross Knight attended by the Dwarf, and his temptation by Sensuality mounted on a goat and Pride riding an elephant will suggest the experiences of Spenser's knight in the House of Lucifera. Note, too, that Humility, who serves as a warden of the Castle in the Example, acts as porter of the House of Holiness in the Faerie Queene. Nor can we miss the correspondence of the final victory in both poems over a dragon with three heads, and the subsequent marriage of the hero. Finally, we may compare Grandamour's search for La Bel Pucel, after he has heard a description of her beauty, with Arthur's quest of Gloriana after he has seen her in a dream.

Probably Berdan is most accurate in evaluating the Spenser-Hawes's relationship:³¹

With modern critics the temptation is to consider Hawes, not in regard to what he is, but in regard to what the type will produce. Thus the phrase, "The Spenser before Spenser" continually appears. The point to remember is that, if this be true, it is also that he is Spenser with Spenser left out.

Perhaps Hawes is an important figure in the development of criticism. Although he had but one genuine imitator, he was the first theorist of poetry in a century that was to become famous for criticism. "The first attempts in English to discuss the nature of poetry appeared in the two poems, Hawes's "Pastyme of Pleasure" and Skelton's "Replycacion

³¹Berdan, p. 91.

agaynst certayne yong scholars abjured of late" (c. 1528).³² Again, with Hawes we admire the attempt more than the result. The five known poems of Hawes must remain literary curiosities with the possible exception of "The Pastyme of Pleasure." This poem is not without merit; it is not without poetry. Even so, to the highly discriminate reader the effort to read the poem may not justify the results.

But whatever shortcomings Hawes had as a poet, however conventional the themes he employed were, Hawes is still reflective of a new age to come. No matter how unsuccessful his attempt was to purify the language, the attempt itself was commendable. No matter how mechanical and stilted his stanzas were, he was an experimenter. We smile, perhaps, at his "pattern" poem, but we must acknowledge, until subsequent research argues differently, that he was the first to use the form. He was the first Englishman to present an "ars poetica." And we may argue that Hawes's poems are dull and repetitious, but these very poems are the first instances of the fully developed blending of the allegory with the romance. If Hawes is not an important poet, he is an important landmark:

He is the gateway between Medievalism and the Renaissance.³³

³²J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1943), p. 173.

³³Berdan, p. 92.

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