

STUDIES IN EARLY TUDOR ENGLISH CRITICISM,

LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY.

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The resonabyll manns imagynashyon  
Joynd w[ith] resonabyll consyderatyon  
Bryngth man muche pleseur in consyder̄yng  
The pleasant proporte of eche plesaunt thyng  
Possessyd to mans behof at cōandyng.

John Heywood. "A Play of Wytty and Wyttyles."



PREFATORY NOTE.

These studies are intended to trace the early indications in England of a critical attitude towards literature and language which prepares for the appearance of formal critical documents in the Elizabethan period such as those edited by G. Gregory Smith in "Elizabethan Critical Essays." (2 vols. 1904).

Aspects of various intellectual activities of the Early Tudor period up to 1558 have been considered for their bearing upon this subject, in so far as they provide opportunity for, or stimulus to, the operation of the critical faculty. This collection of evidence is intended as a preliminary survey of a wide field of study, to define its extent for further work upon separate topics which may be supplemented and illustrated by the editing of selected texts.

(1) George Gregory Smith, "Elizabethan Critical Essays," (2 vols. 1904)  
(2) Ibid.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF PRE-TUDOR CONDITIONS LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC

A study of the evolution of the critical spirit in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries must include a review of the early conditions in which such a spirit could become active. It is true that up to this time "not a single critical treatise on English existed in the English language, or even in Latin."<sup>(1)</sup> It is nevertheless too summary to deduce from this that criticism is a product of the Renaissance period, and that it then sprang forth fully armed, like Minerva from the head of Jove. Awareness of literary qualities, the habit of watching language, of accounting for and expressing preferences, a sensitiveness to the processes of creation require a longer training and practice. The crystallisation of judgment may not be set forth in treatises specifically critical, but the necessary attitude of mind may be traced in more subtle ways. Wherever there is a sense of change, of opportunity for comparison, of incentive to controversy, there must be an exercise of the critical faculty, whether or not a final choice explicitly emerges. To call the comments of Caxton in his prefaces the nearest approach to any critical utterance before the sixteenth century<sup>(2)</sup> is to ignore the spirit for the letter.

The fifteenth century, after a period of partial arrest following the achievement of the fourteenth century, gathers itself together for fresh advances. Men like Caxton, who survey the heritage of the past and compare it

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(1) George Saintsbury. "A History of Criticism." 1902. Vol. II. p. 145. (Blackwood)  
(2) Ibid.

with the present, seem conscious of a regeneration of power in the latter half of the century. With this gathering of energy comes the necessity of directing it into the most productive channels.

There is still a tendency (though diminishing) to forget that men of active and receptive minds, though alert to changes and conflicts in the world of letters, could not know that the Renaissance was ahead of them. They gain by being considered as men of their day, not survivals or harbingers. A man like Skelton could not se ranger. The enhanced vitality of <sup>the</sup> late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is not solely or mainly due to stimulus from alien or ancient culture. Sap was flowing freely again in the native stock, even though plentiful grafting was going on.

A brief survey of the elements making for criticism in the native heritage is therefore a necessary prologue to the critical theme. It will be considered in relation to its provision of method and material, and the facilities for their transmission. The Middle Ages were not primarily critical, but their great creative activity goes far to provide the conditions in which criticism may work. The fifteenth century provides the intermediate period of selection and assessment which is itself germinal for future achievement.

A review of the Middle Ages in this light includes some estimate of the availability of classical literature for precept and example of literary genres and expression. This is preserved in the encyclopaedic literature, the manuals of Rhetoric and Grammar which constitute the teaching of literary

expression among the Seven Liberal Arts. The artes poeticae<sup>1</sup> and the dictamen direct attention to the choice and manipulation of appropriate language. The conditions for linguistic controversy and discussion so fruitful for the evolution of criticism exist in the relations of Latin, vernaculars, and dialectal variations within the vernaculars throughout the Middle Ages. This linguistic discipline results in the formation of a critical temper not aesthetic or philosophic, but dealing primarily with the purely literary problem of expression and style.

The Middle Ages relied chiefly for their knowledge of the classics upon the authority of encyclopaedic literature. The encyclopaedia epitomising the store of available knowledge was the result of the Roman desire to organise Latin literature and learning to replace the Greek world upon which they relied. From Varro's "Disciplinarum Libri Novem", not now extant<sup>(1)</sup> the line passes on to Martianus Capella in the fourth century.<sup>(2)</sup> Capella substantially adopted the knowledge incorporated in Varro's work, and divided the curriculum into the classification of the Seven Liberal Arts.

After him, Cassiodorus (480 - 575) compiled his "De Artibus et Disciplinis Liberatum Literarum," from the "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii" and the

(1) See P. Abelson. "The Seven Liberal Arts." (Columbia University Teachers' College Contributions to Education. No. 11). (New York 1906). p. 4-5. Note 3 for discussion of the subject matter of these treatises. References are given to Ritschl. "De M. Varronis Disciplinarum Libris," and to West, "Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools." New York, 1892. and to G. Boissier, "Etude sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de M. T. Varron." Paris 1861, for further study.

(2) For date of Capella, see H. Parker, "The Seven Liberal Arts." English Historical Review. No. XIX. July 1890. p. 417-461.



division into Seven Liberal Arts is recognised by name by a Christian writer for the first time. Isidore of Seville in his "Etymologiae" (570 - 636) consolidates and continues the tradition.

Among the Seven Liberal Arts those of Rhetoric and Grammar maintain the study of literary expression and of literature in so far as it is used for example and imitation. An examination of the development of these subjects in their relation to literary criticism shows that the roots of the critical habit lie deep in them, and bear fruit in the late mediaeval and early Tudor period under the influence of other stimuli. It is sufficient here to notice their position in the literary habit of the earlier Middle Ages.

The appearance of grammar as a separate study, late in Greek civilisation, was the outcome of a period of criticism. A comparison of the idiom of Homer with their own idiom made by the Alexandrian scholars was a stimulus towards a study of literature undertaken by defined criteria. Throughout the definitions of grammar until the Middle Ages become preoccupied with scholastic thought, the study of grammar includes language and literature, examined by the faculty which Varro calls "iudicium." (1) In the grammar of Dionysius Thrax (c.166 B.C.), the sixth part of the study of the language of poets and prose writers is the

"criticism of poetical productions, which is the noblest part of the grammatical art." (2)

In the fifth century grammar is

"peritia pulchre loquendi ex poetis illustribus orationibus que collecta" (3)

(1) See Wilmarin's "Varronis Fragmenta." p.208. quoted by P. Abelson. op.cit. Chap.II.p.11.

(2) Quoted T. Davidson. "Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals." (New York, 1892). p.214.

(3) "Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones." ed. R.A.B. Mynors. (Oxford 1937) p.94.1.3.

In the sixth, it is still

"scientia recte loquendi, et origo et fundamentum liberalium literarum".(1)

The substitution of the authority of the encyclopaedists and grammarians for the original classical literature was a reliance upon a second-hand source,(2) but this does not diminish the importance of the fact that there was unbroken familiarity with the classics as models of expression as well as of matter. The encyclopaedists continue to be studied far into the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth century, Petrarch names Isidore as one of the authorities for his theory of poetry.(3) With the invention of printing, they continue to be issued beside new editions of the classics and work which belongs more specifically to the efflorescence of new methods of scholarship.(4) The difference between the study of the classics in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance period is that of outlook!

"Das Universum der Antike hat seinem Mittelpunkt im Menschen, das Mittelalter den seinigen in Gott."(5)

The scholars of the fourteenth century in Italy and the sixteenth in Europe attempt to recreate the spirit underlying classical Greek and Latin literature.

(1) "Isidore. Etymologiae Libri XX" Lib.1.cap.5. 1.1-2. ed.W.M.Lindsay (Oxford, 1911) The scope of the study may be gauged from the range of aspects treated. e.g. Bk.I. includes schemata, tropes, prose, metres, the fable, history, etc.  
(2) Cf.H.O.Taylor. "The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages." (3rd edition, New York, 1911) p.47.  
(3) Cf.Robinson and Rolfe. "Petrarch." p.263.  
(4) 8 editions of Martianus Capella were printed between 1499 and 1599. Cassiodorus was printed as late as 1580. Isidore's "Origines" appeared in 6 or 7 editions between 1472 and 1577.  
(5) C.Vossler. "Poetische Theorien in der Italienischen Fruehrenaissance."(1900)

This results in a shift of emphasis from the theological bias towards the culture of the intellect and personality of man,

"...The pagan view was now once more proclaimed, that man was made, not only to toil and suffer, but to enjoy."(1)

The significant fact is that there was a tradition of study in the Middle Ages ready to receive this stimulus of new life and opportunities.

Specific application of the rules of rhetoric to literary creation is made in the mediaeval "arts of poetry," such as Matthieu de Vendôme's "Ars Versificatoria" (before 1175), Geoffroi de Vinsauf's "Poetria Nova" (between 1208 and 1213), Gervais de Melkley's "Art Poétique" (before 1216), Evrard L'Allemand's "Laborintus" (before 1280), and John of Garland's "Poetria" (c13)(2)

These works discuss and illustrate the application of the system of rhetoric, as taught among the Seven Liberal Arts, to poetical composition. They treat of methods of construction, ornament, and the uses of the three styles. Based upon the rules of oratory contained in Cicero's "De Inventione" (2 books), Cornificius' "Ad Herennium" (4 books) and Horace's "Epistles to Piso," they represent the rules of expression derived from the classics, and subsequently modified by mediaeval usage, transmitted to the Renaissance period. The study of grammar supplies the material and training in the understanding of method. Rhetoric is an even closer study of the grace, subtlety and appropriateness of expression, and particularly of the differentiation of poetic from prose style. It constitutes the rules of poetry

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(1) Sir Richard Jebb. "The Classical Renaissance." Cambridge Modern History. (Cambridge 1902) Vol.I.Chap.XVI.

(2) See E.Faral."Les Arts poétiques du XIIIième et du XIIIième siècles. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge." (Paris 1924).



as an esoteric art, attention to the science of expression for its own sake. It plays, therefore, an important part in the preparation for literary criticism.

The use of the "ars dictaminis"(1) which produced in Europe of the twelfth century a remarkable period of euphuistic expression indicates the increasing pre-occupation of the Middle Ages with intricacy of elaborate expression. In England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is a similar fashion for aureate language particularly in the practice of letter writing. . . . This careful artifice is the result of the imitation of Cicero's style, a highly self-conscious stylistic activity. Wherever this productive attention to style is found, the critical sense, applied to the rules and methods of literary expression, must be active and highly sensitive.

Another factor making for criticism during the Middle Ages was the rivalry between Latin and the vernaculars. The problems of literature and literary language were complicated in Europe of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period by the prestige of Latin as the universal language of literature, and the gradual re-assertion of the vernaculars. Latin was the means of access to the whole body of knowledge, and the vernaculars were in comparison considered unstable, uncouth and therefore unsuitable for any

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(1) See P. Abelson. op.cit.

C. Haskins. "The Early Artes Dictandi in Italy," in "Mediaeval Culture." (Oxford 1929). Chap. IX. p. 170. ff.

L. J. Paetow. "The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities, with special reference to Grammar and Rhetoric" (University of Illinois Studies, No. 7. 1910).

H. Rashdall. "Universities in the Middle Ages." (2nd edition by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. 3 vols. Oxford 1936) Vol. I. Ch. IV. pp. 90-127.

serious purposes. Within the vernaculars was the conflict of separate dialects, varying in intensity according to the circumstances of the country. In Italy, for example, this dialectal variation was increased by the political divisions of the country, making for continual struggles between the many ruling princes, and with the wider enmity of the Tuscans against the traditional ecclesiastical position of Rome. In England the political factor had no similar importance, since there were no political barriers south of the Tweed, and stabilisation of dialect was accomplished by the work of Chaucer and Gower in the London dialect.

Before any creative attention could be given to the English language, it had to emerge from its eclipse by the language of the Norman invaders. It had, therefore, a dual task - that of regaining from the French language its position for general usage, and then its contention with Latin in the fields which had been the prerogative of the learned language. In the discussion of theory and the testing of practice involved in this process, the critical spirit has conditions propitious for its growth and flourishing.

The development of English from the domination of French and from that of Latin takes different directions. The rivalry between English and French is that between two spoken languages, used for social intercourse of all kinds and for all the general commerce of everyday life - the language of the conquerors, <sup>of</sup> the upper strata of society, opposed to the native speech of the mass of the conquered. French became the language for entertainment, ~~and~~ for

(1) Cf. Trevisa. Translation, Higden's Polychronicon (1387c.) Ch.lix.

"...oplondysch men wol lykne hamsylf to gentil men, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch, for to be more ytold of." (De incolarum linguis). "Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose." Edited Kenneth Sisam (Oxford 1923) p.148, l.23 - p.149 l.25.

the lawcourts, and for literature addressed to the educated classes. The relations of Latin and English were those of a written language accepted by centuries of tradition, and the spoken language of scholars and of centres of learning such as the Universities, compared with an unpolished tongue, geographically limited, whose fine achievement in the Anglo-Saxon period had been obscured by an alien vernacular and by Latin scholarship.

The re-establishment of English begins as early as the thirteenth century. The reasons were in part political, due to the loss of much of England's territory in France and consequent slackening of the close connection between the two countries. The use of the French language therefore tends to become limited to the governing classes whose mother tongue it was. There are many signs of this increasing limitation. The necessity of manuals for the teaching of French, such as that of Walter Bibbesworth, shows that it is regarded as a foreign language. By the fourteenth century, writers comment upon the choice of language before them, and explain their reasons for choosing to write in English. Their remarks measure the advance of English, intermittent but persevering, until by the time of "Piers Plowman" the author comments upon the lack of people who can

"rede a lettre in any langage but in Latyn or in Englissh."(1)

This advance is confirmed by the substitution of English for French for use in schools, a change complete by 1385.(2)

(1) B.XV.1.365.ed.W.W.Skeat (Oxford 1886) Vol.I.p.460.

(2) Trevisa.Trans. Polychronicon ch.lix.

"...so þat now, þe 3er of oure Lord a þousand þre hondred foure score & fyue... in al þe gramer-scoles of Engelond childern leueþ Frensch, and construeþ and lurneþ an Englysch..." (ed.Sisam.op.cit.p.149.ll.30-34)

Another pointer to the changing relations of French and English is the record of books possessed and bequeathed in the large number of extant wills of these centuries. Before 1400, French books were much commoner than English ones, but between 1400 and 1500, the number of English books mentioned increases steadily.(1)

The appearance of English in private letters is important as showing its re-instatement as the language for the social intercourse of the upper classes who would earlier have used French. By constant usage for epistolary purposes, an unbuttoned literary use, a language gains increased ease and adaptability of expression, and constitutes a core of usage and vocabulary for literary purposes. The adoption of English for private letters develops rapidly and regularly. In the reign of Henry IV, almost all letters were in French, in the succeeding reign, the proportions are more or less equal, and after this time the use of English becomes very frequent and, finally, habitual. Letters have been found which were written in English as early as 1392.(2) English letters occur between 1420 and 1430 among the Simon papers, and in 1422 in the Paston Correspondence.

When the vernacular permeates the conservative domain of legal and business matter, it is a sure sign of its increasingly high status.(3) As early

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(1) For references and discussion see "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." Margaret Deanesly. Modern Language Review.Vol.XV.October 1920. pp.349-358.

(2) See C.L.Kingsford."Prejudice and Promise in C.XV England."(Oxford 1925). Ch.II. "English Letters and the Intellectual Ferment." Reference to discovery made by Mr.A.H.Thomas of copies made in 1411 of letters written to one Thomas Cogsale by Sir John Hawkwood from Florence in 1392. (published London Typographical Record.XIII.p.11.

(3)For references and discussion, see C.L.Kingsford."Prejudice and Promise in C.XV England." See also R.C.Anderson "Letters, 15th and 16th Centuries from the archives of Southampton" (Publications of Southampton Record Society 1921).



as 1383 there is a proclamation in English, although French is still the usual language. By 1450, the replacement of French by English in legal documents is complete.(1) Through the contribution of all these lines, English is firmly established again by the late fifteenth century, so that Caxton remarks that

"...the moost quantyte of the people vnderstonde not latyn ne frensshe here in this noble royaume of englund."(2)

It was not until the claims of English had been established against its rivals that critical attention could be given to the evolution of a literary language. Its dialectal variations had to be reconciled until it had a uniformity comparable with that of Central French. Trevisa comments that it seems

"a gret wondur houȝ Englysch, þat ys þe burþ-tonge of Englysch men, and here oune longage and tonge, ys so dyuers of soon in þis yland; and þe longage of Normandy ys comlyng of anoþer lond and haþ on maner soun among al men þat speke hyt aryȝt in Engelond."(3)

The four major poets of the fourteenth century are divided into two dialect groups. Langland and the poet of "Gawayne and the Grene Knight" use the West Midland dialect, Gower and Chaucer the East Midland and London dialects. Stabilisation of the literary language was advanced by the work of Chaucer because of his literary excellence and because of the large numbers of manuscripts in which it was disseminated.

Chaucer's work is significant for the progress of the critical spirit in England by virtue of the highly sensitive literary and linguistic judgment

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- (1) See R.W.Chambers."Continuity of English Prose", prefixed to Harpsfield's "Life of Sir Thomas More."(edited for the E.E.T.S.(London,1932.Original series No.186.) pp.xlv-clxxiv, by Miss E.V.Hitchcock.)
- (2) "Charles the Grete" (1485).Prologue.Sig.a ij.verso. col.1. "Caxton's Prologues and Epilogues."ed.W.J.B.Crotch for the E.E.T.S.(London 1928. Original Series.No.176).p.97.
- (3) See Trevisa's translation,"Polychronicon."Edition as above.(Sisam.op.cit. p.148. 11.42-46).

which he possessed. From his acquaintance with French and Italian literature, he selected and integrated into English much that was needed to augment and stabilise it at this crucial period of its development. In Italy, Petrarch<sup>(1)</sup> had realised the worth of artistic form, chiefly as a result of the recovered study of the classics. New importance was laid upon grace and balance of style, and the observance of rules purely artistic. Chaucer, looking to Italy for some of his models catches the same faculty of self-conscious discrimination, exercised in his earlier imitative work and instinct also in the culmination of his progress towards his most inward and characteristic work, such as *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the *Canterbury Tales*. This patina is created only by the craftsman working to the dictates of defined standards, that is, within the province of criticism. He left no "Art of Poetry" to explain his procedure, but this artistic consciousness is implicit throughout his work. He has reached the second stage of Walter Pater's definition of the three stages of literary criticism

"...in aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one's object as it really is, is to know one's own impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly. His end is reached when he has disengaged that virtue, and noted it, as a chemist notes some natural element, for himself and others."(2)

There was in England in the fourteenth century no general flowering of an early Revival of Learning, comparable to that of contemporary Italy, with its

(1) "Ce qui l'a séduit dans la littérature antique, c'est le caractère d'oeuvre d'art, Pour la première fois depuis des siècles, on n'en peut douter, la perfection de la forme a décidé des préférences d'un esprit. Cette recherche du beau pour lui-même et cette distinction établie entre les productions qui le révèlent inégalement sont une des plus fécondes initiatives de Pétrarque; en même temps, elles instituent de nouveau, à la fin de ce Moyen Âge qui ne l'a point connue, la critique littéraire."

Pierre de Nolhac. "Pétrarque et l'Humanisme." (1907). p.11.

(2) "Studies in the History of the Renaissance." (1873) Preface pp.viii-ix.

discussions of canons of art and literature and matters linguistic and poetic. Chaucer, by his appreciation of the value of the intellectual activity of the Continent, did as much as an individual could to make a close liaison between England and the springs of the new habit of mind, appearing in the work of European poets. This he accomplishes by the justification of his critical decisions by the excellence of his practice. In an age when the author of "Piers Plowman" comments that there

"...is none of this newe clerkes who so nymeth hede  
That can versifye faire - ne formalich enditen;..."(1)

Chaucer co-ordinates the rules of mediaeval rhetorical composition, and the new artistic appreciation derived from Italy's classical interests.

In his "humanist" realisation that the character and life of men is the true stuff of literature, as well as in his artistic sense, Chaucer is ahead of his age. The full implications of the recovery of the literature of the classical period had not yet been realised in England, nor yet in Italy, since the recovery was not complete. Its power to impart the outlook upon life and letters which would develop mind and personality to the full was still dormant. The warmth of the humanity of Chaucer's work, as compared with the austerity of Anglo-Saxon literature, and the impersonal ballad on the one hand, and with the rarefied brilliance of romance literature on the other, indicate a significant advance by Chaucer towards the full revelation reserved for the Tudor period. It proves the existence in him of a facility in establishing contacts, an awareness of outside influences which is essential

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(1) B.XV.1.366-367. ed.W.W.Skeat.(Oxford 1886) Vol.I.p.460.



to his own critical powers, and of important consequence to the course of English literature. In him is the fusion and co-ordination of critical and creative.

The line of praise which is continuous from his contemporaries, such as Lydgate, who accords him the glory

"of wel sayinge /first in oure language,"(1)

into the Tudor period, shows how strong a link there is between his work and an age whose tendency was to underestimate mediaeval achievement. Praise for the grace of his language, as well as for the matter and range of his work proves that he had done much to create a literary language. He was familiar with all the poetic devices which were transmitted in the mediaeval arts of rhetoric, but his use of them was judicious and creative.(2) He introduced new flexibility and ease into English poetry, and, removed as the Tudor period was from the mediaeval by phonological vicissitudes, Chaucer remains for them the maker of "siluer langage," one of these "...faders dere,..."

"...That lyston to our langage to enhance."(3)

In an age tending to the aureate and rhetorical, Chaucer is praised by a man who also possessed a well-developed critical faculty, for his language

"...so fayr and pertygente  
It semeth unto mannys heerynge  
Not only the word but verely the thyng."(4)

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- (1) "Siege of Thebes."1420-22. ed.A.Erdmann for the E.E.T.S.(London 1911).  
Extra Series. No.cviii)Part I.Prologue. p.3.1.47.
- (2) For examination of Chaucer's acquaintance with mediaeval rhetoric, see  
J.M.Manly. "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." British Academy. Warton  
Lecture on English Poetry. xvii. (1926) (London, 1898.)
- (3) William Caxton. "Boke of Curtesye." ed.H.Bradley for E.E.T.S. Extra  
Series No.III)p.43.1.432-434.(62)
- (4) "Boke of Curtesye."(above) p.35. 1.341-343 (49).

In the Tudor period, the works of Chaucer alone of the English poets of the Middle Ages were accessible in a collected edition, and their unwaning popularity is proved by successive issues, from the Thynne edition in 1532, with reprints in 1542 and 1550, to the Stowe edition of 1561 and that of Speght in 1598, linking the Middle Ages with the sixteenth century. They were read for matter and expression both, says Caxton, for

"Sentence or langage, or bothe fynde ye shalle  
Ful delectable..."(1)

By reason of the ousting of prose by the all-pervading verse forms of the French, (2) English prose is later in emerging than English poetry. The choice of prose was a matter for discussion and critical debate, as in Trevisa's "Dialogue concerning Translation." (3) Deliberate choice of prose is an important decision at a time when Latin held a position of authority in serious prose literature. The assertion of the adequacy of English prose against Latin domination may be traced most clearly in two kinds of prose - historical and devotional.

So high has the status of the language become by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, that the most important chronicle of this period is composed in English. It is additionally significant for the use of English in this work that the *Brut* was considered worthy of translation into Latin. With the appearance of the London chronicles of this time also in English, a firm

(1) "Boke of Curtesye" (above) p.35.(50) l.346.

(2) Cf. "Cursor Mundi": "frenche rimes here I rede./communely in iche as tede".  
(Edited R.Morris for the E.E.T.S.) Vol.I, 1874. London 1893 l.237 p.20.col.2  
(Fairfax MS. - p.22.col.2.l.250.)

(3) "Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse" "Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation." (From Trevisa's Translation of Higden's "Polychronicon") A.W.Pollard. (London 1903.) pp.203-208.

precedent for vernacular historical writing is established. In the same tradition are the Collections of a Yorkist Partisan, the brief "Chronicle of England" of John Capgrave, and John Piggott's "Memoranda."<sup>(1)</sup> One line of English prose is thus securely established, and the English language proves its adequacy for serious purposes.

The mainstream of English prose is, however, the tradition of devotional literature.<sup>(2)</sup> Use of the vernacular is enjoined for everyone whose duty it is to instruct <sup>the</sup> unlearned as well as those who have command of two or three languages. The claims of the wider audience who must be edified are recognised by many writers of this period. Brunne says of his "Handlyng Synne"

"For lewde men y vndyr-toke  
On englyssh tunge to make þys boke."<sup>(3)</sup>

The author of the "Cursor Mundi" waxes eloquent against the use of French in England, and says:

"¶ gif we ilkane þaire langage.  
me þink þen we do nane outrage,  
to lewet and englis men I.tel.  
þat vnderstandes quat I. spel."<sup>(4)</sup>

These devotional works in English are among the books mentioned most frequently in the wills of a bookless age, when books were rare and treasured possessions. Secular work was seldom considered worthy of being mentioned for a bequest. The works of Richard Rolle are mentioned in the period before 1400, when

(1) For detailed references and discussion see C.L.Kingsford. "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth century." (Oxford 1913) Chap.VI.p.169-170.

(2) See R.W.Chambers. "Continuity of English Prose." (Cf.above).

(3) Ed.F.J.Furnivall for the E.E.T.S.(London 1901) Original Series.No.119. (The Prolog) p.2.1.43-p.3.1.44.

(4) Ed.R.Morris for the E.E.T.S.(original Series.57.99.101) Vol.I.1874,1893. p.22.Col.2.(Fairfax MS).1.247-250.

French books outnumbered English, and with those of Walter Hilton and Love's "Myrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ", recur throughout wills of the later period.(1) At the end of the fifteenth century, the records of Caxton's press show that the demand for devotional works greatly exceeded that for romances and secular work.(2) The books which were the precious possessions of those who could afford such luxuries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are among those recommended by Sir Thomas More in the sixteenth century. He wishes that

"the unlearned, who could read only English, should rather occupy themselves, beside their other business, in prayer, good meditation, and reading of such English books as most may nourish and increase devotion (of which kind is Bonaventure "Of the Life of Christ," Gerson "Of the Following of Christ," and the devout contemplative book of "Scala Perfectionis", with such other like) than in the learning what may well be answered unto heretics."(3)

The writers of this devotional literature are concerned with the use of the vernacular mainly because of the value of their subject matter. They are concerned with the assertion of English against learned Latin and French, the language of entertainment, rather than with the development of its resources by their use. The more purely stylistic attention had of necessity to be deferred until the status of the language was firmly established. In the mid-fifteenth century, the work of Reginald Pecock shows the consideration of

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(1) See M.Deanesly. op.cit.

(2) See W.Blades. "A Catalogue of Books printed by, or ascribed to the press of William Caxton."(London 1865).

(3) (Works.1557.p.356).quoted B.W.Chambers."The Place of Saint Thomas More in English Literature and History." (Longmans.1937).p.32.

a man who possessed a highly developed linguistic sense. By the subject matter of the "Reule of Cristen Religion", (1443) the "Donet" (between 1443 and 1449) and the "Folewer" (possibly 1453-4), (1) Pecock extends the use of English to a form of scholastic debate, which had hitherto been confined to Latin. He is one of the earliest men of his age to defend the use of the Bible in English, in the controversy which was to have such important results for the history of the English language and literature. While a keen advocate of Bible study for the layman, he is aware of the objection that such reading by those to whom English was not yet entirely familiar might have its dangerous side. His work is therefore intended to supply some of the necessary knowledge, so that, after some preliminary acquaintance with theological discussion in the English language,

"her reding þanne in þe englich bible schal not hurte hem silf neiþir eny oþer man." (2)

His ideas on language are as definite as his conception of the place and purpose of his work. Repudiating the Latin and Romance elements in the language, which had become an integral part of it, he attempts to replace them with Saxon formations. "Sequel" he replaces by "folewer" in the title of the work following the "Donet." He juxtaposes "comprehensioun" and "ful taking" (3) to illustrate his practice, and examples of this coupling of Latin and Saxon

(1) See discussion of date in Introduction to edition for the E.E.T.S. by Miss E.V.Hitchcock. (1924). p.xvi.

(2) Pecock's "Donet". ed.Miss E.V.Hitchcock for the E.E.T.S.(London 1921) Original Series No.156. p.172.1.2-3.

(3) Ibid. p.1.1.8.



compound may be multiplied. In his zeal for restoring purely Saxon diction, he has no regard for euphony or grace of sentence structure, producing slowly moving paragraphs such as the following:

"O, sone, if I haue bi strengþe of resoun noon opire hope þan þat þe peple were agens þis purposed mater so obstynat and so vnouercomable and vnagendressabli hardid as þou in þyn arguyng pretendist, I wolde and ougte in þis mater to holde me styлле and cloose."(1)

His inability to reconcile Latin and Saxon elements of language is shown by the overweighted opening with its accumulation of clumsy Saxon compounds sinking to the simplicity of the closing phrase.

The importance of Pecock's linguistic <sup>experiment</sup> lies in the spirit in which it was undertaken. To attempt to create, at this early period of the English language in its recovered state, a style which should combine a Saxon vocabulary with Latin models of sentence structure, indicates an attention to the requirements of English which adds the title of linguistic critic to Pecock's other claims to a more careful study. Like the poets of the fourteenth century he writes in a language mainly of the London dialect, with very few variations.(2) At a time when the English language was in need of some stimulus towards the formation of standards for literary purpose, a body of work such as Pecock's is an important contribution to this end. With the invention of printing the written word could do a great deal to arrest the dialectal confusion of which Trevisa complained and which Pecock himself regrets.

"Langagis, whos reulis ben not writen, as ben Englisch, Freensch, and manye othere, ben chaungid withynne 3eeris and cuntrees, than oon man

(1) Ibid. p.160.1.8-12.

(2) For discussion of Pecock's language see Introduction. p.xxiv-xxix of Miss E.V.Hitchcock's edition of the "Folewer" for the E.E.T.S., Original Series No.164 (London 1924).

of the oon cuntre, and of the oon tyme, my<sup>3</sup>te not, or schulde not kunne undirstonde a man of the othere kuntre, and of the othere tyme; and al for this, that the seid langagis ben not stabili and fundamentali writen."(1)

Although, like Sir John Cheke in the Tudor period he failed to recognise the ability of the English language to incorporate successfully foreign elements, he is none the less notable in the history of English prose style.

In an age when the choice of language and the use of English were being generally debated and discussed, he stands out as having made a systematic attempt to evolve a style which would be, in his opinion, comprehensible to all, and adequate for the extended uses of English.

Conditions impeding or promoting the progress of classical knowledge throughout the mediaeval and pre-Renaissance period must be taken into account. That development of criticism of literature and language which sought precedent and material in ancient models is closely related to the supply of texts. With the increasing demand for the originals, instead of the second-hand material transmitted by the encyclopaedists, the invention of printing came none too soon in Europe. As early as 1358, Petrarch realises how valuable the classics would be if accessible to poorer students, (2) feeling the need for extended facilities which only printing could supply.

Throughout the Middle Ages, classical manuscripts were copied intermittently mainly in monasteries, and this laborious and restricted supply had been barely sufficient to maintain any continuity in the transmission of

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(1) Pecock. "Book of Feith." (1456) p.251, quoted by Miss Hitchcock. Introduction p.lx. to the "Folewer" (above edition).

(2) "Remedies for Both kinds of Fortune." De. Rem. Utr. Fort. I. Dial. 43. (ref. E.H.R. Tatham "Francesco Petrarca." (London 1926) Vol. II. p.37. note 3.).



classical manuscripts. The industry had flourished in individual foundations. Cassiodorus, for instance, was among the founders of a monastery in which the monks assiduously carried on this occupation.(1) The monasteries of Bobbio,(2) and St.Gallen,(3) carried on the traditions of Irish learning. In England, Alcuin has left an account of the contents of the Library at York.(4) In the twelfth century, the copying activity received new stimulus from the rise of the Universities and the multiplication of schools, and became almost a trade. Extant library catalogues,(5) being frequently incomplete and not always explicit about the manuscripts possessed, are not a very reliable source of information about the true nature of the study of the classics, but they indicate that during the twelfth century, such classical authors as were still known were obscured by the mass of scholastic literature.

The thirteenth century, however, is marked by the eager quest of classical manuscripts which had long remained unregarded in remote monasteries. Persistent search by Poggio Bracciolini brought to light manuscript copies of the work of classical authors, including a complete copy of Quintilian's "Institutio Oratoria", hitherto known only in an imperfect form.(6) There was, <sup>therefore,</sup> a certain

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(1) See J.E.Sandys. "A Short History of Classical Scholarship." (Cambridge. 1915). p.70.

(2) Ibid. p.112.

(3) Ibid. p.113.

(4) Ibid. p.119.

(5) See J.S.Beddie. "Libraries in the 12th century; their Catalogues and Contents". "Hasleins Anniversary Essays" (Boston and New York 1929) p.1-25.  
M.R.James. "Wandering and Homes of Manuscripts." "The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover." (Cambridge 1903).

(6) For full account of the discoveries of Poggio and others see Sandys (~~op.cit~~) p.167-175.

continuity of scholarship, both Latin and Greek before the stimulus to learning of the Renaissance period.(1) Stress upon this continuity is necessary

"to put a more sober theory of progress in place of the glaring and brutal contrast between mediaeval squalid asceticism and the glorious paganism of the Italian scholars, princes and artists."(2)

The close connection of English scholars with Italy in the fifteenth century resulted in the passage of many manuscripts to England, many of which were given to the Universities. Gifts such as those of Duke Humphrey to Oxford of manuscripts of Cicero, Latin translations of Plato, Aristotle and Aeschines among others(3) helped to make classical literature available to English scholars. The stirring of a more discriminating and literary taste in the scholars of this generation is traceable in the selected contents of their libraries. For instance, that of John Tiptoft(4) scholar and translator, included Suetonius' "De Claris Grammaticis Rhetoribusque", Tacitus' "Dialogus de Oratoribus Claris", and Lucretius' "De Rerum Natura". The possession of this last shows how rapidly manuscripts travelled in this period of re-asserted scholarship, since it must be a copy of the codex discovered by Poggio(1418c)(5).

(1) H.L.Gray."Greek visitors to England 1455-56"."Haskins Anniversary Essays"5. p.81-116.(Boston and New York 1929).

M.R.James."Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance." Transactions of Bibliographical Society.New series.Vol.VII.No.4.Mar.1927. pp.337-353.

(2)W.P.Ker."The Beginnings." (an early essay found among his papers and published in "London Mediaeval Studies." 1937,edited by R.W.Chambers, F.Norman, A.H.Smith, Vol.I.Part I.p.4).

(3) See K.H.Vickers."Humphrey Duke of Gloucester: a biography"(London 1907).

(4) R.J.Mitchell."A Renaissance Library; The Collection of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester." in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Vol.XVIII.No.1.June 1937.

(5) Sandys. op.cit.p.169.

The circulation of manuscripts propagated knowledge of the classics only among the restricted circle of those scholars fortunate enough to possess them, or to have access to a library containing them. For the Revival of Learning to be really effective, and to include a wider circle, the facilities opened up by printing were the only successful means.

The date of the issue of the first printed book in Europe(1) marks the beginning of a stimulus to the spread of knowledge. From the output of the presses of England and the other European countries where printing was established, a more accurate judgment of the progress of literary taste may be formed, all the more clearly because so many of the early printers are themselves scholars, or connected with scholarly circles. A survey of the services rendered to the dissemination of knowledge and cultivation of taste must include the whole European field, partly because of the close connections of English scholars with the Continent, and because some differentiation between the aims and work of English and Continental printers must be taken into account.

For the first two decades after the invention of printing in Europe, there is little consequent benefit to England, for only a small number of printed books were imported.(2) Within three years of the setting-up of Caxton's press at Westminster in 1476, others were at work at Oxford (3) and St.Albans. The conclusion to be drawn from the productions of these

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(1) The Mainz psalter published in 1457 by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer in Germany.

(2) See E.Gordon Duff. "A Century of the English Book Trade. 1457-1557." (London 1915) Introduction p.xi.

(3) See F.Madan."Oxford Books." Vol.I.Early Oxford Press. 1468-1640. (Oxford, 1895). Cf.A.W.Pollard. "English Books Printed Abroad." Bibliographical Society Transactions 3. 1895. 195-209.

English printers is that they maintained the continuity of mediaeval literature by continuing the spate of romances for popular reading which hardly slackened throughout the sixteenth century.(1) Supplies of editions of the classics came from European printers, some of whom printed books specifically for England.(2) The increased demand for classical literature is not therefore immediately reflected in the work of English printers. Those who immediately benefited by the resources of printing were the educationalists, since the supply of textbooks was greatly facilitated.(3) The printing of Cicero's "Pro Milone" in 1483 by Rood, and the Six plays of Terence between 1495 and 1497 may be due to the schoolmasters William Horman and Anwykyl of Magdalen College school.<sup>(1520)</sup>(4) Robert Whyttynton in his "Vulgaria" comments upon the debt of the educational world to the invention of printing.

(16) "We be moche bounde to them that brought in y<sup>e</sup> crafte of pryntyngē.

(21) It concludeth many thynges in shorter space than ye wrytten hande doeth / & more ornately sheweth.

(26) It hyndreth not so moche y<sup>e</sup> scryueners / but profiteth moche more poore scholers."<sup>(5)</sup>

The issue of cheap and easily handled editions such as those issued from the Aldine Press of authors such as Thucydides, Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon and

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(1) Cf. William Blades op.cit.

(2) See E.Gordon Duff.op.cit.pp.xii-xiii.

p.xv."With the exception of Caxton and Thomas Hunte at Oxford, we find no English name in the colophon of any book printed in or for England as printer or bookseller until 1516c."

(3) See "The English Grammar Schools to 1660" Foster Watson.p.5.(Cambridge 1908)✓

(4) E.Gordon Duff.op.cit.Introduction p.xiv.

(5) "The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittinton." ed.B.White for the E.E.T.S.(London 1932) Original Series No.187.p.135.



Homer,(1) did incalculable service in promoting rapid circulation of literature.

With the early sixteenth century, the pulse of the classical output has quickened, with a definite increase in the issue of devotional and educational work, while after the third decade of the century, the prolific translating activity is reflected in the printers' output. One of the most important advantages of printing is the rapidity with which the products of the scholarly few can become ~~quickly~~ accessible to the reading public, as compared with the restricted circulation of manuscripts and rare printed books in the early days of the Revival of Learning. Sir Thomas Elyot's translation of Isocrates is issued in 1534, and of Plutarch in 1535. The work of Tudor schoolmasters is represented in 1535 by Robert Whytton's translation of Cicero's "De Officiis", and within the next twenty-five years, translations of Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Ptolemy, Livy, and Thucydides are available,(2) with Gavin Douglas' version of the "Aeneid" in 1513, Surrey's in 1557, and Phaer's in 1558 continuing the tradition of reverence for Virgil which was so strong throughout the Middle Ages.(3) The production of the early printing presses therefore made accessible the material for literary study and the training of literary taste. Consideration of the needs of their public was one of the

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(1) See R.C.Christie. "The Chronology of the Early Aldines." Bibliographica, Vol.I.1895.p.193-222.

(2) For study of this subject see Henrietta Palmer. "List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641." (London 1911).

(3) See P.Abelson.op.cit.p.28.for the study of Virgil in the Middle Ages, and note 6.p.28-29 for further references.

factors which the translators of the classics had to take into account, and which therefore exercised a formative influence on the style of the English used for translating purposes.(1) Since

"l'abondance de bons livres multiplia nécessairement le nombre de ceux qui les étudièrent", (2)

the educated who made use of the benefits of printing would be more critical through their familiarity with the material in which men of letters were working.

Much of the interest and importance of the early history of printing comes from the fact that many of the most influential of the early printers were themselves scholars. They therefore control and consider the work passing through their hands with a sense of their responsibility in guiding public taste and in contributing to scholarship. Caxton in England deserves a place among the men who exhibit literary taste in this early period, the more remarkable in that he had no academic training. It is as well for the progress and consolidation of English prose that he cared more for the English work which could establish a tradition of literary and linguistic achievement than for its supersession by a mass of classical translations and editions equally well supplied by foreign printers. His independent judgment and good sense in choosing to publish English work shows a selective ability which justifies his inclusion in the early stages of English critical history.(3)

He reflects also the taste of his patrons, the scholarly aristocracy, who could travel and share the results of European cultural activity, who could

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(1) See Chapter IV below.

(2) A.A.Renouard."Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde."3 vols.(Paris 1803-1812)  
Tome III.p.16.

(3) See Chapter II below.

buy books, read foreign literature and translate and order translations of those which seemed most valuable.(1) The result is the large number of translations from the French including much edificatory literature, and the courtly literature of entertainment. Thus the most pronounced and influential tastes of the age are soon reflected in the multiplication of printed books.

In Europe, the establishment of printing is made under the auspices of scholars. The first press in Paris was set up by two professors of the Sorbonne, to supply Latin educational manuals for their pupils,(2) and among the scholar printers who followed them were Henri Etienne, Geoffroy Tory and Etienne Dolet,(3). To the most distinguished circle of all, that of the family of Aldus Manutius in Venice, England is linked by the close connection of English scholars with Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.(4) Linacre was connected with the editio princeps of Aristotle, begun in 1495, and completed in 1498.(5) Behind the productions of this press was an eminently scholarly mind, of learning remarkable in his age, and of fine linguistic and literary discrimination. He chose to break away from the line of scholastic literature which was being continued by other presses, and to issue instead carefully documented editions of the best of the classics, supplemented by critical

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(1) e.g. "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye" (1475) translated "...at the commaundement of the right hye mighty and vertuouse Prynresse hys redoubtyd lady. Margarete by the grace of god. Duchesse of Bourgoyne..."

(See "The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton." ed. W.J.B. Crotch for the E.E.T.S. 1928. Prologue. Recto leaf 2.p.2.)

Cf. also "The Dictes or Sayengs of the Philosophres." (1477) Epilogue. 73 recto. (See Crotch p.18).

"Moral Prouerbes." (1478) Epilogue. 4, verso. (see Crotch p.32).

(2) A. Claudin. "The First Paris Press. An account of the books printed for G. Fichet and J. Heynlin in the Sorbonne 1470 and 1472". (Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs. No. VI. 1898.

(3) See R.C. Christie. "Etienne Dolet." (London 1899).

(4) See Lewis Einstein. "The Italian Renaissance in England." (Columbia Univ. 1907)

(5) See P.S. Allen. "Linacre and Latimer in Italy." English Historical Review, July 1903.



commentary and explanatory material, and addressed to the appreciation of scholars whose interest was primarily the study of literature and of language in the spirit of liberal scholarship. The products of his press are those of a process of critical and appreciative learning. In them are supplied both the models and methods of applied criticism.

It was during the fifteenth century, in so many ways a germinal period, that the pulse of English scholarship was quickened by contact with the Italian Renaissance of letters. New knowledge of the classics and a method of studying them particularly important to the development of literary and linguistic sensitiveness, helped to disentangle the threads of English thought. Stores of classical knowledge had been laid open by the work of Italian scholars. These were eagerly studied at Italian universities by men of many European countries and England was not slow in taking her place in the new movement. Discriminating judgment, appreciation of form and style, careful weighing of the value of each author's achievement, all contributed to the development of scholarly method!

"Scholarship eventually means criticism, the discipline of exact thinking within a certain field."(1)

The link between these early English humanists and Continental scholarship is the name of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Humphrey was a scholar and a patron of scholars, well known in Italy and acquainted with the intellectual

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(1) J.S.Phillimore."Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism in England."  
Dublin Review. July and October 1913.

circles there through his friendship with Zanone Castiglione, Bishop of Bayeux.(1) Gifts of Greek and Latin manuscripts were sent from Italy to Humphrey's library, Italian scholars arrived in England, including Titus Livius of Forli, and Antonio Beccario of Verona,(2) pupil of the great educationalist, Vittorino. Humphrey was the patron of Italian scholars, - Leonardo Bruno,(3) whom he encouraged to work on Aristotle's Politics, Piero del Monte, Lapo da Castiglionechio, translator of Plutarch's 'Lives', and Pier Candido Decembrio, translator of Plato's Republic, Books I - V, and his book agent in Italy.(4) There was also a generation of English scholars studying in Italy, their number including such men as Andrew Otis, royal envoy to the Pope, Tiptoft,(5) Grey,Frée ,(6) Flemming, Gunthorpe and Reginald Chicheley, Rector of the University of Ferrara.(7)

From this time, too, dates the beginning of diffusion of Greek culture in England, which, though intermittent, is so important for the development of classical study in England to full fruition. At the monastery at Canterbury, Selling instituted the first real facilities for learning Greek in England

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(1) See P.S.Allen. "The Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and Pier Candido Decembrio." English Historical Review. XIX. July 1914. p.509.

(2) See Einstein op.cit. for further details.

(3) See Sandys op.cit. for further details.

(4) See P.S.Allen op.cit. p.510.

(5) See H.B.Lathrop "The Translations of John Tiptoft." Modern Language Notes. XLI.8. December 1926. p.496-501.

(6) See J.E.Spingarn. "Unpublished letters of an English Humanist. (John Phreas or Free)". Journal of Comparative Literature. Vol.I. (New York 1903) p.47-65.

(7) For further discussion of these Scholars see Einstein, Sandys, ~~...~~ op.cit.

and himself translated the work of St. John Chrysostom. He was later the master of Christ Church School at which Linacre was a pupil, and thus stands between the first and second generations of the Revival of Learning.

In the late years of the fifteenth century, the exchange of scholars between England and Italy continues with the visits to Italy of Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, Latimer, Lily and Colet, influential names in the Tudor tide of scholarship. Grocyn must have known Vitelli, who was invited to New College, Oxford, about 1475 by the Warden Chaundler, and who taught Greek for the first time there.(1) Grocyn himself spent two years in Italy (1488-90) and, on his return, passed on the fruits of his travels in a series of Greek lectures.(2) Thomas Linacre's visit to Italy may have lasted from 1485/6 - 1499,(3) during which time he took part in the preparation of the Aldine "Aristotle."(1495). In the second volume of this edition Aldus acknowledges his learning, calling him

"homo et Graece et Latine peritissimus, praecallensque in doctrinarum omnium disciplina."(4)

The history of the early progress of scholarship(5) is important as providing both the faculty and the material for the formulation of criticism. The attitude to the classics designated as peculiarly "humanist" implies an

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(1) C.E.Mallet. "History of the University of Oxford."(Methuen.1924)  
Vol.I.Ch.X.p.344.

(2) Cf.Erasmus, Letter to Latimer.1517. "Ipse Grocynus...nonne primum in Anglia Graecae linguae rudimenta didicit." (See P.S.Allen.Erasmi Epistolae. II.486).

(3) See P.S.Allen."Linacre and Latimer in Italy." English Historical Review, July 1903.pp.514-517. (4) Ibid. p.515.

(5) See A.C.Clark."The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics." The Library, Transactions of the Bibliographical Society.Second Series.Vol.II. (Oxford 1922).pp.13-42, for progress of manuscripts.

appreciation of excellence of style and matter fused. It is an attempt to consider literature by its own canons instead of relating it always to the allegorical or theological significance, a recognition of certain independent elements - study of language, textual criticism, form and kind. From the assimilation of the classical ideals of life and letters there should emerge a habit of balanced thinking, by means of which the critical faculty may be exercised acutely and exactly, to whatever end it is applied. These qualities, with the accumulation of classical literature and a mass of imitative and critical work gathered round it, are the heritage of men brought up under this aegis who were to be the poets and men of letters of the Tudor period. For this reason, the necessary preparation for criticism is humane scholarship:

"celui sans lequel on ne saurait écrire le premier chapitre d'une Histoire de la Critique, c'est une Histoire de l'Humanisme." (1)

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(1) F. Brunetiere. "L'Evolution des Genres dans l'Histoire de la Litterature."  
(Paris 1890). Avant-propos. p.viii.



CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIEST TUDOR PHASE.

The earliest Tudor phase, leading on from the latter part of the fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, is a germinal period from both the literary and the linguistic points of view. In the work of John Skelton, Stephen Hawes and Gavin Douglas among the poets, and of William Caxton and Lord Berners among the writers of prose there is a notable capacity to develop and try new things within a mainly mediaeval sphere. Without crossing the Rubicon into Renaissance thought, they are conscious of an independent gathering of energy; they reveal an impulse to select, to compare, to create with the help of independent judgment - in short, a critical awareness of literary and linguistic activity.

One means of approach to the examination of the literary taste of the age is the study of its modifications of allegory, the "dominant form" of the Middle Ages.(1) The reverence for the aureate language and elaborate forms of John Lydgate, as compared with the relative simplicity of Chaucer, proves that the poets of this period still admired

"the guyse / in olde antyquyte  
Of the poetes olde / a tale to surmyse  
To klok the trouthe / of theyr infyrmyte  
Or yet on Ioye / to haue moralyte..."(2)

Hawes laments the lack of worthy successors to the master of allegory:

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(1) See C.S.Lewis "The Allegory of Love."(Oxford. 1936).

(2) Stephen Hawes. "The Pastime of Pleasure." Address to "our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth." Edited by W.E.Mead for the E.E.T.S.Original Series, No.173.(1928, for 1927) p.6.11.51-54.

"It is to grete truely / me for to tell  
 Sythen the tyme / that his lyfe was gone  
 In all this realme / his pere dyde not dwell  
 Aboue all other / he dyde so excell  
 None syth his tyme / art wolde succede  
 After theyr deth / to haue fame for theyr mede.

But many a one / is ryght well experte  
 In this connyng / but vpon auctoryte  
 They fayne no fables / pleasaunt and couerte  
 But spend theyr tyme in vaynfull vanityte  
 Makyng balades / of feruent amyte  
 As gestes and tryfles / without fruytfulnes  
 Thus all in vayne / they spende theyr besynes."(1)

Skelton's allegory, the "Bowge of Courte" (before 1509), is written

"callynge to mynde the greate auctoryte  
 Of poetes olde, whyche full craftely,  
 Vnder as couerte termes as coude be,  
 Can touche a trouth and cloke it subtylly  
 Wyth fresshe vtterance full sentencyously..."(2)

The emphasis in these comments upon the allegorical tradition is always upon the cloaking of meaning in the mists of "couerte" expression, and involves a distrust of simplicity inherited from the Lydgate phase. The aim of poets is therefore that expressed by Hawes, when he avows his intention of following

"the trace / and all the parfytenesse  
 Of my mayster Lydgate / with due exercyse."(3)

Hawes, therefore, and Skelton in his allegorical work, accept the tradition of allegory, and the aureate language considered appropriate to this genre. Up to a certain point, they apply the standards set by their chosen master, and

(1) Ibid.p.57.ll.1387-1393.

(2) Poetical Works.ed.A.Dyce.(London 1843) Vol.I.p.30.ll.8-12.

