"Myne owne aduenture": Stephen Hawes and Medieval Romance

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ABSTRACT:

Stephen Hawes's fusion of romance and allegory has long been recognized as the poet's chief claim to originality. But Hawes's chivalric allegories have often been treated merely as an obscure antecedent to the immersive world of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. This article examines Hawes's originality on its own terms, and brings his work back into conversation with the metrical romances, devotional treatises, and dreams of spiritual warfare that shaped his creative aspirations. By analysing Hawes's early dream poem, *The Example of Vertu*, I argue that the motifs of chivalric romance first entered the poet's work through the back door of homiletic sources. I then explore how Hawes achieved a bolder, more intuitive movement between allegory and romance in his most ambitious work, *The Pastime of Pleasure*.

The poems of Stephen Hawes are some of the sleepiest in English. Whenever the sun sets in *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1505/06), Hawes's questing protagonist "La Graunde Amour" is to be found dismounting his allegorical horse, taking off his allegorical helmet, and settling down in a "ryall toure vpon a craggy roche" (4161) or simply "vnder an hyll syde" (3464).[1] Sometimes this lovesick knight sleeps "with sorowe opprest" (1908) or with "inwarde trouble" (4716), much like Chaucer's Troilus, but more often than not he is simply grateful of the "softe pylowe" (4714) provided by a host, or the promise of a "good brekefast" (4506) the following morning. His trusty greyhounds "Grace" and "Gouernaunce" ensure that he never oversleeps, and leap on him "ryght meryly" (4503) when the sun rises. During his long and

[1] Stephen Hawes, *The Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. William Edward Mead, Early English Text Society, o.s., 173 (London: Oxford University Press, 1928). All references to the poem are to this edition, but with modernized punctuation.

meandering quest to become worthy of true love, Hawes's hero goes to sleep on nearly a dozen separate occasions – in mountains, valleys, forests, and cliffside temples. Unlike in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, however, in which deep sleep is associated with a sense of danger and voluptuousness, Hawes's poem allows its tired allegorical knight to bask in "the fayre twylyght" (328) and drift safely into "deedly slombre" (148) evening after evening.

Most modern readers, upon looking into *The Pastime of Pleasure*, have felt the pull of drowsiness in one way or another. "Read it conscientiously from cover to cover," wrote C.S. Lewis in 1936, "and you will conclude that it is the heaviest of tasks."[2] In 1989, Colin Burrow was considerably more curt: "Hawes is dull," he wrote, "and needs all the critical help he can get."[3] But help has not always been forthcoming for the neglected contemporary of John Skelton. His aureate diction, his unpredictable metre, and what Henry Hallam called his "tedious and languid diffuseness"[4] have typically consigned Hawes to brief discussions in literary histories.[5] But in spite of his dismal reputation, Hawes does have a substantial claim to poetic originality: he was, as A.S.G. Edwards put it, "the first English poet to combine allegory and romance."[6] This feature of Hawes's work has sometimes encouraged the misleading notion that he had a direct influence on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*,[7] or even that his work provided Spenser with "the whole outline" for the Legend of Holiness.[8] Although such an association used to give Hawes a whisper of notoriety, it has inevitably led him to be

[2] C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 278-79.
[3] Colin Burrow, "Tudor Sanctuaries," *Essays in Criticism* 41 (1991), 52.
[4] Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1843), 1.305.
[5] The best recent discussion is Daniel Wakelin, "Stephen Hawes and Courtly Education," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 53-69. See also the chapter on Hawes in Marco Nievergelt, *Allegorical Quests: From Deguileville to Spenser* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012).
[6] A.S.G. Edwards, *Stephen Hawes* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 106.
[7] On the history of this argument, see A.S.G. Edwards, "Hawes, Stephen," in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. A.C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 348. Spenserians have mostly lost interest in Hawes; he is nowhere mentioned, for instance, in Andrew King's otherwise comprehensive study, *The Faerie Queene and Middle English Romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[8] Carol Kaske, "How Spenser Really Used Stephen Hawes in the Legend of Holiness," in *Unfolded Tales: Essays on Renaissance Romance*, ed. George Logan and Gordon Teskey (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 122.

criticized for not being more like the Elizabethan poet he occasionally resembled. Edwards, for instance, stopped short of viewing Hawes's generic hybridity as anything other than a disappointment: "the romance element in his poems remains subordinate, almost incidental, and his main stress falls on inert, didactic allegory."[9]

This article examines Hawes's originality on its own terms, and brings his creative process back into conversation with the allegorical literature he sought to refashion. By analysing his early dream vision, *The Example of Vertu* (1503/04), I argue that the motifs of romance first entered the poet's work through the back door of homiletic sources. I then explore how Hawes laboured to achieve a bolder, more intuitive movement between romance and allegory in his most ambitious work, *The Pastime of Pleasure*. Before turning to the particularities of these poems, however, I will first examine what it meant for an early Tudor poet to become influenced by the mixed traditions of allegory and romance.