(3) Ed.above.p.6.ll.47-48.

the artifice by which a web of language is spun. This choice imposes upon them the necessity of working according to the rules of Rhetoric, which had preserved a certain critical apparatus concerning diction and style. Hawes, conducting his hero, Grand Amoure, through the Seven Liberal Arts in his search for La Bell Pucell, elaborates the discourse of Rhetoric more fully than that of any other art - a sign of his preoccupation with the machinery of poetic composition. Of "Ymagynacyon", the second part of rhetoric, he says:

"Full meruaylous // is the operacyon  
To make of nought / reason sentencyous //  
Clokyng a trouthe / with colour tenebrous  
For often vnder a fayre fayned fable  
A trouthe appereth gretely profytable."(1)

Yet, although both Hawes and Skelton avowedly accept this method, the finished products are by no means simply reproductions of earlier models, but re-modelled and stamped with the impress of their individual personalities. Hawes is the romantic dreamer, surveying "faery lands forlorn" in a "fayre twy lyt"(2). Skelton is the observer and the satirist, but he recognises the driving force behind the poet's work. He is sure that there is

"..a spyrituall,  
And a mysteriall,  
And a mysticall  
Effecte energiall,  
As Grekes do it call  
Of suche an industry,  
And suche a pregnancy,  
Of heuenly inspyracion  
In laureate creacyon,

(1) Ed. above. p. 33. ll. 710-p. 34. l. 714.

(2) Ibid. p. 17. l. 328.

Of poetes commendacion,  
 That of diuyn myseracion  
 God make his habytacion  
 In poetes whiche excelles,  
 And soiourns with them and dwelles."(1)

Although Hawes avows his intention of producing a Lydgatian allegory, the form he creates is a new one. The didactic purpose is frequently lost to view in his

"perambulat waye / full of all varyaunce"(2)

and all his acquaintance with the rules of rhetoric cannot inhibit his pleasure in journeying there rather than in arriving. Like Malory, he tries to re-create the passing days of chivalry. Grand Amoure has to study courtly feats of arms at the Tower of Chivalry as well as the knowledge of the Seven Liberal Arts imparted with the guidance of Lady Doctrine.(3) The account of his quest combines the allegory of love with the chivalric romance. This capacity for variation and re-combination is indicative of a breadth and energy in the age. It shows that inherited inspiration from Lydgate and others was not allowed to become dictation.

While Hawes shifts the emphasis towards a pleasure more purely poetic than didactic in the "Pastime of Pleasure", Skelton's valuation of allegory is implicit in the gradual discarding of the form as he passes from abstract to concrete and from indirect to direct statement. In the "Bowge of Courte", he

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- (1) "A Replycacyon Agaynst Certayne Yong Scolers Abiured of Late, &c."  
 (Poetical Works.ed.Dyce.Vol.I.p.222.ll.365-378).  
 (2) "The Pastime of Pleasure." (ed.above) p.34.l.740.  
 (3) "I went to doctryne / prayenge her good grace  
 For to assygne me / my fyrst lernynge place."  
 Ibid.p.24.ll.503-504.



uses the framework of allegory, but the action takes place, not in May meadows, but at

"Harwyche Porte, . . .  
In myne hostes house, called Powers Keye." (1)

The figures of the dream, Harry Hafter, with his "gotyshe berde" (2), the "rusty gallande" Ryotte, (3) and the rest, are individuals who have more affinity with the characters of "The Visions of Piers the Plowman" than with the tapestry shadows of Lydgate and Hawes. Skelton's fierce satire bursts through the fragile framework of allegory. The interest of the age inclines to the study of contemporary life and manners rather than to that of the stuff that dreams are made on, and the portrayal of life is Skelton's peculiar gift.

In "Speke, Parrot," (1517-18) he moves a step farther away from allegory. It becomes in this work a flimsy protection against a charge of treason for his outspoken comments on contemporary learning and politics. Similarly, his self-eulogy, "The Garlande of Laurell", (composed 1520c. published 1523) has a framework of allegory, but is too full of unco-ordinated elements to be restrained within this form. The aureate language of the opening and the delicate simplicity of the lyrics to ladies of his acquaintance, the visions of the "Quene of Fame" and "Dame Pallas", the enumeration of his peers in poetic achievement, and tributes to his masters, are hardly held together. The severance from allegory is complete in "Colyn Cloute" (1519c.). It is a dramatic monologue in vigorous Skeltonics, abandoning the farrago of allegorical devices

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(1) Ed. Dyce. Vol. I. p. 31. ll. 34-35.

(2) Ibid. " " p. 39. l. 237.

(3) Ibid. " " p. 43. l. 345.

for plain statement. Colyn says:

"I purpose to shake oute  
All my connyng bagge,  
Lyke a clerkely hagge.."(1)

and Skelton proceeds in this manner, without further preamble or elaboration.

The significance of the work of Hawes and Skelton lies in the reliance upon their own resources, and the critical appraisal lying behind their use of the literary genre predominant in their age. The use made by Hawes of the romantic allegory foreshadows the supreme chivalric romance of Spenser, and proves Hawes' right to be reckoned among the formative influences of the sixteenth century. Skelton's realist work goes much farther than that of many later Tudor writers. His onset, when free from allegory, is more directly personal and human. The background of his scholarship is wide, Robert Whittinton praises the ease and elegance of his Latin work,(2) and Caxton his skill in translation:

"For he hath late translated the epystlys of Tulle / and the boke of dyodorus syculus. and diuerse other werkes oute of latyn in to englysshe not in rude //and olde langage. but in polysshed and ornate termes craftely. as he that hath redde vyrgyle / q̄yde. tullye. and all the other noble poetes and oratours / to me vnknowen..."(3)

He himself cites a comprehensive list of classical authors in the "Garlande of Laurell," - the rhetoricians: "olde Quintiliane with his Declamacyons", (4)

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(1) Ibid. Vol.I.p.313.l.50-53.

(2) "In clarissimi Scheltonis Louaniensis Poetae Laudes Epigramma.  
"..Unda limpidiior, Parioque politior albo..."  
ed.Dyce.Vol.I.Introduction.p.xviii.l.93.

(3) "Eneydos."(1490) Prologue.Sig.Aij.recto - Sig.Aij verso.  
("The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton." ed.W.J.B.Crotch  
for the E.E.T.S.London 1928 (for 1927) Original Series, No.176.)p.109.

(4) ed.Dyce.Vol.I. p.374.l.326.

Cicero, "Prynce of eloquence", (1) - the Greek and Latin poets: "Theocritus with his bucolycall relacyons", (2) Virgil "the Mantuan, with his Eneidos", (3) Horace "with his new poetry", (4) Homer "the fresshe historian", (5) Ovid, "enshryned with the Musis nyne", (6) - the prose wilters, Sallust (7) and Livy (8) - the dramatists, Terence (9) and Plautus. (10) - all the background of the sources of classical knowledge of this period. His mention of the names of Poggio (11), Petrarch (12) and Gaguin (13) shows his acquaintance with later European scholarship. In spite of this academic training, Skelton dissociates himself from the English humanists. The omission of English names from the catalogues of authors in the "Garlande of Laurell" and "Phyllyp Sparowe" is significant of his refusal to accord such men as More and Linacre a place in these high ranks. He is actively antagonistic to the advancing study of Greek, which was identified in the minds of the obscurantists with the incursion of new ideas. The Parrot says:

"In Academia Parrot dare no probleme kepe;  
 For Graece fari so occupyeth the chayre,  
 That Latinum fari may fall to rest and slepe,  
 And sylogisari was drowned at Sturbrydge fayre;

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- (1) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 375. l. 330.  
 (2) Ibid. p. 374. l. 327.  
 (3) Ibid. p. 375. l. 339.  
 (4) Ibid. p. 375. l. 352.  
 (5) Ibid. p. 374. l. 329.  
 (6) Ibid. p. 375. l. 333.  
 (7) Ibid. p. 375. l. 331.  
 (8) Ibid. p. 375. l. 344.  
 (9) Ibid. p. 375. l. 353.  
 (10) Ibid. p. 376. l. 354.  
 (11) Ibid. p. 376. l. 372.  
 (12) Ibid. p. 377. l. 379.  
 (13) Ibid. p. 376. l. 374.

Tryuals and quatryuyals so sore now they appayre,  
 That Parrot the popagay hath pytye to beholde  
 How the rest of good lernyng is roufled vp and troid."(1)

The value of Skelton's work is not, therefore increased by any connection with the literary thought of the Renaissance period. Both Hawes and Skelton show a certain advance from earlier forms, but the shadow of coming events does not seem to have touched them. Such independent critical faculty as they show in their handling of mediaeval forms must be accounted rather to their individual talents and to the spirit of the age in which they were working, a time in which political as well as cultural conditions encouraged both consolidation and enterprise.

Another innovation in poetic form is made by Alexander Barclay's "Eclogues" (1530c.), which mark the adoption of the classical pastoral into English. It is, however, improbable that there is any critical significance in his choice. He seems quite unconscious of blazing a new trail, adopting the eclogue form merely as an opportunity for moralising on contemporary conditions. The later poets who used the pastoral in the full Tudor period, such as Spenser and Barnabe Googe, made an independent study and choice of model, not looking back to Barclay. Barclay's attention to this form merely indicates a general broadening of basis in the Early Tudor period, the variety of literary interests which were growing up.

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(1) ed. Dyce. Vol. II. p. 8. l. 167 - p. 9. l. 173.



At the turn of the century, and in the early decades of the sixteenth century, the character of English literature is very complex. Hawes' use of material from Boccaccio(1) and Barclay's attention to Mantuan and Sallust(2) reinforce the evidence of readiness to make contact with other sources. This outward-looking tendency had been found, of course, among Middle English writers, wherever they had found in the work in Italy or elsewhere material suitable for their own purposes. Chaucer was indebted to Petrarch, and he and Lydgate to Boccaccio, who had something for all comers. In the late fifteenth century, there is felt to be a new stirring of life. After an interval of slower movement, the tempo quickens; there is increased eagerness to annex whatever may be of interest and value; at the very least, prolixity becomes associated with more fertility, and is diversified by some acuteness of perception. In this atmosphere of literary curiosity, the critical faculty could be called into being to justify and compare future directions of literature and language. It is in the linguistic, rather than in the purely poetic, discussions and experiments of the period that the activity of this critical spirit can, perhaps, be more fully appreciated.

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(1) See C.W.Lemmi. "The Influence of Boccaccio on Hawes' 'Pastime of Pleasure'"  
Review of English Studies. Vol. 5. 1929 pp. 195-198.

(2) "Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had  
agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: whiche cronycle is  
compyled in latyn by the renowned romayn Salust. And translated into  
englysshe by Syr Alexander Barclay preest / at cōmaundement of the  
right hie and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke."  
(Published by Pynson between 1519 and 1524).

Linguistic discussion is prolific during this period. The literary fashions of the time were superimposed upon a language in which new tendencies were widening the gulf between past and present and thus affecting the understanding of literary tradition as well as offering new problems for solution.

Chaucer's work had done much to provide a standard literary speech, but since his time further phonological and inflexional changes, and changes in vocabulary had taken place in the language. The work of the preceding centuries is therefore felt to be almost as difficult for the writers of the sixteenth century as the remote Anglo-Saxon period. To make Trevisa's translation of Higden's "Polycronicon" comprehensible to his readers, Caxton finds it necessary to make many alterations in vocabulary. He explains:

"William Caxton a symple person...somewhat haue chaunged the rude and old englyssh / that is to wete certayn wordes / which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden/..."(1)

Reading an "olde boke"(2) in search of the "olde and homely termes"(3) he has been advised to use in his translations, Caxton finds the language quite incomprehensible, for

"...certaynly the englysshe was so rude and brood that I coude not wele vnderstande it. And also my lorde abbot of westmynster ded do shewe to me late certayn euydences wryton in olde englysshe for to reduce it in to our englysshe now vsid./ And certaynly it was wreton in suche wyse that it was more lyke to dutche than englysshe I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be vnderstonden."(4)

(1) "Polycronicon." (1482) Bk.VII.Epilogue.Sig.49.4.recto.(ed.Crotch p.68).

(2) "Eneydos." (1490).Prologue.Sig.A j.(ed.Crotch. p.108).

(3) Ibid.Sig.A j. (ed.Crotch.p.108).

(4) Ibid. Sig.A j.verso.(ed.Crotch.p.108).

Whatever may be the date of these "euydences", all the English of the past is found difficult; drastic changes were felt to have taken place within living memory. Caxton says:

"And certaynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from that. whiche was vsed and spoken whan I was borne / For we englysshe men / ben borne vnder the domynacyon of the mone. whiche is neuer stedfaste / but euer wauerynge/wexynge one season / and waneth ] dyscreaseth another season/..."(1)

The linguistic flux is complicated also by the diversity of dialects in England where

"that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother,"(2) and where, even in Kent, so near to London where the standard language was strongest, was

"spoken as brode and rude english<sup>s</sup> as is in ony place of england..."(3)

Flourishing beside this uncouth native English speech was a fashion for elaborate and highly ingenious language, the product of the "facundious art of Rethorike."(4) This self-conscious, highly artificial style attempts to embody definite standards of linguistic excellence in work created according to certain critical rules. This style is all the more important in the training of sixteenth century linguistic interests since the fashion for patterned speech persists in the "Euphuism" which was one of the most pronounced trends of literary language in the full Tudor period. Berners exhibits a care for style unusual at this period, and exemplifies linguistic

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "The Recueil des Histoires de Troyes." (1476). Prologue verso. leaf 2. (Ed. Crotch. p.4.).

(4) Lord Berners. Translator's Prologue to "Arthur of Little Britain." (1524-5). Fol.iii.verso.

preference consistently maintained. He made his translation (1534) of Guevara's "Book of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius" (1529) from the French version by René Bertaut (1531). The relation of the Spanish, and French styles, <sup>of the</sup> the language of Berners and John Lyly's "Euphuism" has been much discussed.(1) Whatever these may be, it is certain that the vogue for elaborate speech was current in Europe during this period. It was shared by the poets, such as the "rhétoriciens" Jean Marot and Jean Lemaire de Belges(2) as well as by the prose writers. Berners uses both the tendencies of that style - the aureation of vocabulary and the patterning of phrase. His response to the rhetorical cult is independent, since in his translation he has too much care for the value of his author to impose the elaborate style where it is not appropriate. The preface to his translation of Froissart is in his own rhetorical vein, but the use of plainer style, with vigour behind it, for the narrative of the actual translation is a recognition of the spirit of the original. Berners' choice of ornate speech represents the taste of the aristocratic patrons of literature of his day, which is reflected also in the comments of Caxton.

Cultured noblemen stimulated the progress of literature by ordering and supervising translations of their favourite works, and by demanding courtly literature of entertainment. Supply of these demands by printers such as

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- (1) See W.Landmann "Das Euphuismus".(1881).  
 C.Griffin Child."John Lyly and Euphuism."(Münchener Beiträge.VII.1894)  
 A.Feuillerat."John Lyly". (Cambridge University Press.1910).  
 V.M.Jeffery."John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance."(Paris.1928).
- (2) See J.Bédier and P.Hazard."Histoire de Litterature Francaise."Paris 1923.  
 Tome I.pp.131-133, for discussion and bibliography.



Caxton called for the careful exercise of both literary and linguistic judgment. Caxton had to pay due attention to the requests of his influential patrons, and work according to their tastes, in the polished, easy style which they preferred. There is a section of his work which

"is not requysyte ne eke conuenient for euery rude and symple man, whiche vnderstandeth not of science ne connyng...but for noble / wyse/ ] grete lordes gentilmen ] marchauntes that haue seen ] dayly ben occupied in maters towchyng the publyque weal."(1)

His translation of the "Order of Chyualry" (1484?) is, like Malory's "Morte d'Arthur", an appeal for the reinstatement of the chivalric ideal, and addressed to the "Knyghtes of Englonde", whom he asks:

"...where is the custome and vsage of noble chyualry that was vsed in the dayes / what do ye now / but go to the baynes ] playe atte dyse And some not wel aduysed vse not honest and good rule ageyn alle ordre of knyghthode / leue this / leue it and rede the noble volumes of saynt graal of lancelot / of galaad / of Trystram / of perse forest / of Percyual / of gawayn / ] many mo..."(2)

As well as this literature of courtly instruction, Caxton's press provided the romances which were the light reading of the aristocracy, for

"all vertuouse yong noble gentylnen ] wymmen for to rede therin as for their passe tyme /..." and for "gentyll yong ladyes ] damoyssellys..."(3)

Caxton feels himself unequal to the handling of this ornate language. Deference to the wishes of his noble patrons cannot compel this Kentishman, "a symple person",(4) to relinquish his own conviction that plain speech is the best. He willingly acknowledges his lack of instruction in the rhetorical

(1) "Tullius of Olde Age." (1481) Prohemye. Sig. 1, 3. recto. (ed. Crotch. p. 42-43).

(2) Epilogue. Sig. g ij. recto. (ed. Crotch. p. 83).

(3) "Blanchardyn and Eglantine." (1489) Prologue. Sig. i. recto. (ed. Crotch. p. 105).

(4) "Polycronicon" (1482) Bk. VII. Epilogue. Sig. 49. 4. recto. (ed. Crotch. p. 68).

models which would give him skill in style of this elaborate kind:

"I confesse me not lerned ne knowynge the arte of rethoryk / ne of suche gaye termes as now be sayd in these dayes and vsed..."(1)

He distrusts the craze for ornamentation which results in obscurity:

"For in these dayes euery man that is in ony reputacyon in his countre. wyll vtter his commynycacyon and maters in suche maners ] termes that fewe men shall vnderstonde theym / And som ho-//hest and grete clerkes haue ben wyth me and desired me to wryte the moste curyous termes that I coude fynde / And thus bytwene playn rude / ] curyous I stande abashed." (2)

Caxton's importance as a critic of language lies in his trust in his own independent judgment, his refusal to be harried by his patrons into a cast of speech which is alien to his character and preference. As an Englishman of the South-eastern counties, he is familiar with the language in its London form and with dialectal variation. As printer and translator, he examines older English and foreign languages. Working for aristocratic circles, he is au fait with all the more fantastic fashions of speech. From all these strata of language he selects the plain style as comprehensible and acceptable for all purposes, and thus anticipates at this early date the later judgment of scholars, such as Castiglione in Italy, Wilson and Cheke in England. Caxton's judgment is emphatically an independent one. "...in my Iudgemente", he says, when he explains his preference for "the comyn termes that be dayli vsed"(3) and he consciously tries to find a middle style between the uncouthness of very plain English and the aureate terms:

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- (1) "Blanchardyn and Eglantine."(1489)Sig.i. recto.(ed.Crotch.p.105).  
 (2) "Eneydos",(1490).Prologue.Sig.A j.verso - Sig.A ij.recto.(ed.Crotch.p.108-109).  
 (3) "Eneydos."(1490).Preface.Sig.A.ij.recto. (ed.Crotch.p.109).

"...in a meane bytwene bothe I haue reduced ] translated this sayd booke in to our englysshe not ouer rude or curyous but in suche termes as shall be vnderstanden by goddys grace accordynge to my cople."(1)

He anticipates the conviction of the later translators that the opening up of the resources of knowledge to the unlearned is "a noble ]: ... a meritorious dede."(2) Another section of his patrons belonged to commercial circles, and were men who may themselves have felt the lack of much that would have been profitable to them through their inability to read classical or foreign languages. It is at the request of a mercer named William Prat that Caxton undertook the translation of "The Boke of Good Maners."(1487),

"to thende that it myght be had and vsed emonge the people for thamendement of their maners. and to thencreace of vertuous lyuying."(3)

He undertakes other translations by his own judgment, such as "The Game and Playe of the Chesse", (second~~ed~~, 1483) which

"semed ful necessarye for to be had in englisshe / And in eschewyng of ydlenes And to thende that somme which haue not seen it / ne vnderstonde frensse ne latyn. J delybered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge..."(4)

As translator he has to make a critical selection of the work most valuable for translation. Because of his responsibility towards his audience, matter has great importance in his eyes. He commends the study of the "Historie of Jason" (1477) to the Prince of Wales primarily for the instruction to be gained for it:

"To thentent / he may begynne to lerne rede Englissh. not for ony beaute or good Endyting of our englissh tonge that is therin. but for

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(1) Ibid.

(2) "Cordiale."(1479) Epilogue.77.recto.(Crotch.p.39).

(3) Prologue. Sig.a.ij.recto. (Crotch.p.99).

(4) Prologue.Sig.a.ij.recto.(Crotch p.12).

the nouelte of the histories whiche as I suppose hath not be had before the translacion herof..."(1)

Caxton, however, was by no means disposed to disregard quality of style in favour of gravity of matter. He is appreciative of stylistic excellence in the originals of his translations. The French translation of the "Aeneid," for instance, which he used for his "Eneydos." (1490), pleased him

"by cause of the fayr and honest termes ] wordes in frenshe / Whyche I neuer sawe to fore lyke, ne none so playsaunt ne so wel ordred. whiche booke as me semed sholde be moche requysyte to noble men to see as wel for the eloquence as the historyes."(2)

Caxton has the ability, requisite to a translator, to appreciate the style and matter of both languages involved, and to make an adequate transposition of the original into the language of the translation. He feels the necessity of preserving the integrity of the original, and works, he says:

"...folowyng myn auctor as nygh as I can or may not chaungyng the sentence. ne //presumyng to adde ne mynusshe ony thing otherwyse than myne auctor hath made in Freñsshe"(3)

Comparing the qualities of the English language and of Latin, he explains that the work

"reduced in Englysshe tongue / is more ample expowned and more swetter to the reder keyng the Iuste sentence of the latyn/"(4)

He has advanced quite a long way towards a conception of translation as a literary activity with definite standards, and imposing certain obligations upon the translator. The translators of the Wycliffite Bible were building

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(1) Prologue. 3, recto. (Crotch. p. 34).

(2) Prologue. Sig. A j. (Crotch. p. 107).

(3) "The Historie of Jason." (1477) Prologue. 2, recto - 2, verso. (Crotch. p. 33).

(4) "Tullius of Olde Age." (1481) Prohemye. Signature 1, 2, verso. (Crotch. p. 42).

up a similar structure in connection with their activities, but Caxton is the earliest of the secular translators of this period to evolve such deliberate tenets. He is careful always for the ultimate benefit of the English language by his choice of translation, and is eager to give it a grace and elegance similar to that of the French. When he has "grete pleasyr and delyte..."

in "the fayr langage of frenshe whyche was in prose so well and compendiously sette and wreten",

he immediately decides that

"for so moche as this booke was newe and late maad and drawen in to frenshe / And neuer had seen hit in oure englisshe tonge / I thought in my self hit shold be a good besynes to translate hyt in to oure englisshe..."(1)

His position as critic and selector of language is all the more important because of his responsibility as printer, remembering as he does

"that wordes ben perisshing vayne. and forgeteful / And writynges dwelle / and abyde permanent /..."(2)

A touchstone of literary and linguistic taste in this age is the attitude to Chaucer, and the relative importance given to him as compared with Lydgate and Gower in the triad of poets to whom the Early Tudor writers looked for precedent and example. In an age which inclined to rank Lydgate highest, as the master of elaborate expression, Caxton's independence of judgment is proved again by his discriminating praise of Chaucer. He speaks of the excellence of Chaucer's style with a sincerity which makes his comment more than a conventional tribute.

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(1) "Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes."(1476).Prologue (Crotch.p.4.)

(2) "Mirroure of the World." (Second edition, 1490).Prologue.(Crotch.p.51).



He appreciates the pressure behind Chaucer's work:

"For he wrytteth no voyde wordes / but alle hys mater is ful of hye and quycke sentence..."(1)

and the fluent ease of his style seems to Caxton to mark an advance upon the uncouthness of the language in its earlier stages. He sees Chaucer as a benefactor of the English language, who

"by hys labour enbelysshid / ornated / and made faire our englisshe / in thys Royame was had rude speche ] Incongrue / as yet it appiereth by olde bookes / whyche at thys day ought not to haue place ne be compared among ne to hys beauteuous volumes / and acurnate writynges / of many a noble historye as wel in metre as in ryme and prose/..."(2)

In the more minute examination of the way in which Chaucer achieves this effect of polish and cogency, Caxton reveals his own predilection for simplicity and sincerity, the qualities by which Chaucer

"comprehended hys maters in short / quyck and hye sentences / eschewyng prolyxite / castyng away the chaf of superfluyte / and shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence / vtteryd by crafty and sugred eloquence/"

Caxton's comments on literature and language are so discriminating, his attitude to translation so thoughtful, that they point to a mind alive to the many currents of thought in his age, and one which deliberately selects and formulates its decision. He was no scholar, and therefore untouched by any intimation of the intellectual progress of the next phase of the Early Tudor period. There is in him a genuine manifestation of the critical spirit, independently developed and consistently sustained.

(1) "The Book of Fame." (1483) Epilogue. Sig. d. ij. recto. (Crotch. p. 69).

(2) "Canterbury Tales." (Second edition 1484) Prohemye. Sig. a ij. recto. (Crotch. p. 90).

The same problems of style and diction which exercise the prose-writers, Berners and Caxton, occupy the attention of the poets of the period as deeply. There was in poetry the same opposition between the aureate language and the plain style, and the same dissatisfaction with the resources of English.

In the mediaeval tradition of allegory passed on to the Tudor period by Lydgate, the diction of poetry was removed as far as possible from the language of everyday life. It was governed by the elaborate rules of rhetoric, and the term "rethoryke", with the adjectives "facundious" (Berners) or "golden" (Hawes), therefore becomes equated with ornate speech. "Elocucyon" is defined by Hawes as the process of selecting as words suitable for poetry the less colloquial terms of the language. It carefully divides

"...dulcet speche / frome the langage rude  
Tellynge the tale / in termes eloquent  
The barbary tongue / it doth ferre exclude  
Electyng wordes / whiche are expedyent  
In latyn / or in englysshe / after the entent  
Encensyng out / the aromatyke fume  
Our langage rude / to exyle and consume."(1)

This process tended, by its separation of poetry as fire and air, as compared with the baser earth of prose and the language of ordinary usage, to limit its expression to a jargon considered purely poetic. The poet's isolated glory is described by Hawes in terms as "refulgent" as his images.

"Carbuncles / in the most derke nyght  
Doth shyne fayre / with clere radyant beames  
Exylyng derkenes / with his rayes lyght  
And so these poetes / with theyr golden streames  
Deuoyde our rudenes / with grete fyry lemes

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(1) Ll.918-924. (Ed.W.E.Mead.op.cit.) p.41.

Theyr centencyous verses / are refulgent  
Encensynge out / the odour redolent..."(1)

He praises the achievement of Lydgate for his services to the English language. He says that his master has made

"our tongue / so clerely puryfied  
That the vyle termes / shoulde nothyng arage  
As lyke a pye / to chattré in a cage  
But for to speke / with Rethoryke formally  
In the good ordre / withouten vylany."(2)

Wherever the Lydgation tradition is continued into the Tudor period, the aureate language is its formal accompaniment, giving England a place in the general taste for aureate language in contemporary Europe.(3) Hawes is no mean follower of his avowed master. In the work of Skelton in the allegorical framework, the poet produces a vocabulary worthy of the loftiest aureate requirements. The opening of the "Garlande of Laurell" is typical of this vein, both in its matter, the astronomical details, which were part of the machinery of mediaeval allegory, and in its language, a hybrid foreign to the plainness of English.

"Arectyng my syght towarde the zodyake,  
The sygnes xlii for to beholde a farre,  
When Mars retrogradant reuersyd his bak,  
Lorde of the yere in his orbicular,  
Put vp his sworde, for he cowde make no warre,  
And whan Lucina plenaryly did shyne,  
Scorpione ascendynge degrees twyse nyne..."(4)

Such rhetoric is not Skelton's natural language, He tends to the plain style, pungent, as in his satires, lighter and even graceful in some of his

(1) Ibid.Ll.1128-1134.p.48.

(2) Ibid.Ll.1163-1169.p.49.

(3) See reference to the French rhétoriciens etc. p.43 above.

(4) Ed.Dyce op.cit.Vol.I.p.361.Ll.1-7.

slighter lyrics, such as those included in the "Garlande of Laurell."

"Enuwyd your colowre  
Is lyke the dasy flowre  
After the Aprill showre..."(1)

and "mirry Margarete  
As mydsomer flowre,  
Iengyll as fawcoun  
Or hawke of the towre."(2)

and the clear simplicity of the opening of the lyric "To maystres Isabell Pennell" quoted above.

"By saynt Mary, my lady,  
Your mammy and your dady  
Brought forth a godely babi".(3)

Yet Skelton feels that English is clumsy for poetical purposes. He finds it unsuitable for an ornate style, and not even capable of ease and simplicity, seizing eagerly upon the stock complaint of its "rudeness"

"Our naturall tong is rude,  
And hard to be enneude  
With pullysshed termes lusty;  
Our language is so rusty  
So cankered, and so full  
Of frowardes, and so dull, //  
That if I wolde apply  
To wryte ornatly,  
I wot not where to fynd  
Termes to serue my mynde."(4)

In spite of his "Laureate" equipment, he does not, like Hawes, believe it completely inferior to Latin. His use of English for so many purposes indicates that he has some hope of its future possibilities, whereas Hawes

(1) "To maystres Isabell Pennell". (Ed. Dyce Vol. I. p. 401) "Garlande of Laurell" Ll. 985-987. ←

(2) "To maystres Margaret Hussey." (Ed. Dyce <sup>401</sup> p. 402) "Garlande of Laurell" Ll. 1004-7,

(3) "Garlande of Laurell." (Ed. Dyce. Vol. I. p. 400) Ll. 973-5. →

(4) "Phyllyp Sparowe." Ll. 774-783. (ed. Dyce. Vol. I. pp. 74-75)

deplores its unfitness for any serious literary purpose. He feels it a thankless task to try to explain the intricacies of astronomy, for instance, in English. "

"What sholde I wryte more in this mater hye  
 In my maternall tonge opprest with ignoraunce  
 For who that lyst to lerne astronomye  
 He shall fynde all fruytfull pleasaunce  
 In the latyn tongue by goodly ordenaunce."(1)

Skelton feels some apology necessary for submitting a work in English to men accustomed to Latin as the language of literature. His apology has a tone hopeful of the reception which will be accorded to it, auguring well for the future of work in English, in spite of his diffidence. In "Lenuoy" of the "Garlande of Laurell" he defends his use of English thus:

"Go, litill quaire,  
 Demene you faire;  
 Take no dispere,  
 Though I you wrate  
 After this rate  
 In Englysshe letter;  
 So moche the better  
 Welcome shall ye  
 To sum men be:  
 For Latin warkis  
 Be good for clerkis;  
 Yet now and then  
 Sum Latin men  
 May happely loke  
 Vpon your boke."(2)

His gift of forcible expression is, indeed in flat contradiction to conventional deprecation and the alleged "poverty" of English. It is a stern contrast with the diaphanous tissue of words spun by mediaeval allegorists. Truly Skeltonic in

(1) "Pastime of Pleasure." Ll.2906-2910.(ed.W.E.Mead.op.cit.p.112).

(2)Ll.1533-47.(Vol.I.ed.Dyce.p.422)



spirit is the assertion in the verses "Have the Douty Duke of Albany, etc."

"What though my stile be rude?  
With trouthe it is ennewde;  
Trowth ought to be rescude,  
Trowth should nat be subdude."(1)

and, in the same work,

"Though your Englishe be rude,  
Barreyne of eloquence,  
Yet, breuely to conclude,  
Grounded is your sentence  
On trouthe, vnder defence  
Of all trewe Englyshemen,  
This mater to credence  
That I wrate with my pen."(2)

Just as "Colyn Cloute" marks the severance from the allegorical, in favour of the dramatic, the clipped, sharp style marks the emancipation from rhetoric, and is commented on by Colyn for its lack of grace, redeemed by its pungency.

"For though my ryme be ragged,  
Tattered and iagged,  
Rudely rayre beaten,  
Rusty and moughte eaten,  
If ye take well therwith,  
It hath in it some pyth."(3)

Skelton's preference for plain and direct expression is evident in his praise of Chaucer as in Caxton's. Chaucer's matter he finds

"delectable  
Solacious and commendable;  
His Englysh well allowed,  
So as it is enprowed... (4)

(1) Ll. 419-422. (Vol. II. ed. Dyce. p. 80).

(2) Ll. 516-523. (Ibid. p. 83).

(3) Ll. 53-58. (Vol. I. ed. Dyce. p. 313).

(4) "Phyllyp Sparowe." Ll. 790-793. (ed. Dyce. Vol. I. p. 75).

His termes were not darke,  
 But plessunt, easy, and playne;  
 No worde he wrote in vayne..."(1)

He concedes the fact that Lydgate

"Wryteth after a hyer rate;  
 It is dyffuse to fynde  
 The sentence of his mynde..."(2)

From a comparison of his comments on both poets it would seem that there was during his day a desire to find a middle style between that of Chaucer - for

"...men wold haue amended  
 His Englysh, wherent they barke,  
 And mar all ~~that~~ they werke", (3)

and that of Lydgate - for

"some men fynde a faute,  
 And say he wryteth to haute..."(4)

Chaucer and Lydgate mark the limits within which the compromise of style must be made. The setting up of these standards and the conscious comparison made indicate the beginnings of a critical spirit working within a defined field, with accepted models. The same dissatisfaction is felt by the translators of poetry as by Skelton coercing his thought into English. The translators of poetry experience almost greater difficulties in making some approximation between the two languages - the original and English - since a completely literal rendering is less suitable or possible for poetry than for prose. Hence, poetic renderings from other languages are, particularly in this early period, adaptations rather than translations, and the translators

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(1) Ibid. Ll.801-803.

(2) Ibid. Ll.804-807.

(3) Ibid. Ll.797-799.

(4) Ibid. Ll.811-812.

have a less complete sense of responsibility than those who worked in prose.

The necessity for apologising for their use of the vernacular is still strong upon them. The vernaculars have not yet reached so high a status as they had in the full period of Tudor translation. That Locher felt it necessary and useful to translate Brent's "Narrenschiff" into Latin is an admission that the universal language was still necessarily supreme. Since the vernaculars could not equal the resources of the Latin, freedom in handling the material was inevitable. Barclay's "Ship of Fools", a translation of the Latin<sup>(1508c.)</sup> is freely adapted for English purposes.

In Gavin Douglas' comments on his method of translating (1512-13) there is some realisation that divergence from the original must not be carried too far, however slackly this theory was carried out in practice. He is willing to try to preserve the meaning, though admitting the inadequacy of his style, in order that his version may show

"Na thyng alterit in substance the sentence,  
Thocht scant perfyte observit bene eloquens."(1)

He accuses Caxton on this score, of such alteration that the translation and the original were "na mair like than the devill and Sanct Austyne."(2) He makes a critical distinction between the translating activity, and the creative.

"Traist wele, to follow once fixt sentence or mater,  
Is mair practik, difficill, and mair strater,  
Thocht thyne engyne be cle it and hie,  
Than for to write all ways at libertie."(3)

(1) "Heyr the Translator Direkkis his Buik and Excusis Hymself."(Ed.J.Small, Edinburgh, 1874.~~op.cit.~~) Vol.4.p.227.Ll.7 and 8.

(2) "The Proloug of the First Buik of Eneados."Vol.II.p.7.L.29.

(3) Ibid. p.12.l.15-18.

The choice of the original implies, of course, an opinion of its value. Douglas appreciates the excellence of Virgil and says,

"I haue translait a volum wondirfull,  
So profund was this wark at I haue said,  
Me semyt oft throw the deip sey to waid,  
And sa mysty venguhyle this poesy,  
My spreit was reft half deill in extasy."(1)

He has chosen the very fountain-head of eloquence, combined with the excellence of matter on which he comments above.

"...I haue not interpryt he translate  
Every burell rude poet divulgait,  
Na meyn endyte, nor empty wordis wayn,  
Commone engyne, nor style barbarian;  
Bot in that art of eloquens the fluide  
Maiste cheif, profund and copyus plenitude."(2)

His appreciation of Virgil's style makes him aware of the discrepancy between his limpid Latin and the halting uncouthness of the vernacular. For his eulogy of Virgil he uses the customary hyperbole and ornate speech enjoined upon him by fashion, praising Virgil as

"Gemme of ingine and fluide of eloquence,  
Thou peirles perle, patroun of poetrie,  
Rois, register, palme, laurer and glory,  
Chosin cherbukle, cheif flour and cedir tree..."(3)

For the actual translation he refuses to attempt to reproduce the qualities of such a poet, incompatible with the unpolished vernacular,

"Kepand na facund rethorik castis fair,  
Bot haymly plane termes famyliar."(4)

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(1) "The Dyrectioun of his Buik".Vol.4.p.227.Ll.15-18.

(2) Ibid.Vol.4.p.225.Ll.27-32.

(3) "The Proloug of the First Buik of Eneados." Vol.II.p.3.Ll.4-7.

(4) "The Dyrectioun of His Buik." Vol.4. p.14.Ll.27-30.

He decides that the plain style, and a free translation of the Latin to preserve the meaning as closely as possible, will best serve the purposes of his work.

"Besyde Latyne our langage is imperfite,  
 Quhilk in sum part is the caus and the wite,  
 Quhy that of Virgillis vers the ornate bewtie  
 Intill our toung may nocht obseruit be;"(1)

Illustrations of words which cannot be expressed in English with the Latin's precise distinctions support his argument. The use of the plain style is justified by the consequent appeal to a wider audience, including the unlearned. The work must sustain the criticisms of the scholarly, who are familiar with the original, but the main object is to reproduce it as simply as possible for the profit and pleasure of those who will read it for its own intrinsic value. It will

"...to onletterit folk be red on hycht,  
 That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend."(2)

The atmosphere of change and controversy reflected in the prose, poetry and translation of the late fifteenth and early <sup>sixteenth</sup> century, the discussion of style and diction, the evidence of fashions in language, the disuse and modification of old forms for new purposes - all these trends of thought show that it was a time for the consideration of decisions literary and linguistic. There is a gathering of energy within the mediaeval period itself. The writers of this period dissociate themselves sufficiently from the pressure of creation to

(1) "The Proloug of the First Buik of Eneados." Vol.II.p.14.Ll.27-30.

(2) "Ane Exclamatioun." Vol.4.p.230.Ll.26-27.



take stock of their position. They look back to consider the achievement of their fore-runners, and the transmission of their models into the Tudor period. They are most preoccupied by the problems of the language which must be their instrument. It is compared and contrasted with foreign and classical languages, and conclusions are drawn in the process which are important as foreshadowings of all the linguistic controversy of the later Tudor period. The stock complaints of uncouthness become more independent decisions.

No definite critical tenets can be deduced from this period. Its importance is rather in the preparation for the later developments than in any resolution of the difficulties, in the growth of a critical attitude than in the formulation of rules. It marks a new explicit attention to form, and an attempt to select from other literature whatever may promote English achievement. As a period highly sensitive to issues literary and linguistic, one of increasing vitality and promise, it may be regarded as an important prelude to the Tudor theme.

CHAPTER III.THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

Since the foundation upon which religion rests is a text, it is obvious that from the controversy concerning the propriety, aims and methods of Bible translation which accompanied its progress in English up to the work of Tyndale and Coverdale in the Early Tudor period, should issue some contribution to the study of the language, and to the problem of translation which is an important locus of critical discussion. The main issues are, of course, theological, but the men opposed to the translation of the Bible raised so many linguistic points to support their objections that attention is focussed upon language, and upon the adequacy of the English language for the most onerous and exacting of all translations. Bible translators had to marshal their arguments correspondingly to defend their activity. It is therefore valuable for the tracing of linguistic consciousness to take some account of the process which culminated in a work which set the seal on the use of English as a literary language.

There has always been an incontrovertible use for the vernacular in religious instruction. Edificatory and devotional matter must be passed on to the layman in his own language, and the instructor must have some means of access to this vernacular matter, since so much depended upon citations of the Scriptures. All religious instructors were by no means learned themselves, and therefore felt the need, as much as their flock, of a standard source of reference instead of a fluid tradition of interpretation and

comment. There was a strong conviction that it was

"spedful not oonly to the lewed peopple but also to the lewed curatis, to have bookis in Englisch of needful loore to the lewed peple; for many curatis kunnen not construe ne expowne her pater noster, ne aue, ne crede, ne the ten commaundementis, ne the seuerne dedely synnes, ne many othere thingis, that thei ben bounden to knowe and to teche othere, as the lawe shewith."(1)

Preaching too helped to maintain the continuity of the vernacular for devotional purposes. It was but a step farther to demand the writing of sermons, which would help to stabilise the language. Reginald Pecock, a fearless advocate of "reding ... in þe english bible,"(2) was quick to see the coincidence between oral instruction and reading in the vernacular, and

"for like causis for whiche clerkis prechen þe maters of þese seid bookis to þe peple in her comoun langage..."(3)

he writes his own books of instruction. He is convinced that there can be no harm in

"prentying into hem abiding deuocioun, wiþoute þat þe peple haue at hem silf in writing which þei mowe ofte rede or heere ofþrad þe substancial poyntis and trouþis whiche ben to hem to be prechid bi mouþe."(4)

From the latter half of the fourteenth century onwards the use of vernacular versions of the Bible had been hotly debated, having been brought into prominence by the activities of the Lollards. Opposition to the plan of

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- (1) Wycliffite tract belonging to the University of Cambridge. Author(s) unknown. See "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers." ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden (Oxford University Press. 1850). Vol. I. Preface. p. xiv. note k.
- (2) "Donet." (after 1443) ed. Miss E. V. Hitchcock for the E. E. T. S. (London 1921) Orig. Series. No. 156. p. 172. 1, 2.
- (3) "The Reute of Crysten Religiõn." ed. W. C. Greet for the E. E. T. S. (London 1927 for 1926) Original Series. No. 171. Prolog. p. 19 7. b.
- (4) Ibid. P. 20.

making the text of the Bible available to the layman was based upon the belief that the interpretation of the Scriptures was the prerogative of the Church alone. This interpretation was fourfold.(1) Holy Writ was to be expounded by the clergy

"sometimes morally, sometimes allegorically, and sometimes anagogically, and not according to the literal meaning of the words, - as in the biblical poems, which in no case are to be interpreted as literally true."(2)

The use of a Lollard text of the Bible, un glossed, was held to be excessively harmful, as it was based upon the literal interpretation only. This was the orthodox and most serious accusation against the Lollards. By reason of the stress they laid upon the text of the Bible, the controversy takes a linguistic form, and a spate of discussion concerning the character and capabilities of the English language ensues. This need not imply an increased linguistic consciousness, although it is contemporaneous with the re-establishment of English for many purposes.(3) It is more probable that the assertion of the inadequacy of English was an easy argument for anyone who objected on any grounds to the translation of the Bible, and it is one which recurs throughout this period in Early Tudor discussions. Although the issues of this controversy are theological, the method leads to the marshalling of arguments and formulation of varying views on the status of

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- (1) Cf. H. Caplan. "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching." *Speculum*. 4. 1929.
- (2) From a tract in defence of Nicholas Hereford by Thomas Palmer, against a tract by the Lollard Walter Boute tried for heresy, 1393. In. *Reg. Johannis Treforant, ep. Herefordensis 1389.1404.* (See M. Deanesly. "The Lollard Bible." (Cambridge 1920. Ch. XI. p. 288.).
- (3) See Introductory Chapter. (Chapter I above.)

the English language which have latent and implicit in them the germs of a linguistic critical attitude.

Before the time of Wycliffe there had appeared no authorised complete version of the Scriptures in English. Portions had been translated by Coedmon, Bede, King Alfred and others in the Anglo-Saxon period, and the Wycliffites quoted this tradition as a justification of their own attempts,<sup>(1)</sup> and an argument to be used against the opposition of the Church. This opposition was not expressed in any definite mandate, but was tacitly understood. The appearance (1380-1383) of the versions associated with the name of Wycliffe organised the Church's defences. Vigorous debates ensued, in which the moving spirit was John Purvey<sup>(2)</sup>. At Oxford in particular, battle raged between friars and Lollards. The former set their faces firmly against translation of the Bible in general and into English in particular. The arguments of the master of the Franciscans at Oxford, William Butler<sup>(3)</sup> and the friar Thomas Palmer<sup>(4)</sup> are typical of the Church's general attitude to Bible translations. The assertion of the inevitable inaccuracy of an English

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- (1) Cf. Purvey. Prologue to "alle the bokis of the Bible of the oolde testament" (1388c.) "Lord God! sithen at the bigynnyng of feith so manie men translatiden into Latyn, and to greet profyt of Latyn men, lat oo symple creature of God translate into English, for profyt of English men; for if worldli clerkis loken wel here croniclis and bokis, thei shulden fynde, that Bede translatide the bible, and expounide myche in Saxon, that was English, either comoun langage of this lond, in his tyme; and not oneli Bede, but also king Alured, that foundide Oxenford, translatide in his laste daies the bigynning of the Sauter into Saxon, and wolde more, if he hadde lyued lengere." (Forshall and Madden. "Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible. Vol. I. p. 59).
- (2) See M. Deanesly. op. cit. Ch. XI. p. 268-297.
- (3) Ibid. p. 289.
- (4) Ibid. p. 290.



translation is persistently advanced (1) and appears in official form in the prohibition of the use of vernacular translations by the provincial council of Oxford in 1408(2):

"Also, since it is dangerous, as S. Jerome witnesses, to translate the text of holy scripture from one language into another, because in such translations the same meaning is not easily retained in all particulars:... therefore we decree and ordain that no-one shall in future translate on his own authority any text of holy scripture into the English tongue or into any other tongue, by way of book, booklet or treatise. Nor shall any man read this kind of book, booklet or treatise."(3)

This decree marks the end of one phase of the argument. The nature of the battle was determined, and it was obvious that much of the struggle would be played out on linguistic grounds. Both sides focussed their attention on the methods and exactitudes of translation, and the English language had become a weapon for both sides, the one to attack with a charge of heresy through mistranslation, construed as wilful, the other to defend by unassailable excellence, achieved by careful study of a translator's duty.

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(1) William Butler, "contra translationem Anglicanam." (fol.202, col.1).

"Sic constat quod libri si multiplicarentur essent mendosi, qui cito legentes inducerent ad errorem: ergo, periculosum esset tales libros scribere."

(See M. Deanesly op.cit. Appendix II. p.401)

Thomas Palmer. "De translatione reverse scripturae in linguam Anglicanam."

[Ad quintum] nego consequentiam, quia in linguam Hebraicam, Graecam et Latinam ipsa potest transferri, non tamen sic potest in omnem linguam, quia alphabeto Latinorum non utuntur neque Graecorum neque Hebraicorum, et licet uterentur illo non tamen expediret neque deberet omnia in illa transferri, propter quaedam ante dicta."

(See M. Deanesly op.cit. Appendix II. p.435).

(2) Constitution VII. against Lollardy. See D. Wilkins, "Concilia. Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae..." Londini. 1737. Vol. III. 317.

(3) See M. Deanesly. op.cit. -.296.

The prohibition of the use of vernacular versions proved quite ineffectual. Large numbers of texts were in circulation, such as those seen by Sir Thomas More.<sup>(1)</sup> Men of the persuasion of Wycliffe were strongly convinced that

"the gospelle is rewle, be the whilk ich cristen man owes to lyf."<sup>(2)</sup>

The demand for this general reading of the Bible was great enough to ensure a wide circulation of English texts for

"many lewd men are, that gladly wold kon the gospelle if it were draghen in to Englisch tung, and so it suld do grete profete to man saule..<sup>(3)</sup>

A written version would stabilise the necessary sources of knowledge, and lead to closer study. Its advocates assert

"that it is leefful and spedful to hem that kunne rede, and name-liche to gentellis, to haue Goddis lawe writen in bookis, that thei mowen red it, and so the better kunne; for it is a comoun sawe, and soth it is, Worde and wynd and mannes mynde is ful schort, but letter writen dwellith."<sup>(4)</sup>

An outcome of this standardisation of the groundwork of religion would be the fixing of a standard language, the choice of diction and style which

- 
- (1) "...my self haue seen and can shew you bybles fayre and old writen in englishe, whiche haue been knowen and seen by the byshop of the dyoces, and left in leye men's handes and women's to suche as he knewe for good and catholike folk.." "Dialogue concernynge heresydes.." (1528) See English Works of Sir Thomas More, reproduced in facsimile from William Rastell's edition of 1557, ed. W.E. Campbell. Introductions and Notes by A.W. Reed. (London & New York, 1931) Vol. II. p. 234. Book III. Chap. 15. col. 2. H. See M. Deanesly. op.cit. Ch. I. p. 3-14 for discussion of the identity of these Bibles.
- (2) Forshall and Madden. op.cit. Preface p. x. note f. Contemporary commentary prefaced to a version of the Gospel of St. Matthew. (Author unknown).
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Forshall and Madden. op.cit. Preface. p. xiv. note k. Tract in MS belonging to University of Cambridge.

would be acceptable to the learned and comprehensible to the layman, the same two-fold demand which was realised by the secular translators. Such a combination was even more imperative to Bible translators than to them, because of the supreme importance of their text, which extended beyond the domain of the purely scholarly or learned, and upon which rested vital religious issues.

With the Reformation came a renewed assertion of the necessity for the individual to interpret the Scriptures for himself, and a rejection of the authority of the Church as the source of inspired interpretation. Men such as Thomas More realised the danger of this uncontrolled individualism and the errors to which it might lead. In his "Dialogue concerning heresyes" (1528) (1), meeting the arguments of the Messenger step by step, he gives a comprehensive survey of the relations of the Church and the Reformers at this time. Discussion of the use of vernacular Bibles takes an important place in the argument, since the Church feared so deeply the effect this might have upon her prerogative. The essential point which More enforces is that the prohibition of vernacular versions is not directed against translation per se, but against inaccurate and therefore dangerous versions tending to the fostering of heresy. The author answers the

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(1) See "The English Works of Sir Thomas More, reproduced in facsimile from William Rastell's edition of 1557, and edited, with a modern version of the same, by W.E. Campbell, with Introductions and Philological Notes by A.W. Reed." (London and New York. 1931) Vol. I. ff. 103-288.

Messenger's challenge:

"I see no cause why the cleargie shoulde kepe the byble out of ley mannes han=des, that can no more but theyr mother / tong."(1)

by a modified view of the prohibition.

"...I haue shewed you y<sup>t</sup> they kepe none frō thē, but such translacion as be either not yet approued for good, or such as be alredi reprovod for naught, as Wi=kliffes was & Tindals."(2)

The Messenger insists that the attitude of the clergy is in the main much less liberal:

"I heare in euerye place almost where I find any learned man of thē, their min=des all set theron to kepe y<sup>e</sup> scripture frō vs. And they seke out for that parte eue=ry rotten reason that they can find, and set them forth solenely to the shew, though fyue of those reasons bee not woorth a figge."(3).

Among the reasons upon which they seize, he cites the recurrent excuse of the crudity and inadequacy of the English language:

"Yet they say further y<sup>t</sup> it is hard to trās=late y<sup>e</sup> scripture out of one tong into an other, and specially they say into ours, which they call a tong vulgare [and] barba=rous."(4)

Thomas More in answer delivers the famous eulogy of the possibilities of the English language which sets the seal of scholarly approval upon the use of the vernacular in the sixteenth century. It is all the more notable by reason of its early date, before the work of the secular translators and the convictions of scholars such as Cheke and the Cambridge circle could prove its justice. More refutes the accusation of "barbarous", which was levelled

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- (1) "Dyalogue concernynge heresyas" (facsimile reproduced op.cit.Vol.II p.105-288) "The thirde boke. The .16. Chapter. (f.240.col.2 H.).  
 (2) Ibid. (f.241.col.1.A).  
 (3) Ibid. (f.241.col.2.F,G).  
 (4) Ibid. (f.241.col.2.H).

too glibly against the vernaculars by men of an age intoxicated with the study of Greek and Latin excellence.

"For as for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasye. For so is, as euery lerned mā knoweth, euery straunge language to other. And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubte but it is plenteous enough to expresse our myndes in anye thing wherof one mā hath vsed to speke with another."(1)

He finds the difficulties of translation no greater for the English language than for any other, and appreciates the discipline of reproducing the original as exactly as possible. The opinion that this is impossible is no more valid for the work of the sixteenth century than for that of any other age when translation was attempted.

"Nowe as touchynge the / difficultie which a translatour fyndeth in expressing well and liuely the sentēce of his author, which is hard alwaye to do so surely but that he shall sometime minyshe eyther of the sentence or of the grace that it bereth in the formar tong: that poynt hath lyen in their lyght that haue translated the scrypture alreadye eyther out of greke into latine, or out of hebrue into any of them both, as by many translaciōs which we rede already to them that be learned appereth."(2)

The convictions of Erasmus, More, and More's antagonist Tyndale are essentially the same. Erasmus' expression of belief in the usefulness of a translation for general use is the most eloquent of them all:

"And truely do I dissent from those men / whiche wold not that the scripture of Christ shuld be trāslated in to all tonges / that it might be reade diligently of the private and seculare men and women /...

I wold to god /y<sup>e</sup>. ploumā wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme / And that the wever at his lowme / with this wold driue away the tediousnes of tyme. I wold the wayfaringe man with this

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(1) Ibid. (f.243.col.2.H).

(2) Ibid. (f.243.col.f.H - f.244.col.1.A).



pastyme / wold expelle the werynes of his iorney."(1)

Erasmus' publication in 1516 of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation, (2) marks the scholarly approach to the problem of translation. He comprehended the importance of having an exact and accurate text of the original, before further translations could be attempted. It is significant that the restored knowledge of Greek and all the philological apparatus resulting from the revival of learning should be turned to the examination of the text of the Scriptures, behind the Vulgate, in Northern Europe, where the Reformation took strong hold upon the minds of scholars as well as of theologians.

Tyndale was as zealous as Erasmus for the enlightenment of the unlearned people, having

"perceaued by experyence, how that it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth, excepte y<sup>e</sup> scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge, that they might se the processe, ordre and meaninge of the texte."(3)

Upon the principle, Erasmus, More and Tyndale are agreed. The emphasis of the prolonged controversy concerning the use of vernacular versions has shifted. It is no longer confined to the issue between the Church, unwilling to yield its prestige as guardian of Scriptural mysteries, and the translators eager to make them available to all. The controversies of the Early Tudor

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(1) Prefixed to his Greek translation of the New Testament. "Parnelesis ad lectorem pium," translated by William Roye, (printed at Antwerp 1529).

(2) Revised editions issued 1519, 1522.

(3) Preface to Genesis in his version of the Pentateuch, printed 1530. (quoted A.W.Pollard. "Records of the English Bible," (Oxford Univ. Press 1911) p.95).

For account of the Pentateuch, see E.Gordon Duff. "A Short Account of Tindale's Pentateuch. "Marburg" 1530 (London 1910).

period are more purely linguistic, debating more subtle points of diction and translation with all the sharpened critical faculty which is a product of so many other controversies of this age. The importance of this critical discrimination is enhanced by the gravity of the subject matter. Since a charge of heresy might hang upon an inaccurate or false translation, a correspondingly meticulous care had to be exercised by the responsible translator.

Tyndale comments upon the carping spirit in which translators of the Scriptures were examined:

"For they which in tymes paste were wonte to loke on ~~no~~ more scripture than they founde in their duns or soch like develysh doctryne, haue yet now so narrowlye loked on my translatyon, that there is not so much as one I therein if it lacke a tytle over his hed, but they haue noted it and nombre it vnto the ignorant people for an heresy."(1)

He was sure of the fitness of the English language for his high purposes and refuted the imputation of its uncouthness as vehemently as ~~St.~~ Thomas More, citing like him the tradition behind his work:

"Saynt Hierom also translated the Bible in/to his mother tonge, Why maye not we also? They wil saye, it can not be translated into our tonge it is so rude. It is not so rude as they ar false lyers."(2)

Although so closely allied in theory, with the same consciousness of the strenuous labour imposed upon the translator, and the faith that the English language was an instrument easily wrought to their purposes, they were

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(1) Ibid. (Pollard. op.cit.p.94).

(2) "The Obedience of a Christian Man." (1528). To the Reader. . . .  
Newly Printed and diligently corrected. Hans luft at Marlborow in the lande of Hesse. 1535. (earlier edition temporarily not available at B.M.) Fol.XXV.verso.

bitterly opposed on the detail of the practice. Tyndale had examined and compared the qualities of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English, so that his translation is undertaken with the full sense of the essential character of each language upon which the theory of translation lays such stress. He decides that

"...the Greke tonge agreeth moare with the english then with the latyne. And the properties of the Hebrue tonge agreeth a thousande tymes moare with the english then with the latyne. The maner of speakynge is both one / so that in a thousande places thou needest not but to translat it into the englysh worde for worde,/ when thou must seke a cōpasse in the latyne / and yet shalt haue moch worke to translate it welfaueredly so that it haue the same grace and swetnesse / sence and pure vnderstandinge with it in the latyne / as it hath in the hebrue.."(1)

Nevertheless, one of More's accusations against Tyndale is that he has ignored the authority of the vernacular in that he has

"mysse translated three woordes of great weighte and euerye one of them is as I suppose more than thryse three tymes repeted and rehearsed in the booke...The one is...this worde [priestes.] The other the Church. The thyrde Charitye..."(2)

Tyndale had translated these words respectively as "seniors", "congregation", and "love", and More says:

"Nowe dooe these names in our English toungue,/ neyther expresse the thynges that be mēt by them,"(3)

this reason preceding the theological objection that

"he had a mischieuous minde in the change."(4)

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(1) Ibid.Fol.XV.verso.

(2) "Dialogue concernynge heresyas." (ed.Campbell.op.cit.f.220.col.2.H).

(3) Ibid.f.220.col.2.H - f.221.col.1.A .

(4) Ibid.f.221.col.1A.

The heretical construction which More elaborates upon the evidence of these words is significant of the grave importance attached to the choice of words with the accepted meanings which would offend no conscience. Like the secular translator Tyndale had to observe the rules of usage selected by the criteria of scholars from the language of everyday speech. More amplifies his statement, and reiterates what is one of the most important principles of linguistic criticism in the Early Tudor period. Continuing his argument concerning the application of the word "congregation," signifying "a companye of Turkes as of Crysten men"(1) as against the word "church", the term used for a company of Christian people, he says:

"And I sayed and yet I say, that this is trew of y<sup>e</sup> vsuall sygnificacyon of these wordes them selfe in the englyshe tonge, by the comē custume of vs englyshe peple, that eyther now do vse these wordes in our langage, or that haue vsed byfore oure dayes. And I saye that this comen custume and vsage of speche is the onely thyng, by whyche we knowe the ryght and proper sygnifycacyon of any worde / in so mych that yf a worde were taken oute of laten, french, or spaynishe, [and] were for lakke of vnderstandyng of the tonge from whense yt came, vsed for a nother thyng in englyshe then yt was in the formare tonge: then sygnyfyeth it in england none other thyng than as we vse yt and vnderstande therby, what so euer yt sygnifye anywhere elles."(2)

This is a concise formulation of the principles which were to emerge in the middle of the century in the discussions of the Cambridge circle connected

(1) "The Cōfutacyon of Tyndale's answere, made by syr Thomas More knyght lorde chaūcellor of Englonde." Book III.Fol.clxxxi. Printed Rastell 1532.

(2) Ibid. Fol.cxviii.

with Sir John Cheke. The augmenting of the English language by borrowings from foreign languages, which had its place in the "ink-horn" controversy in which the same scholars were involved, was a particularly cogent problem for the translator. Being forced sometimes to coin equivalents not yet included in the vocabulary of the English language for words in his original, he, almost more than original writers, had to set himself some principle to control this tendency. More clearly apprehends the moderation and care for the character of the language which could make foreign coinages valuable additions to the language. Careful scrutiny of every word is an essential part of the translator's task. More rejects Tyndale's attempts to justify his choice of renderings because he cannot "saye that thys is the proper sygnyfycacyon of the worde, [church] whyche is the thyng that a translatur must regarde."(1)

Even if Tyndale's religious persuasions can not be reconciled with his own, More demands at least the use of accurate English in his translations:

"...though I can not make hym by no meane to wryte trewe mater, I wolde haue hym yet at the lestewyse wryte trewe englyshe."(2)

The general preoccupation with the English language, from which there evolves a considerable body of critical comment and dicta, therefore plays an important part in one of the most serious controversies in the Early Tudor period. Many of the pronouncements thrown off in the heat of argument

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(1) Ibid. Fol. cix.

(2) Ibid. Fol. clxxxi. (For discussion of More's own style, which might be examined in the light of these critical comments, see J. Delcourt. "Essai sur la langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses oeuvres anglaises." (Paris 1914).



contribute to the stimulus and gradual building up of the critical attitude. These are particularly valuable when they throw light upon the personalities who were the moving spirits of the age in many spheres of activity, but who yet remain elusive, their work being no adequate ~~indication~~ of their personal influence. Sir John Cheke, the acknowledged intellectual leader of his time, takes his place in the controversy concerning Bible translation, and another fragment can be added to the mosaic which makes up his portrait.

The same names recur as leaders of the forces of liberal thought or obscurantism, whether in a religious or secular context. Cheke and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, soon to be engaged in a fierce struggle about the reformed pronunciation of Greek which was taken to be an indication of too liberal intellectual ideas, pursue their respective courses in a controversy concerning the language of the Bible.

Gardiner strenuously opposed the printing of the Great Bible in 1539. When Grafton and Whitchurch collected from Paris the material left after the English printers there had fled, accused of heresy, they tried to continue their work in England. This they did

"not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the bishops namely, Steven Gardiner and his fellowes, who mightily did stomacke and maligne the printing thereof."(1)

He had already, in 1535, taken some part in the projected "Bishops' Bible." Cromwell delegated to each Bishop a portion of the New Testament for his

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(1) Fox. "Actes and Monumentes." 4th edition. London. 1583. p. 1191.  
(Quoted A.W. Pollard. op.cit. p. 227).

correction, and Gardiner seems to have completed his share, for he speaks in a letter to Cromwell of June 10th, 1535, of

"having finished the translation of Saynt Luke and Saynt John, wherin I have spent a gret labour."(1)

He appears again in the condemnation of the Great Bible at a Convocation in 1542, at which this version was voted unfit for use

"nisi prius debite castigetur et examinetur juxta eam Bibliam quae communiter in ecclesia Anglicana legitur."(2)

Again the focus of the dispute is linguistic. Gardiner, ever zealous for the cause of the Latin language, and unwilling to sacrifice the Latin element in the vernacular, drew up a list of about a hundred words which he proposed should be retained

"pro eorum germano et nativo intellectu et rei majestate, quoad poterit vel in sua natura retineri, vel quam accommodatissime fieri possit in Anglicum sermonem."(3)

Had the future of the English Bible translation lain in the hands of men of Gardiner's persuasion, the compromise between Latin dignity and native lucidity and simplicity would not have been accomplished so successfully as it was established in the work of Tyndale, and confirmed by Miles Coverdale.

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- (1) See "State Papers of Henry VIII." Vol.I, p.430. Printed 'From Cromwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House. Bundle W.'. (Quoted A.W.Pollard. op.cit. p.196-197, note 2).
- (2) See Wilkins's "Concilia." Vol.III.pp.860 seq. (Quoted A.W.Pollard.op.cit. p.272. Translated by A.W.Pollard:"...until first purged and examined side by side with the (Latin) Bible commonly read in the English Church." (op.cit.p.274).
- (3) See Wilkins's "Concilia." Vol.III.ppp.860 seq. (Quoted A.W.Pollard.op.cit. p.273). Translated by A.W.Pollard:"...for their germane and native meaning and for the majesty of their matter might be retained as far as possible in their own nature or be turned into English speech as closely as possible." (op.cit.p.274).

Sir John Cheke, as anxious to preserve the Saxon character of English as Gardiner was to obscure it with Latin, issued a counterblast to the Latinists in his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew from the original Greek into Saxon speech. He substituted native formations even for the Latin derivatives tactfully used by Tyndale. A comparison with other versions(1) shows that Cheke's alterations did not receive the sanction of later versions. They merely prove that the best course for the English language was the judicious admixture of other elements advocated by men such as Sir Thomas Wilson and Sir Thomas Elyot. The type of Germanic compound which he tried to revive had been largely given up. Cheke's aim was to construct a vocabulary which would be comprehensible to all who knew only their native language, but the words he proposed to substitute for the foreign compounds which had passed into common currency were as foreign to such people as a vocabulary on the basis of Gardiner's suggestions would have been. It is, however, significant of the pervasive interest in language in the sixteenth century to find the same conflicting principles as in other scholarly discussions and critical loci.

(1) Comparative table of equivalents in the versions of Cheke and others.

(Quoted from edition by James Goodwin. London 1843. Introd. p. 18.)

<u>Cheke</u>		<u>Wyclif. 1380</u>	<u>Tyndale. 1534</u>	<u>Authorised Version 1611</u>
outpeopling.	I. 17.	transmygracioun.	captivite.	carrying away.
wiseards.	II. 16.	astromyens.	wyse men.	wise men.
moond.	IV. 24.	lunatik.	lunatyke.	lunaticke.
tollers.	V. 46.	pupplicans.	publicans.	publicans.
groundwrought.	VII. 25.	foundid.	grounded.	founded.
hunderder.	VIII. 5.	centurien.	centurion.	centurion.
frosent.	Note. X.	apostlis.	apostles.	apostles.
biwordes.	XIII. 3.	parablis.	similitudes.	parables.
orders.	XV. 2.	tradicions.	tradicions.	tradition.
freschman.	XXIII. 15.	prosilite.	[circumlocution].	proselyte.
crossed.	XXVII. 22.	crucified.	crucified.	crucified.

The stormy progress of the translation of the Bible into English leaves in its wake a trail of comment upon the exigencies of the labour. It demanded the co-operation of the men who were persuaded of their religious avocation, who had not their "wit occupied about worldli thingis"(1), with the learned, to help them with the actual process of collation and translation. The Lollard Bible was produced with a great deal of labour:

First, this symple creature hadde myche trauaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde biblis and othere doctouris, and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sundel trewe; and thanne to studie it of the newe, the texte with the glose, and othere doctouris, as he migte gete, and speciali Line on the elde testament, that helpide ful myche in this werk; the thridde tyme to counseile with elde gramariens, and elde dyuynis, of harde sentencis, hou tho mizten best be vndurstonde and translatid; the iiij.tyme to translate as cleerli as he coude to the sentence, and to haue manie gode felawis and kunnynges at the correctyng of the translacioun."(2)

In the Early Tudor period, when translation had become the pastime of learned men and of the cultured aristocracy, Bible translation was still this all-absorbing discipline, calling for the exercise of a man's critical and intellectual faculties to the uttermost. Nicholas Udall recognises the exacting nature of the Bible translator's duty, that

"...the thing is suche as muste so throughlye occupie and possesse the dooer, and must haue hym so attente to applie that same exercise onely, that he may not duryng that season take in hand any other trade of businesse whereby to purchase his lyuing: besides that the thing cannot bee dooen without bestowynge of long tyme, greate watchyng, muche peines, diligente studye..."(3).

(1) Purvey's Prologue (See Forshall and Madden. op.cit.Vol.I.Preface.p.60).

(2) Ibid. p.57.

(3) Translation of "The Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testament."(1551) Vol.I.The Preface "Unto the Kinges Maiestie." Fol.[11.verso.]



He further draws the distinction between the freedom of the creative activity as compared with the watchfully critical process of translation. He explains that

"the laboure selfe is of it selfe a more peinefull and a more tedyous thyng, then for a manne to write or prosecute anye argumente of hys owne inuencion. A man hath hys owne inuencion readye at his own pleasure without lettes or stoppes to make suche discourse as his argumente requireth: but a translatour must of force in manier at euerye other woorde staigh, and suspende bothe his cogitacion and his penne to looke vpon his autoure, so that he mighte in equall tyme make thrise so muche, as he can bee hable to translate."(1)

This is a clear recognition of the unremitting exercise of judgment called for in translation, the double demands of the original and the rendering, and the responsibility imposed upon the translator to make this rendering as exact as is consonant with the terms of the language of translation.(2)

This responsibility compels them to a close study of the methods by which the meaning may be transmitted unchanged by transposition into another idiom. The conclusion of the Bible translators is that the literal equivalents of words in both languages must be sacrificed if necessary to keep "sententia" unimpaired, allowing for the different characters of both languages. They know that

"a translatour hath greet nede to studie wel the sentence, both bifore and aftir, and loke that suche equiuok wordis acorde with the sentence.."(3)

Their regard is for the eventual lucidity of the finished product rather than for a pedantic reproduction of the original, exact in translation but awkward

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Purvey's Prologue. (See Forshall and Madden, op.cit. Preface, p.60).



and obscure as a literary work. The Wycliffites, early in the line of this tradition found that the best translation from Latin into English is

"to translate aftir the sentence, and not oneli aftir the wordis, so that the sentence be as opin, either openere, in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro the lettre; and if the lettre may not be suid in the translating, let the sentence euere be hool and open, for the wordis owen to serue to the extent and sentence, and ellis the wordis ben superflu either false."(1)

This emphasis on the "openness" of meaning is one of the most essential tenets of the Bible translator. The instruction of the layman by opening to him an accurate and reliable version of the Scriptures was the very mainspring of the whole movement. Accuracy of translation achieved at the expense of the simplicity which would make it easily understood by all would defeat the whole end and aim of men such as Wycliffe, and his successors, Erasmus, More and Tyndale. The fault of following the Latin too closely spoilt the effect of the first Wycliffite translation, and this defect had to be remedied in the second recension. Translators of the Early Tudor period benefited by the general attitude towards language during the early years of the sixteenth century. The norm of standard speech, "a selection of the language really used by men" is more firmly established, and an increasing sense of linguistic propriety helps them to avoid the faults of the earlier translators. Miles Coverdale, who continued the work set on foot by Tyndale had this linguistic sense highly developed. In 1535 he produced a translation from the German and Latin, which, in its second edition, was formally sanctioned by the king's licence. The care with which he went about his activities

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(1) Ibid.p.57.

is the outcome of a highly self-conscious attitude to linguistic study.

He claims both accuracy of translation and ease of style:

"...I haue not in any poynte gone from the true meanyng of the authoure, but haue thorowly obserued the phrases of both tongues. auoydyng in all that I myght the darke ma=ner of translatyng after the latine phrases, to the intente the Englyshe reader myghte haue the full vnderstandyng hereof wythout anye knowledge of the latyne tongue."(1)

Behind his translation of the Bible of 1535, lies a long process of selection and comparison. He says:

"To help me herein I haue had sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch interpretors, whom because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible, I haue been the more glad to follow for the most part according as I was required."(2)

The translators are therefore the better qualified to choose the style best suited to the capacities of their audience and yet not offensive to their translator's conscience by reason of any infidelity to the original. The creation of a serviceable plain style is their aim, rather than "to vse their elegancie of speche,"(3) because

"there was a speciall regard to be had to the rude and vnlettred people, who perchaunce through default of atteigning to the high stile, should also thereby haue been defrauded of the profit and fructe of vnderstandyng the sence, whiche thing that thei might doe, was the onely purpose why it was first translated".(4)

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- (1) Translation of Calvin's work on the Sacrament. "A faythful and moste godly treatyse con=nyng the most sacred sacrament of the blessed body and bloude of our Saviour Christ...translated into Englishe by a faythfull brother." (1550). (Prefatory epistle.A.ii).
- (2) Prologue to Tyndale's translation of the Bible, 1535.
- (3) Nicholas Udall. "The Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testament." Vol.I. "Unto the reader"[14.verso]
- (4) Ibid. Cf. Anonymous. "A discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the Scripture should be in English for al men to reade that wyll" (1554):  
 "...hardnes in scrip=turæ ofte doeth arise of the pro=prietie of the tongue, that eue=rye tongue hath his owne pro=per phrase not perfitlye to bee knowen beinge translated into another tongue."(C vi.recto.11.11-18)

Throughout the Early Tudor period, when discussion of Bible translation becomes as common "as though it were, but a Canterbury tale,"(1) the same problems are debated, and the same methods are chosen. As scholarship increases, the translation of the Bible benefits by restored knowledge and sharper perspicuity. Whether early or late in the period, there is little difference in the fundamental approach to the subject. William Whittingham, revising a version of the New Testament, in 1557, uses the same methods as the Wycliffites, Tyndale and Coverdale before him:

"First as touching the perusing of the text, it was diligently reuised by the moste approued Greke examples, and conference of translations in other tonges as the learned may easiely iudge, both by the faithful rendering of the sentence, and also by the proprietie of the wordes and perspicuitie of the phrase...And because the Hebrew and Greke phrases which are strange to rendre in other tongues, and also shorte, shulde not be so harde, I haue sometyme interpreted them without any whit diminishing the grace of the sense, as our langage doth vse them..."(2)

It is significant that it should be the Early Tudor period which saw the fulfilment of so many attempts to establish a vernacular version of the Bible. The men of this time are conscious that they have been preceded by many similar workers,(3) but that there has never been so concerted an effort as

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(1) "A discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the Scripture should be in English for al men to reade that wyll." Anonymous (1554)

(2) Quoted A.W.Pollard.op.cit.p.26.

(3) e.g.(a) Anonymous. "A Compendious old Treatyse shewynge how that we ought to haue ye scripture in Englyshe." (1530).

e.g."...venerabilis Bede ledde by the spirite of gode trāslated a greate parte of the byble into englyshe. Whose originalles ben in many abbeys in yngland... (A iv.recto).

Also Richard the heremyte of Hampole doe we into englysh the psalter with a glose of the lessons of dirige ād many other treatyses." (A v.recto).

(b) Thomas Cranmer. Preface to the Great Bible, published by royal authority, and under his direction in 1539, refers to the Saxon translations. "The Fathers of the English Church." Vol.III. "Various Tracts and Extracts from the Works of Thomas Cranmer!"(London 1809.p.56).

in their age. There was a combination of conditions as propitious for the fruition of this branch of the translating activity, as for the stimulus to secular translation. The coincidence of the Revival of classical studies and the Reformation produced a new attitude to the usefulness of knowledge to the individual. Secular knowledge was adjudged to be a necessary part of the rounded, fully-developed personality. The resources of classical knowledge were therefore thrown open by means of translation to everyone who wished to assimilate them without having the means of reading the originals. Similarly, the leading spirits of the Reformation asserted the right of the individual to have access to Scriptural knowledge, and to interpret it by the light of his own reason. A careful translation was therefore imperative, to supply the needs of a receptive and appreciative audience.(1)

A tract of 1539 goes so far as to say that the reading of the Bible has displaced the romances:

"Englishmen have now in hand in every Church and place, almost every man the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of the Table Round, Launcelot du Lac &c., and such other, whose unpure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly."(2)

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(1) Foxe, speaking of this period, says:

"...great multitudes...tasted and followed the sweetness of God's Holy Word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well disposed hearts, as now...Certes, the fervent zeal of these Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing: also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English..." (Acts and Monuments. IV.217.ff.)

(2) "A Summary Declaration of the Faith, Uses and Observations in England." Collier. Ecclesiastical History II. Collection of Records.47.



With the awakening of national consciousness in the later Middle Ages, the translators of the Bible derived additional stimulus from the fact that other countries possessed versions in their several vernaculars. Purvey remarks in his Prologue that

"Frenshe men, Beemers, and Britons han the bible, and othere bokis of deuocioun and of expositioun, translatid in here modir langage; whi shulden not English men haue the same in hãre modir langage, I can not wite..."(1)

His opinion is repeated by Coverdale in the sixteenth century:

"But to say the truth before God, it was neither my labour nor desire to have this work put in my hand: nevertheless it grieved me that other nations should be more plenteously provided for with the Scripture in their mother tongue than we."(2)

The translator has high status in the ranks of those who render service to the state, an important office in the Tudor period. Udall is very conscious of the position of all who undertake the work of translation:

"It is therefore no smal benefite that suche persons do a common weale, which are willingly trauaillers in this kind of writing. For as newe bookes of trifling vanities and profane argumentes we nede none, there are daily so many writen: but to haue such werkes made common to the publique use of y<sup>e</sup> unlearned multitude, as are the principal beste and haue ben written by noble Clerkes of vndoubted learning, knowlage, and godliness, therein consisteth such a publique benefite etc." (3)

At every stage the work of the Bible translators is the subject of fierce controversy, involving scholars and men of letters as well as theologians and

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(1) See Forshall and Madden. op.cit.Preface.p.59.

Cf.also Purvey's English version of treatise, founded on the debate on biblical translations between the Lollard, Peter Pyne, and the Dominican, Thomas Palmer, at Oxford, 1403-1405. M.Deanesly.op.cit.Appendix II.p.441.

(2) See H.Craik."English Prose Selections." Vol.I.p.205. Prologue to Translation of the Bible. 1535. (B.M.copy not available).

(3) Paraphrases of Erasmus etc."(1551).Vol.I. "Unto the Kinges Maiestie".  
Q v. recto - verso.



divines. No question of their aim or method is left unprobed, and the mass of comment is organised against opposition more clearly than ever became necessary for secular translation. The unanimity of their comments, and the coincidence of these with the opinions advanced by secular translators shows that translators in both fields were working to a programme of defined critical thought. It is a keystone of both language and literature.

...the value of English as a literary language.

A critical decision is presupposed in the translator's choice of model. It implies a conviction of the intrinsic worth of the original, which makes it worthy of attention in another language. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon this, however, since the motives of the initial choice may not be primarily literary. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Renaissance scholars is their desire to make their newly recovered knowledge as widely effective as possible, by translating it into the language of the unlearned. Didactic or moral value of subject matter is their first consideration. This very importance of the matter of the original causes

CHAPTER IV.SECULAR TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATORS.

With an abundance of multifarious interests to examine and compare, writers of the sixteenth century needed the help of some definite system or touchstone by which to measure the potentialities of the English language. These standards are in part supplied by the discipline of translation from both classical and contemporary vernacular languages. The mass of comment contained in prefaces, dedications and obiter dicta in the Early Tudor period shows that the translators conceived of their work as a literary exercise, calling for critical method and decision. It contributes, therefore, valuable evidence of literary and linguistic taste to the study of the critical attitude, and clarifies many of the contemporary opinions concerning the value of English as a literary language.

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greater responsibility to be laid upon the method of translation. The effect, if not the impulse, has a literary and critical bearing. The transposition of the material into other terms must be accomplished without damaging ~~its~~ integrity, for failure to do this would defeat the whole ultimate aim of the translator.

He must then consider which method will the better serve his purposes. A literal translation might maintain the close connection between original and translation. On the other hand, a paraphrase into the idiom of the second language might convey the meaning more clearly and cogently. The translator who has any sense of his duty can hardly evade the making of a decision on these points.

He is then confronted with the choice of the style which will best meet the demands of the audience to whom it is addressed. Care for the value of the subject matter makes obscurity undesirable, since the work must be easily understood by all its readers. At the same time, the diction and style must be approved by more scholarly standards. The reconciliation of these claims presents another problem for the translator's consideration.

The tracing of these trends of thought, and the general conclusions to be drawn from them constitute one method of approach to some of the literary and linguistic habits of the sixteenth century.

The extent to which these principles were consistently or successfully applied by the translators of the Early Tudor and Elizabethan periods constitutes a study in itself. For the purposes of tracing evidence of a critical consciousness, consideration will be restricted to their theory alone.

There was in England no Étienne Dolet to codify the rules for translation on the model of "La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en une autre", (1) but there is a unanimity of aim in the comments of the many translators in England which indicates the acceptance of some general standards.

They have no doubt about the importance of the translating activity. Scholarly culture had become an essential attribute of the Renaissance courtier and man of affairs. (2) It had become part of the essential framework on which the building up of a complete and useful personality was fashioned. Therefore it must be extended to the less learned as well, who, by reason of their inability to read the classical literature in which this civilising material was to be found, could only approach it by versions in their mother tongue. The translators' recognition of this need for disseminating knowledge is reiterated continually throughout their prefaces. If the literature of entertainment reaches this public in the vernacular, so also may more useful knowledge. It may be a collection of legal knowledge,

"compounded both in English and in Latyne, to ye intent it may be the ease<sup>ly</sup>er taken and perceyued of them that are but meanelly learned in the Latyne tonge..." (3)

(1) Published 1540.

(2) Cf. Castiglione. "Il Cortegiano" trans. T. Hoby (1561).

(3) Thomas Phaer. "A newe booke of Presidentes" (1543). "A preface to the reader, by Thomas Phayer". (B.M. copy. Aii, verso).

Cf. also Sir Thomas Elyot. "The Doctrinal of Princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates." (1534) "Sir Thomas Eliot Knight to the reader." He writes "to the intent that thei, which do not vnderstande greeke nor latine, shoulde not lack the commoditee and pleasure, which maie be taken in readyng therof." (B.M. copy. Aii, verso).

d. Leonard Cox. "Arte<sup>and craft</sup> of Rhetorique" (between 1527 and 1530).

"...trustynge therby to do some pleasure and ease to suche as haue by neclygence or els fals persuasyons be put to the lernynge of other scyences or euer [A.iii.b] they haue attayned any meane knowledge of the latine tonge." (Edited by F.I. Carpenter). (Continuation on next page).



or of moral precepts for the better conduct of man's life, which

"for this his excellencie deserueth not onely of the Grecians, and Latinistes to bee read and knowen, but also to bee translated into the Vulgare tounge of all nacions."(1)

The work of Erasmus, the man who is held by his contemporaries to be the peer of the ancients,

"the mā, to whom in lerning no liuyng man may hym selfe / compare: and nat onely passeth them that be alyue / but also from the most parte of olde autors hath beraft the price..."(2)

has such moral value that translation was imperative.(3) Latin, the once natural medium of a cosmopolitan scholar, was now felt to be restrictive.

To be adequately accessible the work of Erasmus must now appear in the vernacular, dedicated to "such as are not lerned in the latin tonge."(4)

The use of the English language for the translation of such a variety of knowledge is a significant tribute to its status as a medium for serious

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- (3) (Continued from preceding page) Thomas Phaer. "The regi=ment of Life, where=unto is added a treatise of the pestilence, with the Books of chil=dren, newly corrected and enlar=ged by Thomas Phaire." (1553)  
 "...but my pur=purpose is here to distribute in englyshe to them that are vnlearned, parte of ye treasure that is in other languages and to pro=uoke thē that are of better learnyng, to vtter theyr knowlege in suche lyke attemptes:..." (B.M. copy A ii. verso)
- (1) Robert Barrant. "Preceptes of Cato with annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame very profitable for all menne." "To the right worshipfull, Sir Thomas Cauerden knight,..." (1553. A ii. verso).
- (2) Gentian Hervet. "De Immensa Dei Misericordia". The Preface to the most honorable ladye the Ladye Countesse of Salisbury. Gentian Hervet her humble seruante gretynge." (1533) (B.M. copy A ii. verso - A iii. recto)
- (3) Ibid. (A ii) "And where as afore lerned men only dyd get out bothe pleasure and great frute in redynge of this boke nowe (A ii verso) euery man as welle rude as lerned may haue this sermō of the mercy of god as cōmon vnto him as the mercy of god it selfe is."
- (4) Edmonde Beeke; translation of "Two dyaloges wrytten in laten by the famous clerke D. Erasmus of Roterodame... "Cannius and Poliphemus" (1549) The preface to the reader. Fol. 3. verso.



literature. "For yf other bokes which are made eyther for delyte [and] pleasure of the eares, as are rymes, iestes, and suche other, or for the memorial of thynges that are gone and past, as storyes, chronicles and lyke, are had in estimation,"(1)

the translators' choice of work is by its excellence even more worthy of esteem.

They all endorse Thomas Paynell's plea for the effective circulation of literature.

"...what auayleth hit / to haue golde or abundance of riches / if one can nat use hit? What helpeth costely medicines / if one re-ceyue them nat? So what profiteth us a boke / be hit neuer so expedient and frutefull / if we vnder=stande hit nat?..."(2)

The translators felt that they could render service to the state by working in the vernacular. National consciousness had awakened in the late mediaeval period, and during the early years of the Tudor period England, unment by political differences after the Wars of the Roses, was able to gather her forces and measure herself against other European nations. The spirit of emulation was a stimulus to literary activity in the vernacular, with the object of giving England a high place in the world of ideas as well as in commercial and political spheres. The translators were determined to do their part for her re-instatement, feeling ashamed that other countries had greater achievements in this genre.

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(1) Thomas Phaer. "A newe boke of Presidentes" (1543) a.ii.verso.

(2) Translation of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salerni." (1528)

Prefatory letter: "To the ryght excellent and honorable lord Johū Erle of Oxforde / and hygh chamberlayne of Englande Thomas Paynell gretynge."

"For what Royalme almoste, (Englande excepted) hath not all the good autours that euer wrote translated into the mother tounge...?"(1)

A similar transference of knowledge by means of translation had been made by the Romans from Greek literature, and this was proved possible in the sixteenth century world by the example of

"frenche men, Italions, and Germanes, to our no litle reproche for our negligence and slouth."(2)

In this period, when the countries of Europe were eager to derive all possible benefit from knowledge of the classics, emulation was almost more compelling than ever before. The spirit of the age was one highly conducive to eager debate and comparison, and English men of letters were by no means slow to feel it. They were jealous of their position in the world of scholarship. It is significant that, just as the advocates of pure Ciceronianism tried to justify their opinions by their desire to reproduce the achievement of the master of antique eloquence, the translators have more recent exemplars of their own to rouse ambition in the realm of vernacular work. Hoby speaks for the pride of them all when he urges translation so that

"we alone of the worlde may not bee styll counted barbarous in oure tunge, as in time out of minde we have bene in our maners. And so shall we perchaunce in time become as famouse in Englande, as the learned men of other nations have ben and presently are."(3)

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- (1) Nicholas Udall. "The Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the newe testament."(1551) Vol.I. "The Preface 'Unto the Kinges Maiestie'". d|v.recto.  
 (2) Sir Thomas Elyot. "The Boke named The Gouernour." (ed.H.H.S.Croft. (London 1883.) Vol.I. Ch.xxv.p.269).  
 (3) Letter to Lord Hastings, prefixed to Hoby's translation from the Italian of Castiglione. "The Book of The Courtier."(1561). (ed.W.Raleigh.London 1900.p.9).

England is at this time avid to receive all supplies of new knowledge which the translators can provide, and claims to be by no means inferior in intellectual power to other nations. Sir Thomas Wilson states his conviction that

"the Englischnaciō is so pre=gnaunt and quicke to achiue a=ny kynde, or Arte, of knowlege, whereunto wit maie attain, that they are not inferiour to any o=ther:..."(1)

He shares also the competitive spirit of the time,

"farther pōdering that diuerse learned mē of other cōttrées haue heretofore for the furtheraunce of knowlege, not suf=red any of the Sciences liberal to be hidde in the Greke, or La=tine tongue, but haue with most earnest trauaile made euery of them familiar to their vulgare people..."(2)

Although the translators were sure of a public eager to receive their work, they did not escape the opposition which sharpens the issues. The obscurantist tendency which Cheke encountered in his controversy with Gardiner strongly resisted the attempts of the translators to lay open to all knowledge which had formerly been the prerogative of the learned alone.

It is of men of the calibre of Gardiner and his supporters that Hoby speaks when he says that

"our men weene it sufficient to have a perfecte knowledge, to no other ende, but to profite themselves, and (as it were) after much paynes in breaking up a gap, bestow no lesse to close it up again..."(3)

Such men had only destructive criticism to contribute, the carping of such

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- (1) "The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique, Set forth in Englishe." (1551). The Epistle to the Kyng. (B.M. copy. Aiii verso).  
 (2) Ibid.  
 (3) op.cit. p.8.

"curyous, fantasticall persons, priyue dyffamours of dylygent and vertuous laboure, who, though they them self to theyr reproche do ydely or with silence passe theyr tyme, be yet greuou=ly pynched wyth enuye that other shulde trauayle to vtter theyr talente to the commoditye of many..."(1)

Translation, with its responsibility towards the general welfare of people unable to derive benefit from classical knowledge in the original, its position as one of the main channels for disseminating this knowledge and as a means of reinstating English prestige in the world of letters must be considered as one of the most important of Early Tudor interests.

Conscious of the novelty of their enterprise, the translators offer justifying comment, and apologise for any ineptitude which their work may betray. Their fruit is

"of a straunge kynde such as no Englishe grounde hath before this time, and in this sorte by a=ny tyllage brought forth,"

and may therefore seem at first "somewhat rough, and harshe in the mouth."(2)

The integration of their opinions into a more ordered scheme was all the more

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(1) T.Nicoll's "The hystory writtome by Thucidides...translated out of Frenche into the Englysh language..." (1550).

"To the right worshypfull Mayster John Cheke..."(B.M.copy.A.iii.recto). Cf.also Thomas Phaer."The Regiment of Life..." (1550).

"If they knowe better, let vs haue parte: yf they doe not, why repine they at me? Why condemne they the thing that they cannot amēd? or yf they can, why dissimule they theyr cōyng? how long would they haue the people ignoraunt? why grutch they phisike to come forth in Englysche? wolde they haue no man to knowe but onely they?" (B.M.copy.A.iii.recto).

(2) Sir Thomas Wilson. "The Rule of Reason, etc." "Epistle to the Kynge". (B.M.copy.A.ii.verso).



imperative for this reason, and such a period of strenuous indecision is conducive to the engendering of a critical faculty to resolve difficulties and establish standards.

The translator must cultivate "the exquisite diligence of an interpretour"<sup>(1)</sup> since care for his subject matter is essential. Whatever the method finally chosen may be,

"yet doeth none willinglye swerue or dissente from the minde and sence of his autoure. Albeit some gve more nere to the wordes of the lettre, and some vse the libertie of translating at large, not so precisely binding themselues to the streight interpretacion of euery woorde and sillable, (so the sence bee kepte: (yet doe thei all agree) euerye one as his veine serueth hym) in feithfullye rendryng the sence of their booke."<sup>(2)</sup>

This responsibility towards the original, enforcing upon them reproduction as exact as possible, shows a literary conscience which had been dormant during the mediaeval period. Writers of the Middle Ages had no sense of copyright, but drew freely upon a common treasury of material, incorporated and adapted without acknowledgement. A new approach to classical literature in the Renaissance period had produced in men of letters an appreciation of the originality of each author, and of the individual quality peculiar to his work. The translators were forced to assess this, and preserve it as far as was possible in the idiom of a different language. Their preliminary choice of author made, and his particular value for subject matter decided,

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- (1) Sir Thomas Elyot. "The Education or bringing vp of Children./ translated oute of Plu-tarche by syr Thomas Eliot knyght "...to his only entierly beloued syster Margery Puttenham ..." (1535) (B.M. copy A.ii.verso)
- (2) Nicholas Udall! "Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testament." (1551) Vol.I. "To the moste vertuous Ladye Quene Katerine..."



attention was again focussed on the language. Out of the comparison of the language of the original and that of the translator, there arises a sense of the essential character of each medium. The integrity of the language as well as that of the author and his matter must therefore be considered. Here again the translators are aware that they are attempting a new kind of work, and that an advance has been made upon previous tradition. Their predecessors, they thought, had little

"respecte to the obseruacyō of the thyng which in translacyō is of all other most necessary and requisite, that is to saye, to rendre the sence & the very meanyng of the author..."

The lerned knoweth yt euery tonge hathe his peculyer proprietie, phrase, maner of locucion, enargies and vehemēcie, which so aptlie in any other tōg cannot be expressed."(1)

This sense of language is developed in all the men who seriously undertook translation as a literary duty and discipline, in France as well as in England. The formal treatises of Etienne Dolet(2) and Du Bellay(3) contain a tabulation of the ideas which were in England expressed in isolated comment in the prefaces of the translators, who were working, not to a programme, but with a similarity of aims which unites them as if they were professedly a "school." Dolet lays down as the third rule of translation the injunction that

"the translator must not translate literally word for word, but so that the meaning of the author shall be expressed, due regard being paid to the idioms of both languages,"(4)

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- (1) Edmonde Becke, Translation of "Two dyalogues wrytten in laten by D.Erasmus of Roterodame. Cannius and Poliphemus." The preface to the Reader. Fol.3 recto. (Ed. above.)
- (2) "La Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre." (1540).
- (3) "Défense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise".(1549).
- (4) See R.C.Christie. "Etienne Dolet." (London 1899) Chapter XVII. "Grammarians and Translators." p.356-7.

being of Du Bellay's conviction that "chacune langue a je ne sçay quoi propre seulement a elles." (1) Similarly Wilson says for English writers that "the propertie of euery speche and the maner of speakynge ought alwaies to be obserued." (2)

The translators of the Early Tudor period work with this principle in mind. They realise that a too strictly literal rendering tends to impair the intrinsic value of the finished product both for the value of the matter and of the style in English. If too much attention is paid to a word-for-word reproduction, both aims are defeated, for

"so the sence of the author is oftentimes corrupted and depraued, and neyther the grace of the one tonge nor yet of the other is truely obserued or aptlie expressed." (3)

Translation lays as much emphasis upon a sensitive study of the character of the English language as upon exactitudes of meaning in the original. It promotes careful study of the diction and structure of the language, disciplined by comparison with that of the original, whether Latin, Greek, or European vernacular. In this respect therefore, the exercise of translation may be said to have brought about a study of linguistic values which is essentially critical. The results of this activity must be judged by the standards of the English language as well as by that of the original.

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(1) "Défense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise." (ed. Léon Séché, p.173)

(2) "The Rule of Reason" (1551).

(3) Edmonde Becke op.cit. Fol.3 recto. l.54-58.

Cf. Du Bellay. "...il est impossible de le rendre avecques la mesme grace dont l'auteur en a usé... [et]...si vous efforcez exprimer le naïf dans une autre langue, observant la loi de traduire, qui est n'espacier point hors des limites de l'auteur, votre diction sera contrainte, froide et de mauvaise grace."

"Défense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise." (ed. Séché, p.73).

Elyot claims considerable strenuousness for his methods,

"...not supersticiousely folowyng the letter...but kepyng the sentence [i.e."sententia"] and intent of the Autour I haue attempted (not with lytell study) to reduce into english the right phrase or forme of speakyng."(1)

In Elyot, whose literary and linguistic sense is developed to a degree remarkable for his time, the critical spirit is highly active. He consciously compares the qualities of the languages from which he translates, careful for the idiom of each, and the aim of this study is the ultimate benefit of the English language. For his translation from Isocrates he uses both the Greek and Latin versions,

"to thintent onely that I wolde assaie, if our Englishe tunge mought receiue the quicke and propre sentences pronounced by the greekes. And in this experience I haue founde (if I be not mucche deceiued) that the forme of speakyng vsed of the Greekes, called in greeke, and also in latine, Phrasis, mucche nere approacheth to that, whiche at this daie we vse: than the order of the latine tunge: I meane in the sentences, and not in the wordes: whiche I doubt not shall be affirmed / by them, who sufficiently instructed in all the saide three tinges, shall with a good iudgement read this worke..."(2).

The significance of this claim to a comparative study of English and the classical languages lies in the new direction given to scholarship. The style of the vernacular is now considered important enough to be compared with that of Greek and Latin, and to show to some advantage in the comparison. Praise for "a faithfull and sure enterpretacion...ought to be takē for the greatest praise of all", (3) and this can only be achieved by a thorough

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- (1) Preface to the translation of "A svete and devovte sermon of holy saynt Ciprian of mortalitie of man." (1534).  
 (2) "The Doctrinal of Princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates." (1534)  
 "Sir Thomas Eliot knight to the reader." (B.M. copy. A.ii. recto, verso).  
 (3) Nicholas Grimald. "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes three bookes of dueties..." etc. (1553) "The preface to the reader." (Fol.14 recto.)

preliminary grasp of the principles of language.

The work of the translators is submitted to the scrutiny and judgment of the learned, who are competent to decide whether the transposition of the matter into the most exact and appropriate language has been successfully accomplished. Trying

"to interprete and turne the Latine into Englyshe with as much grace of our vulgare tounge, as in [my] slendre power and knowelage hath lyen,"(1)

they demand the application of scholarly standards to their work. It must undergo careful correction such as that described by Sir John Harington:

"I caused it to be con=ferred with the latine auctor, and so by the knowen wel lerned to be corrected: after whose handelyng me thought a new spirite and life was geuen it, and many partes semed as it were with a new cote araied, as well for the orderly placyng and eloquently changeyng of some woordes, as also for the plainly openyng and learnedly amending of the sence."(2)

Similarly Nicolls addresses his translation of Thucydides to Cheke.

"Requyryng you of your accustomed benignyte, not onely with faouere to accepte this the furste my fruct in translacyon, but also conferringe it with the Greke, so to amende and correct it, in those places and sentences, which youre exacte lernynge and knolaige shall Iudge mete to be altered and reformed, that thereby thys sayd translation may triumphant=ly resist and wythstande the malycyous and deadly styng of the generall and most ennemyes of all good exercyse."(3)

The finished product should therefore be equally valuable as an accurate translation of the matter, and as a piece of work not incongruous with the native genius of the English language.

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- (1) Nicholas Udall. "Apophtegmes...First gathered and compiled in Latin by the right famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame."(1542) 2 verso.
  - (2) Sir John Harington the Elder."The booke of freendship of Marcus Tullie Cicero." (1550) Preface to "the righte vertuose, and my singuler good Lady, Katharine duchesse of Suffolke." (B.M.copy A.iiii.recto).
  - (3) Op.cit. Letter "To the right worshypfull Mayster John Cheke." (B.M.copy. Fol.iii.recto).



Just as translation is the product of a mind working according to a critical system, the response it awakens in an attentive and scholarly reader should likewise be a critical one. It should be a means of training linguistic discrimination, and an incentive to close study of both original and translation. If a work of this kind should

"happe into a good students hand: he will not think it ynough to runne ouer it once: as we fare with trifles, and toyes: but aduisedly, and with good leasure, three, or foure, or fiue tymes, he will reade it, and reade it, and reade it agayne: first, by the principall pointes, by the definitions, and the deuisions: to see, what is treated, how farre forth, in what order, and with what varietie: then, to mark the preceptes, reasons, conclusions & common places: after, vnto the sayde places to referre all the stories, with the verses poeticall: finally, as well in the englysh, as the latine, to weygh well properties of wordes, fashions of phrases, and the ornamentes of both."(1)

Translation is therefore critical in itself and the cause that criticism is in other men.

Since the translators are pre-occupied with the formulation of stylistic and linguistic principles, they naturally refer to the topic which approached most nearly to a codified system of language, that of Rhetoric. The aim of Rhetoric being to achieve a given effect as cogently as possible in the most appropriate and carefully selected language, it coincided with the main direction of translation. The application of the rules of Rhetoric to translation is specifically made by Grimald:

"Howbeit loke, what rule the Rhetoriciā giues in precept, to be obserued of an Oratour, in tel=ling of his tale: that it be short, and without ydle words: that it be playn, and with=out dark sence: that it bee prouable, without any swaruinge from the trouthe: the

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(1) Nicholas Grimald. "Ciceroes Dueties" (1550) (Fol.15 recto).

"The preface to the reader."



same rule should be vsed / in examining, & iudging of trāslation. For if it be not as brief, as the ve~~tie~~ authors text requireth: what/so is added to his perfite stile, shall appere superfluous, & to serue rather to the making of some paraphrase, or com=mentarie. Thereto, if it be vttered with ynkehorne termes, & not with vsuall wordes: or if it be phrased with wrasted or farrefetched fourmes of speeche: not fine, but harshe, not easie, but hard, not natural, but violent it shal seme to be."(1)

This measuring of translation by the rules of rhetoric proves that the translators felt the need to express their critical decisions in some ordered form.

The problems of the style to be chosen for the translation are those hotly debated by rhetoricians and men of letters throughout the Early Tudor period. Although they are convinced that

"the cunning is no lesse, and the prayse as great...to translate any thing excellently into Englishé, as into any other language,"(2)

they are none the less aware that the English language was as yet untried for their purposes, and somewhat crude and unpolished compared with the elegance of the classical languages from which so much of their translation was made. They persevere nevertheless, hoping that

"after a little vse, and familiar accustomyng thereunto...the same wil / ware euery one daie more pleasant then other."(3)

Elyot finds that the classical authors address themselves

"incomparably with more grace and delectation to the reder than our englisse tonge may yet comprehende,"(4)

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- (1) Ibid. (Fol.14 recto).  
 (2) Sir Thomas Wilson. "Translation of Demosthenes."(1570). "The Epistle to the right Honorable Sir William Cecill. Knight..." (Fol.5.recto).  
 (3) Sir Thomas Wilson. "The Rule of Reason." (1551) "The Epistle to the Kyng." (First edition. A ii verso - A iii recto).  
 (4) "The Boke named the Governour." (ed.Croft.Vol.I.Ch.XIII.p.129).

and Sir Thomas Wyatt, in an early and little known translation, experiences the same difficulty in translating Plutarch:

"And after I had made a profe of nyne or ten Dialogues / the labour began to seme tedious / by sup<sup>er</sup>fluous often rehersyng of the thyng. which the pa=uenture in the latyn shalbe laudable / by plentuous diuersite of the spekyng of it (for I wyll nat that my iugement shall disalowe in any thyng so approued an auctour) yet for lacke of suche diuersyte in our tong / it shulde want a great dele of the grace..."(1).

The translators choose the plain style. Because of their obligations to their unlearned audience, and the value of the material which was entrusted to them for careful transmission, they had to be guiltless of obscurity or undue cultivation of style at the expense of matter. So, although their work had to comply with scholarly standards of excellence, it must be comprehensible to those who needed to derive most benefit from it, and the translators must

"with more exact diligence con=forme the style therof with the phrase of our englishe, desiringe more to make it playne to all readers, than to flourishe it with ouer moch eloquence..."(2).