I

Throughout the Middle Ages, allegorical visions often hovered on the borders of romance: the rich forests, the chance encounters, and the lavish courts of love did not belong to any single genre or mode. English allegorists – much like their French and Latinate equivalents – could move freely and not always distinguishably between different modes of signification. Across the battlefield of the soul, for instance, the figure of Vice habitually rode "In harnes armyd full rustely" on a horse "trapped with synne,"[10] while the cardinal virtues could appear

[9] Edwards, "Hawes, Stephen," 348. See also Rosemond Tuve's remark that Hawes resembles Spenser "so little in all that makes us enjoy reading." Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 371.

[10] William Hendred, *The booke of the pylgrymage of man* (London, ca. 1520?; *STC* 19918), sig. D6r. First published as *Peregrinatio humani generis* (London, 1508; *STC* 19917.5). Dates of publication are cited from *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard and others, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), abbreviated as *STC*, including revisions from the online *English Short Title Catalogue*, http://estc.bl.uk. Where relevant, texts

as "Foure dowty knyghtys" marching under "standardes of pryce, / Eche of hem acordyng aftyr hys deuyse."[11] Most notably, Christ himself could be figured as a "Trusty champioun"[12] ready to do battle for the sake of humankind, or even to confront the devil at a "juste in Jerusalem."[13] As well as these symbolic jousts, allegories of knighthood also appeared in the literature of love. An early Tudor song by William Cornysh begins:

> The knyght knokett at the castell gate;
> The lady mervelyd who was therat.
>
> To call the porter he wold not blyn;
> The lady said he shuld not com in.
>
> The portres was a lady bryght;
> *Strangenes* that lady hyght.
>
> She asked hym what was his name;
> He said, "*Desyre*, your man, madame."[14]

This simple song of desire and indifference ("*Strangenes*") recalls the recognition scenes of medieval romance, in which a knight must reveal his true identity. In this case, however, the audience is invited to recognize that the knight was never solely a knight, but also the personification of an amorous impulse. In a pageant staged at Westminster Hall in 1501, a similar scenario played itself out: the "Knightes of the Mownte of Love" dispatched two ambassadors, "Hope" and "Desire," to parley with a castle of ladies, only to find themselves rebuffed with the "unkyend refusell" of the inhabitants.[15] Such a scene is ultimately derived

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printed while Hawes was active are quoted from the original editions. If a print is fragmentary (as is often the case with the metrical romances), a modern edition is used.

[11] [*The Assembly of Gods*] (London, 1498; *STC* 17005), sigs. A6v-B1r.

[12] John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, e.s., 107, o.s., 192, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1911-34), 1.251.

[13] William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt, 2nd ed. (London: J.M. Dent, 1995), XVIII. 19. On the history of this theme, see Rosemary Woolf, "The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature," *RES* 13 (1962): 1-16.

[14] *The Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 177. From British Library, Additional MS 31922, fol. 45v.

[15] *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. Gordon Kipling, Early English Text Society, o.s., 296 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 56-57.

from the most influential allegory of them all, *Le Roman de la Rose*, but it also shows how the courtiers of the early Tudor period could delight in the free mixture of allegory and chivalric imagery.