Their unlearned readers will not be able to judge of the merits of the translation by comparison with the original, but will have to accept it at its face value as easily understood and usefully informative. Sir John Harington the Elder explains how much this consideration weighs with him:

"...how so euer it shalbe liked of the learned, I hope it shalbe

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- (1) Translation of "Plutarch's "Quyete of Mynde". (1527). ed.C.R.Baskervill. (Harvard University Press. 1931).Address to "the most excellent and most w<sup>r</sup>tuous princes Katheryn / quene of Englande and of Fraunce..." (a ii).
- (2) Sir Thomas Elyot. "The Image of Governace. compiled of the Actes and Sentences notable of the moste no=ble Emperour Alexander Seuerus, late transla=ted out of Greke into Englyshe". (1551) (B.M.copy.A ii verso).

allowed of the vnlated. Whose capacitees by my oune I cōsider, and for lacke of a fine and flowing stile, I haue vsed the plaine and com-mon speache."(1)

The use of the plain style is therefore a conscious choice, part of the "duetie of a translatour."(2) The usage of translation is a further reinforcement of the attempts made in other spheres of intellectual activity in the sixteenth century, by the Cambridge circle, by the Bible translators, and by the rhetoricians, to build up a standard English language for literary purposes, clear, lucid and workmanlike. The translators reject the aureate style at a time when ornate speech was still counted a flourishing fashion,(3) and "to ouerflouryshe wyth superfluous speach"(4) could be an author's claim to "be counted equall with the best that euer wrote Englysh."(4) Their choice therefore needs comment and explanation, since it is in the nature of a novelty. Sir Thomas Wyatt anticipates the objection of strangeness which may be brought against his language in translation:

"It shall seme harde vnto the parauenture gentyll reder / this tra-  
slation / what for shorte maner of speche / and what for dyuers straunge  
names in the storyes. As for the shortenesse aduise it well and it  
shalbe the plesaunter / whan thou vn=derstandest it."(5)

Sir Thomas Wilson makes a similar apology. His choice of the plain style is

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- (1) Translation of Cicero. "Booke of Freendeship." (1550). "To the...  
duchesse of Suffolke." (B.M. copy A iii. verso).
- (2) Nicholas Udall. "Apophthegmes, ... First gathered and compiled in Latine by  
the ryght famous clerke Mai-ster Erasmus of Roterodame." (1542)  
(B.M. copy \* ii verso).
- (3) Cf. Wilson "Arte of Rhetorique." "The third Booke."
- (4) Sir Thomas Wilson. Translation of Demosthenes (1570). "A Preface to  
the Reader." (Fol. 8. verso).
- (5) Translation of "Plutarch Quayete of Mynde" (1527). "To the reder".

a rejection of the Ciceronian eloquence, so highly esteemed in the sixteenth century, for the more direct manner of Demosthenes, showing a further choice within the standards of rhetoric itself. The confirmation of the choice of this style by classical example is a means of strengthening its claims.

Wilson feels that it is better to write

"plainely & nakedly after the common sort of men in few words, than to ouerflowe wyth vnnecessarie and superfluous eloquence as Cicero is thought sometimes to doe: But perhaps wheras I haue bene somewhat curious to followe Demosthenes naturall phrase, it may be thought that I doe speake ouer bare Englysh, well I had rather follow his veyne, the whyche was to speake simply and plainly to the com=on peoples vnderstanding"(1)

The aims of the translators as regards choice of style are clearly formulated, and they write according to carefully considered tenets as best suits the requirements of their audience. Their principles of rhetoric - which was one of the most self-conscious and critical systems of literary and linguistic method in the Early Tudor period - confirm their opinions. The close approximation of the general conclusions drawn from the translators' comments shows how definite and unified their standards had become. Theirs was "a common woorke of buildyng."(2)

The ramifications of the translators' problems extend into the controversies on diction which raged in the Early Tudor period, and throw extra weight upon the side of the men opposed to the fashion of "inkhorn" terms. Their fundamental aim being clarity, and the preservation of the character

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(1) Translation of Demosthenes (1570). "A Preface to the Reader."  
(B.M. copy. Fol. 8. verso).

(2) Nicholas Udall. "The Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testament."  
"Unto the Reader". (Vol. I. Fol. 14 verso).



of the English language, they submit their diction to the test of these requirements. On them rests much of the responsibility for the control of borrowings and new formations from other languages. It was fortunate for the language that this responsibility was laid upon men who exercised discretion and moderation in augmenting the vocabulary. Translation at this period from the wealth of subject matter in classical languages was a searching test of the resources of the English language, and it was inevitable that in some respects it should be found inadequate. It had not yet the ability to treat of a wide range of knowledge, since this knowledge had been mainly contained in Greek and Latin work until this period. Equivalents could not always be found for the complexity and subtlety of expression in classical languages. Gavin Douglas, translating the "Aeneid", (1553), found that :

"...thar bene Latyne wordis mony ane,  
That in our leid ganand translatioun hes nane  
Les than we meuis thar sentence and grauite  
And jit scant weill exponit."(1)

Sir Thomas Elyot, explaining a system of education largely drawn from Latin sources, especially from Quintilian, is unable to find a translation of the many technical words required, and is therefore occasionally

"constrained to usurpe a latine worde,...whiche worde, though it be strange and darke, yet by declaring the vertue in a fewe mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome shall be as facile to understande as other wordes late comen out of Italy and Fraunce, and made denizins amonge us."(2)

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(1) The Proloug of the First Buik of Eneados. (ed.J.Small.Edinburgh.1874. Vol.II.p.14.l.31-32. R.15.l.2.).

(2) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." (ed.H.H.S.Croft.London 1883.Vol.I. Chap.XXII.p.243).



These foreign elements, valuable if they can enrich the English language by extending its powers of expression, must be of such a kind that they may be accepted as "denizens" by general usage, and become integral parts of the ordinary vocabulary of speech and writing. No legitimate means of raising the status of the English language could be rejected at a time when all the vernaculars were vying with each other in the race for classical excellence. A judicious adoption of new words was a valuable source of new vitality, provided that these words are

"by the sufferance of wise men nowe receiued by custome, wherby the terme shall be made familiare."(1)

The selection of such words calls for the use of sound linguistic judgment, a sensitive perception of shades of meaning and aptness of expression.

Sir Thomas Elyot does not make innovations in language without careful study. Argument such as that upon the relative meanings of "intellect" and "intelligence"(2) is proof of his care to express the niceties of the Latin as exactly as possible in English. He coins words to

"thentent to ornate our langage with usinge wordes in their propre signification. Wherof what commoditie may ensue all wise men wyll, I dought nat, consider."(3)

The problems of translation were not in themselves new. Roman civilisation had desired to transfer the body of Greek knowledge into its mother tongue, and the transmission of knowledge had continued at a varying pace

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(1) Ibid. (ed.Croft. Vol.I. Chap.XXV.p.268).

(2) Ibid. (ed.Croft.Vol.II.Chap.XXIV.p.373-375).

(3) Ibid. (Vol.II.Chap.XXIII.p.369).

ever since. Alfred in the Anglo-Saxon period cited the long tradition behind the translation activity,(1) and had discussed aims and methods.(2) There had always been the need, too, of giving the lay people moral and religious instruction in their mother tongue, and the demands for simple, lucid language were the same.(3) It is, however, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that, for the first time, translation becomes the locus for careful literary and linguistic discussion. Whether the translators are men of no considerable academic training, such as Caxton, or of remarkable intellectual power, such as the men of the Cambridge circle, Ascham, Elyot, Wilson, and their source of inspiration, Cheke "a man of men, supernaturally traded in al tongues"(4), they all reflect the many linguistic interests of their age. They discuss and select the best among these fashions for a concerted attempt to reinstate English among the vernaculars

(1) Preface to W.S. Version of Gregory's "Cura Pastoralis."

"...hū sio ðe wæs ðerest on Ebreisc - geðode funden, and eft. ðā hie Crēacas geliornodon, ðā wendon hie hie on hiora āgen geðode ealle, and ēac ealle oðre bēc. And eft Lædenware swā same, siððan hie hie geliornodon, hie hie wendon ealla ðurh wīse wealhstodas on hiora āgen geðode. And ēac ealla oðra Crīstena ðōda sumne dæl hiora on hiora āgen geðode wendon."

ed.H.Sweet. "An Anglo-Saxon Reader". Oxford (1928) p.6. Ll.54-60.

(2) Ibid. p.7. Ll.74-82.

(3) e.g. Richard Rolle. Preface to "The English Psalter"(1338c).

"In this werk I seke no strange Inglis, bot lightest and comunest and swilke þat es mast like vnto þe Latyn,...In þe translacioun I folow þe letter als mekil als I may, and þare I fynde na propir Inglys I folow þe witte of þe word, so þat þai þat sal rede it, þam thar nocht dred erryngē."

ed.Hope Emily Allen. (Oxford 1931) p.7. l.91 ff.

Cf. also Trevisa's "Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk" concerning translation. See A.W.Pollard. "Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse." Westminster 1903. p.203 ff.

(4) Thomas Nash. Preface to Greene's "Menaphon." (1589) See Gregory Smith. "Elizabethan Critical Essays." (Oxford 1904.) p.313.

as capable of receiving the mass of knowledge opened up by the classical studies of the Renaissance period. Since it was the layman's approach to a treasury which had been open before to scholars only, it ranked very high among the interests of the Tudor period. It was

"learning it self, and a great stape to youth, and the noble ende to the whiche they oughte to applie their wittes, that with diligence and studye have attained a perfect understanding, to open a gap for others to followe their steppes, and a vertuous exercise for the unlatined to come by learning, and to fill their minde with the morall vertues, and their body with civyll condicions."(1)

The invention of printing had made possible the wider circulation of the classics, in the original and in translation, making the work of the translators effective and influential. Books and manuscripts circulated rapidly with the incessant comings and goings of scholars between England and the Continent, and men of letters seized every opportunity of annexing more knowledge for the vernacular by means of translation. Sometimes, in the maelstrom of this intellectual commerce, contingencies arose which were not propitious for the leisured art of translation, as when Elyot was prevented from finishing his translation of the "Image of Governace"<sup>(2)</sup> because "the owner...importunately called for his boke." Such hindrances were rare, and translation quickened the pulse of culture considerably.

The translators were compelled to draw up a programme, which, if not contained in any single document, can be deduced from the mass of comment.

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(1) Sir Thomas Hoby. "Letter to the right honorable The Lord Henry Hastings..." prefixed to translation of "The Courtier" from the Italian of Castiglione (1561) (ed. W. E. Holdy. London 1900. p. 9.).

(2) (1551) The Preface. "To Al the Nobilitie of this Flowryshynge Royalme of Englande." (a ii. recto).

Consideration of the opinions underlying this fragmentary material shows that they were keenly conscious of what they were doing. They made important decisions about their choice of method and style, whose validity is upheld by the coincidence of rhetorical precept and the independent decisions which emerged from the controversies of men of letters. The moving spirits of the translating activity were the men most influential in the Early Tudor intellectual world, Cheke and the Cambridge circle, men of comprehensive abilities. It was inevitable that they should, in stimulating translation, raise it to the status of applied criticism. Since it fostered linguistic and literary judgment, had an ordered system of style and method, explored the resources of the English language and augmented it where necessary, translation made an invaluable contribution to the engendering of the critical faculty even in the work of the men of lesser intellectual stature. It touches upon current linguistic problems of the day, and the later development of the language owes much to the good sense and discrimination of those who submitted it to a careful discipline before its potentialities had been thoroughly gauged.

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CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION: TUTOR AND SCHOOLMASTER.

Many of the literary and linguistic activities of the Early Tudor period depend upon the response of individuals to the stimulus of new ideas, and produce quick results, as in the mass of translation and comment,<sup>or</sup> in creative work which shows the grasp of new method and conviction. Education, on the contrary, is, and was, very largely crystallised in institutions. As each institution has its own vulnerability or resistance to new ideas, the changes in intellectual approach which took place in this field<sup>2</sup> are more variable and difficult to ascertain than in spheres in which the force of conservatism interposes less between precept and practice, between the old order and the new.

Organised education in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was in several strata. (1) Roughly speaking, monastic schools, village schools, and particularly the grammar-schools, catered for instruction corresponding to modern "elementary" and "secondary" education. These institutions tend to retain the late mediaeval curriculum, except when enlightened individuals,

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(1) For detailed examination see:

A.F. Leach. "Educational Charters and Documents, 598-1909. (Latin and English)". Cambridge 1911.

"English Schools at the Reformation, 1546-8". Westminster 1896.

"The Schools of Mediaeval England." 1904.

Foster Watson. "The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their curriculum and practice." Cambridge 1908.

"The Old Grammar Schools." Cambridge 1916.

Histories and statutes of particular schools.

e.g. "A Concise Description of the endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales." Nicholas Carlisle. 2 vols. 1818.



such as John Stanbridge and Robert Whittinton inculcate more progressive ideas. During the vicissitudes suffered by schools during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the period of new and re-foundations to counteract the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries, there was, however, some opportunity for breaking down the old tradition. Laymen begin to play an increasingly important part in the foundation of schools,(1) and many schools which had been under ecclesiastical control were transferred to secular jurisdiction. St.Paul's School bulks large in the progress of Early Tudor education because it brought home to Colet's contemporaries the changes which were taking place. The significance of the transference to lay control of so prominent a school must have drawn attention to the place taken by education in the contemporary ferment of ideas. The change was not a new thing, but it was the most important of its kind.(2)

To some extent, changing conceptions are reflected in the text-books of the period, and in the comments of the many "Vulgaria", English sentences for translation into Latin, some of which sought to sharpen the pupil's interest by touching upon matters of topical interest. The invention of printing is itself no small aid to the rate of progress of new ideas. Robert Whittinton, of the Magdalen College School group of Tudor grammarians, acknowledges the debt of the schools to the invention of printing:

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- (1) See Foster Watson. "English Grammar Schools to 1660". (op.cit.) for details and examples.
- (2) See A.F. Leach: "Colet's Place in the History of Education." *Journal of Education*. June 1904. pp.438-439. "St.Paul's School before Colet." *Archaeologia*. Vol.62. Part I. 1910. pp.191-238.

"We be moche bounde to them that brought in y<sup>e</sup> crafte of pryntynge.(1)

It concludeth many thynges in shorter space than y<sup>e</sup> wrytten hande doeth / & more ornately sheweth.(2)

It hyndreth not so moche y<sup>e</sup> scryueners / but profeteth moche more poore scholers."(3)

Printing made possible the wider circulation of grammars, so that the influence of the most important schoolmasters was extended and made more effective. Sir Thomas Elyot, writing in 1531, comments on the increased facilities for learning both the classical languages, for,

"...as touchynge grammere, there is at this day better introductions, and more facile, than euer before was made, concernyng as wel greke as latine, if they be wisely chosen."(4)

The teaching in grammar schools therefore made considerable strides towards an approximation of new ideas concerning literature and language with the older standards, wherever, through enlightened endowment, or discriminating personnel directing the teaching, their permeation was made possible.

There were, however, other difficulties to be combated. For the few men of insight, there were all those who were poorly equipped even to undertake the ordinary teaching of grammar. There must have been many a grammar school master of the kind described by Elyot, who says that

"nowe a dayes, if to a bachelor or maister of arte studie of philosophie waxeth tedious, if he haue a sponse full of latine, he wyll shewe forth

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- (1) "Vulgaria."(1520).edited,with the "Vulgaria" of John Stanbridge, B.White for the E.E.T.S. (London. 1932.Original Series. No.187).p.106.Ll.16-17.  
 (2) Ibid.Ll.21-22.  
 (3) Ibid.Ll.26-27.  
 (4) "The Boke named the Gouvernour." (ed.H.H.S.Croft. London 1883.2 vols.) Vol.I.Chap.V.p.33.

a hoggesheed without any lernyng, and offre to teache grammer and expoune noble writers, and to be in the roome of a maister: he wyll, for a small salarie, sette a false colour of lernyng on propre wittes, whyche wyll be wasshed away with one shoure of raine."(1)

In Whittinton's "Vulgaria" is an example to the same effect:

"(Discipulus) But we maye se dayly / y<sup>t</sup> many take vpon them to teyche / for whome it were more expediente to lerne."(2)

Men such as the Magdalen College School group were working against considerable difficulties, but the consciousness of this gives a stimulus to their efforts, in this period of change and critical discussion.

A second stratum is the instruction of princes and noblemen by scholars and men of letters. This is nearest to the general intellectual world, and closely in touch, therefore, with the most fully developed humanist thought of the period, through men such as Sir Thomas Wilson and Sir Thomas Elyot. An educational system like that of "The Boke named ~~The~~ Gouvernour" (1531) has its parallels in the manuals which treat of the general culture requisite to the man of affairs in the world at large, such as Castiglione's "Courtier", translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561. Exchange of ideas within the circle of private education took place readily between individual educationalists who could put their own systems into practice, without having to combat the passive resistance of authority and tradition. Whereas the adoption of new theories would be relatively slow in penetrating the curricula of institutions,

(1) "The Boke named ~~The~~ Gouvernour," (ed.Croft) Vol.I. Chap.XV.pp.166-167.

(2) "Vulgaria." ed.B.White. (op.cit.) p.110.Ll.32-33.

the contact of scholars is almost immediately responsive and creative. The great European educationalists were in close touch with one another. Ascham corresponded continually with Sturm in Germany. Vives came to England in 1523, and was attached to the court of Henry VIII. and tutor to Princess Mary, for whom he wrote the "De Ratione Studii Puerilis." (October, 1523). Erasmus was a link between the scholars of many European countries. Progress moves apace in this sphere, but, as in the grammar schools, by no means unchallenged.

The driving power of the most enlightened of private tutors had to combat the passive attitude, even resistance, of some of the upper classes, which tended to counteract the enthusiasm of the few. In 1519, Alexander Barclay says that the

"vnderstādyng of latyn... at this tyme is almost contēned of gentyl-men"(1)  
Elyot, too, deploras the neglect of learning by young men,

"who in their infancie and childehode were wondred at for their aptness to lerning and prompt speakinge of elegant latine, whiche nowe, beinge men, nat onely haue forgotten their congruēte, (as is the commune worde), and unneth can speake one hole sentence in true latine, but, that wars is, hath all lernynge in derision, and in skorne therof wyll, of wantonnesse, speake the most barberously that they can imagine."(2)

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(1) "Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth...whiche cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowned romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by syr Alexander Barclay..."

"The preface of Alexander Barclay preest / vnto the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke." a.iv.verso.

(2) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." (1531) ed.Croft.Vol.I.Chap.XIII.p.115-116.



Elyot holds out some hope for the success of efforts to correct this state of affairs, and says that

"it is apparant...men pursuinge it earnestly with discrete iugement and liberalitie, it wolde sone be amended"(1)

The men most influential as tutors in private education are among those most active in the Universities and the world of ideas generally. Ascham and Wilson are stimulated by their acquaintance with the germinal mind of Sir John Cheke at Cambridge, and must be considered for their contributions to thought other than the purely educational.(2) Their insight and linguistic alertness, their wrestling with problems of style and of the future of the English language is sometimes too easily generalised to apply to the state of University education during their time. Retrogressive factors arising from the monastic organisation and dialectic method of the Universities, the temporary dislocation caused by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the strong conservative tendency must not be too easily discounted. Innovations made in statutes and prescribed curricula indicate the working of a new leaven of ideas, but, again, the enforcing of these regulations and the influence of the personnel is a more subtle matter for speculation, and one which is not easily traceable. Instances of individual awareness of change, of independent or progressive method advised or embodied in textbook or manual for school use

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(1) Ibid.Vol.I.Chap.XV.p.169.

(2) See Chap. VI. below.

are the outward and visible signs of a changing approach to training in classical studies, building up of method, and awakening of discrimination. These are contributions to the formation of the critical habit in so far as they supply touchstones of taste, and the ability to rely upon resultant judgments, whether in classical studies themselves, or as applied to a wider range of literature and language, including the vernacular.

The reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI were troubled times for the schools. The dissolution of the monasteries caused the abolition, or at least temporary suspension of many schools, and there is a hiatus for a time before other foundations replaced them. The stress laid upon the damage done to educational facilities by the dissolution of the monasteries can be over-exaggerated. It has been pointed out (1) that the monasteries kept schools mainly for their own choristers, and that they contributed little to general education. In cases where schools were under the government of monasteries, the payments for mastership were continued. Although the survival of manuscripts throughout the Dark Ages in Europe was largely due to their preservation in the libraries of monasteries, the monks did little to disseminate this knowledge.(2) The foundation of grammar schools, many of which were under secular control, made learning accessible to a much

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(1) See A.F. Leach. "Schools of Mediaeval England." (Methuen 1915) p.310.

(2) See G. Baskerville. "English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries" (Cape. 1937) p.41.

larger class, creating and cultivating the taste of the reading public of average education to which so much Early Tudor literary production was addressed. This stir and change in the organisation of education makes for a certain loosening of the restriction to the old ideas, for the adaptation of newer, more liberal conceptions of knowledge to augment the older systems.

Among Tudor schoolmasters were a few men of varied interests, whose contacts with other activities of the period gave them a wider outlook. William Horman, master of Eton in 1485, fellow in 1502, vice-provost in 1503, is accredited by Bale with many works on a wide range of subjects.(1) Nicholas Udall, who became headmaster of Eton in 1534, is the author of the first English comedy on classical models, "Ralph Roister Doister" (1552c.) and translator of the work of the Colossus of learning of his age, Erasmus.(2) Richard Sherry, headmaster of Magdalen College School from 1534 to 1540 is the author of rhetorical treatises in English.(3)

With the name of Magdalen College School, is associated the work of John Stanbridge, and his pupils Robert Whittinton, William Horman and

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(1) List included in article on Horman in "Dictionary of National Biography."

(2) "Apophthegmes...translated into Englyshe." (1542).

"The...paraphrases of Erasmus...conferred with the latine and thoroughly corrected." (1551).

(3) "A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes gathered out of the best Grammarians and Oratours...Whereunto is added a declamation written fyrst in Latin by Erasmus." (London.1550).

"A Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike." (London.1555).

William Lily. John Stanbridge was Informator of the school from 1488-1494, and, when he proceeded to the Mastership of the Hospital of St. John at Banbury became celebrated for his teaching.(1) The "Day Book of John Dome," (1520) provides evidence for the wide circulation of his grammatical work. Of his "Accidens", there are twenty-seven mentions, and twelve of his "Opuscula."(2) By the time of Robert Whittinton's "Vulgaria" (printed by Pynson and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1520), the advances of a new spirit in the age are perceptible. Sir Thomas More, at the end of 1517 spoke of

"this yong bladed and newe shotte vp corne, which hath alreedy begonne to sprynge vp bothe in Latine and Greke learnynge,"

from which, he says,

"I looke for plentiful increase at length of goodly rype grayne..."(3)

Whittinton also comments on the recovery of true scholarship:

"The excellent inuencyons of men in this dayes shewe that the golden vayne / or golden worlde (by reuolucyon celestyall) is now retourned / or come agayne."(4)

"For trew knowlege of lernynge that hath longe tyme be hydde in profounde derkenes / by dyligence of men in this tyme is nowe brought to open lyght,"(5)

and upon the value of such recovered knowledge:

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- (1) Cf. Foster Watson. "The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice." (Cambridge. 1908) pp.235-238.
- (2) See Montague Burrows. "Collectanea." Series I. Part III. p.172. col.2.
- (3) "Thomas More to Peter Giles sendeth gretynge." Prefixed to "Utopia" 2nd edition. Printed by Gilles de Gourmont in Paris. Included also in 1518 edition. Translation by Ralph Robynson. (1551) (ed. J.H. Lupton. (Oxford. 1895) p.5-6).
- (4) "Vulgaria", edited B. White for the E.E.T.S. (1932, for 1931) Original Series, No.187. p.62. Ll.22-24.
- (5) Ibid. Ll.28-30.



"The true knowlege of lernynge is to suche dylygente studentes more treasure / than rynges & cuppes of golde / & other worldly and transitory ryches."(1)

"For whan all this precyous Jewels of golde / syluer plates / & ryche roobes of purple / veluet / clothe of told be worne or gone by chaunse. lerning wyl abyde with a man."(2)

Whittinton's words mark the consciousness of a transition to a new study of knowledge, of which the foundations can be laid in the early grammar school training of the mind. For the authority of the older grammarians, a more living study is being replaced. As Skelton says with his characteristic pungent conciseness:

"Albertus de modo significandi,  
 And Donatus be dryuen out of scole;  
 Prisiens hed broken now handy dandy,  
 And inter didascalos is rekened for a fole;  
 Alexander, a gander of Menanders pole,  
 With Da Cansales, is cast out of the gate,  
 And Da Racionales dare not show his pate."  
Plauti in his comedies a chyld shall now reherse,  
 And medyll with Quintilyan in his Declamacyons,  
 That Pety Caton can scantly construe a verse,  
 With Aveto in Graeco, and such solempne salutacyons,  
 Can skantly the tensis of his coniugacyons;  
 Settynge theyr myndys so moche of eloquens,  
 That of theyr scole maters lost is the whole sentens."(3)

The mention of Quintilian is significant, for the renewed study of the "Institutio Oratoria" is one of the most powerful stimuli of the Renaissance period to a fuller, more creative study of the classics. The classical conception of "grammar" derived from Quintilian included the reading of

(1) Ibid. Ll. 35-37.

(2) Ibid. p.63. Ll. 3-5.

(3) "Speke Parrot." Poetical Works. (ed.A.Dyce. London 1843.2 vols.) Vol.II. p.9.Ll.174-187.

poets and historians as well as the theory and practice of syntactical usage. During the Middle Ages, this study, which corresponded to that of literature, was obscured by the subtleties of scholastic thought. Logic and dialectic superseded grammar, which became the study of the laws under which thought was held rather than that of the science of expression with the illustration of examples drawn from the finest literary expression. The older conception is retained by a few individuals, such as Servatus Lupus, Bernard of Chartres, and John of Salisbury, in the twelfth, and Vincent de Beauvais in the thirteenth century. It is noteworthy that these men were acquainted with the genuine, though incomplete, "Institutio Oratoria", whereas knowledge of the writings of Quintilian was mostly confined during this period to the "Declamationes" ascribed to him.(1) The teaching of Bernard of Chartres corresponds very closely with that of the humanists of the Renaissance period. He taught the rules of accident and syntax side by side with example, inculcating appreciation of stylistic excellence, and training an independent faculty of criticism in his pupils. The account of his methods given by John of Salisbury (2) shows that it contributed to a valuable cultivation of the mind, instead of concentrating upon arid linguistic intricacies.

Apart from this manifestation of unusual powers in individuals, the study of ancient literature is neglected in the Middle Ages. Not one of

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(1) See J.E.Sandys. "A Short History of Classical Scholarship."  
(Cambridge, 1915) p.152.

(2) Quoted H.O.Taylor. "The Mediaeval Mind." (London 1911.2 vols.) Vol.II.  
pp.130-131.

the classics of antiquity is prescribed in the statutes of the various Universities of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."(1)

This state of affairs continues until, in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Italy, there is a revival of classical studies and a corresponding impulse towards a recreation of the spirit of "humanitas", the conversion of knowledge to the shaping and extension of the resources of the human spirit and personality. In 1416, a complete copy of the manuscript of Quintilian's "Institutio Oratoria" was discovered by Poggio at the monastery of St. Gall.(2)

From this recovery of a more extensive knowledge of the educational ideals of the ancients dates a new phase of study.

Its influence is reflected in the establishment of schools in Europe on the basis of Quintilian's system. Peter Ramus followed up his dramatic protest against Aristotelianism in his Master's disputation in Paris (1536)(3) with a different mode of teaching in the College of Ave Maria. There he followed the precepts of Quintilian in enforcing the explanation of grammatical precepts with selected examples from the best of classical authors and orators. In Germany, Johan Sturm, on appointment to the Strasburg School in 1538, instituted his ten-year courses of Latin and Greek studies with the same basic principles. Vives in France also adopted from Quintilian

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(1) See L.J.Paezow. "The Arts Course at the Mediaeval Universities."  
(Illinois University Studies. Vol.3.No.7.1910) for discussion.

(2) See J.E.Sandys.op.cit.p.168.

(3) See F.P.Graves."Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." (New York.1912) p.26.

the conception of grammar as embracing the study of literature, with a broad cultural bearing.(1)

These ideas reach England first through the acquaintance of scholars with European intellectual circles, and their effect is noticeable in the systems drawn up by such men for private education. Elyot's "Boke named *The Governour*"(1531) draws freely upon the work of Quintilian. Ascham's "Scholerester", though actually produced as late as 1570, is the result of the circulation of ideas before this date, during his close association with the Cambridge circle and other men of active minds. They all have in common the desire to reinstate a study of ancient literature as "litterae humaniores" in the full sense of the word, as contributing to character as well as to the sharpening of intellectual equipment. Only careful and penetrating study, selecting the characteristic value of each author, could extract the full benefit from such reading as was included in the curriculum. Elyot is

"of Quintiliane's opinion, that there is fewe or none auncient warke that yeldethe nat some frute or commoditie to the diligent reders."(2)

Grammatical precepts are better drawn from excellent practice by the authors of antiquity than studied in the abstract, so that appreciation of authors contributes to the study of the rules which constitute grammar in

(1) See "De Tradendis Disciplinis."(1531) Ch.V.translated by Foster Watson. "Vives: On Education."(Cambridge.1913).

(1) Cf.also W.H.Woodward."Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance."(Cambridge 1906).Chap.X."Jean Luis Varies, 1492-1540." (pp.180-209).

(2) "The Boke named *The Governour*"(1531) ed.H.H.S.Croft.2 vols.) Vol.I.Chap.XIII.p.131.

(3) "The Boke named *The Governour*." (ed.Croft) Vol.I,Chap.XV.p.156-157.



in its technical aspect.

"For without doute," says Ascham, "Grammatica it selfe, is sooner and surer lerned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rewles of Grammarians."(1)

Erasmus is equally clear concerning the relation of precept and example in the study of classical language and literature. He says:

"I must make my conviction clear that, whilst a knowledge of the rules of accidence and syntax is most necessary to every student, still they should be as few, as simple, and as carefully framed as possible...

For it is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by the copious reading of the best authors."(2)

In the teaching of grammar on the basis of Quintilian, the teacher is himself obliged to be a man of taste and judgment both literary and linguistic, with the faculty of appreciating both matter and style in his selected authors. Elyot's definition of the grammarian is wide and inclusive:

"I name hym a gramarien, by the autoritie of Quintilian, that speakyng latine elegantly, can expounde good autours, expressynge the inuention and disposition of the mater, their stile or fourme of eloquence, explicating the figures as well of sentences as wordes, leuyng nothyng, persone, or place, named by the autour, undeclared or hidde from his scholers."(3)

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(1) "The Scholemaster."(1570). "The Second booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tong." ed.W.A.Wright.(Cambridge.1904) p.259.

(2) "De Ratione Studii."521C - 522A.Translated W.H.Woodward."Erasmus: Concerning Education." (Cambridge 1904) pp.163-164.

Cf.Vives."De Tradendis Disciplinis." Book III.Ch.2.Translated Foster Watson.op.cit.pp.100-106).

(3) "The Boke named the Gouvernour." (ed.Croft) Vol.I.Ch.XV.p.164-165.

The relation of the study of grammatical precepts and of the reading of authors is a question which occupies the minds of private tutors and grammar school masters alike. Knowledge of the Latin language was essential throughout the Middle Ages as the language of scholarship and of the Scriptures, when theology was the dominant study. Reading of the heathen authors was necessary for practice in the Latin language as a means of access finally to the most important source of knowledge of all. Grammar therefore preserved incidentally a certain tradition of classical reading, such as we find commented on by Hrabanus Maurus in the ninth century:

"Grammar teaches us to understand the old poets and historians, and also to speak and write correctly. Without it we cannot understand the figures and unusual modes of expression in the Holy Scriptures, and consequently cannot grasp the sense of the divine word...Hence, industrious reading of the old healthier poets, and repeated exercise in the art of poetic composition are not to be neglected."(1)

With the Renaissance period came the desire to study classical literature for its own sake and for the qualities of mind to be derived from it. The importance of the Latin language, too, was increased, since it had become the cachet of the man of affairs and culture as well as of the scholar. It was

"necessary in dealing with law and other difficult matters of State, and also the means of mutual communication between us and strangers and foreigners."(2)

Men of the Renaissance period were sensitive to linguistic excellence, and insisted not only on thorough mastery of Latin, but of "pure and elegant

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(1) Quoted G.A.Plimpton."The Education of Chaucer."(London 1935) p.95.

(2) From the Letters patent granted to William Byngham to found the College of God's House in Cambridge (1439), the first training college for grammar school masters. Quoted A.F.Leach."The Schools of Mediaeval England."(London 1915) p.257.

Latin."(1) The language had suffered by the incorporation of debased forms from colloquial usage, such as University slang, on the one hand, and by a pedantic tincture from the more narrow-minded of scholars on the other.

Erasmus finds "grammarians" in the worst sense

"a kynde of men (doubtlesse) most miserable, most slauelike, and most contemptuous...(2) // Adde also hereunto, this kynde of delite they haue, as often as any of them chaunceth in some olde boke to fynde out the name of Anchises mother, or some other latine woorde not commonly vsed, as Bubsequa, Bowinator, Manticulator, or diggeth up some gobbet of an olde stone grauen with Romaine or greke letters somewhat defaced..."(3)

Vives writes a treatise against the pseudo-dialecticians, whose jargon was equally detrimental to the quality of Latin, and tries to discover "The Causes of the Corruptions of the Arts."(4) Mediaeval Latin had incorporated numerous impure forms, and William Horman includes in his "Vulgaria"(1519)(5) warnings against solecisms and barbarisms, and devotes the last four chapters to words either to be avoided or to be used with care.(6) Ascham does not agree with the practice of speaking Latin in early years, and cites the

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- (1) Sir Thomas Elyot."The Boke named the Gouvernour." ed.Croft.Vol.I.Chap.V.p.35  
 (2) "The praise of Folie", "Moriae Encomium, a booke made in latine by that great clerke Erasmus Rotorodame. Englisched by Sir Thomas Chalmer Knight" (1549) (Kiii.recto).  
 (3) Ibid.(Kiv.verso).  
 (4) "De Causis Corruptarum Artium." the first part of the "De Tradendis Disciplinis", sometimes quoted separately under this title.  
 (5) Reprinted, with an Introduction, by M.R.James, for the Roxburgh Club, Oxford, 1926.  
 (6) "De verbis desitis et inusitatis/ priscis/ obsoletis/ duris/ sordidis/ peneginis/ nouatis/ et nouo inuentis/ et eorum recto/ peruosoque vsu. Caput.XXXIIII."  
 "De verbis triualibus/ et nullius floris/ aut succi: sed pene sordidis Caput XXXV."  
 "De verbis suapte natura latinis: sed barbarea per abusum collacatis. Caput.XXXVI."  
 "De verbis penitus barbaris/ atque putidis.Caput.XXXVII."  
 (Ibid.pp.438-451).

opinion of

"that excellent man, G. Budaeus, in his Greeke Commentaries" [where he] "sore complaineth that whan he began to learne the latin tonge, vse of speaking latin at the table, and elsewhere, vnaduisedly, did bring him to soch an euill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the daies of his life afterward, both for redinesse in speaking, and also good iudgement in writinge."(1)

The starting point of culture in the Renascence period is, therefore, the practice of speaking

"pure latin, which standeth by rule, authoritie and custome."(2)

In the scholar's earliest years, he is imbued with the necessity for careful choice of speech, and the selection of the finest, purest language. Latin speaking is enforced by school statutes upon the grammar school boy(3) as it is by the precepts of men of letters such as Elyot and Ascham. He became accustomed to the idea of examples such as Stanbridge's in his "Vulgaria", which point out that

"It is a gret help for scollars to speke latyn."(4)

and "It longeth to a scollar to speke latyn"(5)

Similarly Horman says:

"A man can scant beleue: how great a let and hyndraunce is wronge and fylthy latten or other speche to yonge childrens wyttis / and in especial in theyr fyrste settinge to scole."(6)

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- (1) "The Scholemaster. The first booke teachyng the bryngyng vp of youth." (ed. Wright) (p. 185).
- (2) Richard Sherry. "A Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike." (1555) (London. R. Tottel.) Fol. v. verso.
- (3) For list of school statutes requiring Latin speaking see Foster Watson. "English Grammar Schools to 1660." (Cambridge. 1908) p. 316.
- (4) ed. B. White op. cit. p. 14. l. 26.
- (5) Ibid. p. 16. l. 22.
- (6) "Vulgaria". ed. M. R. James. p. 129 Ll. 30-32.



"Let yonge children be wel taken hede of: that they lerne no latyn / but clene and fresshe."(1)

There is a concerted attack made by educationalists both private and connected with grammar schools against slovenly speech, and an attempt to inculcate, by continual insistence upon excellence of language, a faculty of linguistic judgment. Horman thinks that this attempt is having noteworthy success, to such a degree that

"Laten speche: that was almost loste: is nowe after longe absens recovered and come ageyne."(2)

It is acknowledged that

"to speake latin is no lawe, but an obseruacion of excellent menne// whose iudgement standeth for reason."(3)

These men have a new perception of the value of linguistic study. It is, of course, valuable as the means of access to treasuries of knowledge in Greek and Latin, but they realise also the value of the mental discipline it imposes. Sharpening of the faculties of discrimination, new sensitiveness of intellectual response are the results of judicious instruction in classical languages, so that, to men trained in such a tradition

"it shall afterwarde be lasse grete...in a maner, to lerne any thing, where they understande the langage wherein it is written."(4)

Linguistic study alone can have this effect upon the mind, and the education-

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(1) Ibid. p.131. Ll.23-24.

(2) Ibid. p.122. l.6-7.

(3) Richard Sherry. op.cit. Fol.v.verso to Fol.vi.recto.

(4) Elyot. "The Boke named The Gouvernour." (ed. Croft) Bk.I.Chap.V.p.33.

alists of the sixteenth century are agreed upon this point. With Erasmus, they say that

"Language...claims the first place in the order of studies..."(1)

Differences of opinion occur in the relative importance they assign to the learning of rules and the study of examples from which the necessary rules may be deduced, a decision which involves the whole end and aim of learning a language. Some, like Elyot, thought that too laboured concentration upon the framework of language tended to blunt the fine edge of literary appreciation, wearying the desire for knowledge which alone makes learning effective and creative. He advocates the learning of sufficient grammatical usage to make enjoyable reading possible:

"Grammer beinge but an introduction to the understanding of autours, if it be made to longe or exquisite to the lerner, hit in a maner mortifieth his corage: And by that time he cometh to the most swete and pleasant redinge of olde autours, the sparkes of feruent desire of lernynge is extincte with the burdome of grammer, lyke as a lyttel fyre is sone quenched with a great heape of small stickes."(2)

While Elyot is speaking for the curriculum and method of private education, Colet similarly emphasises the value of reading in classical literature in his Latin grammar, and says that

"yf any man wyll knowe and by that knowlege attayne to vnderstand latyn boke, [and] to speke & to wryte the clene Latyn, Let hym aboue all besyly lerne and rede good latyne auctours of chosen poetes and oratours and note wysely howe they wrote, and spake, and study alway

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(1) "De Ratione Studii." Translated by W.H.Woodward."Erasmus: concerning Education." Part II.Ch.VI.p.163.521 B.

(2) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." ed.Croft.Vol.I.Chap.X.p.55.

to folowe them, desyryng none other rules but their examples."(1)

Most emphatically of the opposite opinion is Robert Whittinton. In the epistle "Ad lectorem" prefixed to his "Vulgaria" is his denunciation of undue importance given to the reading of authors:

"Neque subticere possum eorum insolentiam / qui authorum imitationem preceptis anteponendam (quod sibi soli videantur) affirmant vt preceptores preposterari. Immo nulla precepta grammaticulis tradenda sed solum authorum imitationem secutientem amplectendam pugillatice contendunt. At quis non rideat eorum iuscitiam? vt clauum clauo tradunt / & vorsuram sibi soluunt."(2)

He pursues the same train of thought in the examples set for his scholars:

"Imitacyon of autours without preceptes & rules / is but a longe betynge about the busshe & losse of tyme to a yonge begynner."(3)

"It is a wast labour / yf a carpenter / without compas / rule / lyne & plummet sholde attende to square tymbre frame and re yre any buldyng."(4)

"That teycher setteth the cart before the horse that preferreth imitacyon before preceptes."(5)

He turns the argument used by the other side against their own methods, and accuses them of dulling the brain and causing confusion of thought by

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(1) "Explicit Colet editio. Appended to "An introductyon of the partes of spekyng / for chyldren and yonge begynners in to latyn speche."  
(Wykyn de Worde.1534).D.6.recto.

He wrote this treatise, he says, "not thynkyng that I coude say any thing better than hath be sayd before, but I toke this besynesse hauyng great pleasure to shewe the testimony of my good mynde vnto that schole. In whiche lytell warke if any newe thynges be of me, it is alonely that I haue put these partes in a more clere ordre, and haue made them a lytell more easy to yonge wyttes, than ( me thynketh) they were before." "A lytell proheme to the booke."(ed.above.A.5.verso).

(2) Ed. B. White. p. 33. Ll. 16-22.

(3) Ibid. p. 35. Ll. 12-13.

(4) Ibid. p. 35. Ll. 20-22.

(5) Ibid. p. 36. Ll. 2-3.

insisting upon reading before complete knowledge of the language has been acquired as a preliminary step. He says of the other method:

"Tendre wyttes with suche derke ambage be made as dull as a betle."(1)

and "He that laboureth no thyng holy / but catcheth a patche of euery thyng / is mete t[o] pyke a salet."(2)

Stanbridge is strongly opposed to the refutation of the older grammarians implicit in the teaching based upon the work of Quintilian. In the same epistle, he says:

"Quippe qui precepta abijcienda & negligenda censuerit: priscos illos et illustrissimos grammaticos / Diomedem. Donatum. Phocam. Honoratum Seruium. Priscianum: & (recentiores ne sileam) Sulpitium, Perottum. & de latine lingue elegantijs meritissimum Laurentium vallensem frustratos labores / & quasi laterem lauisse iudicant. Adeo ut tantorum uitorum memoriam extinguere: immo artem ipsam grammatices explodere (quamuis cerete cera digni) videantur."(3)

His conception of the scope of the necessary mental equipment of a scholar of grammar is more restricted than that of the admirers of Quintilian. He insists that

"Preceptes is the chefe and moost expedyent bryngyng vp of a yonge grammaryon."(4)

and consequently the office of the teacher will not be so exacting.

Quintilian makes of the study of grammar an interpretative study of literature with an insight into language as preparation, and the critical faculty operative to fuse the two activities:

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(1) Ibid. p.36.Ll.17-18.

(2) Ibid. p.37.Ll.28-29.

(3) Ibid. P.34.Ll.3-10.

(4) Ibid. p.39.Ll.28-29.



"Primus in eo, qui scribendi legendique adeptus erit facultatem, grammatici est locus."(1)

"Grammatica" adopts the function of the "Rhetoric" in so far as it entails the study of authors, as well as the rudiments of language. He is the teacher of literature, who makes of it

"necessaria pueris, iucunda scribis, dulcis secretorum cernes."(2)

The more liberal-minded of the educationalists of the Renaissance period attempt to restore this ideal. Elyot says:

"Verily there may no man be an excellent poet nor oratour unlesse he haue parte of all other doctrine, specially of noble philosophie. And to say the trouthe, no man can apprehende the very delectation that is in the leesson of noble poetes unlesse he have radde very moche and in diuers autours of diuers lernynge."(3)

He follows Quintilian closely in emphasising the fact that the grammarian "may not be ignorant in philosophie, for many places that be almooste in euerye poete fetched out of the subtile parte of naturall questions. These be well nighe the wordes of Quintilian."(4)

The grammarian is, according to this view, constituted the literary critic, the guardian of developing taste, the selector of the best literature.

William Horman's description of the trouble taken to make the best selection of authors establishes the status of the schoolmaster in the field of literary criticism. He says:

"I bestowed more labour and study/ to gette myne authours to gether(5)

"It coste me more labour to chose and discousse my authours / whiche were beste."(6)

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- (1) "Institutio Oratoria," with an English translation by H.E. Butler. (London, 1921, 4 vols). Vol. I. Book. I. iv. 1. p. 60-61. (Loeb edition).  
 (2) Ibid. Book I. iv. 5. (Loeb edition. Vol. I. p. 64).  
 (3) "The Booke named The Governour." ed. Croft. Vol. I. Chap. XIII. p. 131.  
 (4) Cf. "Institutio Oratoria." Book I. iv. 4. (Loeb edition. Vol. I. p. 131.)  
 (5) "Vulgaria." ed. M. R. James. op. cit. p. 133. l. 28.  
 (6) Ibid. Ll. 30-31.

Study of authors in education in the Renaissance is wide and inclusive. Erasmus in the treatise "De Ratione Studii" outlines the rules for this approach to literary study. He selects a play of Terence. This entails discussion of comedy as a literary genre, with the meaning of the terms used in definition. Study of the linguistic principles follows, with detailed examination of style and diction, taking into account the aim and effects of literature.(1) Comments upon the value of classical authors made by these tutor-critics are the nearest approach to a body of literary criticism consistently gathered together in any formal treatise in the Early Tudor period. The variety of tone within them indicates the ways in which these authors were considered most valuable for the purposes of Renaissance education. Livy, for instance, is esteemed by Elyot for his

"elegancie of writinge, which floweth in him like a fountaine of swete milke,"(2)

as much as for the instructive purpose of his work. The power to teach and to delight at the same time is to be found in Plato and Cicero.

"Lorde god," says Elyot, "what incomparable swetnesse of wordes and mater shall he finde in the saide warkes of Plato and Cicero; wherin is joyned grauitie with delectation, excellent wysedome with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and every place is so infarced with profitable counsaile, ioyned with honestie, that those thre bookes be almost sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent gouernour."(3)

The men of this period endeavour to take the long view of classical literature as a whole, to assess the value of each author within his setting

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- (1) See translation by W.H.Woodward.op.cit.p.174-177.528 C - 529 B.  
 (2) "The Boke named The Gouernour." Vol.I.Ch.XI.p.82.  
 (3) Ibid.Chap.XI.p.93-94.

and in comparison with other work of the same or different languages. Particularly they extend their critical method to the comparison of Latin and Greek, deriving added pleasure and appreciation of both literatures from the process. Elyot, a man quick to see the possibilities of the critical activity, sets the epic poets of Greece and Rome together. Virgil, he says,

"in his warke called Eneidos, is most lyke to Homere, and all moste the same Homere, in Latine. Also, by the ioynynge to-gether of these autours, the one shall be the better understande by the other."(1)

Elyot's use and recognition of this comparison, which is traditional(2) strengthens the impression of him as a man who had sound linguistic sense and perception.

The range of authors recommended for both private and public education represents a wide choice of good literature. The private tutors organise their reading more directly upon the basis advocated by Quintilian(3). Erasmus includes, for instance, among Latin authors, Terence, Plautus, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust,(4) and of Greek literature Lucian, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Homer, Euripides. Elyot's survey is similar in scope, including Aesop, Lucian, Homer -

"from whom as from a fountaine proceded all eloquence and lernyng,"(5) Virgil, Horace, Lucian, Hesiod. The poets are to be his chief reading

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(1) Ibid.Chap.X.p.61

(2) Cf. Quintilian."Institutio Oratoria."Book I.viii.5."ideoque optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet."  
(Loeb edition.Vol.I.p.148).

(3) Ibid.Book X.i. (Loeb edition.Vol.IV.pp.2-74).

(4) See W.H.Woodward.op.cit.p.12.

(5) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." Book I.Chap.10.p.58.

until the boy is fourteen years of age, after which time, the rhetoricians, Cicero, Hermogenes, Quintilian, Isocrates and Demosthenes are to be introduced to him as part of his training for public life. For grammar school reading, Wobey recommends the first class to begin with Horace, and, thence, guided by the precepts of Lily to proceed through the work of Cato, Aesop, Terence, Virgil -

"omnium poetarum principem vobis dari, cuius maiestatem carminis voce bene sonora offerendam esse,"(1) -

then selected epistles of Cicero, because

"nulla aliq̄ videntur nobis ad divitem sermonis copiam parandam, neque faciliores, neque vberiores,"(2)

with Sallust, Caesar, Horace's "Epistolae" and Ovid's "Metamorphoses" as reading for the higher forms. Since the teaching of Latin is continuous throughout the Middle Ages, the significance of the Renaissance teaching is in its changed emphasis, the desire to extract the greatest possible value out of classical authors. It should provide critical standards and stimulate the creative power. Whittinton says acutely:

"I se many of them in this dayes y<sup>t</sup> taketh vpon them to dysprayse other mēnes workes / but I se fewe or none of them y<sup>t</sup> setteth out ony of theyr owne makynge."(3)

"Yf ony of them wyll take vpon them the iudgmente of correccion of other men: fyrst it wold become them to lerne to make of theyr owne inuencyon.(4)

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- (1) "Quo ordine pueri in nostrū gymnasium admissi docendi sint, quique auctores eiusdem prelegendi." (Tertiae Classis.) (1529).  
 (2) Ibid. (Quintae Classis.)  
 (3) "Vulgaria" ed. B. White. p. 71. ll. 3-5.  
 (4) Ibid. ll. 21-23.



Greek scholarship had not a tradition similar to that of Latin before the Renaissance period, and the appearance of instruction in this language in the curricula of public schools and in systems of private tutors marks a step towards a wider survey of classical knowledge, and a new interest in linguistic study to be derived from the juxtaposition of Greek and Latin.

Erasmus in his work "De Ratione Studii" insists upon the simultaneous study of both languages because

"within these two literatures are contained all the knowledge which we recognise as of vital importance to mankind." He thinks too, "that the natural affinity of the two tongues renders it more profitable to study them side by side than apart."(1)

Elyot, with his faithful adherence to the authority of Quintilian for instructing his pupil

"wolde haue hym lerne greke and latine autors both at one time: or els to begyn with greke, for as moche as that it is hardest to come by:...And if a child do begyn therin at seuen yeres of age, he may continually lerne greke autours thre yeres, and in the meane tyme use the Latin tonge as a familiar langage."(2)

Infiltration into the régime of grammar schools is necessarily slower, but the teaching of Greek made rapid strides there during the sixteenth century. It is notable that one of the best known of Tudor schoolmasters, William Lily, should be also one of the finest Greek scholars in England in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and that in the Statutes of St. Paul's School, where he became High Master in 1512, he should require any future High Master to be:

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(1) Translated W.H.Woodward.op.cit. Pt.II.Ch.VI.p.163.521 B - C.  
 (2) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." (ed.Croft) Vol.I.Ch.X.p.54.

"a man hoole in body...lerned in good and cleane Latin literature, and also in Greke, yf ~~each~~ may be gotten."(1)

By the mid-sixteenth century, Greek teaching seems to have been firmly established in the schools. Sir Thomas Pope, writing of his school days at Eton, says that

"the Greek tongue was growing apace."(2)

and some of Horman's examples in his "Vulgaria" refer to this study:

"We haue played a comedi of greke."(3)

"I shall rede openly a lectur of greke / if so be / that honest wagis be assigned out for the yere."(4)

and a comment on the diligent schoolboy who

"applied hym selfe with great diligence to greke."(5)

The identification of knowledge of Greek with new and progressive ideas which threatened vested interests is proved by the opposition with which it met in University circles, where its incursion is felt more rapidly and more strongly than elsewhere. Progress depended upon the success of a few individuals against a strong resisting body of conservatism. Erasmus lectured in Greek at Cambridge in 1511, but the duration of his visit was not long enough to establish the study securely. This was only secured by the time Richard Cooke of King's College was appointed Greek Reader at Cambridge, in 1519.

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- (1) "The Statutes of St. Paul's School" (1512) (from the reprint of 1816, London, by one of the Trustees, p.4.) "Capitulum primum de Magistro primario." A 2 verso.
- (2) Quoted Foster Watson. op.cit. p.495.
- (3) Ed.M.R.James.op.cit.p.131.L.5.
- (4) Ibid. p.135.Ll.26-27.
- (5) Ibid. p.137.L.16.

With the generation of Cheke and his associates at Cambridge in the mid-sixteenth century, the new ideas make rapid progress, and the study of Greek language and literature is successfully promulgated by them. Ascham writes to Brondesby in 1542:

"ARISTOTELES mune et PLATO, quod factum est etiam apud nos hoc quinquennium, in sua lingua a pueris leguntur. SOPHOCLES et EURIPIDES sunt hic familiares, quam olim PLAUTUS fuerit quam to hic eras. HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, XENOPHON, magis in ore et manibus terantur, quam TITUS LIVIUS. Quod de CICERONE olim, nunc de DEMOSTHENE audires. Plures ISOCRATES hic in manibus puerorum habentur, quam tum TERENTII. Nec Latinos interim aspernamur, sed optimos quosque et seculo illo aures florentes ardentissime amplexamur."(1)

The name of Sir John Cheke again appears as the driving force, and Ascham gives his far-sighted choice of literature and enthusiasm as a teacher as the reason for the swift response to Greek studies:

"Hunc literarum ardorem et incendit et fovit CHECI nostri labor et exemplum. Qui publice gratis praelegit totum HOMERUM, totum SOPHOCLEM, et id bis: totum EURIPIDEM, omnem fere HERODOTUM. Id quod fecisset in omnibus Graecis poetis, historiographis, oratoribus, philosophis, nisi pessimum factum tam felicem literarum progressum nobis invidisset."(2)

The checking of this impulse to acquire a more extensive and more liberal knowledge of classical literature by Stephen Gardiner(3) and his supporters shows how firm was the bedrock of tradition against which any novelty or broadening activity of the mind had to be asserted. In spite of this, the recurrence of the names of the Cambridge Circle, associated with views

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(1) Works of Roger Ascham. ed.Rev.Dr.Giles (London 1865) Vol.I.PartI.p.26.

(2) Ibid.

(3) His Edicta "De Pronuntiatione linguae Latinae et Graecae" were issued in 1542.

showing insight and critical perception, point to a period in the mid-sixteenth century when the teaching of classical language and literature was definitely humanist in colouring. The recovery of the Greek ideal of culture to be derived from such a study was by no means complete everywhere, but these men made a valuable attempt to see literature and language steadily, and to see ~~the~~ whole.

The sense of linguistic integrity begins to be applied during this period to the vernacular as well as to the classical languages. When the importance of the vernacular was claiming attention in translating activity, in creative work, both prose and poetry, and when linguistic controversy was active in so many intellectual circles, its place in education was forced into prominence.

Admission of the vernacular as the language for the actual teaching of Latin was only reluctantly allowed by men to whom Latin was the scholarly language. Erasmus would not allow the use of the vernacular after the early stages of education, when it might be used for setting the subject for composition. Vives has the credit of advancing a claim for the mother tongue of the scholar, in his treatise "De Tradendis Disciplinis" (1531) (1) possibly deriving his opinion from the Spaniard, Antonio de Nebrija. (2) In France, Mathurin Cordier writing "De Corrupti Sermonis Emendatione Libellus" (1536)

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(1) Book III.Ch.2.(translated Foster Watson.op.cit.pp.100-106).

(2) See P.L.Carver.edition of Palsgrave's "Acolastus" for the E.E.T.S.  
(London 1937) Original Series.No.202. Introduction.p.xci.Note 4.



takes French as the medium of Latin teaching. This advocacy of the vernacular in the exclusive educational field is a significant tribute to its suitability for the transmission of most important knowledge. John Palsgrave, tutor to Princess Mary, (1) states the vital principle of education, that there must be complete fusion between thought and expression, in the minds of both teacher and pupil. The process of thought in the native tongue must therefore be quite clear before the meaning can be adequately expressed in any other language. Palsgrave deplors the wide-spread neglect of the vernacular by the learned, who thus impair their ability to examine Latin and English side by side accurately or productively:

"And somme other furthermore there be, whiche thoughe they haue by their greatte studye,...soo moche prouffyted in the Latyne tongue, that to shewe an euydente tralle of theyr lernynge, they canne wryte an Epistle ryght latyne lyke, and therto speake latyne, as the tyme shall mynyster// occasyon, very well...yet for all this, partely bycause of the rude langage vsed in their natyue countreyes, where they were borne and firste lerned ( as it happened) their grammer rules, & partely bycause that comyng streyght from thense...they haue not had occasions to be conuersaunte in suche places of your realme, as the pureste englysshe is spoken, they be not able to expresse theyr conceyte in theyr vulgar tonge, ne be not suffycyente, perfectly to open the diuersities of phrases betwene our tonge and the latyn (whiche in my poore iudgement is the veray chiefe thyng that the schole mayster shulde trauayle in)"(2)

In the early stages of education too much learning can therefore be a dangerous thing, for reasons which Palsgrave very acutely gives. He deplors the practice of these teachers, who,

"Hauyng no due consyderation to the tender wyttes, whiche they take vnder theyr charge to teache in the stede of pure englyshe wordes and

(1) Ibid. Introduction. pp. xi-xii.

(2) "The Epistle to the Kynges Hyghnes", prefixed to translation of Fullonius' "Acolastus" (1540) (ed. P. L. Carver. op. cit. p. 5.1.32 - p. 6.1.13).

phrases,...declare to their chylderne one latyne worde by an nother, and confounde the phrases of the tongues: And thus not a lytell do hynder their yong scholers, while they wold seme for their own partes to haue a knowledge and erudition aboue the common sort."(1)

Elyot is of the same opinion, and advocates for the pupil a preliminary clear understanding of grammar by means of vernacular teaching before proceeding to more advanced work:

"After that the childe hathe ben pleasantly trained, and induced to knowe the partes of speche, and can seperate one of them from an other, in his owne langage, it shall than be time that his tutor or gouernour do make diligent serche for suche a maister as is excellently lerned both in greke and latine..."(2)

Admission to the grammar school of the Tudor period presupposed a certain knowledge of English. Dean Colet, introducing his "Aeditio", which he wrote for St.Paul's School (3) says:

"If your chylde can rede, [and] wryte latyn and Englysshe suffycyently, so that he be able to rede & wryte his owne lessons, thā he shall be admytted in to the schole for a scholer."(4)

Horman, among the examples in his "Vulgaria", includes a tribute to the masters of the vernacular in Italy as well as in England for their achievement in imaginative literature:

"Dantes Patrarcke / Boccasse / Chaucer / Gowar and Lydgate were goodly makers of feyned narrations."(5)

This care for the vernacular should neutralise the bias towards classical knowledge, exclusive of achievement in the vulgar tongue, which Grimald

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(1) Ibid.p.5.Ll.2 - 9.

(2) "The Boke named The Gouernour" ed.Croft.Vol.I.Chap.IX.p.50.

(3) "Joannis Coleti Theologi, olim decani diui Pauli, seditio una cum quibus dā G.Lilij Grammatices rudimentis" (Wynkyn de Worde.1534)

(4) Ibid. A.i.verso.

(5) Ed.M.R.James. op.cit. p.134.(Ll.17-18).

comments upon in those "clerks" who

"could conceiue, [and] vnderstande full well: whose tounge neuerthelesse in vtteraūce, and vse of speache, was in a maner maymed: yes and some, that could also speake latine reddily, // and wel fauoredly: who to haue done as much in our language, [and] to haue handled the same matter, wold haue bin half blank, what nede mo words?"(1)

Sir Thomas More is an advocate of instruction in the vernacular, and his stress upon this method for the citizens of Utopia, and admiration for the qualities of their language, throw light upon his hopes for the English language. He says:

"They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tonge. For yt is bothe copious in woordes and also pleasaunte to the eare, and for the vtterance of a mans minde verye perfecte and sure."(2)

The vernacular has champions in the educational world fit to take their place with the translators, and with men like Sir Thomas Wilson in academic circles. Such a one is Palsgrave. He shares his advocacy of the vernacular with Vives, but he carries his convictions a stage farther. Whereas Vives has always in mind the ultimate improvement of Latin by a clear method of teaching through the vernacular, Palsgrave considers the other side as well. He does not discount the incidental benefits derived by the vernacular, or make it subordinate to the other aim. He looks forward to

"suche an establyshed mariage, betwene the two tonges, as may be vnto such of your graces subiected, as shall succede hereafter, not only stedy, agreed vpon, and parmanent, but also an incredible furtheraunce, to atteyn the pure latinitie by."(3)

Like Sir Thomas Wilson, he envisages the establishment of a standard English

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- (1) "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes three bookes of dueties...turned out of la-tine into eng-lish, by Nico-las Grimalde!(1558)"The preface to the reader."  
 (2) "Utopia."Ch.VI.Translated R.Robynson.(ed.Lupton.op.cit.p.183-184).  
 (3) op.cit. "Epystle to the Kynges Hyghnes." (ed.Carver.p.9.Ll.28-32).

speech, and this aim is the stimulus behind his work, which, he hopes, may induce others after him to follow his example. He thinks that

"if this kynde of interpretation maye take effecte, and be put in execution, not onely the speache of your subiectes shoulde by that meane haue a great aduantage to waxe vniforme, throughe out all your graces domynions, but also the englysshe tonge, which vnder your graces prosperouse reygne is comme to the hygheste perfection that euer hitherto it was, shulde by this occasion remayne more stedy and parmanent in his endurance, not onely by the well kepyng of his perfection alreedy obteyned, but also haue a great occasion to come to his most hygheste estate, and there, by that meanes longe to be preserued."(1)

His sincere belief in the potentialities of the English language impels him to make a translation of a work which was accomplished by Fullonius

"through the dylygent obseruation of the pure latyn authors."(2)

That there was a keen demand for such translations is recognised by Robert Whittinton, who is a translator as well as a schoolmaster. He says of his translation of Cicero's "De Officiis,":

"The fynall cause wherfore I toke in hande this noble monument to be translate in to my natyue and englysshe tonge is this: I se many yonge persones / and rather all for the most parte that be any thyng lettred / of whome some scantly can skylle of letters / very studyous of knowlege of thynges / and be vehemently bente to rede newe workes / and in especyall that be translated in to the vulgare tonge. All be it some of theym where as they iudge them selfe very fruytfully exercysed / not withstandyng they seme vaynly occupied / and they perceyue very lytell fruyte to issue out of their studye."(3)

The necessity of ability to read and appreciate all the literature

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(1) *ibid.* p.10 Ll.6 - 17.

(2) *Ibid.* p.9. Ll.8 - 9.

(3) "The thre bookes of Tullyes offyces / bothe in latyne tonge [and] in englysshe lately translated by Roberte Whytinton poete laureate." (Wynkyn de Worde 1534).



opened up by the translating activity of the Tudor period was a strong inducement to the study of the English language in schools, and the most progressive schoolmasters of the age were not slow to realise this need. The focus of this activity is Magdalen College School.(1)

As early as 1483, John Anwykyll, who was Informator there from 1481 to 1487, made use of English in grammar teaching. Appended to his grammar, called "Compendium totius grammaticae", were "Vulgaria quaedam abs Terentio in Anglicam linguam traducta."(Oxford 1483). In 1488, Anwykyll was succeeded by his usher, John Stanbridge, who was also a strong advocate for the teaching of Latin through the vernacular. The "Longe Parvala", printed by Theodore Rood in 1481 is the earliest Latin grammar in English and has been attributed to him.(2) Lily at St.Paul's School followed his methods, in his "Vulgaria quaedam cum suis vernaculis compilata iuxta consuetudinem ludi litterarij diui pauli." Stanbridge's successor, John Holt, author of the "Lac puerorum"(1497), a Latin grammar in English, is a link between the schoolmasters and the great group of English humanists, for he was the teacher of Sir Thomas More. Cardinal Wolsey takes his place among educationalists with his "Rudimenta Grammatices, & docendi Methodus" prefixed to Colet's "Aeditio" and published by Treveris in 1529. The names of Robert Whittinton and William Horman are joined in the undignified "Antibossicon" controversy. The outcome

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(1) See Foster Watson. "The English Grammar Schools to 1660."(Cambridge 1908). Chap.XIV.pp.232-243.

Beatrice White. "The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittinton" E.E.T.S.ed.op.cit. Introduction pp.xvi-xxxvii.

(2) See A.E.Shaw. "The Earliest Latin Grammars in English". Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. V. (July. 1901) p.52.

of Horman's Mastership at Eton from 1485-1494 was the "Vulgaria" published in 1519, for the use of Eton boys. Whittinton's "Vulgaria" was issued in 1520, and this precipitated the ignoble quarrel in which Skelton took part.(1) Among their differences of opinion was that of the emphasis to be laid upon linguistic precept or literature in grammatical training. Whittinton, staunch upholder of the linguistic point of view, is strong in defence of the vernacular:

"Syth euery countre doeth auau<sup>u</sup>nse with laude his owne language whye sholde not we thynke worthy our language the same? sythen al speeches suffre confusyon saue hebrewe."(2)

This strong line of support for the vernacular in education is all the more significant since the English language had had to contend with French domination until the late fourteenth century. The momentous change is said by John Trevisa, translator of Ranulph Higden's "Polycronicon" (translation completed 1387) to have been complete and the results in full operation by

"þe 3er of oure Lord a þousond þre hondred foure score and fyue...in al þe gramer-scoles of Engelond childern leueþ Frensch & construzþ & lurneþ an Englysch..."(3)

(4)

a change due to the Oxford men, John Cornwall and Richard Penerych.

The importance of this change is not restricted to added facility in the learning of Latin grammar. It means that English must be considered as an

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- (1) John Bale credits him with "Carmen inuectiuum in Guilhelmum Liliū poetam laureatum.lib.1." Autograph Note-book p.253. (see B.White."Stanbridge's 'Vulgaria' and Whittinton's 'Vulgaris'". E.E.T.S. Introduction p.xix)
- (2) Ibid. p.94.Ll.12-14.
- (3) See Morris and Skeat. "Specimens of Early English" Part II.(Oxford 1873) XVIII.p.241.Ll.180-183.
- (4) See W.H.Stevenson."The Introduction of English as a vehicle of Instruction in English Schools" (Furnivall Miscellany, 1901, p.421-9) for discussion of this change and of identity of ~~the~~ Cornwall and Penerych.

instrument for literary purposes, that it must be measured against the classical languages, and that attention must be paid to making of it a flexible instrument capable of exact and elegant expression. By the time of Whittinton, the spirit of emulation which spurred on the translators and all men of letters who had the welfare of the vernacular at heart had quickened this interest, and attention to the qualities of language was becoming a serious literary duty. The mental discipline and judgment acquired by classical reading planned in the most liberal tradition is applied equally to the vernacular. Ascham formulates this attitude with the admonition that

"in euerie separate kinde of learning and studie, by it selfe, ye must follow, choiselie a few, and chieflie some one, and that namelie in our schole of eloquence, either for penne or talke...//

And this not onelie to serue in the Latin or Greke tong, but also in our own English language. But yet, bicause the prouidence of God hath left vnto vs in no other tong, saue onelie in the Greke and Latin tong, the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges, the trewe Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we looke to attaine, either to perfit vtterance of it our selues, or skilfull iudgement of it in others."(1)

This passage is remarkably comprehensive in its scope. It crystallises the relations between the classical languages and the vernaculars, makes specific application of the stylistic rules of rhetoric to the written as well as to the spoken work, and points out the exercise of the critical faculty to be observed in creation as well as in judgment of the work of others.

In the sphere of education as in so many other literary and linguistic discussions, rhetoric exerts strong influence, since it focusses attention

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(1) "The Scholemaster." "The second booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tong". (ed.Wright) p.282-283.

on style and arrangement. In the classical period, rhetoric had shared the function of grammar as the study of authors, and throughout the Middle Ages they were closely related. Horman comments on the popularity of the study of rhetoric in the Tudor period:

"Eloquens is moste allowed and made of amonge al other science of the people"(1)

and Richard Sherry writes his "Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike" (1555) for those who are

"studious of Eloquence, and in especiall for suche as in Grammer scholes doe reade moste eloquente Poetes, and Oratoures."(2)

Sherry stresses the importance of the study of grammar as training the sense of appropriateness of words for matter, which is the "elocutio" of the rhetorician. The quality of clarity and exactness is a result of grammatical training:

"The plain & eident speache is learned of Grammarians, and it kepeth the oratiō pure, and without al fault: and maketh that every thyng may seme to be spokē, purely, apertly, & clerely."(3)

The grammarians aim at the style described by Quintilian as "emendata, dilucida, ornata."(4) with the norm of style constituted by reason, tradition and usage:

"Sermo constat ratione vel vetustate, auctoritate, consuetudine."(5)

Comments on style in the "Vulgaria" of William Horman indicate the main trends

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(1) "Vulgaria" ed.M.R.James. op.cit. p.122.

(2) "Colophon." London. Richard Tottel.

(3) op.cit.Fol.iii. A iii.verso.

(4) "Institutio Oratoria" Book I.v.1.Edited for the Loeb Classical Library, Vol.I.p.113.

(5) Ibid. Book I.vi.1. Loeb ed. Vol.I.p.112.



of contemporary linguistic fashion and conviction. Like Sir Thomas Wilson, he advises avoidance of the obscurely ornate which was so popular:

"Thy maner of wryttinge is darke: with ouer moche curiosite."(1)

"This maner of writynge is to exquysite / and to moche labourde: and so is darke an̄vnsauery."(2)

"The olde men dyd nat set by the smothe an florysshed style / the whiche is nowe moche made of."(3)

He prefers "a playn and a clenly maner of wrytting."(4)

He mentions archaisms, to be used only judiciously and appropriately:

"Wordis of fene yeres / so that they be not to olde / and out of knowlege / nor stud(i)ed for a purpose / nor to ofte brought forthe: make the langage substanciall and plesaunt."(5)

The rule for the choice of words with a flavour of antiquity is Quintilian's golden mean between new coinages and archaic revivals:

"Of newe wordis the oldest be beste: and the neweste of the olde."(6)

Educational rules and practice, and the fertile open minds of the best of the men associated with education in its various spheres make a valuable contribution to the training of judgment and perception which is deemed the critical faculty. In the early stages, when the mind is most amenable to

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(1) Ed.M.R.James. op.cit. p.132. L.17.

(2) Ibid. p.135. Ll.30-31.

(3) Ibid. p.136. Ll.9-10.

(4) Ibid. p.136. L.25.

(5) Ibid. p.144. Ll.26-28.

(6) Ibid. p.144. L.32.

Cf. Quintilian. "Cum sint autem verba propria, ficta, translata, propriis dignitatem dant antiquitas. Namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerit usus..."

"Institutio Oratoria". Book VIII.iii.24. (ed. for Loeb Classical Library, London 1922) p.224.

such training, the Tudor schoolboy could be brought up with the views of the most progressive grammarians. Horman, Whittinton, Stanbridge and the rest, whatever their differences on points of detail may be, each have insight into, and conviction of the importance of, careful training in classical literature and language, and an accompanying regard for the mother tongue. The son of the nobleman is even more directly in the line of new developments in education, when tutors such as Ascham and Elyot bring to bear the results of their reading of Quintilian and the best of antique authors upon their systems of instruction. Through these men, private education is in touch with some of the finest minds of the age. The teaching of Cheke at the University of Cambridge is another focus of liberal thought, and stabilises the beginnings of critical discrimination which may have been already implanted at an earlier stage of education. The best of educational thought in the Tudor period is quick to realise the possibilities of the faculty of thought, and spares no pains to train and develop it to the full. Vives perceives the truth which is the essence of educational ideals:

"But I only call that knowledge which we receive when the senses are properly brought to observe things and in a methodical way to which clear reason leads us on...For art is the means of attaining a sure and predetermined end,"(1)

and this may be said to epitomise the aspirations of Tudor education at its most perceptive.

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(1) "De Tradendis Disciplinis." (1531), translated Foster Watson. (Cambridge 1913) p.22.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD,  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SIR JOHN CHEKE AND THE CAMBRIDGE CIRCLE.

A focus of linguistic criticism and debate in the first half of the sixteenth century lies in another form of the undying rivalry between Latin and the vernacular. In Europe, where the Romance languages are closely allied to Latin, the emergence of the vernacular may be said to have been accomplished during the Middle Ages. In England, the position was rather different. Rapid progress had been made during the Anglo-Saxon period, elsewhere for vernaculars a "dark age", but from the time of the Norman Conquest until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the English language had to contend with French domination. After this time, it was re-established as a colloquial language, and had been justified by considerable literary achievement. (1) Latin was, however, still the language of scholarship, and the appreciation of the excellence of classical Latin, which was a result of the sixteenth century revival of learning in Europe, was an advertisement of its claims.

Pure Latinity was equated with rigorous and exclusive reproduction of the work of Cicero by Pietro Bembo in Italy, (2) and Etienne Dolet in France (3), among the most notable European scholars. The apparatus of stylistic and philological criticism tended to become through their efforts merely a means of restricted imitation of their selected master.

This vexed question of "imitation" is itself a controversy which crystallised many criteria of language and of the method of approach to the

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(1) See Introductory chapter. (Chapter I above).

(2) "unus scribendi magister." Ep.Fam.v.17. Quoted W.H.Woodward. "Erasmus concerning Education." (Cambridge 1904). p.54.

(3) "De Imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Erasmum Rot. pro C.Longolio" (1535).

literature of antiquity. Scholars were agreed that approximation to classical standards of excellence was the best means of reaching similar standards in contemporary work. They were divided on the question of how far this excellence could be reproduced in the terms of the originals, or adapted for individual talent and for the requirements of a different age. The Ciceronians argued that the usefulness of the vernaculars was limited to their several countries, that they were still fluid and amorphous by reason of dialectal variation, and therefore quite unfit for serious literary purposes. Only by writing in Latin could writers of the Renaissance period claim a place with their masters and thus merit equally lasting fame. The choice of Cicero for imitation is itself an act of criticism, but one which could not be at the same time creative, because it defeated its own ends. It was a tacit admission by its partisans that Latin was a dead language, incapable of receiving new life from the present, and effective only if revived in its antique integrity. A more creative study of the classics is that which recognises the importance of individuality, as maintained by Pico in his discussion with Bembo, (1) and by Erasmus. (2) They realised that Ciceronianism could never be more than an academic phenomenon, as compared with the fusion of critical training and individual creative effort. Theirs is a recognition of the spirit of language, instead of a pedantic attention to the letter. This controversy involved more than the question of the relative value of Latin and the

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(1) "ad P. Bembum, de imitatione." 1530. (written 1512).

(2) See W.H. Woodward. op.cit. p.57.



vernacular. It embraced the whole principle of linguistic consciousness and criticism.

The study of any author, when the preliminary choice has been made, imposes the use of definite critical standards to know

"which way to folow that one: in what place: by what meane and order: by what tooles and instrumentes ye shall do it, by what skill and iudgement, ye shall breuelie discerne, whether ye folow rightlie or no." (1)

The discipline of imitation as described by Ascham entails wide and sensitive reading, discriminating judgment, (2) collation and comparison, (3) with stress upon the importance of example as well as of precept:

"For preceptes in all Authors, ... without applying vnto them, the Imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therfore barrayn, vnfruitfull and vnpleasant." (4)

With the stimulating help of "the cunningest Master, and one of the worthiest Ientlemen that ever England bred, Syr Iohn Cheke"... (5)

and that of his friend Sturm, Ascham outlines a liberal study of both language and literature. This was to be regarded as the preliminary training for work in English, since "bicause the providence of God hath left vnto vs in no other tong, saue onelie in the Greke and Latin tong, the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges, the trewe Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we looke to attaine, either to perfit utterance of it our selues, or skilfull Iudgement of it in others." (6)

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(1) "The Scholemaster." (1570) Roger Ascham. ed. W.A. Wright. (Cambridge 1904) p.266-267.

(2) "...so would I haue our scholer alwayes able to do well by order of learnyng and right skill of iudgement." (Ibid. p.270).

(3) "Would to God, I might once see, some worthie student of Aristotle and Plato in Cambridge, that would ioyne in one booke the preceptes of the one with the examples of the other." (Ibid. p.278).

(4) Ibid. p.277.

(5) Ibid. p.268.

(6) Ibid. p.283.

The issue of this controversy was further complicated by the necessity of admitting the increasing importance of the vernaculars. The countries of Europe were feeling the stirrings of a new self-consciousness, the desire to determine and develop their own resources. Political necessity therefore gave strong support to the establishment of a national language, increasing the importance of the choice to be made between Latin and the vernacular for literary purposes. This choice had to be justified by the writer who used his mother tongue, and there is in the sixteenth century a focussing of attention upon the problems of language. Italy had faced the problems in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when discussion such as Dante's "Convivio" and "De Vulgari Eloquentio" had been supplemented by his use of the vernacular for the "Divina Commedia." By the sixteenth century the effects of the Revival of Learning were apparent in France. The place of the vernacular as a literary language was hotly debated in the circle of writers round Du Bellay, and by Rabelais and Amyot among others.

Linguistic criticism was therefore a habit of European thought in the sixteenth century. The attention of scholars is fixed on the tempering of their linguistic medium by preliminary study and imitation of the classics. Poets and men of letters discuss the possibilities of the vernacular examined by the newly recovered standards, experiment and test their conclusions. It is an age of eager commerce of ideas, when there is a strong compulsion to debate, to argue and to justify. In the consequent marshalling of ideas defensive and dissenting, the formulation of what might have

remained inarticulate, there are conditions propitious for the evolution of criticism.

English scholars did not become so deeply involved in the Ciceronian controversy as those of Italy and France. They had not the same zest for pure scholarship as the men of Italy in the very heart of the Revival of Learning, nor the desire to draw up rules for a dictatorship of letters which is manifest in France. This is not to say that England was out of touch with the mainstream of culture on the Continent. There was a tradition of humane scholarship already in the group of scholars associated with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in the fifteenth century, and when Erasmus came to England in 1499, More, Linacre, Colet and their circle won his admiration.(1) Even allowing for the hyperbole which characterises much of the mutual praise of the scholars of this time, this is a genuine tribute to their learning and to the "civilised" personality accompanying it. An intellectual outlook of this nature would not be confined to sterile and pedantic study of the classics, but would, on the contrary, bring to bear

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(1) Erasmus Roberto Piscatori Agenti in Italia. Anglo. S.D.

"textum autem humanitatis atque eruditionis, non illius protritae ac trivialis, sed reconditae, exactae, antiquae, Latinae Graecaeque, ut iam Italiam nisi visendi gratia haud multum desiderem. Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire. In Grocino quis illum absolutum disciplinarum orbem non miretur? Linaeri iudicio quid acutius, quid altius, quid emunctius? Thomae Mori ingenio quid unquam finxit natura vel mollius vel dulcius vel felicius? ... Mirum est dictu quam hic passim, quam dense veterum litterarum seges efflorescat..."  
 Selections from Erasmus. P.S.Allen.(Oxford 1908.) VIII Learning in England p.31-32.

Cf. Ibid. XXVI. Thomas More. p.113-125. Erasmus Roterodamus Clarissimo Equiti Ulricho Hietteno. S.D.

upon them wide and balanced judgment, resulting from the tempering of intellect by vivid appreciation of their creative potentialities. Praise from the most cosmopolitan scholar of the time shows that England's prestige in the world of letters was considerable. By contemporary standards, it is significant that in comparison with Erasmus they do not fall far short.

More is numbered among his peers, and of Linacre it is said that

"he is depely experte in greke tongue soo that dyuerse men iudge that ther is smal difference bytwene Erasmus and hym." (1)

Scholarship in England is centred in the activity of individuals and of small groups rather than in a continuous tradition. Following this early efflorescence in More and his friends, a man of similar intellectual persuasion is Thomas Lupset, who is a link between them and the Cambridge circle in the middle of the century. The cultivation of judgment and the desire to select the finest work by means of thorough study and clear apprehension are the contributions of scholarship to the formation of the critical habit. They are clearly active in Lupset, and he points the way to the more liberal attitude towards the classics which is the mark of the later scholars, such as Elyot and Ascham.

The manner of his study is essentially a critical one. He realises that it is not "the reding of many bokes, that getteth increace of knowledge and iugement..." but a disciplined selection of the best.

"No man... can use redinge but in verve fewe workes, the whiche I wolde shuld be piked out of the best sorte, that the fruit of the reders diligence maye be the greater. I se many lose theyr tyme, when they

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(1) Robert Whittinton, (1520) ed. B. White for the E.E.T.S. 1932. p. 105. L. 26.

"Vulgaria"



thinke to bestowe their time beste, bicause they lack iudgement or knowelege to pyke oute the bokes, the whiche be worthye to be studied."(1)

The coupling of "iudgement" and "knowelege" is the mark of the scholarship which disintegrates the mass of accumulated information and arranges it according to a considered plan, for "in euerye thyng an order wel obserued, bringeth more profitte than any labour or peine besyde."(2)

This is the habit of the trained mind working within a defined field.

The germinal centre of mid-sixteenth century scholarship in England is the group of scholars associated with Sir John Cheke at Cambridge. The influence of Cheke upon his fellows and upon his students is incalculable. He lives rather in the resultant mental outlook of others than in the body of his published work, which is by no means fully representative of his own calibre. The frequent tributes to him are addressed to the stimulus of his personality as much as to his scholarly attainments. Cambridge in his day must have been a centre of discussion, of controversy upon a basis of wide and liberal culture. In so far, therefore, as Cheke contributed to the formation of an attitude of appreciation and discrimination both literary and linguistic, he **has** a place in the development of the critical habit.

Some indication of the scope of the interests of the Cambridge circle may be deduced from the extant catalogue of Sir Thomas Smith's Library,(3) as representative of their tastes. Pre-occupation with the past did not

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(1) Life and Works of Thomas Lupset. ed.J.A.Gee.

See "An Exhortacion to Young Men." (1535 edition) ed.B.M.Gee.

Ibid..p.237.

(2) Ibid.p.237.

(3) Appended to Life of Sir Thomas Smith. J.Strype.(Oxford.1820.  
The Appendix. Number 6 p.274-281).

blind them to the progress of later ages down to their own day. Italian literature in its various phases since the fourteenth century is represented by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Piccolomini's "D'Institutione d'huoma Nato." Contemporary linguistic problems in France are represented by Du Bellay's "Defense et Illustration de la langue françoise," and Jacques Pelcher's "De Pronuntiatione Linguae Gallicae" is there too. This evidence of interest in language is supplemented by Erasmus' "De Copia Verborum", and "De Pronuntiatione", and Smith's knowledge of Hebrew is represented by "Erotemata Linguae Hebraicae". He possessed also the works of Peter Ramus, whom he had met in Paris, and who made a firm stand against the pre-occupation of learning with Aristotelian logic and scholasticism. This catalogue is at least a pointer to the mental alertness and interests of these men. Stimulating lectures and private discussions made of St. John's College in the mid-sixteenth century a "little Academe", in which the personality of Cheke made his teaching effective and creative. The men who absorbed it were a leaven in many spheres of Tudor activity. They were statesmen, educationalists, translators, tutors to the Royal Family and to the aristocracy, friends of the moving spirits of the time in Europe and eagerly absorbing new ideas from the Continent. Behind them all was the dynamic power of Cheke. Sir Thomas Wilson, among the first to formulate principles which may be called critical in the form of a treatise, (1) praises his "manifolde great gifts and wonderfull vertues:... his most gentle nature and godly disposed minde, to helpe all those with his knowledge and vnderstanding, that any waye made meanes vnto him, and sought his favour." (2)

(1) Arte of Rhetorique, published 1553, corrected and completed 1560, reprinted 1562, 1563, 1567.

(2) Letter prefixed to his translation of Demosthenes (1570) projected by him and Cheke in 1556.

Ascham was of the inner circle of Cheke's friends, and refers frequently to the private readings and discussions he accorded to them. They derived

"great comoditie...in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato..."(1)

The method of study employed in these readings was that of applied criticism, a systematic testing of chosen examples in the light of critical precepts. The contemporary problem of "imitation", mentioned above in connection with the Ciceronian controversy, acquired new meaning in Cheke's study, and became a means of approach to the spirit of classical literature rather than an avid reproduction of style alone. Theory and practice were considered together. He is said by Ascham to have made an innovation at Cambridge by the use of this method.

"Cambridge, at my first comming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the preceptes of Aristotle, without the examples of other Authors."(2)

These men insist upon reasonable application of the rules themselves,

"Rather makyng Art by witte, than confoundyng witte by Arte... For what mat=tereth whether we folowe our Booke, or no, if wee folowe witte, and appoint our selfe an order, suche as may declare the truthe more plainely?" (3)

It is their firm belief that

"rules wer made first by wise men, not wise men by rules."(4)

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- (1) "Toxophilus." (1545) ed.W.A.Wright.(Cambridge 1904) p.45.  
 (2) "The Scholemaster."(1570) ed.W.A.Wright.(Cambridge 1904) p.278.  
 (3) Sir Thomas Wilson. "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553) Fol.84.verso.  
 (4) Ibid.

The work of Wilson, Ascham and Elyot is the fruit of their association with Cheke. While his own influence depends upon personal contacts, it is articulated by these men, and made accessible to a wider public. His is the germinal personality, as they all realised, and as Ascham explains in "Toxophilus." (1545).

"And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, & hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and styrred ~~w~~p, by his counsell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that folowyng his footestepes, they myght comme to the same ende, whereunto labour, lerning & vertue, had cōueied him before."(1)

Cheke's own progressive desire to restore to Greek its lost euphony brought him into contact with the reactionary forces of authority in Cambridge. He and Sir Thomas Smith were dissatisfied with the pronunciation which made all the vowel sounds so "closely allied to the letter iota"(2) that they resembled "the piping of a sparrow, or the hissing of a snake,"(3) and introduced the more classical and varied vowel sounds into their lectures and private teaching. In 1542 Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester issued a decree forbidding the use of Cheke's amended usage,

"and thus not only stopped the new pronunciation in spite of the remonstrances of almost all the university, but almost wholly extinguished all the zeal for learning which had been kindled up among us!"(4)

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(1) "Toxophilus." edited W.A.Wright (Cambridge 1904) p.45.

(2) Letter of Roger Ascham to Brandesby. (Cambridge. 1542-43).  
Roger Ascham's Works. (ed.Giles.London 1865) Vol.I.Part I.  
Introduction.p.xxxviii.(translation).

(3) Ibid.p.xxxvii.

(4) Ibid.p.xxxvii.



As Ascham seems to realise, more issues were at stake than the pronunciation of Greek alone. The opposition of Gardiner, "yielding to the requests of certain envious men,"(1) constitutes the force which set its face resolutely against all innovation. Men of more liberal and advanced views had always to meet this obstructive party, which did all it could to stem the tide of the new scholarship.

On the other hand, the very strenuousness of their opposition admits the menace to the old regime and habits of thought. Within a comparatively short time, Cheke's activities had made sweeping changes in the intellectual life at Cambridge. The heyday of Cambridge in the Tudor period was during this time, from the forties until about 1553.(2) The forties had witnessed the advances made towards the study of "Aristotle, Plato, Tullio, and Demosthenes",(3) and, for the study of those four, "the fowre pillers of learning", Cambridge then gave place to "no vniuersitie, neither in France, Spaine, Germanie, nor Italie."(4) Obscurantism had therefore good cause to fear the activities of Cheke and his circle.

The influence of Cheke would have been less productive and of less importance to the development of critical consciousness in English, had it been confined to the domain of purely classical scholarship. He would still have been a stimulus to others, but less directly. But as it is, his

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(1) Ibid.

(2) "S.Iohnes stooode in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An.1553..."  
Ascham. "The Scholemaster". (ed.Wright).p.280.

(3) Ibid. p.281.

(4) Ibid. p.282.

contemporaries praise his excellent mastery of the English language as highly as his skill in Greek and Latin. Wilson says that "better skill he had in our English speach to iudge of the Phrases and properties of wordes, and to diuide sentences: than any one else had that I haue knowne."(1)

Sir Thomas Smith, who shared Cheke's attempt to restore Greek pronunciation, shared also his reputation for English. He was "also during his residence in Cambridge a great refiner of the English writing: which to these times was too rough and unpolished, and little care taken thereof... He was noted to be one of the three there, that were the great masters of the English tongue."(2)

In the same way as they had tried to reform the pronunciation of Greek, they attempted also to introduce a more consistent system of spelling into the English language. Smith explains his methods in the small discourse "De Recta et Emendata Scriptione Linguae Anglicanae."(1542).(3) Cheke wrote no similar treatise, but his spelling in his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark (1550c) (4) is comparatively consistent throughout. The main principles of his system seem to be the doubling of long vowels, the disuse of final -e, and the invariable use of y for i.(5) This practical attention to the English language is a realisation that it might be fitted for

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- (1) "Rule of Reason." (1551) Epistle to the King.  
Cf. also Nicolls' translation of Thucydides. (1550) addressed to Cheke's critical judgment, "to amende and correct it, in those places and sentences whiche youre exacte lernynge and knolaige shall judge mete to be altered and reformed."
- (2) Strype. Life of Sir Thomas Smith. Oxford 1820.p.
- (3) ed. Dr. Otto Deibel. (Max Niemayer. 1913) See also Strype. Life of Sir Thomas Smith. Appendix. p.163.
- (4) ed. J. Goodwin. London 1843.
- (5) See A.C. Baugh. "History of the English Language." (New York and London 1935) p.256.

literary purposes if organised on a basis similar to that of the classical languages. They are cautious and judicious in their examination of its defects, compared with the later complacent upholders of English. Their attempt to reconcile some of the anomalies of spelling had no appreciable influence, but their realisation of the need for this reform is significant and valuable in their age. It is an indication that the English language was being accorded a scholarly consideration which had before been reserved for the classical languages alone. Cheke and Smith brought to their examination of English minds thoroughly attuned to linguistic and literary values by a keen sense of literary excellence and of the necessity for careful choice of language for literary purposes. Perception of the essential character of Greek prompted their attempts to reform its pronunciation and they directed a similar faculty to the study of English.

That men of such remarkable intellectual stature in their day should concern themselves with the selfare of a vernacular tongue proves the growing prestige of the English language. Brought up in the tradition of Latin as the learned language, the means of intercourse and correspondence between scholars of all nations, and of access to the riches of the past, they made no light choice in taking notice of "Englishe mater in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men."(1) The work of this influential nucleus of scholars is indubitably a step forward towards the final re-instatement of

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(1) "Toxophilus." (1545) "To the moste graciouse, and our most drad Soueraigne Lord, Kyng Henrie the .viii."... Ascham. (ed. W.A. Wright 1904, p.x.).

English as a literary language in the full Tudor period.

The interest of the Cambridge circle in the English language is all the more important because of the growing contemporary interest in fashions of speech. "Frēche English,"... "Angleso Italiano", (1)... "quaint prouerbes, and blynd allegories" (2) were all eddying in the "ceaselesse flowing river of our tongue." (3) The careful critical habit of the Cambridge scholars enabled them to discriminate the elements among all these fashions which would finally be best to maintain the integrity of the English language.

The fashion for aureate language, the adornment of speech with

"taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,  
Three piled hyperboles, spruce affectation"

had persisted strongly throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, (4) and its usage seems to have been very widely prevalent in the mid-sixteenth century. Leland remarks that "except truth be delycately clothed in purpure her written verytees can scant fynde a reader." (5) Rhetoric seems to have been equated by this time with ornate language, rather than with the science of appropriate expression, while "he that can catche an ynke horne terme by the taile, hym they compt to bee a fine Englischman, and a good Rhetorician." (6)

The study of language in the Universities and schools seems to have been turned to the same ends of elaborate composition, and the mannerism of

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(1) Wilson. "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553) Fol.86.recto.

(2) Ibid. Fol.86.verso.

(3) Chapman. "To the Understander." (Prefixed to Achilles' Shield.1598).

(4) See Chapter II above for reflection of this fashion in the work of Berners and Caxton.

(5) Antiquities.(1545).

(6) Wilson. "Arte of Rhetorique" (1553) Fol.86.verso.



speech was reproduced in literary work according to the system of the

ars dictaminis. (1) Men of this literary habit, "whan they write epistles, they seme to the reder that, like to a trumpet, they make a soun without any purpose, where unto men do herken more for the noyse than for any delectation that therby is meued." (2)

This is the opposite extreme to the method of those men whom Ascham censures because they "care not for wordes, but for matter, and so make a deuorse betwixt the tong and the hart." (3)

The tendency of this fashion is to make no reconciliation of words and matter at all. The correction of this fault seemed to lie in the establishing of a clear distinction between the language of prose and the language of poetry. Confusion of the usage of these two genres of literature was a fault condemned by the rhetoricians themselves, who maintained that "if a man in prose would vse figures poeticall", (4) he is guilty of "the fault of σωρευμός, (5) for the essential quality of prose is "in wholesome matters, and apt declaryng of a mannes mynd." (6) Ascham cites Cicero's calling of Sulpitius "grandis et Tragicus Orator" for his "Poeticall kinde of talke" as being "for other mens warning, to exchew the like faulte," (7) and praises Plato's use of Homer's "Iliad", Bk.I, in "De Republica" Bk.3., because he "doth not ride a loft in Poeticall termes, but goeth low and soft on foote, as prose and Pedestris oratio should do." (8) The correct choice between the two styles should be made by the discriminating

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(1) See Chapter I above.

(2) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." Sir Thomas Elyot. (1531) ed.H.H.S.Croft. (London 1883. Vol.I.p.116).

(3) "The Scholemaster." (ed.Wright above p.265).

(4) Richard Sherry. "A Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike." 1555

(5) Ibid.

| Fol.x.verso.

(6) Ibid.

(7) "The Scholemaster." (ed.Wright.p.254).

(8) Ibid.p.255.

faculty working according to the demands of "Decorum, which as it is the

hardest point, in all learning, so is it the fairest and onelie marke, that scholars, in all their studie, must alwayes shote at..."(1)

Another method of surrounding meaning in a cloud of words was the use of an archaic and pedantic vocabulary to achieve the desired effect of outlandish obscurity. Erasmus speaking through the mouth of Folly describes the absurdity of their extreme antiquarian researches.

"If they want such farre fetched vocables, than serche they out of some rotten Pamphlet foure or fyue disused woords of antiquitee, therewith to darken the sence unto the reader, to the ende, that who so vnderstandeth them, may repute hym selfe for more cunnyng, and literate: and who so dooeth not, shall so muche the rather yet esteeme it to be some high mattier, because it passeth his learnyng. For this is truely not the least of my pleasant propretees, to make men euer set moste store by straunge and outlandisse thyngs."(2)

The vicissitudes of Chaucer's reputation have a place in these linguistic fashions. Consequently a vogue for the interlarding of conversation with Chaucerian expressions appears for a time in the kaleidoscope of court fashions, during which time the "fine Courtier will talke nothyng but Chaucer."<sup>(3)</sup>

Another habit deplored by scholars of the judicious persuasion of the Cambridge circle is that of giving a strange flavour to language by

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(1) Ibid.p.249.

(2) "Praise of Folly." translated by Sir Thomas Chaloner (1549).  
Leaf A iij et verso.

Cf. Quintilian. "Institutio Oratoria."

"At obscuritas fit verbis iam ab usu remotis: ut si commentarios quis pontificum et vetustissima foedera et exoletos scrutatus auctores id ipsum petat ex his quae inde contraxerit, quod non intelliguntur. Hinc enim aliqui famam eruditionis adfectant, ut quaedam soli scire videantur".

Book VIII.Ch.2.12.(Loeb Classical Library.London 1922.Vol.3.p.202).

(3) Wilson."Arte of Rhetorique".(1553) Fol.86.verso.

incorporating technical terms in large numbers. Law, for instance, is

"inuolued in so barbarouse a langage, that it is nat onely voyde of all eloquence, but...serueth to no commoditie or necessary purpose, no man understandyng it but they whiche haue studyed the lawes."(1)

Wilson includes the lawyer in the ranks of those whose language is extravagant as one who "will store his stomack with the//pratyng of Pedlers."(2)

The conversion of Hall's Chronicle, which is "quite marde with Indenture Englishe,"(3) into "proper, and commonlie vsed wordes"(3) is recommended by Ascham as an exercise for the making of an "epitome."

The existence of all these fashions of speech is a proof that in the sixteenth century there is a general preoccupation with language, a self-consciousness which assigned great importance to the significant use of various kinds of diction. It was therefore an age conducive to the fostering of the critical faculty, since comparison was necessary for those who wished to select from these varied elements those most suitable for their use. Study of classical languages had awakened in scholars the sense of the essential character of each language, an exact philological sense, and these faculties, applied to English were consciously creating standards of excellence and propriety.

Another aspect of the linguistic controversy, that of the use of coinages from classical languages and from contemporary vernaculars, called forth another chorus of critical utterances. Excessive use of Latinised

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(1) Elyot. "The Boke named the Gouvernour." (ed.Croft.Vol.I.p.134-135).

(2) "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553) fol.86. recto - 86 verso.

(3) "The Scholemaster." (ed.above.p.260).

forms was considered a mark of erudition by the "vnlearned or foolishe phantasticall, that smelles but of learnyng (suche felowes as haue seen learned men in their daies)".(1)

Judged by the standards of decorum and lucidity, which are to the Cambridge scholars the criteria of excellence in language, these coinages are incongruous with the character of English, and therefore some check must be made upon their importation. Borrowings from contemporary languages were flooding in at the same time. All Europe was "at a great feast of languages", and each country was bent on stealing the scraps to augment its own store of language. England was not far behind her Continental neighbours, so that

"in England is vsed all maner of languages and speches of alyens in diuers Cities and Townes, specyally in London by the sea-syde."(2)

This practice of speaking a cosmopolitan hotch-potch of language is quickly reflected in literature, when obscurity and affectation were too often taken for excellence.

"The Rethoriciens of these daies...plainely thynke them selves demygods if lyke horsleches thei can shew two tongues, I meane to mingle their writings with words sought out of strange langages, as if it were alonely thing for them to poudre their bokes with ynkehorne termes, although perchaunce as inaptly applied as a gold ryng in a sowes nose."(3)

To those who advocate the incorporation of new words as well as to those who consider it injudicious, the critical touchstone is decorum, the sense of the preservation of linguistic integrity. Castiglione, considering the similar problem in the Italian language, makes usage his criterion. He

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(1) Wilson. "Arte of Rhetorique".(1553) Fol.86.verso.

(2) Andrew Borde."The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge made by Andrew Borde." ed.F.J.Furnivall for the E.E.T.S.(London 1870).Extra Series.NoIX."The fyrst chapter treateth of the naturall dysposicion of an Englyshman, and of the noble realme of England..."p.120.

(3) Erasmus. (Praise of Folly." translated Sir Thomas Chaloner.(1549). Section on the "Obscuritie and Affectation of Writers."



recognises the importance of governing the importation of new words by some definite law, and decides that they will "afterward remaine or decaye, according as they are admitted by custome or refused."(1)

Cheke enters the controversy with a statement of the position marked by his usual caution and good sense. He is strongly of the opinion that English should be preserved "cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tunges..."(2)

Like Du Bellay in France, he is forced to admit, however, that it may

"aux nouvelles choses estre necessaire importer nouveaux mots..."(3)

and so advises the language to "borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of unknowen wordes."(4)

Wilson welcomes the influx of new material rather more warmly, but refers the coinages, like Castiglione, to the rule of usage.

"Now whereas wordes be receiued, aswell Greke as La-tine, to set furthe our meanyng in the english tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because we would enriche the lan-guage: it is well doen to vse them, and no man therin can be charged for any affectacion, when all other are agreed to fo-lowe thesame waie."(5)

The men of this time find technical terms, and the subtleties of philosophy and the sciences difficult to express in the English language, unused to

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- (1) Castiglione. "Il Cortegiano", translated by Thomas Hoby. (1561) Epistle of the author to Lorde Nychaell de Sylva. (ed. W. E. Henley. London 1900. p. 19).
- (2) "A Letter of Syr J. Cheekes To his loving frind Mayster Thomas Hoby." Prefixed to Hoby's translation of "The Courtyer." (1561). (ed. W. E. Henley. London. 1900. p. 12).
- (3) "Defense et Illustration de la langue francoyse." (ed. L. Seche. p. 137).
- (4) Cheke's letter to Hoby. Cf. Note 1 above. (ed. Henley. p. 12-13.).
- (5) "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553) Fol. 87 verso.

treating these subjects with the ease of Greek and Latin. The same difficulty was experienced by the Romans in transferring Greek knowledge to the Latin tongue, and there is a precedent for the practice of borrowing in their solution of the problem: (1)

"The Latin men borrowed of the grekes, both their knowledge and also many names of arte, bicause there is not the lyke grace of facilitie in composition in the latyne tonge, as there is in the greeke tonge." (2)

Therefore the schoolmaster in Record's "Castle of Knowledge" says that he can give the scientific terms "no englishe names, bicause no one woorde can aptly expres these properties, excepte I woulde triflinglye make such an immitation." (3)

The answer of the "Scholler" to this announcement expresses the attitude of all those who were conscious of the deficiencies of the English language.

"That imitation semeth straunge, yet were it better to make new english names, than to lacke words: therefore I will not refuse to use them, till I can learn more apt names." (4)

That the habit of borrowing foreign words may augment the language without distorting it is acknowledged by those who examined the process of adoption keenly. By some alteration, borrowed words can be given a native flavour, so that they have no appearance of incongruity, for it is incontrovertible that we have "a great nombre of other substantives and adjectives, whiche in dede be very frenche wordes, saufe that our Englyshe tong hath some thyng altered theyr later terminations, but after theyr trewe orthographie and ryght pronunsiatyon be ones knowen, they be by any parson of our tong perceyved and also lerned at ones, and that for ever after." (5)

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(1) Cf. Quintilian. "Institutio Oratoria." Bk. I. Ch. 5. 56-70. (Loeb ed. Vol. I. p. 104-110).  
Bk. VIII. Ch. 3. 31-37 (Loeb ed. Vol. III. p. 226-230).

(2) Robert Record. "Castle of Knowledge" (1556).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) "The Epistell of Andrewe Baynton", prefixed to John Palsgrave's "L'Esclaircissement de la langue francoyse" (London 1530). ed. F. Génin (Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France" Paris 1852) p. xii.

Exploration of the possibilities of the English language for the formation of new words was consciously carried out by Sir Thomas Elyot. He tries to examine the problem by practice in "The Booke named ~~the~~ "The Governour", (1531) as a general proof of the adaptability of the language, and says that

"in the redynge therof (Henry VIII) some perceyued that I intended to augment our Englyshe tongue, wherby men shulde expresse more abundantly the thyng that they conceyued in theyr hartis (wherfore language was ordeyned) hauynge wordes apte for the pourpose: as also interprete out of greke, latyn/ or any other tonge into Englysshe, as sufficiently as ~~out~~ of any one of the said tongues into an other."(1)

As a guide to those who might perhaps be puzzled at his new formations, he adopts the honest practice of indicating them clearly, so that there is not one which is not "there declared as playnly by one mene or other to a diligent reder that no sentēce is therby made darke or harde to be vnderstande."(2)

It has been noted that "an analysis of forty pages of the Shorter Oxford Dictionary has shown that of every hundred words in use in 1600, thirty-nine were introduced between 1500 and 1600."(3) This is statistical proof of the fertility of this period, and justifies the efforts of those scholars who tried to increase resources of language as fully and as judiciously as possible. Elyot may claim to be one of those who made a large contribution to it.(4)

Insistence, such as that laid by Cheke, on the preservation of a vocabulary mainly Saxon ignored the previous history of the language. As far back as the Anglo-Saxon period, it had proved its ability to make

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(1) "The Knowledge that Maketh a Wise Man." (1553) Proheme.