It was within this lively court environment that Stephen Hawes first devised his own allegories of knighthood. Between around 1503 and 1509, he occupied a privileged though slightly ambiguous role as "grome of the chambre"[16] of Henry VII, a king who, according to John Bale, had summoned the poet "to his court, to his inner chamber and to his private counsels, on the sole recommendation of his virtue."[17] By Hawes's own admission, he was not employed as a "hystoryagraffe nor poete laureate,"[18] and his status in the chamber may have amounted to more of an informal writer's residency than a position of real influence.[19] As groom, he dedicated three works to the king: an early dream vision *The Example of Vertu* (1503/04), *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1505/06), and a shorter devotional work, *The Conuercyon of Swerers* (before 1509). Following the death of Henry VII in 1509, Hawes marked the accession of Henry VIII with a short encomium, but a year or two later he wrote a cryptic dream vision called *The Conforte of Louers* (1510/11), which seems to register the poet's anguish at failing to find favour in the new king's household.[20] It was only in his earlier work, when Hawes was himself more securely placed at court, that he entered imaginatively into the life of a "knyght aduenturous" (2485), striving through lonely valleys for the sake of a faultless yet attainable love. Such poetry proved marketable enough to be published by Wynkyn de Worde in fully illustrated editions from ca. 1506 onwards, making

[16] For the different occurrences of this phrase, see Stephen Hawes, *The Minor Poems*, ed. Florence W. Gluck and Alice B. Morgan (London: Early English Text Society, 1974), xvi-xix. All references to Hawes's minor poems are to this edition, but with modernized punctuation.
[17] Translated in Edwards, *Stephen Hawes*, 1.
[18] *The Conforte of Louers*, 20.
[19] For the ambiguities of early Tudor laureateship, see Robert J. Meyer-Lee, *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 174-219.
[20] See Colin Burrow, "The experience of exclusion: literature and politics in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 796-97.

Hawes one of the key figures in the history of English poetry in print.[21] His work rolled off the same press that had given new life not just to his own allegorical influences such as *The Assembly of Gods* (1498; *STC* 17005) and *The Court of Sapience* (1483; *STC* 17015),[22] but to the works of metrical romance that de Worde had increasingly come to champion, such as *Guy of Warwick* (1497?; *STC* 12541), *Arthour and Merlin* (1499?: *STC* 17840.7), *Bevis of Hampton* (ca. 1500; *STC* 1987.5), and *Eglamour of Artois* (1500; *STC* 7541).[23] Indeed, de Worde's publication list reveals that the tastes of Tudor readers moved between allegory and romance in the much the same way as Hawes's own poetry.

The Pastime of Pleasure is not based on any specific romance, but is in effect a scaled-up version of William Cornysh's song of desire and delay. Instead of simply knocking "at the castell gate," however, Hawes's protagonist Graunde Amour must begin his journey in a distant valley, far from his love, and must confront allegorical enemies more vicious and various than a reluctant porter. When he hacks through the thigh-bone of a mountain giant, for instance, the monster does not immediately collapse, but begins "to loure and glum" and to "spytte all his venum" (4411-14) from each of his three mouths (signifying different ways of being slandered to one's beloved). Instead of imagining "Straungenes" as a castle porter, meanwhile, Hawes pictures her as one of two "cursed wytches" (5005), whose "nygromancy" and "sorcery" (4959-83) have caused her to be exiled into the wilderness. Along with her partner "Dysdayne," the figure of "Straungenes" conjures up an enchanted dragon from the

[21] See A.S.G. Edwards, "Poet and Printer in the Sixteenth Century: Stephen Hawes and Wynkyn De Worde," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1980), 82-88. The earliest extant editions are as follows: *The example of vertu* (London, 1506?; *STC* 12945); [*The convercyon of swerers*] (London, 1507-08?; *STC* 12943.5); [*The pastime of pleasure*] (London, 1509; *STC* 12948); *A ioyfull medytacyon* (London, 1510?; *STC* 12953); *The co[n]forte of louers* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1515; *STC* 12942.5). The dating of the earliest Hawes print (*STC* 12945) has recently been revised from 1504? to 1506? in Joseph J. Gwara, "Dating Wynkyn de Worde's Devotional, Homiletic, and Other Texts, 1501–11," in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*, ed. Martha W. Driver and Veronica M. O'Mara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 193-234.

[22] Both works were wrongly attributed to John Lydgate in print. Two further editions of *The Assembly of Gods* were printed in ca. 1500 (*STC* 17006) and 1500? (*STC* 17007).