(2) Ibid.

(3) F.W.Bateson."English Poetry and the English Language."(Oxford 1934) p.28.

(4) See A.C.Baugh."History of the English Language".p.263. (D.Appleton Century. 1935) for Elyot's innovations.

Germanic equivalents of Latin and foreign terms, as well as to adopt many of the latter. With the Norman Conquest, came an incalculable influx of French words, and a harmonious fusion of both languages had been made, with extensive increase of vocabulary for the English language. By the time when the Cambridge circle were occupied with problems of language, the vernaculars in Europe were strongly asserting their claims to recognition as fit for literary production, and were eager to borrow from classical languages and other sources anything which would augment their range.

At such a time, when so many developments in language were taking place contemporaneously, a critical judgment was more than ever essential. It alone could enforce discernment in the adoption and treatment of new words, and mould the many elements into harmony with the English language, when so many writers ~~have~~ ignored this necessity, "but vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde."(1) This consequent obscurity defeats the ends of the writers responsible for the diffusion of the lately recovered stores of classical knowledge, which, to be generally effective, must reach as wide an audience as possible. Scholars and rhetoricians alike emphasise the need for a pure, lucid manner of speech, as closely allied to the clarity of the spoken word as possible, for "wrytyng is nothings elles, but a maner of speache, that remaineth stil after a man hath spoken, or (as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the woordes."(2)

The norm of literary speech is the fusion of scholarly thought and simple expression, the method to achieve this being "to speake as the cōmon people

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(1) Ascham. "Toxophilus." (ed.above.p.xiv).

(2) Castiglione."Il Cortegiano"., trans.Hoby. (ed.above.p.64).



"do, to thinke as wise men do: and so shoulde euery man vnderstande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym."(1)

The distinguishing characteristic of men sensitive to these linguistic standards is the trained judgment which is the faculty primarily critical. They alone, with this power, can create a standard literary speech, valid both for the writing of the scholar and the reading of the unlearned.

"The good use of speache...ariseth of men that have wytte, and with learninge and practise have gotten a good judgement, and with it consent and agree to receave the woordes that they think good, which are knowen by a certaine naturall judgement, and not by art or anye maner rule."(2)

Du Bellay in France advises choice of language by the same rules, those of euphony, selection and usage. In his advice to the writer he says

"...je renvoie tout au jugement de ton oreille. Quant au reste, use de mots purement francais, non toutefois trops communs, non point aussi trop inusitez..."(3)

The stuff of everyday intercourse is to be the basis of the literary language, for this must be its integral and characteristic framework.

"Every speach stādeth by vsual wordes, that be in vse of daily talke, and proper wordes that belong to the thing."(4)

This vocabulary will not smell of the lamp, but will be the spontaneous expression of the thought and reconciled with scholarly requirements by the

(1)Ascham. "Toxophilus." (ed.above.p.xiv).

Cf.Quintilian. Institutio Oratoria.

...Ergo consuetudinem sermoniis vocabo consensum eruditorum, sicut vivendi consensum bonorum." Bk.I.Ch.6.45.(Loeb ed.Vol.I.p.132)

Nobis prima sit virtus perspicuitas, propria verba, rectus ordo, non in longum dilata conclusio, nihil neque desit superfluat: ita sermo et doctis probabilis et planus imperitis erit.

Book VIII.Ch.2.22. (Loeb ed. Vol.III.p.208).

(2)Castiglione. "Il Cortegiano", trans.Hoby.(ed.above.p.73).

(3)"Defense et Illustration de la langue françoise." (ed.above p.139).

(4)Richard Sherry. op.cit.Fol.iii verso.

writer's observance of the rules of decorum. For this reason, Castiglione goes so far as to say that "it is alwayes a vice to use woordes that are not in commune speach."(1)

Writers who had the welfare of the vernacular at heart were conscious of the new comparative standards with which the study of classical literature and language had supplied them. The relationship of the vernaculars to each other and to Latin was clearer to them than it had been during the period when the vernaculars were completely obscured by the domination of Latin as the universal language. They have, therefore, the stimulus of linguistic achievement in other countries and the ultimate aim of the creation of excellence in the vulgar tongues similar to that of Latin and Greek. Du Bellay has high hopes of the future of the French language:

"Le temps viendra (peut estre) et je l'espere moyennant la bonne destinee francoise...que nostre langue...qui commence encore a jeter des racines, sortira de terre, et s'eslevera en telle hauteur et grosseur, qu'elle se pourra egaler aux mesmes Grecs et Romains, produisant comme eux des Homeres, Demosthenes, Virgiles et Cicerons."(2)

Before such a literature could be produced, the tempering and preparation of the language to be a fit medium was imperative. This must be undertaken according to definite criteria, (3) by means of which a style to meet all literary requirements could be fashioned. Deliberate formative and selective pressure had to be brought to bear upon the molten mass of diction and style which made the growing vernaculars so amorphous. In England, this control is exercised in the sixteenth century by the men of the Cambridge circle.

(1) Castiglione. "The Courtier." The Epistle of the Author. (ed. above. p. 19).

(2) "Defense et Illustration de la langue françoise." (ed. above. p. 66).

(3) Wilson. "The Cambridge Circle." (ed. above. p. 174).

Keeping abreast of the linguistic fashions of the time, testing, examining, making careful decisions for the best future course of the language, their aim is the creation of a standard literary speech from the results of their investigations. They are aware that

"either we must make a difference of English, and saie some is learned Englishe and other some is rude Englishe, or the one is courte talke, the other is cottrey speache, or els we must of necessitee banishe al suche affected Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of lāgage."(1)

Such a programme can only be the outcome of a highly sensitive and developed critical attitude, which is the contribution of the Cambridge circle to the linguistic habit of their time.

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(1) Sir Thomas Wilson. "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553) Fol.86 verso.  
For discussion of the relations of the study of rhetoric and prose style see Chapter VII below.

SUMMARY OF CHANGES AFFECTING HUMANE STUDIES

AND COGNATE SUBJECTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD.

1. The study of the human mind becomes progressively secular. Restrictions on the content of thought imposed in Northern Universities (e.g., Thomas Walsingham's complaints of Sorbonne at Paris, Letter to Grey, Spens. III, 72.) are relaxed, however, because more rapid collection of books in college libraries.

2. The study of Greek begins to be identified with the nature of the human mind. Thomas Groyn from Padua, where he had studied with Aristotle.

3. The study of Greek begins to be identified with the nature of the human mind. Thomas Groyn from Padua, where he had studied with Aristotle.

4. Statutes of Oxford's new innovations in course of study. College lecturer required to deliver 3 lectures daily - Disputation, Logic, Philosophy, works of Aristotle and orators. (Perhaps to be connected with the visit of Erasmus, as given by Fisher at Queen's).



I Pre-classical era, - early twelfth century.

Instruction at Universities could only have been that of the grammar schools of later date. The Latin language formed the basis of the course, with reading of Priscian, Terence and Boethius.

Constitution. Twelve or more separate schools, under Master of Grammar. (Magister Glomeriae).

Qualifications for degree. Trivium was beyond the reach of the ordinary scholar, who merely sought to qualify for Holy Orders. For this, the degree of Master of Grammar was sufficient. He was required to have studied the "larger Priscian" in the original, responded in three public disputations on grammar, and given thirteen lectures on Priscian's "Constructions."

II Later twelfth century - fifteenth century.

Introduction of Trivium and Quadrivium. Logic, with introduction of Organon, (Nova Ars) became main study. Little attention was paid to the study of the classics, and rediscoveries of classics, like those of Petrarch in Italy.

Thus there exist at the Universities (a) grammar students as before,  
(b) arts students.

Fifteenth century. Introduction of more reading into curriculum. Terence, Virgil, Ovid, but lecturing upon authors consisted of

- (a) minute dissection into categories, etc.  
(b) Logical method.

III Era of humanism - Revival of Learning.

A. General. Attitude to learning becomes predominantly secular. Resistance to new habit of thought is strong in Northern Universities (e.g. Erasmus complains of Scotists at Paris. Letter to Grey. Opera. III. 77.) Permeation, however, becomes more rapid. Collection of MSS. in College Libraries.

B. Detail. Dates marking steps important in tracing humanist attitude in both Universities:

OXFORD.

CAMBRIDGE.

1491 Teaching of Greek began to be effective with the return of William Grocyn from Italy, where he had studied with Linacre, 1488-90.

1506 Statutes of Christ's show innovations in course of study. College lecturer appointed to deliver 4 lectures daily - dialectics, logic, philosophy, works of poets and orators. (Perhaps to be connected with the visit of Erasmus, as guest of Fisher at Queen's).

OXFORD.

Aug.1511  
- Jan.1514

1516 Bishop Fox (formerly Master of Pembroke,Camb.) founded Corpus Christi. Provided for lecturers to give instruction in Greek and Latin classics. First permanent establishment of teacher of Greek in England. He was to lecture on grammar and rhetoric daily. Authors included Euripides, Sophocles, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Plutarch. In vacations all members of College below degree of Master were to have private instruction in Greek. Latin authors: Cicero, Sallust, Pliny, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Terence, Juvenal, Plautus, Quintilian.

1518

1519 Erasmus' Novum Testamentum (new text not based on Vulgate) roused antagonism of reactionaries - "Grecians v. Trojans" controversy.

1521 Comments of Skelton on advance of Greek at Universities testify to progress.

Speke, Parrot

"In Academia Parrot dare no probleme kepe;  
For Graece fari so occupyeth the chayre,  
That Latinum fari may fall to rest and slepe."

CAMBRIDGE.

Unofficial instruction in Greek by Erasmus.  
Continued by Henry Bullock.

Bishop Fisher, Chancellor, expressed desire to learn Greek.

Teaching of Greek continued by Richard Cooke. (Formally appointed reader in Greek 1519) and by Bryan, former pupil of Erasmus, who rejected old translations of Aristotle and had recourse to knowledge of Greek in the expounding of new versions.

Endowment of 3 lectureships by Robert Rede - philosophy, logic, rhetoric.

[Early 1530's Religious controversy in both Universities for a time obscures the issue]

OXFORD.

1534 Visitation by Layton and London. Attacks on school methods, and advocacy of lectures on the new subjects, and teaching of Greek. Foundation of Greek lecture at Merton and Queen's, and of Greek and Latin at New and All Souls'. New lectures in Civil Law, as opposed to Canon Law.

1535

(1537-38 Suppression of monasteries)  
1538

1540

Greek controversy as at Cambridge.

1542

1545

1546

1547 Years of depression Decrease in number of students and degrees taken.

CAMBRIDGE.

Royal Injunctions issued by Cromwell. Abolition of scholastic studies. Institution of 2 daily public lectures in Greek and Latin.

Thomas Smith Public Orator, giving Greek Lectures.

Last degree in grammar conferred. Cheke Regius Professor of Greek. Ascham attacks scholastic methods. Creation of Regius Professorships: Divinity, Civil Law (Thos. Smith), Physic, Hebrew, (Greek above). Beginning of controversy on new pronunciation of Greek. (Cambridge Circle v. Gardiner).

Gardiner - decree enjoining return to former pronunciation.

Complains that decree has been set aside. Finally forced to yield.

King's, Queen's and St. John's each maintain lecturer in Greek, lectures open to whole University.

Numbers high but few real students. Replaced by young aristocracy. Study affected by polemical theology.

OXFORD.CAMBRIDGE.EDWARD VI

- 1549 Visitation of University. Further attacks on mediaeval system. Among teachers of Rhetoric, Cicero and Quintilian are named. Homer, Demosthenes and Euripides named as examples for Greek reading. Canon Law banned. Trivium and Quadrivium recast. Diminished stress on grammar as grounding in Latin. Latin to be acquired at school. New stress on Greek.
- Royal Injunctions. Reading for dialectic and rhetoric:- Elenchi of Aristotle, -Tropica, Cicero - Quintilian. Hermogenes. Greek:-Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Euripides, with study of grammar and syntax.

MARY

(Recall of old statutes. Religious controversy. Reactionary and vindictive measures.

Cf. Ascham. "The Scholemaster." (1570).

"...those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An. 1553... And what good could chance than to the vniuersities, whan som of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labor to perswade that ignorance was better than knowledge...the loue of good learning, began sodenly to wax cold; the knowledge of the tonges...was manifestly contemned: and so, y<sup>e</sup> way of right studie purposely peruerted: the choice of good authors of mallice confounded..."

- 1555 Foundation of St. John's by Sir Thomas White, clothier - daily lectures in Greek, rhetoric, logic.

- 1556 Statutes of Trinity by Sir Thomas Pope, with reader for Latin and Greek.



## CHAPTER VII.

THE RELATIONS OF RHETORIC AND LITERARY CRITICISM.

The study of rhetoric, and the modifications which it underwent during the Renaissance period, embrace many of the problems and interests, both literary and linguistic, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Throughout the Middle Ages, knowledge of grammar and rhetoric, both bearing upon language and therefore necessarily upon the reading of classical authors, was transmitted, though fragmentarily, for the guidance of poets, in the many Artes Poetriae and Artes Versificatoriae.(1) There were periods during the Middle Ages when attention to style became exaggerated to the point of preciosity, and when the problems of logic and dialectic obscured the study of authors, but whatever its vicissitudes, there was a certain continuity of linguistic consciousness. Rhetorical literature was among the classical work recovered during the Renaissance period, beginning in the fourteenth century in Italy, and passing into Northern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and a new phase begins with the reading of Quintilian and other sources. More carefully balanced and controlled study of language ensued, and brought about at the same time a more humane study of literature, which was avowed by the classical authors to be necessary for command of language.(2) The mass of

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(1) See Chapter I above.

For reprints of some of these treatises, see E. Faral "Les arts poétiques du XIII<sup>ème</sup> et du XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle : recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge" (Paris. 1924.)

(2) Cf. Quintilian. Of literary study, he says: "...nisi oratoris futuri fundamenta fideliter iecit, quidquid superstruxeris, corruet." "Institutio Oratoris". Book I. iv. 5. Edited for the Loeb Classical Library. (London 1921.) Vol. I. p. 64.

knowledge can only be of use if it may be broken up, logically examined and exhibited in clear, cogent and appropriate language.(1) The men of the Renaissance period looked to the example of the ancient writers, whose work was now easily accessible in printed editions. The study of rhetoric was established on a broader basis than that of the mediaeval times. It comprehended the art of expressing knowledge in speech, enforcing clarity of thought in language correspondingly direct.

Command of language, the power of convincing and persuasive address, was particularly important in an age when the scholar-prince had to play so large a part in the world of affairs. In Italy, for instance, the despots of the small city-states had to sustain their authority by force of personality and persuasion. Eloquence could not therefore fust unused in a mere academic study of classical languages. The habit of mind moulded by this reading had to be brought to bear upon contemporary problems, and a similar mastery had to be acquired over the vernacular in which the man in authority had to deal with his subordinates. The orators of Greece and Rome had explored the possibilities of all varieties of address, of the language and arrangement appropriate to all occasions, and had carefully organised and explained their methods. Rhetoric therefore takes a high place in the educational system of the nobleman. In England the responsibilities of the ruling class were many, and they were

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(1) Cf. Sir Thomas Wilson. "The Arte of Rhetorique". (1553).

"...an eloquent man beyng finally learned, can do much more good in perswading, by shift of wordes and mete placynge of matter: then a greate learned clerke shalbe able with a great store of learnynge, wantynge wordes to set furthe his meanyng."

Fol. 85. verso.

eager to make the most of the opportunities of culture offered to them by the resources of printing. The Tudor age was one in which controversy of all kinds was active, and the educated nobleman joined in the exchange of opinion with alacrity, if his background of knowledge were sufficient. Training in the administrative duties of "the governour" was naturally an essential part of his education. The qualities of the man of affairs and the man of letters were to be found in Quintilian's ideal orator.(1) They are to be gathered from wide and carefully chosen reading, for in

"an oratour is required to be a heape of all maner of lernyng: whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, which is in one worde of greke Encyclopaedia."(2)

The stimulus to the study of classical literature can be traced in the study of education in the Tudor period,(3) where it had important results.

The aspect of rhetoric which belongs closely to literature is its persuasive aim, and the choice of style to bring about this effect. Sir Thomas Elyot considers this most important, and would instruct

"the childe in that parte of rhethorike, principally, which concerneth persuasion: for as moche as it is moste apte for consultations."(4)

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(1) "Neque enim hoc concesserim, rationem rectae honestae vitae (ut quidam putaverunt) ad philosophos relegendam, cum vir ille vere civilis et publicarum privatarumque rerum administrationi accommodatus qui regere consiliis urbes, fundare legibus, emendare iudiciis possit, non alius sit profecto quam orator."

op.cit.Book I.Pr.10.Loeb edition. Vol.I.p.10.

(2) Sir Thomas Elyot. "The Boke named The Governour." (1531). Edited H.H.S.Croft (London 1883) Vol.I.p.118.

Cf.Quintilian: "Ego (neque id sine auctoribus) materiam esse rhetorices iudicio omnes res quaecumque ei ad dicendum subiectae sunt." op.cit. Book II.xxi.4.Loeb edition. Vol.I.p.356.

(3) See Chapter V above.

(4) op.cit. Vol.I.p.118.

Both rhetoric and poetic aim at compelling the intellectual and emotional assent of their audiences by combining pleasure, which holds their attention, and instruction, which convinces them of the value of the matter offered.

This process is implied in the three-fold aim of rhetoric, (1) agreed upon by classical writers, and adopted into the Renaissance period. Sir Thomas Wilson states the purpose of rhetoric early in his "Arte of Rhetorique" (1553):

"Three thynges are required of an Orator.

{ To teache.  
 { To delight.  
 { And to perswade,"(2)

and Elyot reproduces the classical idea in his definition of rhetoric:

"Undoubtedly very eloquence is in euery tonge where any mater or acte done or to be done is expressed in wordes clere, propise, ornate and comely: whereof sentences be so aptly compact that they by a vertue inexplicable do drawe unto them the mindes and consent of the herers, they beinge therewith either perswaded, meued, or to delectation induced."(3)

The effect of persuasion depends largely upon style. After the preliminary activity of choosing the subject matter, (Inuentio) and of arranging it in the best order (Dispositio) the function of Elocutio is to place the best words in the best order.(4) The classical precepts are faithfully transmitted, and used from the earliest Tudor phase onwards.

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(1) Cf. Quintilian: "Oratoriꝝ officium docendi, movendi, delectandi..."  
 op.cit. Book VIII. Pr. 7. Loeb edition. Vol. III. p. 180.

(2) Fol. 1. verso.

(3) Elyot. op.cit. Vol. I. Ch. XIII. p. 116-117.

(4) Cf. Quintilian: "Eloqui enim est omnia, quae mente conceperis, promere atque ad audientes perferre; sine quo supervacua sunt priora et similia gladio condito atque intra vaginam suam haerenti."  
 op.cit. Book VIII. Pr. 15. Loeb edition. Vol. III. p. 184.



Caxton in his translation (1480) of the French encyclopaedia "Image du Monde", transmits advice for the right ordering of elocutio:

"The third thing is eloquens, as whan thou haste disposed how euery poynt and mater shalbe shewed in ordre than thou must vtter it with fayr eloquent wordes, and not to vse many curyous termes, for superfluyte in euery thyng is to be dyspraysed; And it hyndreth the sentence. And whan a man delatith his matter to long or that he vtter the effecte of his sentence, though it be neuer so well vtteryd, it shalbe tedyous vnto the herers; for euery man naturally that hereth a nother, desyreth moste to know the effecte of his reason that tellyth the tale...Therfor the pryncypall poynt of eloquens restyth euer in the quycke sentence. And therfor the last poynt belonging to Rethorike is to take hede that the tale be quycke and sentencious."(1)

Stephen Hawes among the poets reproduces the mediaeval conception of the rhetorical system with little modification. He explains:

"And than the .iii. parte / is elocucyon  
Whan inuencyon / hath the purpose wrought  
And set it in ordre / by dysposycyon  
Without this thyrde parte / it vayleth ryght nought  
Thoughe it be founde / and in ordre brought  
Yet elocucyon / with the power of Mercury  
The mater exorneth / ryght well facundyously  
In fewe wordes / swete and sentencyous  
Depaynted with golde / harde in construccyon  
To the artyke eres / swete and dylycyous  
The golden rethoryke / is good refeccyon  
And to the reder / ryght consolacyon..."(2)

The conception and importance of elocutio varied. The poets and prose writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were preoccupied with

- (1) "Myrror and dyscrypcyon of the worlde, with many meruaylles of the .vii. scyences As Gramayre, Rethorike, with the arte of memorye.etc."(1481) From reprints of 1527c. edition. Quoted F.I.Carpenter's edition of Leonard Cox. "The Arte or Craft of Rethoryke".(1530c.) (University of Chicago Press.1899.English Studies.No.V.Introduction p.25-26).  
Cf.Quintilian: "[Elocutio] spectatur verbis aut singulis aut coniunctis. In singulis intuendum est ut sint...perspicua, ornata, ad id quod efficere volumus accommodata..." op.cit.Book VIII.I.1.Loeb edition.Vol.III.
- (2) "Pastime of Pleasure." ed.W.E.Mead for the E.E.T.S. p.194.  
London.1928 (for 1927).Original Series.No.173.p.40.L1.904-915.

matters of style. When they use the term "rhetoric" they usually signify elocutio, since it provided them with the means of achieving the "aureate" style in verse beloved by Lydgate and the Scottish Chaucerians in Britain and by the "rhétoriqueurs" in France, and the ornamental prose used by Lord Berners in his Preface to "Arthur of Little Britain" (1524) and in Spain in the writings of Guevara (1). They drew upon the laws of composition preserved in mediaeval textbooks such as Geoffroi de Vinsauf's "Nova Poetria", (2) from whom Chaucer says he derived his knowledge of rhetoric. (3) Chaucer's allusions to rhetorical practice seem to indicate that it stood even then primarily for elaboration and ornamentation of language. (4) This conception

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(1) See Chapter II above.

(2) See E. Faral. *op. cit.*

(3) "O Gaufred, deere maister soverayn,  
That, whan thy worthy king Richard was slayn  
With shot, compleynedest his deeth so sore,  
Why ne hadde I now thy sentence and thy loove  
The Friday for to chide, as diden ye?"

"The Nonne Preestes Tale." (The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. ed. W.W. Skeat. Oxford. 1894. "The Canterbury Tales" Text. p. 285. Ll. 4537-4541).

For discussion of the extent of Chaucer's knowledge and use of rhetorical theory, see J.M. Manly. "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." British Academy. Warton Lecture on English Poetry. XVII.

(4) e.g. (a) The Franklin: "I lerned never rethoryk certeyn;  
Thing that I speke, it moot be bare and pleyn.  
I sleep never on the mount of Pernaso,  
Ne lerned Marcus Tullius Cithero.  
Colours ne knowe I none, with-uten drede...  
Colours of rethoryk ben me to queynte..."

"The Prologe of the Frankeleyns Tale." (ed. Skeat. *Ibid.* p. 481. Ll. 719-726).

(b) The Host to the Clerk of Oxford:

"Your termes, your colours, and your figures,  
Kepe hem in stoor til so be ye endyte  
Heigh style, as whan that men to kinges wryte.  
Speketh so pleyn at this tyme, I you preye,  
That we may understonde what ye seye."

"Here folweth the Prologe of the Clerkes Tale of Oxenforde." (ed. Skeat. *Ibid.* p. 389. Ll. 16-20).

persisted in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when there was a strong feeling for the "high style" in Europe, and in English poetry for a time no less than elsewhere.

The Scottish Chaucerians are past masters in this art. William Dunbar uses the term "rethor" for poet, giving Chaucer praise for the elegance of his language:

"O, reverend Chaucer, ross of rethouris all,  
As in our toung ane flour imperiall,  
That raiss in Britane evir, quha reidis richt,  
Thow beiris of makaris the tryvmph royall;  
Thy fresch ennamallit termes celestiall  
This mater cowth hafe illuminit full bricht..."(1)

and tributes to Gower and Lydgate are due to their "angelic mowth [is] most mellifluat,"(2) which

"Our rude langage hes cleir illumynat,  
And fair ourgilt our speiche, that imperfyte  
Stude, or 3our goldin pennis schup to wryt..."(3)

This adherence to the mediaeval idea is, perhaps, strengthened by the writing of elaborate addresses and epistles in the manner advocated by the ars dictaminis, and deplored by Sir Thomas Elyot who says that

"euery man is nat an oratour that can write an epistle or a flatering oration in latin: where of the laste, (as god helpe me) is to moche used."(4)

With a fuller understanding of the more liberal conception of rhetoric contained in the work of Cicero and Quintilian, balance was restored later in

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(1) "The Goldin Terge." Stanza XXIX. ("The Poems of William Dunbar." Edited H.B. Baildon, Cambridge 1907, p.52.Ll.253-258).

(2) Ibid. Stanza XXX.L.265.

(3) Ibid. Ll.266-268.

(4) op.cit.Vol.I.Chap.XIII.p.117.

the sixteenth century, as humanist study of the classics flourished. The term "rhetoric" was then restored to its full sense, including invention and organisation as well as carefully chosen speech, and elocutio no longer demanded expression so tortuous and elaborate as to be often obscure and ungraceful.

The virtues admired by the men who respond fully to the classical tradition are succinctness, pungency, clarity. They understand the classical idea of elocutio, consisting in

"wordes, considered by thēselves, [and] when thei be ioyned together.//  
Apt woordes by searchyng must be foūd out, and after by diligence,  
cōueniently coupled."(1)

It is at once the energising and controlling factor of language. Wilson remarks:

"Many can tell their mynde in Englishe, but fewe can vse mete termes,  
and apt order: suche as all men should haue, and wise men will vse:  
suche as nedes must be had, when matters should be vttered."(2)

The man trained in rhetorical precept will cultivate this directness of speech, and be able to

"vtter his mind in plain wordes, such as are vsually receiued, and tell  
it orderly, without goyng aboute the busshe."(3)

This entails a strenuous mental discipline, to be followed out in accordance with

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- (1) Richard Sherry. "A Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike...sette  
foorth by Richarde Sherrye Londonar." London.1555. "A briefe note of  
Eloquution the thirde parte of Rhethorike." Fol.ii.verso - Fol.iii.recto.  
Cf. Quintilian. "[Elocutio] spectatur verbis et singulis aut coniunetis."  
op.cit. Book VIII.i.l. Loeb edition. Vol. III. p.194.  
and: "Nobis prima sit virtus perspicuitas, propria verba, rectus ordo, non  
in longum dilata conclusio, nihil neque desit neque superfluat..."  
Ibid. Book VIII.ii.22. Loeb edition. Vol. III. p.208.
- (2) op.cit. Fol.85.verso.
- (3) op.cit. Fol.1.verso.



precepts of classical writers whose example is also the standard of proficiency.

To choose words

"fynely, and handsomely to bestowe them in their places, after the minde of Cicero and Quintilian, is no easye thing."(1)

These standards are valid for usage in any language, since they depend upon the reasoned choice of men of balanced and acute minds. The diction will be that which suggests itself as springing naturally from the subject-matter, the method of selection being

"an applyng of apte wordes and sentēces to the matter, founde out to confirme the cause."(2)

When this critical process has been accomplished, matter written in this spirit will achieve its desired aim of convincing the hearers.

Only when "apte woordes and vsuall Phrases to sette forthe oure meanyng"(3) have been selected, can the process of ornamentation be allowed. Then, within the bounds of propriety,

"we maye boldely commende and beautifie oure talke wyth diuers goodlye coloures, and delitefull translations, that oure speache maye seme as bryghte and precious, as a ryche stone is fayre and orient."(4)

There is, therefore, a brief period in the mid-sixteenth century when rhetoricians and men of letters admired and did their best to promulgate the

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(1) Richard Sherry. op.cit. Fol.iii.recto.

(2) Wilson op.cit.Fol.4.recto.

Cf. Quintilian: "Curam ergo verborum, rerum volo esse sollicitudinem. Nam plerumque optima rebus cohaerent et cernuntur suo lumine."

op.cit. Book VIII. Pr. 21. Loeb edition. Vol. III. p. 188.

(3) Wilson. op.cit. Fol. 89. verso.

(4) Ibid. Fol. 8. o [sic] recto.

use of pure, chastened diction and carefully ordered arrangement. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and prelector in humanity and rhetoric at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, suffered a strong reaction against the artificiality of rhetorical method as taught in the Universities, and delivered his vehement oration "Contra Rhetoricam" (1548c.). This exhortation to sounder learning and purer style is in accord with the trend of the Renaissance rhetoricians in England. Like them he admires truth unadorned:

"Veritas enim candida et simplex est, minime opus habet linguae praesidio et eloquentia, quae si est perspicua et clara, satis habet ipsa in se firmamenti, expolitae orationis delicias non requirit: sive obscura et adversa est, non ea in clamore et cursu verborum exquiritur."(1)

This trend towards integrity and chastity of literary language was not altogether destined to be realised. In their intoxication with linguistic power and ingenuity, men of the full Elizabethan period became preoccupied with figures, schemes and tropes. It is significant that the recovery of true rhetorical standards in the earlier phase of the century came at a time when systematic guidance was very necessary. The transmission of classical standards by Cox, Sherry and Wilson gave valuable stimulus and encouragement to the awakening linguistic consciousness in England. The men of the Cambridge Circle, in which Wilson moved, were attempting to evolve a standard literary language which should be acceptable to scholars and comprehensible to the unlearned. The establishment of this linguistic ideal must enhance colloquial speech, selecting, testing, rejecting, choosing the most appropriate

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(1) Works. ed. R. W. Jelf. Oxford 1848. Vol. VIII. p. 212.

elements. Classical precepts were available for comparison and incentive. Their aim was essentially that of Quintilian,(1) and the English at which they aimed was to have the virtues chosen for Quintilian's standard Latin. Similarly, Sir John Cheke and those who supported him in his stand against excessive borrowing of foreign terms into the language could find a rhetorical precedent for their objection, since Quintilian had inveighed against the same danger to pure vocabulary.(2)

It is interesting to note that Cheke reacts against the contemporary devotion to Cicero and substitutes Demosthenes, because of his less mannered style. His work was well-known in Italy as early as the time of Chrysolaras, who came to Italy from Constantinople(3). Until the appearance of the editio princeps from the Aldine press in 1504, it was neglected in Northern Europe where Greek studies were more intermittent(4). The interest of the Cambridge Circle in the study of Demosthenes is another proof of their discrimination and strong conviction in linguistic matters, particularly as regards the formation of a literary language based upon the idiom of ordinary speech worked over by scholars. Wilson, the first English translator of Demosthenes(1570)(5)

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- (1) "...Sermo et doctis probabilis et planus imperitis erit."  
op.cit.Book VIII.ii.22.Loeb edition.Vol.III.p.208.  
and: "Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est."  
Ibid.Book I.vi.3.Loeb edition.Vol.I.p.112.
- (2) "Peregrina posse ex omnibus prope dixerim gentibus ut homines, ut instituta etiam multa venerunt." Ibid.Book I.v.55.Loeb edition.Vol.I.p.104.
- (3) See "Demosthenes and his Influence." C.D.Adams.Harrap.1927.p.131.
- (4) See Chapter I above.
- (5) "The three Orations of Demosthenes chiefe Orator among the Grecians...  
Englished out of the Greeke by Thomas Wylson Doctor of the ciuill lawes."  
London 1570.

says of Cheke's interest:

"He was moued greatly to like Demosthenes aboue all others, for that he sawe him so familiarly applying himselfe to the sense and vnderstanding of the common people, that he sticked not to say, that none euer was more fitte to make an English man tell his tale praise worthily in any open hearing, either in Parlament or in Pulpit, or otherwise, than this onely Orator was."(1)

This interest in the plain style is a much needed corrective of the tendency to create an elaborate, polyglot language, comprehensible only to scholars.

To the stimulus of Sir John Cheke, scholarship owes also the knowledge of Aristotle's "Rhetoric" and "Poetica". The "Rhetoric" was apparently unused in Western Europe from Roman times until the fourteenth century.(2) During the fifteenth century new Greek MSS. were brought to Europe by scholars and travellers, and in 1508-9 Aldus issued the editio princeps of both the "Rhetoric" and "Poetics", while in 1531, Erasmus helped with the Basel edition, the first complete Greek edition to include the two.(3) The influence of Aristotle does not, however, seem to have progressed very quickly. The two early English rhetoricians Leonard Cox(4) and Richard Sherry (5) rely in the main upon their respective models, Melancthon's "Institutiones rhetoricae"(1521), and Erasmus' "De duplici copia verborum,"(1529), and draw freely upon the common Renaissance stock of rhetorical knowledge in Cicero and Quintilian.

(1) Ibid. The Epistle "To the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Knight." etc. \*j. recto.

(2) See. M. T. Herrick. "The History of Aristotle's Rhetoric in England." Philological Quarterly. 1926. Vol. V. p. 243.

(3) Ibid. p. 247.

(4) "The Art or Craft of Rhethoryke". (1530c.) ed. F. I. Carpenter. University of Chicago Press. 1899. English Studies. No. V.

(5) "A Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike profitable for al that be studious of Eloquence, and in especiall for suche as in Grammar Scholes doe reade moste eloquente Poetes and Oratours." (1555).



Wilson's "Arte of Rhetorique"(1553) has many features which may be derived from Aristotle - the division into three books, the three-fold consideration of Rhetoric as demonstrative, deliberative and judicial - but which are also found in Cicero and Quintilian, and which therefore are not in themselves conclusive proof that Wilson was using Aristotle.(1) The assumption that he was is supported by the similarity of some passages in each,(2) and the fact that Cheke is known to have used both the "Rhetoric" and the "Poetics".(3) The English rhetoricians draw, therefore, upon a background wide and sound for their day.

Rhetoric is important in the development of the critical spirit in the Early Tudor period as providing the means by which a spirit inherent in the literary and linguistic interests of the age could find expression. Leonard Cox, whose "Arte or Craft of Rhethoryke" was probably written about 1530,(4) belongs to a period rather too early for the interest in style which is the main interest of Sherry, Wilson and the Cambridge Circle. He supplies the earlier stage, the exercises of inventio and dispositio, emphasising the need for clear arrangement before the graces of style could follow.(5) As a schoolmaster,(6) he realises the need for the use of the vernacular in instruction, and hopes that his work will

"do some pleasure and ease to suche as haue by necligence or else false persuasyons be put to the lernynge of other scyences or euer [A iii b] they haue attayned any meane knowledge of the latyne tonge."(7)

(1) See M.T.Herrick.op.cit. pp.248-249.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See Ascham.Letter to Brandesby.Cambridge,1542-1543.(The Whole Works of Roger Ascham.ed.Dr.Giles.(London 1865) Vol.I.Part I.Letter XII.p.26). and "The Scholemaster."(1570)."The seconde booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tonge." ed.Wright op.cit.pp.284,289.

(4)For the reasons for assigning it to this date see F.I.Carpenter.op.cit.pp.9,12

(5) Cf.Cicero:"...nisi res est ab oratore percepta et cognita, inanem quandam habet elocutionem et paene puerilem." "De Oratore."I.6.ed.A.S.Wilkins(1892). Vol.I.p.88. 1.15 - p.89. 1.2.

(6) He was appointed master of the grammar school of Reading,Berks, in 1530. See F.I.Carpenter. p.12.

(7) ed.F.I.Carpenter. p.42.

The work of Sherry and Wilson passes to the more detailed consideration of style, and under their auspices, the study of rhetoric is laid down on lines which aim at the promotion of a good workmanlike English style, transferring what had originally been the requirements of the Roman and Greek orators to the literary language. The men of the sixteenth century, acutely conscious of the value of linguistic study, were quick to see the connection between the written and the spoken word. Du Bellay, attempting to codify rules for the improvement of the French language, says that:

"le poète et l'orateur sont comme les deux piliers qui soutienne l'edifice de chacune langue,"(1)

and therefore addresses his work to them both:

"Tout ce que j'ay dit pour la defense et illustration de nostre langue appartient principalement à ceux qui font profession de bien dire, comme les poètes et les orateurs."(2)

With a liberal training in the art of rhetoric, a man

"will not bee bounde to any precise rules, nor kepe any one order, but suche onely as by reason he shall thynke best to vse, beeyng maister ouer Arte, rather then Arte shoulde be maister ouer hym...For what mattereth whether we followe our Booke, or no, if wee folowe witte, and appoint our selfe an order, suche as may declare the truthe more plainly?"  
(3)

Ascham describes the resulting habit of mind, the ability to:

"worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie vnderstandyng of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge so euer he doth use."(4)

(1) "La Defense et l'illustration de la langue françoise."(1549).ed.Léon Séché. Paris 1925.p.111.

(2) Ibid. p.91.

(3) Wilson.op.cit.Fol.84 verso.

(4) "The Scholemaster."(1570) "The first booke for the youth." ed.W.A.Wright. Cambridge.1904.p.183.

Perhaps there was in Ascham's mind some thought of the attainments of Sir John Cheke, who was the active and progressive promoter of so many linguistic interests of the sixteenth century. He may well be among those whom Wilson describes as being among his acquaintances, who

"haue suche a gift in the Englishe, as fewe in Latine haue the like and therefore, delite the wise and lerned so muche, with their pleasaunt composicion: that many reioyce, when thei maie heare suche, and thynke muche learnyng is gotten, when thei maie talke with suche."(1)

As well as supplying the standards for literary speech, which was one of the most important interests of the sixteenth century, rhetoric has much in common with general rules of literary composition. It includes discussion of kinds of style, and genres of literature, their selection and the differences between them.

The guiding principle of rhetoric is decorum, the law which enjoins the choice of appropriate words and the maintenance of selected style for each subject.(2) It is from this principle that there spring the divisions of the literary kinds, first distinguished by their styles. Bounds are carefully preserved between the language of prose and that of poetry, as a main distinction.(3) This principle becomes particularly important in the

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(1) op.cit.Fol.88.verso.

(2) Cf.Quintilian:"...cum sit ornatus orationis varius et multiplex conueniatque alius alii, nisi fuerit accommodatus rebus atque personis, non modo non illustrabit eam, sed etiam destruet et vim rerum in contrarium vertet." op.cit.Book XI.I.i.1.Loeb edition.Vol.IV.p.154.

(3) Cf.Aristotle."Rhetorica".Book III.I.1404a.9. "The Rhetoric of Aristotle" with a Commentary by E.M.Cope, edited by J.E.Sandys.Cambridge 1877. (3 vols.) Vol.III.pp.10-11.

Renaissance period when the tendency towards aureate language was all-pervasive.

In Sherry's treatise, there appears the condemnation of the fault of

"A foolische mingling together of wordes out of diuers languages. Also if a man in prose would vse figures poeticall"(1)

To poets a certain heightening of style is allowed, since they

"speake in maner as it were in an other tongue, it is right some perceiued."(2)

Their speech must not be mingled with the language of prose with

"its vsual wordes, that be in vse of daily talke."(3)

Wilson inveighs against the affectation of pseudo-poetical speech in the prose of everyday life, as used by the "Poeticall Clerkes,"(4) who will

"speake nothyng but quaint prouerbes, and blynd allegories, delityng muche in their owne darkenesse, especially, when none can tell what thei dooe saie."(5)

As well as the main division of prose from poetry, there are other classifications of style which give rise to the idea of literary genres.

Derived from the treatise "Ad Herennium", (6) and adopted by subsequent

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(1) op.cit.Fol.x.verso.

(2) Ibid.Fol.iiii.recto. Cf.DuBellay: "...la vertu gist aux mots propres, usités, et non alienes du commun usage de parler; aux metaphores, allegories, comparaisons, similitudes, energies, et tant d'autres figures et ornemens, sans lesquels toute oraison et poëme sont nuds, manques et debiles." op.cit.p.73.ed.Séché.

(3) Ibid.Fol.iii.verso.

(4) op.cit.Fol.86.verso.

(5) Ibid.

(6) "Sunt igitur tria genera, quae nos figuras ap-/pellamus, in quibus omnis oratio non uitiosa consumitur: unum grauem, alteram mediocrem, tertiam extenuatam uocamus. Grauis est, quae constat ex uerborum grauium magna [et] ornata constructione. Mediocris est, quae constat ex humiliore, neque tamen ex infima, et peruulgatissima uerborum dignitate. Attenuata est, quae demissa est usque ad usitatissimum puri sermonis consuetudinem." "Rhetoricorum ad C.Herennium libri IIII."incerto auctore. Cum correctionibus Pauli Manutii.Venetiis, M.D.LXIII.Liber IV.Fol.49.recto,l.29-verso,l.9.



classical rhetoricians is the division into the three styles, the plain, the middle and the grand style. That of Sir Thomas Wilson is the typical description. He says that they are:

"...the great or mighty kind, whē we vse greate wordes, or vehemēt figures:  
The smal kinde, when we moderate our heate by meaner wordes...  
The lowe kinde, when we vse no Metaphores, nor translated wordes, nor yet vse any amplificatiōs, but go plainelye to worke, and speake altogether in commune wordes."(1)

The convention varied little throughout the Middle Ages. The rhetoricians had conceived of a style appropriate for the kind of speaker,(2) and this method of assigning characteristic speech was adopted and extended by Horace for the use of poets,(3) hardening gradually into an inviolable rule of decorum of speech.(4)

This conception is transmitted through the Middle Ages, in the various artes poetria. Geoffroi de Vinsauf, for instance, explicitly connects style and social status:

"Et tales recipiunt appellationes [style] ratione personarum vel rerum de quibus fit tractatus."(5)

John of Garland says:

"Item sunt tres styli secundum tres status hominum: pastorali vitae convenit stylus humilis, agricolis mediocris, gravis gravibus personis quae praesunt pastoribus et agricolis.(6)

(1) op.cit.Fol.8<sup>1p</sup> [sic] verso.

(2) Cf. Quintilian: "Ipsum etiam eloquentiae genus alios aliud decet" etc. op.cit. Book XI.i.31. Loeb edition. p.172.

(3) "aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores, mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis."  
"Ars Poetica" ed. E.H. Blakeney. op.cit. p.28. ll.156-157.

(4) See Chapter VIII below, where this subject is discussed in relation to the drama.

(5) Quoted E. Faral. op.cit. p.97.

(6) Ibid.

Gavin Douglas makes the same acknowledgement that

"The sayar eik suld weil consider this,  
His mater, and quhamto in entitillit is,  
Eftyr myne outhouris wordis, we aucht tak tent  
That baith accord, and bene convenient,  
The man, the sentens, and the knychtlik stile!"(1)

Ascham accepts the differentiation of genres by style,

"The trew difference of Authors is best knowne, per diuersa genera dicendi, that euerie one vsed. And therefore here I will deuide genus dicendi, not into these three, Tenuē, mediocre, & grande, but as the matter of euerie Author requireth, as

in Genus { Poeticum.  
Historicum.  
Philosophicum.  
Oratoricum.

These differre one from an other, in choice of wordes, in framyng of Sentences, in handling of Argumentes, and vse of right forme, figure, and number, proper and fitte for euerie matter, and euerie one of these is diuerse also in it selfe, as the first.

Poeticum, in { Comicum.  
Tragicum.  
Epicum.  
Melicum."(2)

Here the genre emerges quite clearly.

The Cambridge circle thus accept a comprehensive planning of the field of literary activity on the basis of rules from ancient rhetoric and poetic. This they applied to the judgment of contemporary work, and Ascham's discussion of the merits of the Latin tragedy produced in England(3) on the classical

(1) "The Proloug of the Nynt Buik of Eneados." Poetical Works.ed.J.Small. Edinburgh.1874.Vol.III.p.206.11.5-9.

(2) "The Scholemaster."(1570) "The second booke teaching the ready way to the Latin tong". ed.W.A.Wright.Cambridge 1904.pp.283-284.

Cf.Quintilian: of the genres of literature he says: "Sua cuique proposita lex, suus cuique decor est. Nam nec comoedia in cothurnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur..."

op.cit.Book X.ii.22. Loeb edition Vol.IV.p.86.

(3) op.cit.p.284.

model is typical of the penetrating and stimulating spirit of the exchange of ideas in University c<sup>o</sup>teries. It shows that, with the help of the body of classical theory, a working system of literary criticism was gradually evolving in the Early Tudor period.

The classical writers who supply the Renaissance period with its rules for composition call forth at the same time from them a consideration of the nature of the poet, of his creative impulse, and of his place in the world. Flyot is advanced in his age in according to the poet divine afflatus. Throughout the mediaeval period, Poetry was required to be the handmaid of Theology, serving her purposes by means of allegory. The conception of the poet as a "maker" was therefore obscured. Study of the "pagan authors", reading of which had been allowed by the mediaeval Church only because it was the means of perfecting knowledge of the language of the Scriptures, helped, in the Renaissance period, to add canons of aesthetic criticism to the useful, moral and theological aspects. Rhetoric and poetic in particular supplied these canons, because they elucidated the principles behind the classics themselves. Horace's "Ars Poetica" became the textbook of Renaissance critics since it showed them the way to appreciate form and method for their own sake. Italy was foremost in this new method of criticism. The work of Dolce(1), Daniello(2)

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(1) Italian version of Horace's "Ars Poetica" 1535.

(2) "Poetica" 1536.

and Vida(1) in Italy interprets the Renaissance point of view.

The Middle Ages had been constrained to emphasise an underlying truth in the guise of poetry. The poet was justified by the power to

"...conclude full closely  
Theyr fruytfull problemes / for reformacyon  
To make vs lerne / to lyue dyrectly  
Theyr good entent / and trew construccyon  
Shewynge to vs / the hole affeccyon  
Of the way of vertue / welthe and stableness."(2)

By men of the Renaissance period, the poet is allowed once more the inspiration which had made him in the classical period the vates. Elyot refers to Cicero's authority:

"And therefore Tulli in his Tusculane questyons supposeth that a poete can nat abundantly expresse verses sufficient and complete, or that his eloquence may flowe without labour wordes wel sounyng and plentuous, without celestiall instinction, whiche is also by Plato ratified."(3)

They were too much concerned with its civilising power to allow with Horace that the aim of poetry is to please.(4) They valued its "high seriousness" and the range of knowledge and power behind it:

"Verily there may no man be an excellent poet nor oratour unlasse he haue parte of all other doctrine, specially of noble philosophie. And to say the trouth, no man can apprehende the very delectation that is

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- (1) "Ars Poetica" ed.A.S.Cook in "The Art of Poetry": the poetical treatises of Horace, Vido and Boileau.1892.  
See J.E.Spingarn. "A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance." 2nd edition. New York.1908, pp.3-59 for discussion of literary criticism in Italy, and W.L.Bullock. "Italian Sixteenth-Century Criticism." Modern Language Notes.1926.pp.254-263, for list of Italian critical treatises.
- (2) Stephen Hawes."Pastime of Pleasure." (ed.W.E.Mead.op.cit.p.47.l.1114-1119).
- (3) "The Boke named the Gouvernour." (ed.Croft.Vol.I.p.122.Chap.XIII).
- (4) "non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunt, et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto."  
"Ars Poetica", ed.E.H.Blakeney.(London 1928).p.25.l.99-100.



in the leesson of noble poetes unlasse he haue radde very moche  
and in diuers autours of diuers lernynge."(1)

Reading of the poets perfects the culture and balance of the mature mind, and  
at this stage of development, Elyot would have

"none auncient poete...excluded from the leesson of suche one as  
desireth to come to the perfection of wysedome."(2)

The poetry which lacks this serious purpose can contribute no benefit to  
mind or character, and

"they that make verses, expressynge therby none other lernynge but  
the craft of versifyeng, be nat of auncient writers named poetes, but  
onely called versifyers."(3)

The moving power of poetry is expressed through the rhetorical ideal, and  
without it the teaching aim cannot be fulfilled. Since pleasure can draw  
and hold attention, poetry's power to delight is closely bound up with the  
edificatory effects, for,

"excepte menne finde delight, thei will not long abide: delight them,  
and wyne them; werie them; and you lose them for euer."(4)

Although in so many respects, the men of the Renascence were indebted to  
Quintilian, they were not disposed to accept his view that poetry aims at  
pleasure alone.(5) There was always latent in classical tradition the

(1) Elyot. "The Boke named the Gouvernour." ed. Croft. op. cit. Vol. I. p. 131.

Cf. Cicero: "Ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude  
cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium  
scientiam consecutus." "De Oratore" I. 6. ed. A. S. Wilkins. Oxford. 1888  
p. 88. ll. 12-14.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p. 120.

(4) Wilson. op. cit. Fol. 2. verso.

(5) "...solam petit voluptatem eamque etiam fingendo non falso modo sed etiam  
quaedam incredibilia sectatur." op. cit. Book X. i. 28. Loeb edition. Vol. 4. p. 18.

acceptance of the poets as the sources of knowledge of various kinds. The Renaissance stresses this, and makes the instructive and cultural value of poetry one of its most important tenets.

England was much slower than Italy to absorb and formulate variations and developments in aesthetic theory. Wilson tends to retain an opinion of the function of poetry closer to the mediaeval than to the Renaissance attitude, to Hawes than to the Italian critics,

"For vndoubtedlye there is no one tale amonge al the Poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended some separate thinge that perteyneth eyther to the amendemente of maners, to the knowledge of trueth, to the settinge forth of Nature's woorke, or elles to the vnderstandinge of some notable thyng done."(1)

The work of the English rhetoricians, Cox, Sherry and Wilson is limited to the training in the best utterance and careful structure. Cox is concerned with the setting out of the subject, and the relation between Logic and Rhetoric which bears upon the preliminary clarifying of thought preceding expression before Rhetoric adds the final polish:

"...the Rhetoricyan seketh abought and boroweth when he can asmuche as he may for to make the symple and playne Logycall argumentes gay and delectable to the aere. so then the sure Judgement of argumentes or reasons muste be lernyd of the Logicyan but the crafte to set them out with plesaunte fygures and to delate the matter longith to the Rhetoricyan in..."(2)

Sherry lays down general rules of style, in "A brief note of Eloquution the thirde parte of Rhethorike"(3) and treats the faults which impair integrity of

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(1) op.cit.Fol.104.recto.

(2) op.cit.p.48.

(3) op.cit.Fol.ii.verso - Fol.iii.verso.

style. Having laid the foundations, he proceeds to the complex process of selecting

"very garnyshed wordes: proper, translated, and graue sētences, which are handled in amplificatiō, & comiseratiō."(1)

and elaborates the kinds of figures, schemes and tropes.

Wilson's "Arte of Rhetorique" (1553) is the most comprehensive of the three, and bears the clear impress of the thought of the Cambridge Circle. His comments in Book III(2) upon the contemporary linguistic fashions and affectations show that rhetorical study was not limited to the classical languages, but was seen to have some connection with vernacular problems. He refers to the contemporary activity of translation, noticing the

"large commentaries wri-tten, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus englished."(3)

"The English prouerbes gatherede by Jhon Heywood" serve him as an example of "Allegory"(4), and he praises "Sir Thomas More for his Eutopia".(5) This notice of More's work is particularly interesting in that the "Utopia"(1516) has itself a place in the critical spirit of the day. Wilson notes that

"sometymes feined Narrations and wittie inuented matters (as though they were true in deede) helpe wel to set forwarde a cause, [and] haue great grace in thē, beyng aptely vsed [and] wel inuented. Luciane passeth in this pointe."(6)

It shows Wilson's awareness of More's use of the old method of irony, turned to contemporary purposes.

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- (1) Ibid.Fol.lix.verso.  
 (2) Fol.86.recto - Fol.89.verso.  
 (3) op.cit.Fol.93.verso.  
 (4) op.cit.Fol.94.recto.  
 (5) Ibid.Fol.106.recto.  
 (6) Ibid.

This form of criticism from the linguistic point of view bears out the conclusions which may be drawn from other sources of activity in the Tudor period. The contribution of the rhetoricians was the ability to formulate this linguistic judgment, and to provide in the terms of rhetoric inherited from the classical treatises, an apparatus with which to do this. A study of the modifications of meaning and usage undergone by rhetorical terms culminating in their adoption into acknowledged literary criticism, would be a valuable chart of linguistic and literary opinion. It was as well for the language of the Early Tudor period that the rhetoricians were not intoxicated by their new grasp of the subject into cultivating "the limbs and outward flourishes" of thought in elaborate language, but aimed instead at solving tangled questions with balanced and judicious care. Wilson's treatise is the nearest approach to a formal critical statement in the Early Tudor period.



CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY TUDOR DRAMA.

There is always in drama a certain independent element, the springs of which lie outside literature, especially the literature of critics. The impulse to dramatic emotion by miming and the dance is deep-rooted in human nature, together with the vicarious pleasure which comes from watching these spectacles, so that dramatic expression has always fulfilled an essential need of edification and entertainment. Religious ceremonial is another manifestation of formalised emotion, which may develop into a genre of drama. These stimuli owe little to any inherited literary tradition, being recurrent, spontaneous, and self-contained.

The drama of the Middle Ages in Europe derived little from Greece or Rome. Greek drama was almost entirely obscured by the fall of the Roman Empire. Latin drama survived a little more persistently, in the ten tragedies of Seneca, preserved but seldom studied before the fourteenth century, and in the comedies of Terence. The works of both these dramatists were valued for their sententiae, easily gathered for anthologies of moral precepts and for school textbooks. The forms of Terence stimulated the imitations of Hrotsvitha, the nun of Gandersheim, (tenth century)(1) but her achievement is isolated, and there seems to have been no purely literary study of drama.

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(1) See English translations by:

H.J.W. Tillyard. "The Plays of Roswitha." (London 1923).

Christopher St. John. "The Plays of Roswitha." (London 1923).

The second contribution of the Roman Empire was the debased form of entertainment provided by the "mimi" and "pantomimi", consisting of farce and tavern by-play. From this line there is no purely literary influence. It maintained the tradition of drama as entertainment but has little importance in the study of serious literary origins.

From religious impulses there arise two branches of drama in the Middle Ages. The pagan fertility rituals, of which the origins are remote in very early times, survived in various forms of folk play and symbolic dance, (1) of which a few, such as the mummers' play of St. George, became articulate drama with spoken words. From the tenth century onwards, Christianity in Western Europe develops within itself a new dramatic form, which grows out of the liturgical play, and becomes the fully-grown species of vernacular drama, the miracle play, presenting the pageant of the Old and New Testaments. When this development has taken place, the form may be considered separately from its religious origin. It may contain embryonic forms which, when criticism becomes self-conscious on classical lines, may be identified with the comic or the tragic. The same holds true for the morality play, but since, through its employment of Allegory, it is linked to a mediaeval dominant form, since it becomes in a special degree the mouthpiece of the early Tudor period, and since, its essence being debate, it provides opportunity for the play of ideas, religious, moral, educational and social,

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(1) See E.K.Chambers. "The English Folk Play." (Oxford 1933)

"The Mediaeval Stage". (Oxford 1903, 2 vols.).

A.W.Ward. "English Dramatic Literature." (London 1899.3 vols).Vol.I.Ch.I.

it demands to be considered primarily as the product and expression of its own age. Neo-classicism to come can too easily be allowed to cast long shadows before on a form which was alive to stimuli other than those of a literary movement. An attempt should be made to assess its value with a minimum of stress on ancient precedents and later critical doctrines.

The writers of the Early Tudor moralities and interludes betray no consistent literary recognition of any change of standard or standpoint. They were not making any attempt in their work to measure the potentialities of the native drama in England, or to draw any comparison between it and classical drama. In contemporary France, the Pléiade and writers associated with this literary côterie, were trying to utilise mediaeval forms and to reconsider their value in the light of the newly recovered classical knowledge. Drama had its place in this process of revaluation. Thomas Sébillet, for instance, realised that there was latent in the morality a germ of the same stuff which composed tragedy. He says in 1548:

"La Moralité Française représente en quelque chose la Tragédie Gréque et Latine, singulièrement en ce qu'elle traite fais graves et Principaus. Et si le François s'estoit rengé a ce que la fin de la Moralité fut toujours triste et douloureuse, la Moralité seroit Tragédie."(1)

Du Bellay himself was not in favour of such a compromise. He desired the creation of a French drama on the classical pattern, to replace, not to

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(1) Quoted Raymond Labègue. "La Tragédie religieuse en France: Les Débuts. (1514-1573)." (Paris 1929) pp.169.ff.

re-model, the farce and the morality:

"Quant aux comedies et tragedies, si les roys et les republicues les vouloient restituer en leur ancienne dignité, qu'ont usurpée les farces et moralities, je seroy' bien d'opinion que tu t'y employasses, et si tu le veux faire pour l'ornement de ta langue, tu sçais ou tu en dois trouver les archetypes."(1)

In practice, this endeavour to destroy the indigenous morality proved ineffectual, since the native drama was strong enough to exercise an influence upon the classical forms.

The production of morality plays in England was prolific, but for a long time the form shows no apparent signs of influence from a classical source, and is accorded no literary status by academic circles. It is a mingled and amorphous form, capable of ready adjustment to contemporary needs, and, through its give and take of opinions, it quickly reflects new habits of thought and new topical interests. The persistent repetition of the type shows that it satisfied a contemporary need. It is welcomed by the audience for its entertainment, and by its writers for its opportunities for discussion and polemic, religious and, later, political. This branch of native drama, therefore, is developing independently, or, in the case of the satiric debate, with French precedent, elements which may feed the critical spirit, of supplement evidence of critical developments in other fields, but which are no part of any programme of conscious critical doctrine or imitation.

The serious debate is a homily in dramatic form, and can be called the moral interlude. Its main theme is the conflict between man and his

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(1) "La Défense et Illustration de la langue françoise." Ed. Léon Séché.  
(Paris. 1901) Chap. IV. Bk. II. p. 109.



circumstances in his passage through the world. This is essentially the stuff of tragedy, in the Aristotelian sense of "men in action", but in the morality it is embodied in abstract terms. Mankind, or Everyman, whatever name is given to the representative of human life, is a vague figure. The tragic issue is never narrowed to a Hamlet or a Lear. The moral interlude is merely an extension of the sermon theme, until, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there are indications of new life stirring in it. There are signs of a withdrawal from the rather lifeless abstractions to more particular types. For instance, among the roystering company of Freewill, Imagination and their associates in the interlude of "Hickscorner" (1513c.) there is no figure without some distinguishing individual characteristic which removes it from the purely general.

There is a further step in the direction towards a tragic protagonist in Skelton's "Magnyfycence", (1516c.). He stands for the representative of the limited class of those who

"haue welth at wyll, largesse and lyberte."(1)

Pride in his wealth and the envisaging of the power it may bring him is the same tragic fault of hubris as destroys Marlowe's Barabbas.(2) Magnyfycence boasts in almost the same terms as Marlowe's Jew. He says:

"Fortune to her lawys can not abandune me,  
But I shall of Fortune rule the reyne;  
I fere nothyng Fortune perplexyte;  
All honour to me must nedys stowpe and lene."(3)

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- (1) "Magnyfycence", a goodly interlude and a mery, deuysed and made by mayster Skelton, Poet Laureate." "The Poetical Works of John Skelton." (Ed.Rev.A.Dyce.London 1843. 2 vols.). Vol.I.p.273.L.1476.  
 (2) "Jew of Malta" (1590c.).  
 (3) "Magnyfycence". See Dyce.op.cit.p.273.Ll.1477-1480.

while Barabbas asks:

"What more may Heaven doe for earthly man  
Than thus to poure out plenty in their laps,"(1)

and Tamburlaine boasts:

"I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines,  
And with my hand turne Fortunes wheel about."(2)

When neo-classical study restored the ideal of the tragic hero, there was a tendency towards individuality which could readily adopt it. Whether in the purely native morality, or in the product of a fuller Latin culture still pre-Renaissance (such as Skelton's interlude), there is a general stir of interest, a progress of ideas, which go far to create the conditions in which criticism may operate, even if they are not in themselves critical.

A great deal that was purely entertaining was incorporated in the framework of the serious interlude, even tending frequently to usurp the main interest. The importance of the wooers of Lucrece in Henry Medwall's "Fulgens and Lucrece" (printed 1513-19, possibly acted 1497)(3) is quite eclipsed by the byplay of the wooers of her handmaid. The theme of Man's temptations is interspersed in Henry Medwall's "Nature"(4) with a comic underplot. The instances of the increasing importance of the comic and the real might be multiplied throughout these early plays. The tendency to farce in native drama is reinforced by the foreign stimulus in the work of John Heywood.

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(1) "Works of Christopher Marlowe" ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke. (Oxford 1910).

"The Jew of Malta" Act I. l. 145-146. p. 245.

(2) "Tamburlaine" Act I. sc. 2. l. 369-370. p. 18.

(3) Henry E. Huntington. Facsimile Reprints. (New York. 1920).

(4) "Nature. || A goodly interlude of Nature cōpyld by mayster || Henry Medwall  
chapleyn to the ryght re- || uerent father in god Johan Morton || someyme  
Cardynall and arche- || byshop of Can- || terbury." (London) William Rastell,  
between 1530 and 1534.

Heywood is outstanding among Early Tudor dramatists for introducing interludes modelled on the French "sottie" and "débat" into the Tudor literature of entertainment.(1) Among them, "Wyttly and Wyttyles" (belonging to the reign of Henry VIII) is a skilful exercise in dialectic, and "The Play of Loue" (printed 1533) is an even more intricate discussion in the same "debate" form. "The Play of the Wether" (printed 1533) has the same structure, but in the person of Meryreport there is a spirit purely humorous, and the whole tone of the interlude is jocular. "The Pardoner and the Frere" (printed 1533) and "The Play called the Foure P.P." (1552-59) are respectively a discussion of the abuses of the Church and an exercise in ingenuity treated in the same high-spirited manner. The "shrew comedy", "Johan Johan", a "mery play betwene Johan Johan the husbnde Tyb his wife and Syr Jhan the preest" is the quintessence of Heywood's humour, full of Rabelaisian gusto and horse-play. Heywood writes out of the ebullience of his own nature, without regard to critical theories or tradition. His plays are "more matter for a May morning", using the framework of the serious interlude for purposes with no hint of the didactic or edificatory in them. The stamp of individuality on his work is a novelty in the Early Tudor period, when so many plays were produced in the conventional manner.

He exults in his own capacity to amuse and delight with no further thought of more serious purpose:

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(1) See Karl Young. "The Influence of the French farce upon the Plays of John Heywood." (Modern Philology. Vol.2.pp.97-124. Chicago. 1904).

"Art thou Heywood with the mad mery wit  
 Ye forsooth maister that same is euen hit  
 Art thou Heywood that applieth mirth more than thrift  
 Ye sir I take mery mirth a golden gift  
 Art thou Heywood that hath made many plaies  
 Ye many plaies fewe good woorkes in all my daies  
 Art thou Heywood that hath made men mery long  
 Ye and will if I be made mery among  
 Art thou Heywood that woulde be made mery now  
 Ye sir helpe me to it now I beseche you."(1)

The Tudor audience was ready to listen to all kinds of discussion in the form of an interlude, finding it

"pastime convenient  
 For all maner men, and a thing congruent."(2)

Political interest was strong, and it was soon realised that the abstract figure of mankind could be replaced by that of the state, as in "Respublica" (1553c.). The aim of the play is

"To shewe that all comenweals Ruin and decaye  
 from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,  
 whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression,  
 and Avarice have the Rewle in their possession."(3)

Miracle plays are turned to this new purpose also, as in John Bale's "Brefe comedy or enterlude of Johan Baptystes preachynge in the Wyldernesse", (1538) and "The Temptacyon of our Lorde", (1538) and "God's Promises!" (1538). The eagerness to adapt the dramatic form for contemporary purposes proves the existence of a lively interest in stage debate and shows how it was expected to reach men's business and bosoms. The result is, that under the pressure of these new

(1) Proverb. Quoted R. de la Bère. "John Heywood. Entertainer." (London 1937) p. 97.

(2) "Jack Juggler". Ed. W. H. Williams. (Cambridge 1914.) Prologue p. 3. Ll. 47-48.

(3) "A merye enterlude entiteld Respublica, made in the yeare of oure Lord 1553, and the first yeare of the moost prosperous Reigne of our moste gracious Sovereigne, Quene Marye the first:" Edited by L. A. Magnus for the E. E. T. S. (London 1905) Extra Series, xciv. The Prologue p. 1. L. 17-p. 2. L. 22.



influences, new dramatic forms grew up, not from an impulse directly literary, but capable of receiving literary confirmation later in their development.

When the drama turns its attention to affairs of state, the chronicle history, so important a form in the full Tudor period, comes into being. There is even a hint of the later union of history and tragedy as early as Bale's "Kyng Johan", written in its early form in the late 1530's. From the train of events, there emerges a certain sense of nemesis, which anticipates the inescapable coming of the wheel full circle in high tragedy.

This widening of the scope of drama to admit such a large range of subject matter, even within the mediaeval forms, gives it an unquestioned status in the Tudor world. The flexible debate form is useful for discussion of contemporary problems. A vernacular form itself, it is used for discussion concerning the use of the vernacular for other purposes. The audience to whom it is addressed was that for whose instruction men of letters of this period felt themselves responsible. John Bale in "The Thre Laws" (1538) discusses the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular. In the words of "Avaritia" he marshals the arguments of the obscurantists who wished to withhold the interpretation of the Scriptures as the prerogative of the Church alone. Such men insist that

"...the laye people, praye neuer but in latyne,  
 Lete them haue theyr Crede, and seruyce all in latyne  
 That, a latyne beleue, maye make a latyne sowle  
 Lete them nothyng knowe, of Christe, nor yet of powle

If they have Englysh, lete it be for aduaūtage,  
 For pardons, for Dyrges, for offerynges and pylgrimage  
 I reckon to make them, a newe Crede in a whyle,  
 And all in Englysh, theyr conscyēce to begyle."(1)

The drama is included in the far-reaching translating activity, and incidental comment adds another grain to the heap of dicta concerning the status and possibilities of the language. The "Andria" of Terence is one of the first works of imagination to be translated in the Early Tudor period(2) and this translation is all the more interesting and significant because it is thought to have been undertaken by John Rastell, a man whose family had at heart serious purposes concerning English drama. In the Prologue to his translation (1520c.), Rastell examines the progress of the English language up to his time and the linguistic problems which had arisen. He concludes that achievement in English had so far been unremarkable, either in translation or in the writing of "bokys for...delyte."(3) He pays the conventional tribute to Gower for his moral purpose as much as for his poetic skill, for

"...of moralite [he] wrote ryght craftely."(4)

Chaucer he praises for his language, saying that he wrote

"as compendious [and] elegantly  
 As in any other tong euer dyd any,"(5)

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- (1) "A Comedy concernynge thre lawes, of nature Moses, & Christ, corrupted by the Soōomytes, Pharysees and Papystes." (1538)  
 Edited by J.S.Farmer, 1908. Tudor Facsimile Texts.
- (2) "Terens in englysh (the translacyon out of latin into englysh of the furst comedy of tyrens callyd Andria)" J.Rastell.London 1520.
- (3) "Terens in englysh" The poet. (Verse I.1.5.) A i.recto.
- (4) Ibid (Verse 2.1.2.)
- (5)Ibid. (Verse 2. Ll.4-5).

and echoes the usual comment upon Lydgate as the poet who "adournyd our tong"(1). He has high hopes of the possibilities of the language as compared with contemporary vernaculars; considering it

"amplyfyed so  
That we therin now translate as well may  
As in eny other tongis other can do."(2)

Passing to the question of the vocabulary of the English language, he asserts that

"In englysh many wordys do habound  
That no greke nor laten for them can be found,"(3)

a bold assertion in an age which tended to deplore the poverty of the vernacular as compared with the rich resources of the classical languages.

He thinks that

"the cause that our tong is so plenteouse now"(4)

is that

"we kepe our englysh contynually  
And of the other tongis many wordis we borow  
Which now for english we vse and occupy."(5)

Whether or not this account of linguistic practice is accurate, it is at least important that a man so <sup>much</sup> interested in the welfare of the English language was handling drama. Satisfaction with the language was the stimulus to creation in the vernacular, and has

"gyuen corage gretly  
To dyuers and specyally now of late  
To them that this comedy haue translate."(6)

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- (1) Ibid. (Verse 2.L.6).  
 (2) Ibid. (Verse 3.Ll.1-3).A ii verso.  
 (3) Ibid. (Verse 3. Ll.6-7).  
 (4) Ibid. (Verse 4.L.1).  
 (5) Ibid. (Verse 4.Ll.2-4).  
 (6) Ibid. (Verse 4.Ll.5-7).

The Prologue ends with a plea addressed particularly to the learned, who tend to underrate the powers of the vernacular as compared with the languages of scholarship. Rastell aims at the entertainment and instruction of the wider audience, and begs the learned

"to take no dysdayn  
Though this be complyd in our vulgare spech  
Yet lernyng therby some men may attayn."(1)

The Rastell family was closely connected with Sir Thomas More,(2) and this conscious endeavour to promulgate the cause of vernacular language and literature is therefore made under the auspices of English scholarship and progressive thought. So serious is the purpose of this group concerning the future of the drama in English that, some time before 1526, John Rastell built a theatre in his "ground beside Finsbury."(3) This theatre was to provide for the presentation of plays written with the aim of educating ordinary people with no particular literary training. It is a practical justification of the importance of English drama. The work of Rastell and his collaborators was intended to be both an example of what could be achieved and an incentive to further translation and creation in the English language. The Messenger in the interlude of "The Four Elements" is Rastell's mouthpiece, explaining how he

"in hys mynde hath oft tymes ponderyd  
What nombre of bok[s] in our tong maternall  
Of toyes and tryfellys be made and imprynted  
And few of them of matter substancyall  
For though many make bok[s] yet vnneth ye shall

(1) Ibid. (Verse 5.Ll.2-4).

(2) For the relations of the Rastell circle with Sir Thomas More see A.W.Reed. "Early Tudor Drama." (London 1926).

(3) See A.W.Reed.op.cit.Appendix VIII.pp.230-233.

C.R.Baskerville."John Rastell's Dramatic Activities." in "Modern Philology." (January. 1916) p.189.



In our englyshe tonge fynde any mark[s]  
Of connyng that is regardyd by clerk[s]"(1)

Rastell's work is undertaken in a spirit specifically critical. He examines the literature which is his heritage, and makes a conscious attempt to reconcile it with the needs of a new age, bringing to bear upon the mediaeval form a new seriousness of literary purpose. Rastell, of course, was not More; still less was he Erasmus, yet there remains an element of paradox in the juxtaposition of the unwieldy, even uncouth, moral interlude with one so closely connected with a humanist circle. Rastell's faithfulness to the native form is a significant proof of its vigour and adaptability to contemporary purposes. That he continues to use it shows that he was sure of its continued appeal to the audience whom he wished to reach. Rastell is conscious of the stirring of new life in his age, when

"euery man after his fantesye  
Wyll wryte his conseyte be it neuer so rude  
Be it vertuous vycyous wysedome or foly."(2)

This readiness to write needed the purpose and direction given by a serious literary aim, and an appraisal of language in the light of all the new discussion concerning the vernacular. Rastell is sure that the language is adequate

"...yf clerk[s] in this realme wolde take payn so//  
Consyderyng that our tonge is now suffycyent  
To expoun any hard sentence euydent", (3)

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- (1) "A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiii.elements."  
(London 1519). A ii.recto.  
(2) Ibid. A ii.verso.  
(3) Ibid. A ii.recto - A ii.verso.

both in creative work, and in translation into

"englyshe wel correct and approbate!"(1)

Rastell's addressing of his work to the unlearned leads him, as it leads the translators, to consider the kind of language to be used, and to the same rejection of the ornate style lest it should obscure the meaning.

Therefore it is not

"with rethoryk...adornyd  
For perhappis in this matter mucche eloquence  
Sholde make it tedious or hurt the sentence."(2)

The rapidity with which the native drama reflects the tastes and opinions of the age shows that it was no obsolescent mediaeval survival, but a plastic and sensitive form. When men of the calibre of the Rastells deem it worthy of a place in vernacular literature, and use it as a channel for the dissemination of their critical opinions concerning the English language, it makes an important contribution to the growth of literary and linguistic awareness in the Early Tudor period.

While these changes and developments were taking place in the native drama, in academic circles the infiltration of classical precept and study was becoming perceptible. The plays of Plautus and Terence were being revived and acted. College accounts show that Terence was being acted as early as 1510. (3)

(1) Ibid. A ii verso.

(2) Ibid. A iv verso.

(3) See G.C.Moore Smith."College Plays performed in the University of Cambridge". (Cambridge University Press. 1923).p.4.

In 1536 Aristophanes' "Plutus" was acted at St. John's in Greek(1) and his "Pax" at Trinity in 1546.(2). Study of classical drama in the light of classical precept was part of the stimulating teaching of Sir John Cheke at Cambridge, and he and the group of scholars associated with him discussed

"the preceptes of Aristotle and Horace De Arte Poetica, with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca."(3)

From critical study of their models, these men turn to the writing of imitative work, usually in Latin, which is judged by the same canons. Of these first attempts Ascham says:

"...not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotle's preceptes, and Euripides examples, saue onely two, that euer I saw, M.Watsons Absalon, and Georgius Buckananus Iephte."(4)

Although it is at first confined to the Latin drama, criticism, in the sense of the application of the canons of antiquity and the study of classical examples, is beginning to be active.

The relation of drama to moral and edificatory purposes still remains strong, limiting the conception of the aim and effect of tragedy to the didactic. The general attitude is that explained by John Christopherson in the "Carmina" following the dedicatory epistle to "Jepthes", (1546 or 1555-6?), the only English academic play in Greek known to have survived:

"Proinde nos portenta quaeque immania  
Reiecimus, Dei seculi Oracula.  
Materia suppetit hinc Tragoediae proba.  
Hinc clara licet exempla vitae promere

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ascham. "The Scholemaster." "The seconde booke teaching the ready way to the Latin tong." Ed. W.A. Wright. (Cambridge. 1904) p. 284.

(4) Ibid.

Ergo labores hic locandos duximus,  
Virtutis vbi decorus elucet nitor."(1)

Martin Bucer, in the "De Regno Christi" (1550) left a critical document relative to the study of University drama at this time. It includes a discourse upon the benefits of tragedy to the morals of youth. He says that

"proprium est tragoediae, quae ad certam morum correctionem, & piam conferat vitae institutionem."(2)

The excessively restricting result of this moral attitude is shown in his desire to limit material for tragedy to the lives of saints, prophets and apostles with Scriptural foundation. These, he says, have an immediately beneficial effect:

"Quae omnia cum mirificam vim habeant fidem in Deum confirmandi, & amorem studiumque Dei accedendi, admirationem item pietatis atque iusticiae, & horrorem impietatis, omnisque peruersitatis ingenerandi atque augendi: quanto magis deceat Christianos, vt ex his sua poemata sumant..."(3)

It is obvious that the Aristotelian conception of tragedy has as yet made no headway.

Although such stress is laid upon the treatment of religious subjects, the miracle play ready to their hands is never considered by these scholars as containing any germs of dramatic conception. As vernacular drama, and the common entertainment of the people, it was beneath their notice. It is never admitted as a genre of drama, and is seldom even called "comoedia" or "tragoedia".

(1) Quoted by F.S.Boas."University Drama in the Tudor Age."(Oxford at Clarendon Press. 1914). p.48.

(2) Quoted Ibid. p.65.

(3) Ibid. p.66.



The classical meaning of these terms had suffered an eclipse in the Middle Ages. It is a commonplace of dramatic history that they were applied to narrative of any kind, (1) being distinguished by the matter and style only, a middle style and unremarkable events for comedy, a lofty style and terrible events to men in high places for tragedy. The definition of tragedy in Chaucer's "Monk's Tale" is succinct and representative of the mediaeval conception of

"a certeyn storie,  
As olde bokes maken us memorie,  
Of him that stood in greet prosperitee  
And is y-fallen out of heigh degree  
Into miserie, and endeth wreechedly." (2)

Similarly for comedy the conception was of a narrative, in elegiac verse, with a happy ending. The Lives of the Saints, the tales of Walter Map could be included within its scope. This idea was helped to gain currency by the use of Ovid as a model of narrative in the schools, and, as Ovid was accounted a comic writer, his versified tales become models for this type of narrative. Lydgate's comment on Chaucer as the writer of "fressh commedies" (3) and one

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(1) Cf. Dante. Epistle to Can Grande. (Epistola XI) 1318c.

"Comedy is in truth a certain kind of poetical narrative that differeth from all others. It differeth from tragedy in its subject-matter in this way, that Tragedy in its beginning is admirable and quiet, in its ending or catastrophe foul and horrible...Comedy, indeed, beginneth with some adverse circumstances, but its theme hath a happy termination, as doth appear in the comedies of Terence."

Extract from "A Translation of Dante's Eleven Letters," C.S.Latham, (Boston, 1892).

(2) "The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer". Ed.W.W.Skeat.(Oxford.1894).  
The Canterbury Tales. The Monk's Prologue.p.243.Ll.3163-3167.

(3) "Fall of Princes".Prologue. Ed.H.Bergen for E.E.T.S.(London 1924)  
Extra Series. No.cxxi. p.7. Ll.246-248.

who also "sometyme made full pitous tragedies"(1) comprehends both definitions.

The use of the terms in the Renaissance marks a recognition of them as denoting genres purely dramatic, as applied to the work of Terence and Plautus, and to Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca. Elyot speaks of

"Terence and other that were writers of comedies,"(2)

designating the classical form. That the terms are so used is a proof of "Renaissance" outlook, existing not yet in the age but in individuals. The looser use persists. Seven years later, John Bale applies the term to a mystery play with a prosperous ending speaking of

"A brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptystes preachynge in the wilderness."(1538),(3)

a more specifically mediaeval usage. Some approximation of the two uses seems to be indicated in the definition in the Preface to Nicholas Udall's translation of Erasmus' Apophthegms. "Comedies" are there called "merie entreludes", equating the native term with the classical, in the sense that the aim may be entertainment, as contrasted with "tragedies", meaning "sadde entreludes, whiche wee call staige plaies."(4)

The use of the term "comedy" for plays of a purely entertaining nature does not immediately appear, because the allegorical habit persists strongly,

(1) Ibid.

(2) "The Booke named The Gouvernour."(1531). Vol.I.Chap.XIII. Ed.H.H.S.Croft. (London 1883. 2 vols.) p.123.

(3) See Harleian Miscellany. Vol.I.1744.

(4) "Apophthegms...First gathered and compiled in Latine by the ryght famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame. And now translated into Englyshe by Nicolas Udall." The Preface of Erasmus. (\* \* v.recto).

particularly in the morality form. Nicholas Udall is conscious of the long moralising tradition behind him:

"The wyse Poets long time heretofore,  
Vnder merrie Comedies secretes did declare,  
Wherein was contained very vertuous lore,  
With mysteries and forewarnings very rare."(1)

The gradual demergerence of comedy as a piece of artifice with no deep meaning essential to its specifically mirth-making purpose is, nevertheless, traceable in this period. Udall knows

"nothing more comēdable for a mā's recreation  
Than Mirth which is vsed in an honest fashion:  
For Myrth prolongeth lyfe, and causeth health.  
Mirth recreates our spirites and voydeth pensiuenesse,..."(2)

exemplified, of course in "Ralph Roister Doister" itself. Similarly the author of "Jack Juggler", (1552 or earlier), whether or not he was Nicholas Udall,(3) delights

"to make at seasuns cōueniēt pastims mirth and game:  
As now he hath dō this matter not woorth an oyster shel;  
Except percace it shall fortune too make you laugh well."  
And for that purpose onlye this maker did it write,..."(4)

The mid-century farce, "Gammer Gurton's Needle", the sole representative of vernacular University comedy in England, achieves this purely entertaining end without any of the paraphenalia of classical allusion or elaborate language.

(1) "Ralph Roister Doister." (1552) Ed. W.W. Greg. Printed for the Malone Society at Oxford University Press 1934(1935). Prologue. Aij.Ll.7-10.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See Introduction to edition of "Jack Juggler" by W.H. Williams. (Cambridge University Press. 1914).

(4) "Jack Juggler" ed. 3. prepared by B. Ifor Evans and the general editor W.W. Greg. The Malone Society Reprints. 1936(1937) The Prologue. Ll. 61-64.

Diccan the buffoon is made to comment on this absence of learned elements:

"A man I thyncke myght make a playe  
And nede no worde to this they saye  
Being but halfe a Clarke."(1)

The shift of emphasis away from preoccupation with latent instructional purpose is assisted by the increasing attention to the technique of play construction. A tendency can be traced to conceive of the drama as a literary species with esoteric rules. The imposition of these upon the material to hand shows a constructive attempt to endow even homiletic and didactic material with the local habitation and name proper to the dramatic form in which it is couched. The curious hybrid form known as the "Christian Terence";(2) attempting to reconcile the Christian allegory with the classical technique, is an outcome of this critical attitude to structure.

While Terence serves as the model for comedy, Seneca serves a similar purpose for tragedy. In academic circles at least there may have been some germ of critical study of Seneca, before the sixteenth century. As early as the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the English Dominican and Scholar, Nicholas Treveth, produced a body of discussion about the work of Seneca, including "In Declamationes Senecae," and "In Tragoedis Senecae." He taught in the schools at Oxford on his return from the Continent where he

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(1) "Gammer Gurtons Nedle" Ed.H.F.B.Brett-Smith. The Percy Reprints, No.2. (Oxford 1920) p.23. Act II. Scene ii. Ll.10-12.

(2) "Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century" by C.H.Herford. (Cambridge 1886) Chap.III.p.79



was connected with scholarly circles, but, although he may have passed on some knowledge of the work of Seneca, such knowledge became intermittent later. "Senek full soberly with his tragediis" appears in Skelton's "Garlande of Laurell" (1520c.)(1), and is named by Ascham as having had a place in the discussions of the Cambridge circle.(2) He is adjudged inferior to the great Greek tragic writers. When he is considering the books

"most worthie for a man, the louer of learning and honestie, to spend his life in",(3)

Ascham finds Seneca less worthy of inclusion than the Greeks:

"In Tragedies (the goodliest Argument of all, and for the vse, either of a learned preacher, or a Ciuill Ientleman, more profitable than Homer, Pindar, Virgill, and Horace: yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine of Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon) the Grecians, Sophocles and Euripides far ouer match our Seneca, in Latin, namely in οἰκονομια et Decoro, although Seneca's elocutiō and verse be verie commendable for hys tyme."(4)

This pronouncement is the result of careful and critical comparison of the relative merits of Greek and Latin drama. The preference for the Greek tragedy indicates discrimination, a perception of the true worth of high tragedy as against the elaborate devices and highly stylised speech which appealed so strongly to dramatists in the latter half of the Tudor period. The Cambridge Circle, in the examination of the drama as in other controversies, literary and linguistic at this period, demonstrates the soundness of its critical methods, the accuracy of the trained mind working according to defined standards of judgment.

(1) "The Poetical Works of John Skelton" (Ed. Rev. A. Dyce. London 1843. 2 vols.) Vol. I. p. 376. L. 358.

(2) Cf. p. above.

(3) "The Scholemaster." (ed. Wright). p. 275.

(4) Ibid. p. 276.

As educationalists, Elyot and Ascham inevitably lay stress upon the use of the drama to convey important lessons of ethics and conduct. In a sense, therefore, the didactic trend of dramatic purpose is reinforced by them, at the same time as the more literary study of technique and critical dicta is growing up. The importance of the drama in their schemes of the learning necessary to a man of balanced culture helps to establish it, however, as worthy of serious consideration.

Elyot considers that tragedy becomes particularly important

"whan a man is comen to mature yeres, and that reason in him is confirmed with serious lerning and longe experience."(1)

The effect upon such a man will be that he will profit from the lessons contained in it. He will

"execrate and abhorre the intollerable life of tyrantes: and shall contemne the foly and dotage expressed by poetes lasciuious."(2)

He lays stress in the definitions of comedy and tragedy contained in his "Dictionary" (1538) upon the imitation of life contained therein, with didactic purpose. Tragoedia he defines as

"an enterlude, wherin the personages do represent some hystory or fable lamentable, for the crueltie and mysery therin expressed."(3)

Comicus is a "maker of enterludes"(4) and comoedus "a player in enterludes".(5)

The function of Comedy he understands as the exposition of the cruder aspects of mankind:

"an enterlude, wherein the common vices of men and women are apparently declared in personages."(6)

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(1) "The Boke named The Gouvernour." ed.Croft.Vol.I.p.71.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "Bibliotheca Eliotae" 1545 edition. Ll.vii.verso col.2.

(4) Ibid. I.6.verso.col.1.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

He expands the latter definition elsewhere, describing comedy as

"a mirrour of man's life, wherin euell is nat taught but discovered; to the intent that men beholdynge the promptnes of youth unto vice, the snares of harlotts and baudes laide for yonge myndes, the disceipte of seruantes, the chaunces of fortune contrary to mennes expectation, they beinge therof warned may prepare them selfe to resist or preuente occasion."(1)

He meets the obvious argument that this representation of evil in comedies may be conducive to evil by pointing out that

"by the same argumente nat onely entreludes in englisshe, but also sermones, wherin some vice is declared, shulde be to the beholders and herers like occasion to encrease sinners."(2)

The Aristotelian definition that drama consists in the representation of "men in action" is taken literally by the Renaissance interpretation of the doctrine of imitation. Ascham includes his discussion of the drama in the topic Imitatio, for

"of this Imitation writeth Plato at large in 3 de Rep."(3)

and follows his source in regarding "the whole doctrine of Comedies and Tragedies" as a "perfite imitation, or faire liuelie painted picture of the life of euerie man",(4) a definition which was passed on from Cicero by Donatus through the Middle Ages.(5)

The work of Plautus and Terence is used extensively in this period, to inculcate the pure Latinity upon which scholars of the Renaissance period

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(1) "The Booke named The Governour." Ed.Croft.Vol.I.Ch.XIII.pp.124-125.

(2) Ibid. p.126.

(3) "The Scholemaster." "The second booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tong." (ed.Wright) p.266.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Cf.Donatus. "De Comoedia et Tragoedia" 4th century.

"Cicero says that comedy is 'a copy of life, a mirror of custom, a reflection of truth'".

Translation by Mildred Rogers. See B.H.Clark."European Theories of the Drama."(New York 1930) p.43.

insisted. Critical study of the diction becomes operative in the reading of these plays. Plautus especially is esteemed

"for that purenesse of the Latin tong in Rome, whan Rome did most florish in wel doing, and so thereby, in well speaking also,"

and he is "soch a plentifull storehouse, for common eloquence...as the Latin tong...hath not the like agayne."(1)

The diction of Terence is "pure and proper", (2) and

"his wordes, be chosen so purelie, placed so orderly, and all his stuffe so neetlie packed vp, and wittely compassed in euerie place, as, by all wise men's iudgement, he is counted the cunninger workeman, and to haue his shop, for the rowme that is in it, more finely appointed, and trimlier ordered, than Plautus is."(3)

The study of style in Plautus and Terence, therefore, ensures their work a place in the curriculum of the grammar school and of private education.

Nicholas Udall collects his "Floures for Latyne speakyng" (1553) from Terence, and it is significant that Terence's "Andria" is translated into English as early as 1520.(4) The result of this wide study is the creation of an audience unfamiliar with classical form and style, and it helps to prepare for the gradual adoption of classical form into vernacular drama.

This transference of classical stylistic criteria to the vernacular forms imposes a stricter framework upon the somewhat amorphous morality, and checks the tendency towards the purely narrative form. Elyot in his "Dictionary"(1538) recognises actus as "the partes of a commedy or playe"(5) and by the time of

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(1) Ibid.p.287.

(2) Ibid.p.288.

(3) Ibid.p.287.

(4) "Terens in englysh (the translacyon out of latin into englysh of the furst comedy of tyrens callyd Andria)".J.Rastell.London 1520.

(5) 1545 ed. A v.6.recto.



"Gammer Gurton's Needle" and "Gorbuduc" the act and scene division of classical drama is evident in both comedy and tragedy in English. There is at this date no body of critical work in England as in Italy(1) discussing the technique of drama with reference to these divisions or to the so-called "Three Unities." There must be, in spite of this reluctance to formulate opinion, some critical perception and decision behind the completeness of a play such as "Ralph Roister Doister"(1552c) as behind the work of Wyatt and Surrey, where it is similarly inarticulate. "Ralph Roister Doister," with obvious debt to classical comedy, carefully preserves the Unities of Place, Time and Action, and uses many of the verbal devices, ingenuity and sticomuthia. "Gammer Gurton's Needle", purely native in temper, has the same studied framework, although the vigorous presentation of character is very far from the conventionalised classical treatment.

The appearance of work written in accordance with classical precept and example proves the existence of a critical attitude, the conscious application of rules and methods derived from antique models. The slowness of the spread of these newly recovered literary ideals is due in part to the restriction of such knowledge by its very nature to academic circles, who were disinclined to acknowledge the status of English drama. Critical discussion per se is

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(1) See J.E. Spingarn. "A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance." (New York 1908). "Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature." Part First. "Literary Criticism in Italy." pp.60-106.

limited mainly to the Latin drama composed by University men in imitation of the classics. That they should leave such little evidence of opinions which must have bulked large in their discussions may be ascribed to the recurring English trait - the lack of any impulse among writers to form a "school" to lay down rules of composition. The scholars were not the national poets, nor the arbiters of the taste of the people.

The results of the study of, and commentary upon, classical drama as a branch of classical literature were at first felt only by scholars. They used texts printed abroad, with all the additional material, added by foreign editors and men of letters. They travelled to centres of learning in Europe, and were drawn into the main channels of ideas. The impulse was therefore to make use of all this scholarly knowledge and apparatus by creation in the language of scholarship. Discussion of critical theory in the Early Tudor period, therefore, involves a study of the purely academic drama, which was usually accompanied by explanatory preface or comment.

The aim and effect of tragedy are discussed by John Christopherson in the "Carmina" following the Dedicatory Epistle to "Jephthes." (1545c.) It moves the spectators by the grandeur of style and gravity of matter, having effect rather upon their mind and will than the deeper stirring of emotion implied by the Aristotelian καθαρσις. He says:

"...Attamen Tragicae Camoenae maximū  
Decus merentur propter ornatū styli.  
Graccibus enim verbis refertae permovent  
Animos, theatrū tristibus complent modis./

Sententiis crebris fluunt in iustos  
 Sensus. Voluptatē afferunt spectantibus.  
 Oculis subiiciunt flexilē aevi tramitem  
 Illustrium casus acerbos exprimunt."(1)

Since the effect is to be moral elevation, the subject matter of tragedy must be selected for its edificatory value, and the choice of these writers of academic tragedy in Northern Europe falls upon Scriptural episode. Christopher-son bears out Bucer's pronouncement:

"Priscis in hoc primas Poetis deferunt  
 Nisi quod Tragoediā expleant mendacijs  
 Res ficta, verba splendida, stylus elegans,  
 Procul tamen sincera veritas abest  
 Proinde nos portenta quaque immania  
 Reiecit, Dei secuti Oracula.  
 Materia suppetit hinc Tragoedia proba.  
 Hinc clara licet exempla vitae promere.  
 Ergo labores hic locandos duximus,  
 Virtutis vbi decorus elucet nitor."(2)

Bucer elaborates this decision farther, urging the use of Biblical material alone because

"...omnia cū mirificam vim habeant fidem in Deum confirmandi, & amenem studiumque Dei accēdendi, admirationem item pietatis atque iusticię, & horrorem impietatis, omnis que peruersitatis ingenerandi atque augendi: quanto magis deceat Christianos, vt ex his sua poemata sumant, quibus magna & illustria hominum consilia, conatus, ingenium, affectus atque casus repraesentent quā ex impijs ethnicorum vel fabulis vel historijs."(3)

The result of this preoccupation is to divert attention away from the recovered technical aspects which produced such a spate of critical work in

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(1) Quoted F.S.Boas. op.cit. pp.47-48.

(2) Ibid. p.48.

(3) Ibid. p.66.

Italy. Scholarship in Northern Europe was turned to purposes primarily moral rather than aesthetic. The development of literary criticism of the drama in England is therefore retarded. France and Italy readily accepted the ideas distilled from Aristotle and Horace, while England found the mediæval habit of relating literature to other motives, especially the theological, more to her taste, and reinforced this conception with the results of the Revival of Learning.

There is, then, in this Early Tudor period no systematic discussion of the methods and precepts of dramatic theory. The attitude of writers of this time must be reconstructed from incidental comment and explanation, and from the principles which seem to be inherent in the work itself.

The study of rhetoric, which touched upon so many aspects of style and composition in the Early Tudor period, when there was a general awareness of linguistic and literary problems, has some bearing also upon the drama. The theory of "decorum", which had at first a purely stylistic application, was developed throughout the Early Tudor period, until, with the renewed neo-classical influence after the time of Sidney, it becomes one of the main tenets of dramatic composition. In the Early Tudor period, it was not so firmly established. Sir Thomas Wilson discusses the choice of words appropriate to the style and matter chosen in his "Arte of Rhetorique." (1553):

"Suche are thought apt wordes, that properly agre vnto that thyng, whiche thei signifie, and plainly expresse the nature of the same... In weightie causes, graue wordes are thought moste nedefull, that the



greatnesse of the matter, maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their talke. So likewise of other, like order muste be taken..."(1)

Infringement of the rules of stylistic decorum lays the writer open to the charge of committing many faults of style. One of these, according to Richard Sherry,

"is when lighte and tryflyng matters, are set out with gaye and blasing wordes. Suche as in Commedies are wont to be spoken, of crakyng souldiers & smell feastes."(2)

Since the dramatist must use a great variety of style and character, and weld all the elements into an harmonious whole, the rules of rhetoric impinge very closely upon his work. For this reason, Nicholas Grimald's tutor, John "Aerius"(3) criticising "Christus Redivivus", (1541) attributes the achievement of an effect of unity to the skill of one "experienced in the art of oratory."(4)

The work of Nicholas Grimald indicates the existence in Oxford, as in Cambridge at the time of Cheke, of a careful study of the rules of dramatic composition, derived partly from the study of rhetoric and partly from the

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(1) "The third Booke." "Aptenesse what it is." Fol.88.recto.

Cf. Aristotle. "Rhetorica." Bk.III.vii.2.

"Style will have propriety, if it is pathetic, characteristic, and proportionate to the subject. This proportion means that important subjects shall not be treated in a random way, nor trivial subjects in a grand way..." (Translated R.C.Jebb.ed.J.E.Sandys.(Cambridge.1909)). p.159.

(2) "A Treatise of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike." (1555).Fol.x.recto.

(3) See "The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald." L.R.Merrill. (Yale Studies in English.LXIX.1925). "This is probably a Latin version of an English name. No other name on the University records seems to resemble it other than that of John Harreys, or Harreis, who was admitted fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1512, and who may have been Grimald's tutor there."(p.101.Note 6).

(4) Ibid. Dedicatory Epistle to "Christus Redivivus." "To Gilbert Smith, Archdeacon of Peterborough..." Translation p.109.

study of classical and neo-classical doctrine. Grimald, writing his tragi-comedy, "Christus Redivivus," at the age of twenty is aware of a critical background, of the conscious craftsmanship required for literary composition, of the value of words and of decorum of style. Grimald is most explicit on the standards by which he is working. He says:

"...I feared in no small degree that there would be those who would very justly complain that I could not ~~set~~ forth this event properly, and clothe so great a theme in appropriate diction. I know, of course, that, as in everyday life and conduct, it is considered especially difficult to perceive and note in each instance what is proper(1) - a subject that is learnedly treated by philosophers in their ethical teachings - so in poetical compositions, to fashion diction in harmony with the matter and characters demands a man of keen insight, of refined judgment, unusual diligence and blessed with great leisure."(2)

The juxtaposition of "keen insight" and "refined judgment" implies some recognition of a critical discipline, such as that to which Horace ascribes such importance:

"scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons."(3)

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- (1) Cf. Horace. "Ars Poetica." "...tantum series iuncturaque pollet, tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris." Ll. 242, 243. (ed. E. H. Blakeney. (London. 1928) p. 27).
- (2) See L. R. Merrill. op. cit. Dedicatory epistle, (translation) pp. 95, 97, for the Latin of Grimald: "Tum ~~damum~~, haud mediocriter illud pertimebescam, futuros, qui nimium iuste conquerantur: me rem gestam rite digerere, ac talem tantamq; materiam digna oratione uestire non posse. Nimirum, tanquam in communi hominum uita & moribus, arduum in primis habetur, in unaquaq; ne decorum perspicere & obseruare, de quo sapienter a Philosophis in Ethica disciplina praecipitur: sic in poematis, consentaneam rebus & personis orationem adfingere, hominem peracuto ingenio, limato iudicio, singulari diligentia, summoq; ocio abundan/tem requirit." Ibid. pp. 94-96.
- (3) L. 309. ed. Blakeney. op. cit. p. 34.

Poetic composition is a conscious art, requiring the exercise of the critical faculty to accompany creation:

"natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte  
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena  
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic  
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice."(1)

Grimald discusses also the question of the propriety of diction, the precept derived from the rhetoricians which was hardened into the rule of "decorum" in the full development of neo-classical doctrine during the Renaissance, and applied to all kinds of literary composition. The emotion to be expressed influences the choice of diction, for the same style cannot be employed

"in plain, straightforward narrative as in thrasonical boasting;  
in soothing consolation as in complaint; in a voice from heaven as  
in the wailings that arise from hell."(2)

It is an essential quality of the orator's art, that he should be able to use a speech appropriate for every occasion. Cicero says:

"Nam cum est oratio mollis et tenera et ita flexibilis ut sequatur  
quocumque torqueas, tum et naturae variae et voluntates multum inter  
se distantia effecerunt genera dicendi."(3)

and applies the rule to poetical composition also:

"Ἰσοπέτοις appellant hoc Graeci, nos dicamus sane decorum: de quo prae-  
clare et multa praecipuntur et res est cognitione dignissima, huius  
ignoratione non modo in vita sed saepissime et in poematis et in  
oratione peccatur. Est autem quid deceat oratori videndum non in  
sententiis solum sed etiam in verbis..."(4)

(1) Ibid. Ll.408-411.pp.37-38.

(2) See Merrill.op.cit. p.97, for the Latin: "[Certum est enim] nec simplicem narrationem & iactationem Thrasonicam, nec blandam consolationem & querimoniam, nec coelestem uocem & tartareos clamores, [unum atq; idem postulare dictionis genus]."

(3) "Orator." XVI.52. (A.S.Wilkins. Oxford 1903).

(4) Ibid. XXI.70.

The quality of ἡλικία is explained by Aristotle:

"Passion is expressed, when an outrage is in question, by the language of anger; when impious or shameful deeds are in question, by the language of indignation and aversion; when praiseworthy things are in question, by admiring language; when piteous things, by lowly language - and so in the other cases."(1)

Quintilian rates this rhetorical requirement highly, stressing the importance of appropriate diction as essential to every composition, and the consequent disaster

"si genus sublime dicendi parvis in causis, parvum limatumque grandibus, laetum tristibus, lene asperis, minax supplicibus, summissum concitatis, trux atque violentum iucundis adhibeamus?"(2)

This makes for variety of style, the diversity of tone and emotion by which an orator can sway his audience, and by which poetry of all kinds may move its readers similarly. Grimald knows this classical precept well, and says that

"...the work ought to be done so in accordance with the nature, the change, and the manner of the action, that at one time the verse may creep along in an unpretentious measure, shunning, as it were, the adornments and forms of oratory, whereas at other times it may speed along in a fuller and more pretentious course. Often, however, with marshaled words in battle array, it makes an onset like the snow-storms of winter, and its eloquence bursts forth unchecked, and gains the fields in which it can revel."(3)

He has also absorbed the Horatian doctrine whereby the rule of propriety is

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(1) "Rhetorica" III.vii.2. Translated by R.C.Jebb.op.cit.p.159.

(2) "Institutio Oratoria." Bk.XI.3. (Ed.H.E.Butler for the Loeb Classical Library. London 1924).p.155).

(3) op.cit. p.97, for the Latin of Grimald:

"Proinde, perfici oportere, ut pro rerum natura, varietate & modo, nunc Oratoriorum luminum & conformationum ueluti parvus, humili passu repat uersus, interdum uero, uolubilius ac profluentius excursitet, saepe autem numero uerborum agmen iustar hybernarum niuium ingruat, & plenis habenis prorumpens oratio, campum, in quo exultare possit, obtineat."



made to apply minutely to all attributes of the character, such as emotion, social status, age. He says, for instance, that

"it is certain that one and the same sort of style is not called for in the case of a rich man as of a poor one."(1)

Horace insists that well-known characters shall have always their significant attributes(2) and that there shall be a speech suitable for the old man and for the youth:

"aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,  
mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis."(3)

Quintilian has the same rule:

"Ipsam etiam eloquentiae genus alios aliud decet,"(4)

and, by this rule, the character remains consistent throughout:

"si quid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes  
personam formere novam, servetur ad imum  
qualis ab incepto processerit."(5)

As regards the framework of the drama, there is manifest acquaintance with the so-called "Unities", which are comprehended in the reference of Grimald's tutor to the harmony of "theme, time...place."(6) The 'Unity of Action' derives from the Aristotelian dictum that the action of a tragedy shall have

(1) Ibid.p.96. See p.97 for the Latin of Grimald: "[Certum est enim,] nec locupletem & ternuem fortunam...[unum atq; idem postulare dictionis genus]."

(2) "Ars Poetica." Ll.119-124. (ed.Blakeney.op.cit.p.26).

(3) Ibid. Ll.156-157. p.28.

(4) "Institutio Oratoria." Book XI.31.(Loeb ed. op.cit. p.172).

(5) "Ars Poetica." Ll.125-126. p.28.