[23] For Wynkyn de Worde's publication of romance, see Jordi Sánchez-Martí, "The Printed History of the Middle English Verse Romances," *Modern Philology* 107 (2009): 1-31.

seven metals of the seven planets, and their monster blows out fire with such ferocity that "it made the ylonde lyght" (4942). To defeat this dragon, the knight must venture into "An olde temple" (4964) beneath a cliff, and pray for the assistance of Pallas Athena:

> And than ryght soone before her hygh renowne
> Prostrate we fell, mekely to the grounde,
> And sodaynly we were caste in a swounde...
> (4974-76)

Such passages reveal much about Hawes's allegorical imagination. He thought of poetry itself as a "mysty smoke" (38) in which ethical truths could be submerged or stylized beyond easy recognition; by drawing on the magic of romance, he could thicken his poetical mist, but could also make the events of his story more bewitching for a courtly audience. By so doing, Hawes moved evocatively beyond the course set by previous English allegorists. Indeed, when surveying the literature of the period, Thomas Warton went so far as to describe Hawes as "the restorer of invention" to English poetry.[24]

As well as drawing on the world of giants and dragons, however, Hawes also wished to "folowe the trace" (47) of the more prestigious versions of romance, such as Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. "He dyde bewayle full well the langoure / Of all his loue" (1333), wrote Hawes of Chaucer's epic, and the languor of love similarly ebbs and flows throughout *The Pastime of Pleasure*. Graunde Amour compares himself to "noble Troylus of Troye" (4482), and feels the "brennynge chayne" of love binding his fate (1768). "I se you ryght often as I am a slepe" (2155), he muses, and sometimes falls into a state of melancholy that would not be out of place in a Thomas Wyatt poem:[25]

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[24] Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Dodsley, 1762), 2.105.

[25] An intriguing feature of Hawes's early reception is that many unattributed passages from his works were copied into Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C. 813 (the "Wellys" anthology) as if they were self-contained love lyrics. For a recent argument that this manuscript represents "Hawes read through the lens of Wyatt," see Seth Lerer, "The Medieval Inheritance of Early Tudor Poetry," in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Catherine Bates (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 3-15.

> Though that my bedde was easy and softe
> Yet dyde I tomble...
> (1912-13)

When the figure of "Counsel" arrives to console this sleepless knight, it is clear that Hawes is interested not solely in the personification of "Counsel," but in describing faithfully and languidly the experience of staying up all night to talk to a friend:

> Thus all in comynynge we the nyght dyde passe
> Tyll in the ayre, with cloudes fayre and rede,
> Rysyn was Phebus, shynynge in the glasse;
> In the chambre his golden rayes were sprede
> And Dyane declynynge, pale as ony lede,
> Whan the lytell byrdes swetely dyde synge
> With tunes musycall in the fayre mornynge.
> (1955-60)

The giants and dragons of Hawes's allegory thus take their place alongside morning light, birdsong, and scenes of longing or lovesickness. It seems slightly restrictive to describe this "romance element" as "subordinate, almost incidental."[26] Throughout *The Pastime of Pleasure*, Hawes used different versions of romance to pitch the well-worn associations of love allegory into a more spacious and variegated world.

II

Critical opinion has varied as to why *The Pastime of Pleasure* is the way it is. The editors of Hawes's minor poems, Florence W. Gluck and Alice B. Morgan, have argued that by applying an allegorical dimension to "the fantastic world of the romance," Hawes "yoked

[26] Edwards, "Hawes, Stephen," 348.

together two traditions that were moving in opposite directions."[27] Others have argued that his technique "merely repeats" that of Burgundian writers like Olivier de la Marche, whose *Le Chevalier deliberé* (1483) also narrates the life and death of an allegorical knight.[28] But in order to understand the varied origins of Hawes's romance motifs, it is necessary to examine his own earlier work, *The Example of Vertu*, which he presented to Henry VII in the nineteenth year of the king's reign (between October 1503 and October 1504).[29] This dream vision has received even less critical attention than *The Pastime of Pleasure*, but a comparison between the two poems reveals that the poetic innovations of the latter were not the product of creative uncertainty, or an "age of transition," but of a carefully self-critical development in Hawes's own writing.

The Example of Vertu is, in its overall design, strikingly similar to *The Pastime of Pleasure*. It tells the story of an inexperienced protagonist named "Youthe," who must become worthy of marrying his true love "Clannes" by absorbing long passages of proverbial wisdom from a host of personified virtues. The soul of Youthe is brought to bliss by "wyse example and morall doctryne" (83) and at the end of his vision, his wedding is attended by such luminaries as St. Augustine, the Archangel Gabriel, and the God of Love. Unlike many medieval dreamers, however, who are often figured as passive recipients of conventional wisdom, the dreaming Youthe must undergo a dramatic test of his nobility: he must "scomfite" (1369), or vanquish, a three-headed dragon that lives in "a marys in a grete lake" (1376). Only when the dragon is defeated can "Youthe" be renamed "Vertu," and serve as an example of "vertuous prowes" (1445) to the poem's readers. Although this swampy *denouement* is not one of the great scenes of Tudor literature, it is the earliest evidence for

[27] Hawes, *Minor Poems*, xxxix-xl.
[28] Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1977), 22.
[29] Hawes, *Minor Poems*, 2.