(6) Ibid.p.108. See p.109 for the Latin of Grimald: "...nihil quod...aut rei, aut tempori, aut loco minus quadret, unuenire posse..."

beginning, middle, and end, and be complete in itself.(1) Horace echoes this precept:

"...sic veris falsa remiscet,  
primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum,"(2)

and adds his own technical injunction that the structure shall consist of five acts:

"neve minor neu sit quinto productioni actu  
fabula, quae posci vult et spectata reponi."(3)

Grimald follows Horace in adopting the five-act division, but, while accepting this, repudiates the rigid restriction of the time of the action to twenty-four hours,(4) which Aristotle derived from contemporary stage practice, and which Italian critics interpreted variously.(5) Grimald feels it necessary to comment upon his disregard of *this* unity, and tries to account for it by citing a precedent in Plautus. Reporting the opinions of his tutor, he says:

"Likewise, he concluded that the scenes were not so far apart but they could easily, and without trouble, be reduced to one stage-setting; and that, if any one is surprised, either because I have united in one and the same action a story covering several days, and different periods of time, or because such a pleasing // close is given to such a mournful and lamentable beginning, he ought to understand that I follow Plautus,

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(1) "Poetics." 1450.b.2. Translation:

"...tragedy is the representation of an action that is whole and complete and of a certain magnitude... A whole is what has a beginning and middle and end."

(Edited for the Loeb Classical Library by E.Capps, T.E.Page, W.H.D.Rouse, London 1927). p.31.

(2) Ll.151-152. op.cit. p.28.

(3) Ibid. Ll. 189-190. p.29.

(4) Aristotle. "Poetics." 1449.b.18. Translation: "...tragedy tends to fall within a single revolution of the sun." (ed.above.p.21).

(5) See J.E.Spingarn.op.cit. pp.91-93 for discussion and comparison.

whose play, the *Captivi*, above all, is represented as taking place during an interval of several days, and passes moreover from a sad beginning to a happy ending."(1)

It is, therefore, conclusive that Grimald was thoroughly conversant with the principles of classical dramatic criticism. The remarkable fact is, that he chose to work independently of them. He speaks of the "decorum" used in the portrayal of character, but disregards ~~the~~ extension to distinguish between the genres of comedy and tragedy. This is particularly clear in Horace, and Cicero. Horace says:

"versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult  
indignatur item privatis ac prope socco  
dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae,"(2)

allowing for variety only occasionally:

"interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,  
iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;  
et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri  
Telephus et Peleus..."(3)

Cicero clearly distinguishes genres of literature, not to be mingled:

"Oratorum genera esse dicuntur tamquam poetarum; id secus est, nam alterum est multiplex. Poematis enim tragici comici epici melici etiam

(1) op.cit. p.109,111, for the Latin of Grimald:

"Loca item, haud usque eò discriminari censebat: quin unum in proscenium, facile & citra negocium conduci queant. Ac si quis miretur, uel quòd plurium dierum historiam atque diuersa tempora, in unam & eandem actionem coegerim, uel quòd funestum & perluctuosum principium, tam plausibilem sortiatur exitum: eum intelligere debere, me autorem sequi M. Actium Plautum, cuius praeter alias *Capteiuei* & compluribus interiectis diebus agi finguntur, & ex initio moesto in laetum etiã finem transeunt."

(2) op.cit. Ll.89-91. p.25.

(3) Ibid. Ll.93-96. p.25.

ac dithyrambici, quo magis est tractatum [a Latinis], suum cuiusque est, diversum a reliquis. Itaque et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comoedia turpe tragicum..."(1)

Grimald's tragi-comedy earns the commendation of his tutor because of the variety of elements within it, for

"great things had been interwoven with the small, joyous with sad, obscure with manifest, incredible with probable. Moreover, just as the first act yields to tragic sorrow, in order that the subject-matter may keep its title, so the fifth and last adapts itself to delight and joy; likewise, in order that variety may be opposed to satiety, in all the other intermediate acts sad and cheerful incidents are inserted in turn."(2)

His independence marks an advance in the appreciation of classical tenets, and is all the more significant because it invites comparison with the earlier opinion of Thomas More and the later opinion of Sir Philip Sidney. As early as 1516, More includes in his "Utopia" (translated by Ralph Robinson in 1551) a reference to the principles of decorum governing dramatic usage. He does not relate them to the "schole philosophie"(3) but to the wider code of decorum governing both life and literature,

"an other philosophye more cyuyle, whyche knoweth as ye wolde saye her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauynge herselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordynglye wyth comlynes, vtteringe nothyng owte of dewe ordre and fassyon."(4)

(1) "De Optimo Genere Oratorum". I. i. ed. A. S. Wilkins. Oxford 1903.

(2) op. cit. p. 109, for the Latin of Grimald: "[Belle uidelicet]... magna paruis, laeta tristibus, obscura dilucidis, incredibilia probabilibus intexuisse. Quemadmodum enim quò res ipsa nomen tueatur suum, primum Actum Tragico moerori cedere, quintum uerò & ultimum iucunditatibus adcommodare & gaudijs: ita quò uarietas satietati occurrat, caeteris omnibus intermedijs, nunc lugubria nunc festiua inseri." Ibid. p. 108.

(3) "The Utopia of Sir Thomas More: in Latin from the edition of March 1518, and in English from the first edition of Ralph Robynson's translation in 1551", ed by J. H. Lupton. Oxford 1895. p. 97.

(4) Ibid. p. 98.



According to the dictates of this sense of the fitness of things, he condemns the mingling of comedy and tragedy, and the incongruity which would result if

"whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge...yowe shoulde sodenlye come vpon the stage in a philosophers apparrell, and reherse owte of Octauius the place wherin Seneca dysputeth with Nero..."(1)

The "tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye"(2) seems to More to violate, not only the rules of drama, but a universal principle.

More than fifty years later Sidney criticises "Gorbuduc" in the light of classical precepts, when the principle of "decorum" is becoming even more strict. He finds the play

"faultie both in place and time, the two necess-arie Companions of all corporall actions. For where the Stage should alway represent but one place, and the uttermoste time presupposed in it, should bee both by Aristotles precept and common reason, but one day; there is both manie dayes and places, inartificially imagined."(3)

Between these two loci critici, at the beginning and end of the sixteenth century, Grimald stands for a more liberal view, in his acceptance of the "mongrell Tragicomedie"(4) which both More and Sidney condemned as inadmissible. His choice is amply justified by the variety of drama in the full Elizabethan period, the triumphant product of the vigorous native tradition tempered but not inhibited by the usage and precedent of foreign and classical models.

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid. p.99.

(3) "Defence of Poesie." (printed 1595).ed.A.Feuillerat.(Cambridge 1923) p.38.

(4) Ibid. p.39.

## CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS: IRONY AND PARODY; THE NEW COURTLY POETRY.

The end of a literary tradition, or a period of reconsideration of literary values, is frequently marked by the production of burlesque and parody. The ridicule of worn-out symbols by their use in a mocking context is one of the most effective methods of criticism. It implies a two-fold process - thorough mastery and understanding of the literary genre involved, to make the imitation convincing and complete in itself, and the faculty to examine and assess it from a detached point of view. The two stages, in fact, constitute a critical approach.

It has been seen that the fifteenth century was a period of re-adjustment, of the gathering of new energy, and therefore prone to examine the literary forms which were handed on from the preceding generations. In the sixteenth century, the situation was complicated by new forces, and the need for a survey of literary and linguistic problems became more acute, as a prelude to the time when the fervour of creation should become too tense to allow of any detachment. The progress of this critical activity is in England quickened by the acute insight and balanced moderation of Erasmus and Thomas More. Their easy adoption of the satirical and detached point of view may owe something to their interest in the work of Lucian. About 1506, they collaborated in a translation into Latin of some of his dialogues, (1) at the same time stimulating each other, and catching a spark of Lucian's spirit. They provide the comment

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(1) "Luciani...cōplura opuscula...ab Erasmo Roterodame & Thomas Moro...in Latinorum lingua traducta."

on, and subtle exposure of, excesses by means of the oblique method of irony not proceeding to the next stage of criticism by imitation. Erasmus in his "Praise of Folly" (1509) (1) caricatures and condemns the failings of his age. More suggests improvements by his picture of the ideal state of "Utopia" (2) in a more constructive spirit. In "The Praise of Folly" the reader

"shall soon espie, how in euery mattier, yea almost euery clause, is hidden besides the myth, some deeper sence and purpose." (3)

The follies <sup>Erasmus</sup> exposes are comprehensive of many fashions, literary and learned. At a time when the creation of Latin work in strict imitation of the ancients had become so fervid a fashion that it threatened to stifle originality and creative impulse, Folly calls such

"versis (god knoweth) most balde and foolische, but neuer the more faile thei of some as verie asses as they, who will hieghly commende the same: whiche putteth them in suche a flusshe, as plainly they beleue they haue recouered Virgiles owne vaine in poetrie." (4)

He comments upon the linguistic fashion for aureate and elaborate speech, derived from rhetoric in its worst sense, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," and not related to the clear, careful and appropriate language

(1) "The praise of Folie. Mori[ae] Encomium. a booke made in latine by that great clerke Erasmus Roterodame. Englisshed by Sir Thomas Chaloner knight." T. Berthelet. 1549.

(2) Printed in Latin. "Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris, quam festiuis, de optimo reip. statu, de[que] nova insula Utopia... cura... P. Aegidii Antverpiensis... nunc primum accuratissime editus."

Translated into English, 1551: "A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latyne by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englysshe by Ralphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citizein [and] Haberdassher of the same Citie..."

(3) "To the Reader." (Translator's address). A iii. verso.

(4) Ibid. K iv. verso.

advocated by Quintilian. In the fifteenth century, the term "rhetoric" had become equated with stylistic elaboration,(1) and this use persisted. The devotees of this fashion, says Folly,

"plainely thynke them selves demy god[s], if lyke horsleches thei can shew two tongues, I meane to mingle their writing[s]with word[s] sought out of strange languages, as if it were alonely thyng for them to poudre theyr bokes with ynkehorne termes, although per||chaunce as vnaptly applied, as a gold ryng in a sowes nose."(2)

As Oaxton in the fifteenth and Wilson in the sixteenth century noticed, the use of archaisms is an important aspect of this desire to create a learned obscurity. Folly<sup>us</sup> says that

"if they want suche farre fetched vocables, than serche they out of some rotten Pamphlet foure or fyue disused woord[s] of antiquitee, therewith to darken the sence vnto the reader, to the ende, that who so vnderstandeth them, maie repute hym selfe for more cunnyng, and litterate: and who so doeth not, shall so mucche the rather yet esteeme it to be some high mattier, because it passeth his learnyng."(3)

Folly smiles at the vanity of human learning:

"For this is truely not the least of my pleasant proprettees, to make men euer sette moste store by straunge and outlandische thyng[s]." (4)

Logicians and men who argue with excessive tortuousness in the manner of the "schools" are included in Folly's skipping survey. She rejects their elaborate method of setting out a subject, and will not

"accordyng to these common Sophisters and Rhetoriciens maner, go about to shew by diffinicion what I am, and mucche lesse vse any diuision."(5)

(1) See Chap. II p.42 above.

(2) "The praise of Folie".Trans.Chaloner.(1549). A iii recto - A iii verso.

(3) Ibid. A iii.verso.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. A ii.verso.



This seems to accord with Thomas More's significant comment on the learning of the Utopians:

"But as they in all thynges be almoste equall to our olde auntyente clerkes, so our newe Logiciens // in subtyll inuentyons haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuysed one of all those fules of restrycyons, amplyfycatyons, and supposytyons, very wittelye inuented in the small Logycalles, whyche heare oure chyldren in euerye place do learne."(1)

This is a hint of the acrimony felt by men of the humanist persuasion for the schoolmen, upon which Francis Bacon commented. Looking back to find the causes of the decay of learning, this feud seems to him one of the outstanding characteristics of the sixteenth century. He says that at this time:

"...the ancient authors, both in divinity and in humanity, which had long time slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved. This by consequence did draw on a necessity of a more exquisite travail in the languages original wherein these authors did write, for the better understanding of those authors and the better advantage of pressing and applying their words. And thereof grew again a delight in their manner and phrase, and an admiration of that kind of writing; which was much furthered and precipitated by the enmity and opposition that the propounders of those (primitive but seeming new) opinions had against the schoolmen; who were generally of the contrary part, and whose writings were altogether in a differing style and form; taking liberty to coin and frame new terms of art to express their own sense and to avoid circuit, without regard to the pureness, pleasantness, and (as I may call it) lawfulness of the phrase or word..."(2)

Poets as well as "rhetoricians" and logicians draw a shaft from Folly, although she admits that they

"are somewhat lesse beholding vnto me, not withstandyng, euin by theyr profession they shew theim selues to be of my secte, a free kynde of men, that lyke peinetors maie feigne what they list, whose studie tendeth naught els, than to fede fooles eares with mere trifles and foolisshe fables."(3)

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- (1) "The seconde Boke of Utopia." Ch. VI. Edited by J.H. Lupton, in Latin from the edition of March 1518, and in English from the first edition of Ralph Robynson's translation in 1551. (Oxford 1895) pp.184-185.
- (2) "The Advancement of Learning." "The Works of Francis Bacon." Ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath. London 1876. Vol. III. Philosophical Works. p.283.
- (3) "The praise of Folie." Trans. Chaloner (1549) L. recto.

Erasmus by his irony, subtly detaches the foolish element in every branch of study at which Folly tilts. As Chaloner says:

"And seeyng the vices of our daies are suche as can not enough be spoken against, what knowe we, if Erasmus in this booke thought good betweene game and earnest to rebuke the same?"(1)

More rebuilds the picture of the world of ideas drawn by Erasmus, showing by significant stress where he considers the failings of his own age to lie. As regards intellectual activity, he is emphatic about the value of Greek studies. Of "Raphaell Hythlodaye", the traveller, he says that he

"is verye well lerned in the Latyne tonge; but profounde and excellent in the greke tonge, wherein he euer bestowed more studye than in the lattyne, because he had geuen hym selfe holye to the studye of Philosophy."(2)

Implied in this is the humanist recognition of the value of the originals, the new zest for deriving knowledge from the fountain head. He praises the aptitude of the Utopians for learning Greek, since

"in lesse than iiii. yeres space their was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lackede. They were able to reade good authors without anny staye, if the booke were not false."(3)

Textual study gave Renaissance scholars distaste for mutilated and inaccurate texts. It was a branch of criticism which grew up and flourished, as the preliminary to exact and authentic knowledge.

Erasmus and More thus by indirections find directions out, the former by the obliquity of irony, and the latter by the reconstructive idealism in

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(1) Ibid. "To the Reader." A iii. recto.

(2) "The fyrste Boke of Utopia." ed. Lupton. op. cit. p. 27.

(3) "The second Boke of Utopia." Ch. VI. Ibid. p. 214.

which the spirit of criticism has performed its preliminary task of detachment and dissection.

Hints of parody enable us to trace changes of feeling for mediaeval forms during the Early Tudor period. Chaucer in the fourteenth century slyly mocked the romance by a reductio ad absurdum in "Sir Thopas", exploiting the critical possibilities of the burlesque imitation. The poets of the Early Tudor period, similarly alert to criticism, were quick to use the same method. Skelton, whose temper is essentially satirical, was not content to take over accepted forms without comment. "The Bowge of Courte"<sup>(soon after 1509)</sup>, which is an example of Skelton's treatment of allegory, may also be related more particularly to the tradition of the "Ship of Fools." "Fool literature" had a long tradition throughout the Middle Ages.(1) In England, Wincker's "Speculum Stultorum" (thirteenth century) and Lydgate's "Order of Fools" (2) had classified and portrayed the kinds of human folly, Wincker in lively vein, Lydgate more drearily. On the eve of the Northern Renaissance the fool-device was vigorously exploited in Sebastian Brandt's "Narrenschiff" (1494), its translation into Latin by Locher (1497) and its English translation by Alexander Barclay in "The Ship of Fools" (1508). In the work of Barclay, there is no pervasive tone of irony or hint of self-conscious imitation. It is

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(1) See Enid Welsford. "The Fool". (London 1935) for study of the fool in literature and life.

(2) See C.H.Herford. "The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century." (Cambridge, 1886) Chap.VI.pp.325-326.

written with stern moral earnestness, and intended to castigate the vice of the world by its severe exposure. There is more humour and vigour in "Cocke Lorelles Bote", (1) and its closeness to reality removes it slightly from allegorical and moral edification into the realm of satire, the more pungently critical genre. Skelton, by temperament not content with the abstract, confirms the use of this ship-and-fool framework for satirical purposes, and writes his "Bowge of Courte", (soon after 1509) of which "Desire" says:

"Fortune gydeth and ruleth all oure shyppe:  
Whome she hateth shall ouer the see boorde skyp." (2)

He describes the haunt of rascals with vividly characteristic traits instead of dull abstractions. He is, therefore, in making this new use of the old tradition, examining and criticising its resources. "The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng" (before 1509?), with its Hogarthian procession of vagabonds and wastrels, shows Skelton passing wholly into the realm of reality which had been approached by the author of "Cocke Lorelles Bote," and contemplating the extent and kinds of human folly.

The poets of the Early Tudor period did not seize upon the mediaeval romance for laughter and parody as quickly as might have been expected. For a long time it remained the literature of pastime and entertainment,

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(1) Author unknown. Date probably early in the reign of Henry VIII. See edition by J.P. Edmond. (Aberdeen. 1884), reprinted from a unique copy printed by Wykyn de Worde.

(2) "The Bowge of Courte." "Skelton's Poetical Works." ed. A. Dyce. (London 1843) Vol. I. p. 34. Ll. 111-112.



at first for the aristocracy, as in Caxton's time, and later for the literate public which has, and always has had, a taste for light fiction. The poets' surveys of their reading nearly always include a list of romances. In the pageant of lovers who pass before the poet's eyes in Gavin Douglas' "Palice of Honour," (soon after 1501) Palamon and Arcite have their place with Dido and Aeneas, Troilus and Cressida, Paris and Helen:

"Thair was Arcyte, and Palemon aswa  
 Accompanyit with fair Aemilia,  
 The Quene Dido with hir fals lufe Enee,  
 Trew Troilus, vnfaithfull Cressida..."(1)

Palamon and Arcite appear again in Skelton's list,(2) and many more figures of romance are mentioned with them:

"...rede haue I  
 Of Gawen and syr Guy,...(3)  
 Of Arturs rounde table,  
 With his knightes commendable,  
 And dame Gaynour, his quene,...(4)  
 Of Trystram and kynge Marke,  
 And al the hole warke  
 Of Bele Isold his wyfe,  
 For whom was moch stryfe;...(5)  
 And of syr Lybius,  
 Named Dysconius;  
 Of Quater Filz Amund,  
 And how they were sommonde  
 To Rome, to Charlemayne,..."(6)

Skelton's erudition seems no less impressive in romance reading than in the study of the classical authors.

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- (1) Poetical Works. ed.J.Small.(Edinburgh 1874) Vol.I.p.22.Ll.25-28.  
 (2) "Phyllyp Sparowe." Poetical Works.ed.A.Dyce.(London 1843) Vol.I.p.70.l.616.  
 (3) Ibid.Ll.628-629.  
 (4) Ibid. Ll.634-636.  
 (5) Ibid. Ll.641-644.  
 (6) Ibid. p.71.Ll.649-653.

From the fourteenth century onwards, there is a slight tone of disparagement in the judgments of poets upon the triviality of the romance. Chaucer slyly suspends belief in saying of the Nonnes Preestes Tale:

"This storie is al-so trewe, I undertake,  
As is the book of Launcelot du Lake,  
That wommen holde in ful gret reverence."(1)

He nevertheless accepted the romance, for pageantry, as in the Squire's Tale, for chivalrous love, as in the Knight's Tale, and for the apotheosis of love and its tragic development as in "Troilus and Criseyde" which originally "grew up out of the French Romantic school."(2)

Chaucer's successors began to mock the highly idealised conventions of romantic love. Occleve's lady is described in terms which reduce the tradition to the ridiculous. He anticipates the description of Bottom the Weaver as "Thisbe"'s love, and says:

"Of my lady, wel me reioise I may:  
hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal;  
hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral;  
And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay,"(3)

and his mock eulogy continues with a coarseness which is the antidote to the highly spiritualised and conventionalised portraits of the mediaeval romance.

Chaucer's Scottish successors in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are openly scornful of the traditions of the romance. William Dunbar

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(1) "The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer" edited W.W.Skeat.(Oxford 1894).

"The Canterbury Tales.(Text)" p.282.Ll.4401-4403.

(2) W.P.Ker. "Epic and Romance."(London 1908) p.368.

(3) "Hoccleve's Humorous Praise of his Lady." Poetical Works, edited by Sir Israel Gollancz for the E.E.T.S. (3 vols.London 1925). Original Series. LXXXIII. Vol.II.p.37.Ll.1-7.

uses his Goliardic genius to mock chivalric usage. He uses the setting of the mediaeval tournament for a jousting that

"Lang befoir in hell was cryid,  
In presens of Mahoun;  
Betuix a telzour and ane sowtar,  
A pricklouss and ane hobell clowttar,  
The barress was maid boun."(1)

Sir David Lyndsay has a similar tournament "betuix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour, servitouris to King James the Fyft":

"James was ane man of greit intelligence,  
Ane medicinar ful of experience;  
And Jhone Barbour he was ane nobill leche."(2)

Gavin Douglas uses the term in a clearly depreciatory context. When the man of his dream begins to read

"all the mowis in this mold, sen God merkit man,"(3)

Gavin Douglas dismisses his offer

"Thir romanis at bot rydlis, quod I to that ray."(4)

On the whole, the poets of the Early Tudor period do not advance as far as open criticism of the romance. Stephen Hawes' re-modelling of the chivalrous romance(5), and his incorporation of a discourse on the Seven Liberal Arts, indicate a tacit admission that the form could not be passed unchanged into the Tudor period, but he is by temperament too romantically inclined to scoff at it. Caxton, like Malory, had tried to recall the

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(1) "The Turnament." Poetical Works.ed.J.Small.(Edinburgh and London 1893).  
Vol.II.p.122.Ll.2-6.

(2) Poetical Works. ed.D.Laing. (Edinburgh.1879).Vol.I.p.125.Ll.13-15.

(3) "The Prologue of the Aucht Buik of Eneados." ed.J.Small. Vol.III.p.147.L.12.

(4) Ibid. L.21.

(5) See Chap.II p. above.

gentlemen of England to the chivalry of a passing phase of society.(1) He published "The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry" in 1484[?] to furnish the canons of knighthood, "Kyng Arthur in 1485 for an example and information about the figure

"whyche ought moost to be remembred emonge vs englysshe men tofore al other crysten kynges,"(2)

adducing much evidence for the existence of King Arthur against sceptics.(3) He prints also "Godefroy of Bologne" (1481), "The Book of the Knyght of the Towre" (1484), "The Fayttes of Armes" (1489) and "Blanchardyn and Eglantine" (1489) to support the demand for romance and stories of knighthood.

The popularity of this literature seemed to Tudor writers of more serious purpose to constitute a danger to the study of edificatory literature. William Tyndale is even afraid that it may deflect attention from the reading of the Bible, and resents the prohibition of the reading of the Scriptures when facilely entertaining literature is freely allowed. He maintains

"that this thretenynge and forbidynge the laye people to reade the scripture is not for love of youre soules (which they care for as the foxe doeth for the gysse) is evidente & clerer then the sonne / in-as-moch as they permitte and sofre you to reade Robyn hode & bevisse of hampton / hercules / hector, and troylus, with a t[h]ousande histories & fables of love & wantones & rybaudry, as fylthy as herte

- (1) "O ye knyghtes of Englonde where is the custome and vsage of noble chyualry that was vsed in tho dayes/...rede the noble volumes of saynt graal of lancelot / of galaad / of Trystram / of perse forest / of Percyual / of gawayn / & many mo / Ther shalle ye see manhode/ curtosye & gentylnesse." William Caxton [Epilogue] "The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry," from a French version of Ramon Lull's "Le Libre del Ordre de Cauayleria." edited by A.T.P.Byles for the E.E.T.S.(London 1926). p.122.Ll.8-16.
- (2) [Prologue]. Sig.ij.recto.See W.J.B.Crotch."The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton", edited for the E.E.T.S.(London 1928) Original Series Noll76.p.92.
- (3) Ibid. Sig.ij.verso-Sig.iiij.recto.p.93-94.



can thinke / to corrupte the myndes of youth with-all / clene contrary to the doctrine of christ & of his apostles."(1)

Roger Ascham is of the same mind, that reading of romances, far from instilling noble knightly ideals, is definitely harmful:

"In our fathers tyme, nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherin a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter & baudrye.//Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the tyme with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo worke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thyng therunto of theyr owne nature."(2)

He refers to the years past when romances were very widely read, particularly the "Morte Arthure: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye."(3)

He says that he remembers the time

"when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and Morte Arthure receiued into the Princes chamber."(4)

In the Renaissance period, the desire to relate literature to the useful purpose of improving character and personality by example and instruction had become stronger. The literature of antiquity was studied for its civilising qualities, and any literature which could not be related to this high purpose was condemned as harmful to character and morals. It was clear that the age of mediaeval chivalry was past, and that the desire to resuscitate its codes

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- (1) "The Obedience of a Christian Man." See W.W.Skeat."Specimens of English Literature." (3rd edition.Oxford.1880.) No.XVI.pp.178.L.382-179.L.391.  
 (2) "To All Gentle Men and Yomen of Englande," prefixed to "Toxophilus."(1545). ed.W.A.Wright.(Cambridge 1904).pp.xiv-xv.  
 (3) "The Scholemaster."(1570).ed.W.A.Wright.(Cambridge 1904) "The first booke teachyng the bryngyng vp of youth." p.231.  
 (4) Ibid.p.231.

and standards was an ineffectual attempt to reinstate an anachronism. The chivalric world of the Middle Ages was giving place to a new conception of the "gentleman", which was to have its own effect upon the literary production and conception of the sixteenth century.

For the Knight, the hero of mediaeval chivalry, is substituted the courtier, who was a man of culture and of intellectual as well as physical attainments, joining "learnynge with cumlie exercises."<sup>(1)</sup> The most comprehensive survey of the requirements of the courtier is the work cited by Ascham<sup>(2)</sup>, Castiglione's "Il Corregiano" (1528), translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561. One of the courtier's most necessary gifts is that of

"writinge bothe rime and prose, and especialle in this our vulgar tunge."<sup>(3)</sup>

This writing must be more than a mere literary exercise. It must be founded upon real knowledge, and strenuous attention must be paid to excellence of style and diction. Castiglione insists that

"the principal mater and necessary for a Courtyer to speak and write wel, I beleve is knowledge. For he that hath not knowledge and the thing in his minde that deserveth to be understood, can neither speak nor write it. Then must he couch in a good order that he hath to speake or to write, and afterward expresse it wel with wordes; the which (if I be not deceived) ought to be apt, chosen, clere, and wel applyed, // and (above al) in use also among the people."<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Ibid.p.218.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "The Book of the Courtier." T.Hoby (1561) ed.W.E.Henley (London, 1900).p.85.

(4) Ibid. pp.69-70.

This attitude makes for a certain re-instatement of vernacular literature, and an encouragement to creation in the social strata who had easiest access to all the wealth of classical literature, through training either under such tutors as Elyot, or at the Universities, where there was the stimulus of men such as Cheke. The writing of poetry became an accomplishment to be desired in a courtier.

Castiglione's book was translated in 1561, and had extensive influence in England, but there was no original work in English which gave so comprehensive a system for the making of the scholar-courtier. The "Institucion of a Gentleman" (written 1555, printed 1568) has not so wide a scope. Its author includes learning in the necessary accomplishments of a gentleman, but does not discuss the point. He says:

"Thys gentleman for the further ornature and setting furth of hys person, ought to be learned, to have knowledge in tounge, and to be apte in the feates of armes, for the defence of his cuntrey."(1)

Even this brief mention shows that the conception was known in England, and there are two courtier-poets who are its incarnation.

Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey moved in courtly circles where literature was held in high esteem. Fired by Italian ideals, they devoted attention to poetry as a serious art, while bringing to it the care for deftness and polish demanded by its courtly audience. Their importance in English literary achievement of the sixteenth century is largely due to this combination of serious purpose and conviction of the possibilities

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(1) Reprinted by Charles Whittingham. London 1839. (No pagination).

of the English language, with the taste for form and style which led them to supplement English resources with foreign models. Poetry regains its prestige in the hands of such "Courtly makers"(1) and becomes of value for its expression of personal emotion, as distinct from the allegorical bias of the mediaeval period.

The technical aspects of the verse of Wyatt and Surrey have been fully dealt with by specialists.(2) It has been established that Wyatt owed much to Marot and Saint-Gelais after 1530,(3) and that he also made use of the Italian modifications of the Provençal stock upon which the French poets drew.(4) English prosody owes to him the introduction of the sonnet form, derived from Petrarch, with modifications,(5) and the "terza rima", derived from Alamanni, and of the "ottava rima", from Serafino.(6)

That this introduction of foreign metres was made in a critical spirit, which did not disregard the vigorous genius of his native tongue, is proved by Wyatt's sensitive care for the English language. His study of Chaucer seems to have led to his recovery of the secret of the final "-e", (7) the loss of which had impaired the understanding of Chaucer's metre, and crippled English verse.(8) Poems in the English "rhyme royal" and "poulter's measure" stand

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- (1) George Puttenham, "The Arte of English Poesie." Chap. XXXI. Edited by G.D. Willcock and A. Walker. (Cambridge 1936) p.61
- (2) e.g. A.K. Foxwell. "A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems." (London 1911)  
E.M.W. Tillyard. "The Poesy of Sir Thomas Wyatt: a selection and a study" (London 1929).  
E.K. Chambers. "Sir Thomas Wyatt and some Collected Studies." (London. 1933)  
F.M. Padelford. "The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey." (University of Washington Publications, Language and Literature. Vol. I. October 1920)
- (3) See A.K. Foxwell. op.cit. pp.64. ff.
- (4) Ibid. p.69.
- (5) Ibid. pp.82-86.
- (6) Ibid. pp.86-87.
- (7) Ibid. p.38.
- (8) See G. Saintsbury. "Manual of English Prosody". (London 1910) Ch. II. p.161-163.



among his poems on foreign models, and the close connection between native and foreign strains is shown by many poems with native structure and content of foreign ideas, and vice-versa.(1) He uses pure, direct English, free from archaism and affectation, which approximates closely to the standards set up by Castiglione, that a courtier

"shall have a good grace, and especially in speaking, if he avoide curiositye."(2)

The written word should conform as nearly as possible with the spoken, since

"wrytyng is nothingse elles, but a maner of speache, that remaineth stil after a man hath spoken, or ( as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the woordes."(3)

Wyatt, with his Italian contacts, must have absorbed many of these ideals.

Such scanty evidence of his convictions as is traceable bears out this impression. In the short preface to his translation of Plutarch's "De Tranquillitate Animi" (1527) he consciously declares his choice of the plain style, and his love of brevity:

"It shall seme harde vnto the paraenture gentyll reder / this traslation / what for shorte maner of speche / and what for dyuers straunge names in the storyes. As for the shortenesse aduyse it well and it shalbe the plesaunter / when thou vn-derstandest it."(4)

Like Wyatt, Surrey experimented with a variety of metres, both foreign and English. His chief contribution to English prosody is the use of blank verse in his translation of the Aeneid.(5) His diction, like that of Wyatt

(1) See E.M.Tillyard. op.cit.pp.14-15.

(2) "The Book of the Courtier." T.Hoby. ed.above. p.62.

(3) Ibid. p.64.

(4) "Plutarch's Quyete of Mynde" (1527) Ed.C.R.Baskervill.(Harvard University Press 1931). "To the reder."

(5) See Surrey's "Fourth Boke of Virgill." edited by Herbert Hartmann. (Oxford University Press. 1933).

is pure and firm, with a sprinkling of Chaucerian terms to lend a flavour of the archaic, giving variety without excess.

In an age when English versification was loose, and the choice of diction a burning question, Wyatt and Surrey impose discipline upon the form, and clarifying perception of language to the content. They make English poetry more flexible and capable of expressing many varied emotions by the range of feelings which they covered. It might be said of them both, as Surrey said of Wyatt, that they had

"A hand, that taught what might be sayd in ryme;  
That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit;  
A mark, the which - vnparfited, for time -  
Some may approche, but neuer none shall hit"

in the Early Tudor period.(1) Their work proves the vitality of the age, its readiness to adopt whatever could augment and support its own achievement, without surrendering its essentially sturdy and independent character.

The prestige of these men contributed to the defence of poets and poetry against the accusations of falsehood and frivolity perennially brought against them by zealots and utilitarians. The lines of attack and defence as they run through Sidney,(2) Harington (3) and others are already sketched by Elyot:

"For the name of a poete, wherat nowe, (specially in this realme,) men haue such indignation, that they use onely poetes and poetry in the contempt of eloquence, was in auncient tyme in hygh estimation."(4)

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(1) "A Third Tribute to Wyatt." See F.M.Padelford, No.46, p.81.

(2) "Apologie for Poetrie" or "Defence of Poesie." (printed 1595, written before 1583).

(3) Preface to "Orlando Furioso in English heroical verse, by J.Harington." 1591.

(4) "The Booke named The Governour." (1531) ed.H.H.S.Croft.(London 1883)  
Vol.I.pp.120-121.

Behind the shield of Wyatt and Surrey, other poets could gather, as is proved by the collection of the "Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde / Henry Howard late Earle of Sur=rey, and other./ Apud Richardum Tottel./1557"(1) Their position as innovators was recognised by Puttenham, together with stress on their Italian contacts.(2) Their first editor in the preface to the "Songes and Sonettes" links them to the patriotic movement for the improvement of English, saying that by comparison with the work of

"diuers Latines, Italians, and other"(3)

these poets show that

"our tong is able in that kynde to do as praiseworthely as y<sup>e</sup> rest,"(4) and he therefore publishes them

"to the honor of the Englishe tong"(5)

Their success in combining innovation (from foreign models) and tradition (in their faith in the English language and literature) at a particularly difficult turning point in our literary history, must rest upon strong and clear, though silent, critical perceptions.

(1) Edited H.E.Rollins. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.1928. 2 vols.

(2) "...hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italiā Poesie as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante Arioste and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie..." "The Arte of English Poesie." (1589) Chap.XXI. Ed.G.D.Willcock and A.Walker.op.cit.p.60.

(3) "The Printer to the Reader." Ed. Rollins. Vol.I.p.2.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

From the early 'fifties onward, the "Mirror for Magistrates" was looming on the horizon.(1) With this, in spite of the discipleship to Boccaccio and Lydgate, we step into a mid-Tudor world. Its most distinguished contributor, however, Thomas Sackville, composing as a very young man,(2) wrote as the inheritor of the traditions described here. His few significant critical touches show us the poet becoming explicit, and serve to round off this survey. The manuscript of the "Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham", recently discovered, reveals the poet in his work-shop, jotting down ideas as they suggest themselves, trying variant versions, and generally testing and examining his creation. Wyatt and Surrey take their place with Ovid and Chaucer in the background of tradition to which he refers, Wyatt for "his sacred psalmes"(3) and for

"al the plaintes wherin he wrote his pain  
when he lay fetterd in the fyry chain  
of cruell love."(4)

He engages in the tradition of deprecation with a zest which shows how

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(1) "There was an attempt to bring out the "Mirror" in 1555, but the book was censored, and probably got no further than the printing of loose leaves. Two duplicate leaves of the first printing are extant, and are preserved in the British Museum." (Marguerite Hearsey. "The Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham, including the Induction", or, "Thomas Sackville's contribution to the 'Mirror for Magistrates'." (Yale Studies in English. Vol.LXXXVI. New Haven. 1936. p.1. Note 1.)

The actual plan seems to have been conceived in 1554. (See Miss Hearsey. op.cit.p.10, and W.F.Trench, "The Mirror for Magistrates; its Origin and Influence". (London 1898) (Privately printed).)

(2) Sackville was born in 1536. "MS.Harley. 757, fol.127, gives his age at the inquisition taken at the death of his father, in 1566, as twenty-nine." (R.W.Sackville-West. "The Works of Thomas Sackville." London, 1839, p.iv.) Quoted by Miss Hearsey. p.22. Note 12.

(3) Published 1549. "Additional Lines." 31. ed.M.Hearsey. p.90.

(4) Ibid. 39-41.



eagerly he has studied his authorities, but it does not come glibly from his pen. He remembers a passage in Lydgate which may help him, and writes the memorandum:

"Loke in the prolouge of Bochas fol.lxiii."(1)

He weighs the relative values of ways of working in the conventional classical allusions:

"I neuer lened to Helicon so mayny floods as part Brittain  
part me from it..."(2)

or "I never drank of pernasus spring..."(3)

or the simple statement: "mine eloquens is rudeness."(4)

or, reverting to the classical: "I have no fresh licour out of the conduictes of  
Calliope."(5)

and "I haue no flowers of rethoricke through Clio."  
(6)

Then come more naive memoranda: "note the ix muses dwel with Citherea on  
parnaso."(7)

and: "remember Magister Burdeus ? promise for the  
showing of Senecas chore ? touching the  
captation of auram popularem."(8)

These jottings are eloquent of the self-consciously critical fervour for which the Early Tudor period provides so strenuous and attentive a preparation.

(1) Ibid.L.68. The passage to which he refers is traced by Miss Hearsey to "The Tragedies of Ihon Bochas of all such princes as fell,etc." c.1555. "a copy of which is to be found in St.John's College Library (Cambridge)". Notes in Commentary. p.123.

(2) "Additional Lines." l.69.

(3) Ibid. l.70.

(4) Ibid. l.74.

(5) Ibid. l.75.

(6) Ibid. l.76.

(7) Ibid. l.77.

(8) Ibid. ll.87-89.

SUMMARY.

It has been possible in the preceding study to shed fresh light upon the following points connected with the evolution of literary and linguistic criticism in the Early Tudor period:

- (1) The value of the mediaeval heritage of the methods and apparatus of criticism.
- (2) (a) The intrinsic importance of the period, especially for its regeneration of energetic linguistic impulse.  
(b) The fuller and more precise estimation of its transitional character (historical importance) in the light of this.
- (3) The place of William Caxton and John Skelton in particular, considered as men of their age.
- (4) The critical interest of the Early Tudor drama.
- (5) The progress and circulation of ideas conducive to the development of criticism.
  - (a) The recovery of material for imitation and example.
  - (b) The fresher and more humane study of such material.
- (6) The importance of certain individuals and côteries.
  - (a) Scholars and University men, including Thomas More, Sir John Cheke and his circle, Sir Thomas Elyot.
  - (b) Schoolmasters - The Magdalen College School Group.
  - (c) The Court poets, Wyatt and Surrey - criticism implicit in the nature of their achievement.
- (7) Evidence of literary taste and preference in
  - (a) imitation and parody;
  - (b) the interpretation of classical criticism,  
e.g. the dramatic practice and precept of Grimald as compared with the theory of Sir Philip Sidney;
  - (c) the conception of poetry and of the status of the poet.

- (8) Linguistic interest as a germinal principle of criticism;  
the stimulus of linguistic controversy, considered in relation  
to:
- (a) the emergence of the vernacular, and the standards debated  
for its stabilisation and improvement;
  - (b) the methods of Biblical and secular translation as  
expressing community of aim and building up a critical  
tradition;
  - (c) increased exactitude and sense of responsibility in  
language and scholarship promoted by the above and  
by the Renaissance recourse to originals.
  - (d) fashions in language, giving opportunity for comment,  
comparison and selection.
- (9) Contemporary conditions as conducive to criticism:
- (a) comparison of classical with modern language and literature,  
made possible by Renaissance scholarship;
  - (b) comparison and imitation of contemporary vernacular  
achievement in language and literature.

"Whō do we moste reuerence, and compt halfe a God emong men?  
Euen suche a one assuredly, that can plainly, distinctly, plētifully,  
and aptly vtter bothe wordes and matter, and in his talke can vse suche  
composicion, that he maie appere to kepe an vniformitiee, and (as I might  
saie) a nomber in the vtte=ring of his sentēce."

Sir Thomas Wilson.  
"The Arte of Rhetorique", (1553).



SELECT LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTEDI. SOURCES CLASSICAL AND MEDIAEVAL.

- "Ad Herennium". Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium Libri III incerto auctore. Cum correctionibus Pauli Manutii. Venetis. MDLXIII.
- Aristotle. The Rhetoric of Aristotle (with commentary by E.M. Cope. ed. J.E. Sandys). 1877
- The Works of Aristotle translated into English. (ed. W.D. Ross. Oxford).  
Vol. XI. Rhetorica. - W. Rhys Roberts.  
De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum. - E.S. Forster.  
De Poetica. - Ingram Bywater. 1924
- Poetics. (edited for Loeb Classical Library). 1927
- Cassiodorus. Senatoris Institutiones. ed. K.A.B. Myners. 1937
- Chaucer, G. Complete Works. ed. W.W. Skeat. 1894
- Cicero. M. Tulli Ciceronis De Oratore Libri Tres. ed. A.S. Wilkins. Oxford. 3rd edition. 1895
- M. Tulli Ciceronis ad M. Brutum Orator. ed. J.E. Sandys. Cambridge. 1885
- De Optimo Genere Oratorum. ed. A.S. Wilkins. Oxford. 1902
- Evrard L'Allemand. Laborintus. Before 1280  
(Reprinted E. Faral: "Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen age." 1924
- Geoffroi de Vinsauf. Poetria Nova. Between 1208  
(See Faral op.cit.) and 1213
- Gervais de Melkley. Art Poétique Before 1216  
(See Faral op.cit.)
- Higden, Ranulph. Polychronicon. Translated J. Trevisa. 1387c.

Horace.	Ars Poetica. ed.E.H.Blakeney.	1928
Isidore of Seville.	Etymologiae Libri XX.ed.W.M.Lindsay.	1911
John of Garland.	Poetria. (See Faral op.cit.)	Early C13.
Langland,W.	Piers the Plowman.ed.W.W.Skeat.	1886
Matthieu de Vendôme.	Ars Versificatoria. (See Faral op.cit.)	Before 1175
Quintilian.	Institutio Oratoria. Edited for Loeb Classical Library.4 vols.	1921

## II. LATE MEDIAEVAL AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY ORIGINAL WORKS.

### A. UNEDITED:

(Anonymous)	A Compendious old Treatyse shewynge how that we ought to haue ye scripture in Englysche.	1530
(Anonymous)	A discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the Scripture should be in English for al men to rede that will.	1554
Bale,J.	Brefe comedy or enterlude of Johan Baptystes preaching in the Wyldernesse. Temptacyon of our Lorde. God's Promises.	1538 1538 1538
Barclay,Alexander.	Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: whiche cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowned romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by Syr Alexander Barclay preest / at cōmaundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke. (published by Pynson between 1519 and 1524)	
Becke,Edmonde.	Two dyaloges wrytten in laten by the famous clerke.D.Erasme <sup>9</sup> of Roterodame / one called Polyphemus or the gospeller / the other dysposyng of thynges and names / translated in to Englyshe by Edmonde Becke...prynted at Cantorbary in saynt Poulles paryshe by Johñ Mychell	1550

- Bourchier, John, Arthur of Little Britaine. 1582  
 Lord Berners.
- Burrant, Robert. The preceptes of Cato with annotacions of  
 D.Erasmus of Roterodame very profitable  
 for al menne. 1553
- Chaloner,  
 Sir Thomas. The praise of Folie. Moriae Encomiuvn, a booke  
 made in latine by that great clerke Erasmus  
 Roterodame. Englisched by Sir Thomas Chaloner  
 Knight. 1549
- Colet, John. Aeditio. appended to An introductyon of the  
 partes of spekyng / for chydren and yonge  
 begynnners in to latyn speche. Wynkyn de Worde. 1534  
 Joannis Coleti Theologo, olim decani diui pauli,  
 aeditio una cum quibus dā G.Lilij. Grammatices  
 rudimentis. Wynkyn de Worde. 1534
- Coverdale, Miles. A faythful and moste godly treatise concernynge  
 the most sacred sacrament of the blessed body and  
 bloude of our Saviour Christ...translated into  
 Englishe by a faythful brother. 1550
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. The Doctrinal of Princes made by the noble oratour  
 Isocrates. translated out of Greke by Syr  
 Thomas Elyot. 1534  
 A svvete and devovte sermon of holy saynt Ciprian  
 of mortalitie of man. 1534  
 The education or bringinge vp of Children./  
 translated oute of Plutarche by syr Thomas  
 Eliot knyght. 1535  
 Bibliotheca Eliotae. 1538  
 " " (another edition). T. Berthelet  
 date in colophon is 1542  
 The Image of Governance, compiled of the Actes  
 and Sentences notable of the moste noble  
 Emperour Alexander Seuerus, late translated out  
 of Greke into Englyshe. 1551  
 Of the knowledg which maketh a wise man.  
 (without pagination. sig. A - O. Date 1534 on  
 title-page part of wood-cut border and not date  
 of publication). 1552?
- Erasmus. D. Erasme de duplici copia rerum ac verborum  
 commentarii duo. 1513
- Erasmus & More. Luciani...cōplura opuscula...ab Erasmo Rotero-  
 dame & Thomas More in Latinorum lingua  
 traducta. 1506c.

- Grimald, Nicholas. Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of dueties,  
to Marcus his sonne, turned oute of latine into  
eng-lish, by Nicolas Grimalde. 1556  
Colophon has date 1534
- Harington, Sir John. (the Elder). The booke of freendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero. 1550
- Heruet, Gentian. De Immensa Dei Misericordia. (Translation of  
sermon of Erasmus). 1533
- Lily, William. Absolutissimus de octo orationes partium  
constructione libellus. 1515
- Linacre, Thomas. Rudimenta Grammatices. 1555
- Medwall, Henry. Nature // A goodly interlude of Nature cōpyled by  
mayster // Henry Medwall chapleyn to the ryght  
re-//uerent father in god Johan Morton // sometyme  
Cardynall and arche-//byshop of Can-//terbury.  
William Rastell. 1530-34
- More, Sir Thomas. The Cōfutacyon of Tyndale's answeare, made by syr  
Thomas More knyght lorde chaūcellor of Englonde.  
J. Rastell. 1532  
The seconde parte of the cōfutacyon of Tyndale's  
answeare. 1533
- Nicolls, Thomas. The hystory writtone by Thucidides, the Athenyan  
of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peḏoponesians  
and the Athenyans, translated by Thomas Nicolls  
Cite-zein and golde-smyth of Lon-don. 1550
- Paynell, Thomas. Schola Salernitana. Translated out of the latyne  
tonge into Englishe. 1528
- Phaer, Thomas. A newe boke of Presidentes in maner of a Register,  
where=in is comprehended the ve=ry trade of  
makyng all ma=ner euydence and instrumentes of  
Practyse, ryght commody=ous and neces=sary for  
eue=ry man to knowe. 1543  
The regi-ment of Life, whereunto is added a  
treatise of the pestilence, with the Books  
of children, newly corrected and enlarged by  
Thomas Phaire 1550
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- Udall, Nicholas. Apophthegmes, that is to saie, prompte, quicke,  
wittie and sentencious saiynge, of certain  
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and Oratours, aswell Grekes, as Romaines,  
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partely for all maner of persones, especially  
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- The three Orations of Demosthenes chiefe Orator  
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by name against king Philip of Macedonie: ...  
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 Toxophilus. 1545 }  
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- Borde, Andrew. The Fyrst Boke of an Introduction of Knowledge 1556 }  
 E.E.T.S. 1870 }
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- Cheke, Sir John. Translation into English of the Gospel of  
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- Colet, John. Statutes of St. Paul's School. 1512. }  
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Adams, C.D.	Demosthenes and his Influence.	1927
Allen, P.S.	The Age of Erasmus.	1914
Anstey, H.	Munimenta Academica. 2 vols.	1869
Atkins, J.W.H.	Literary Criticism in Antiquity. 2 vols.	1934
Baldwin, C.S.	Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic.	1924
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Berdan, J.M.	Early Tudor Poetry.	1920
Boas, F.S.	University Drama in the Tudor Age.	1914
Brown, H.	The Venetian Printing Press.	1892
Brunetière, F.	L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature.	1890
Burckhardt, J.	The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy. (Translated by S.G.C. Middlemore)	1891
Cecil, A.	A Portrait of Sir Thomas More.	1937
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Chambers, E.K.	The Mediaeval Stage. 2 vols.	1903
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Clark, B.H.	European Theories of the Drama.	1930
Clark, D.L.	Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance.	1922
<del>Clark, V.S.</del>	<del>Studies in the Latin of the Middle Ages.</del>	
Claudin, A.	The First Paris Press. (Bibliographical Soc. Pub.)	1898
Cloëtta, W.	Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. 2 vols.	1890-92
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Deanesly, M.	The Lollard Bible.	1920
D'Alton, J.F.	Roman Literary Theory and Criticism.	1931
De la Bère, R.	John Heywood - Entertainer.	1937
Dobson, J.F.	Ancient Education and its Meaning to Us.	1932
Duff, E.G.	A Century of the English Book-Trade, 1457-1557.	1905
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Ellis, H.	Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.	1843

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Gilson, E.	The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy.	1936
Graves, F.	Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.	1912
	A History of Education during the Middle Ages and Transition to Modern Times.	1914
Guppy, H.	William Tindale and the Earlier Translators of the Bible into English.	1925
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Hammond, E. P. (ed.)	English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey.	1927
Haskins, C. H.	The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.	1927
	Studies in Mediaeval Culture.	1929
Haskins, C. H. (students of,)	Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History.	1929
Haslewood, J.	Ancient Critical Essays, 2 vols.	1811-1815
Herford, C. H.	The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century.	1886
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Kingsford, C. L.	English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century.	1913
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Kitchin, G.	A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English.	1931
Labègue, R.	Tragédie religieuse en France: Les Débuts (1514-1573)	1929
Landmann, W.	Das Euphuismus.	1881
Lathrop, H. B.	Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman.	1933
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Lee, Sir S.	The French Renaissance in England.	1910
Lewis, C. S.	The Allegory of Love; a study in Mediaeval Tradition.	1936
Lucas, F. L.	Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy.	1922
McComb, S. H.	The Making of the English Bible.	1910
Madan, F.	Oxford Books. 2 vols.	1895
Manly, J. M.	Chaucer and the Rhetoricians. (British Academy Warton Lecture).	1926
Mallet, C. E.	History of the University of Oxford. Vols. I and II.	1924
Moore, J. L.	Tudor and Stuart Views on the Growth, Status and Destiny of the English Language.	1910
Mullinger, J. B.	History of the University of Cambridge. 2 vols.	1894
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Pollard, A.W.	Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, with Introduction.	1903
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Raby, F.J.B.	History of Christian Latin Poetry down to the close of the Middle Ages.	1927
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Rashdall, H.	The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. (ed. F.M.Powicke and A.B.Emden.)	1936
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Roberts, W.W.	William Caxton: Writer and Critic.	1930
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	History of English Prose Rhythm.	1912
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	A Short History of Classical Scholarship.	1915
Schirmer, W.	Der Englische Frühhumanismus.	1931
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Smith, G.Gregory.	Elizabethan Critical Essays. 2 vols.	1904
Spingarn, J.E.	Literary Criticism in the Renaissance.	1899
Strype, J.	Life of Sir John Cheke.	1705
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	Vives: "De Tradendis Disciplinis" (translation)	1913
Woodward, W.H.	Erasmus: concerning Education.	1904
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Palmer, H.	List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics before 1641.	1911
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