Hawes's interest in chivalric motifs, and thus initiates a creative process that developed more fully in *The Pastime of Pleasure*.

At the beginning of the dragon scene, Hawes hovers between the conventions of a dream vision and those of romance:

> By that tyme the daye ryght fayre was spent
> And phebus his course began to auale
> But at the last we came into a dale
> Wher we felt the sauer of a dungeon
> Of the foule and stynkynge dragon
> (1411-15)

Regular customers at Wynkyn de Worde's shop might have recognized a similarity between this stinking dragon and the dragons of *Guy of Warwick*, *Eglamour of Artois*, and *Bevis of Hampton*. Others might simply have recalled the legend of St. George, who was a potent figure in the Tudor imagination.[30] Unlike these quasi-historical confrontations, however, Hawes's battle is absorbed into a closely-managed allegorical argument. The beast is blocking the way "Vnto hyghe heuen" (1418) and dragging those who approach it into "the dungeon ... of grete oblyuyon" (1421-22). Before confronting this beast, Youthe must be laced up by "Dame Sapyence" in "the armure for the soule / That in his epystole wrote Saynt Poule" (1394-95). For Hawes, as for Spenser, St. Paul's evocative Letter to the Ephesians provided the *locus classicus* for allegorical knighthood:

> Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and power, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places.
> (Ephesians 6: 11-12)

[30] William Cornysh dressed up as St. George in 1494 and managed to wheel a fire-breathing dragon around Henry's chamber for a Christmas pageant. See Sydney Anglo, "William Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison, and Politics," *RES* 10 (1959), 349. In 1504, around the same time that Hawes presented Henry VII with *The Example of Vertu*, the king was also presented with the actual leg of St. George by the Emperor Maximilian. See Steven Gunn, "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court," in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), 110.

In accordance with St. Paul, Youthe dons the “legge harneys” of hope, the “habergyn of ryghtwysnes,” the “plackarde of besynes,” and the helmet of “mekenes,” as well as carrying the “shelde of beleue” and the sword of the “worde of god” (1396-1401). The woodcut artist who worked on the printed edition even gave Youthe a *scutum fidei*, or “Shield of the Trinity,” which commonly featured in visual depictions of the Armour of God.[31] Hawes himself ensured that the descriptions of his dragon were carefully answerable to their homiletic significance. When the beast stomps towards Youthe, for instance, the knight realizes something startling:

> I my swerd in my hand had,
> Strykynge at hym with strokes sad,
> And blode of hym coude I drawe none
> For he had nother flesshe ne bone.
> (1475-78)

Having “nother flesshe ne bone” is slightly unusual, since dragons were often all too bony and bloody in medieval romance. In Henry Watson’s translation of *Valentine and Orson*, for instance, Valentine “cut the skinne vnto the bone, and made the bloude to yssue out by the great stremes.”[32] Sir Eglamour, meanwhile, had to sunder his dragon’s “rygge bon,” or spinal cord,[33] while Bevis of Hampton elsewhere stabs “Thoroughe hert, lyuer, bone and blode.”[34] The bonelessness and bloodlessness of Hawes’s dragon is not derived from any such

[31] *The example of vertu*, sig. ff1v. The *scutum fidei* is a three-pointed shield explaining the nature of the Trinity. It typically features the word “Deus” at the centre, and the words “Pater,” “Filius,” and “Spiritus sanctus” at each of the three points. The stripes connecting the three outer words read “non est,” and the stripes connecting each outer word to the central “Deus” read “est.” This design features, for instance, in a thirteenth-century illustration of the Armour of God in a copy of Willelmus Peraldus’s *Summa de vitiis* (British Library, Harley MS 3244, fol. 28r).
[32] *Valentine and Orson*, ed. Arthur Dickson, Early English Text Society, o.s., 204 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 221. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509? (*STC* 24571.3).
[33] *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, ed. Frances E. Richardson, Early English Text Society, o.s., 256 (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 37.
[34] *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, Early English Text Society, e.s., 46, 48, 65, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1885-94), 1.131.

romance, but instead leads back to the wording of St. Paul's letter: "Put you on the armour of God ... For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood." That Hawes's dragon should have "nother flesshe ne bone" is thus a cleverly disembodying detail, and distinguishes his monster from some of its more full-blooded relations.

These Pauline resonances in Hawes's battle show some of the difficulties of ascribing a direct romance influence to such a scene. The poet was working with imagery that had varied literary affiliations, and could thus prompt a mixed reaction from his earliest audience. Hawes's allegorical argument, however, is not so open-ended. When the dragon's three heads are lopped off, the poet supplies the killer blow of an arcane allegorical interpretation. The heads represent "The worlde, the flesshe & the deuyll" (1372), a triad sometimes known as the "Three Enemies of Man," which was ubiquitous in devotional and allegorical literature.[35] This interpretation might strike modern readers as slightly bloodless, but it further complicates Hawes's relationship with romance. In the years leading up to the completion of *The Example of Vertu*, many devotional or allegorical texts printed by Wynkyn de Worde referred to the "batayll ayenst the worlde, the flesshe, or the deuyll,"[36] and how humankind must expect to meet such enemies "at euery cragge or stronde."[37] The attack of these "olde foes" had formed the basis of Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*,[38] and in the fifteenth century, the Three Enemies also appeared at the end of two of Hawes's favourite allegories, *The Court of Sapience* and *The Assembly of Gods*.[39] The poet of the former imagined how "Dame Feyth" could serve as a shield against the "thre enemyes with theyr yrous pretence,"[40] while the poet of the latter connected the full meaning of his visionary warfare to the battle "that ye dayly

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[35] See Siegfried Wenzel, "The Three Enemies of Man," *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967): 47-66.
[36] *The rote or myrour of consolacyon [and] conforte* (London, 1499; *STC* 21335), sig. A8v.
[37] *The meditat[i]ons of saint Bernard* (London, 1499?; *STC* 1917), sig. E1v.
[38] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), VII. 970.
[39] In *The Pastime of Pleasure*, Hawes praises "the court of sapyence" (1357) and the "boke solacyous" of "vertue and the lyfe vycyous / Of goddes and goddes" (1362-63). Like Wynkyn de Worde, he attributes both works to John Lydgate.
[40] [*The courte of sapyence*] (London, 1483; *STC* 17015), sig. e4r. Title from the 1510 reprint (*STC* 17016).

fyght / Ayenst your .iij. enmyes."[41] This daily battle, or "warre continuall" (as Thomas More put it),[42] did not often relate to the otherwise common image of "Our campioun Chryst" slaying "the dragon blak" to redeem mankind,[43] but the ease with which such motifs could be combined is clear from another work printed by de Worde: Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass* (ca. 1501?; *STC* 17037.5). Here the Monk of Bury encourages the laity to think of a garmented priest as nothing less than an armoured knight, battling heroically against the Three Enemies:

> A parfyte preste made strong with thys Armure,
> Tofore the Auter as Crystes championne,
> Shall stond vpryght, & make a discomfyture,
> All our .iij. enemyes venquysshe and bere downe,
> The flesshe, the world, Satan that fell dragowne[44]

Lydgate uses a chivalric metaphor to intensify his ethical argument, and imagines a "fell dragowne" as part of an allegorical battle with the Three Enemies. When designing the climax of his own poem, Hawes may or may not have remembered this passage from Wynkyn de Worde's edition. But he certainly knew of the overlapping associations which fed into it and brought it to life. Hawes's own "fell dragowne" was thus able to climb out of a pre-existing homiletic context, and appeal to the learned as well as to those who simply wanted to hear about an exciting battle.

Such passages provide a more varied genealogy for Hawes's early fusion of allegory and romance. Although Gluck and Morgan argued that the poet "yoked together two traditions that were moving in opposite directions," the evidence of homiletic sources tells a slightly different story. It suggests that Hawes, in his earliest work, was able to fashion an allegorical battle from the chivalric motifs that were already present in religious texts. By so

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[41] [*The Assembly of Gods*] (London, 1498; *STC* 17005), sig. C3r.
[42] *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, Volume 1: English Poems, Life of Pico, Last Things*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards, Katherine Gardiner Rodgers, and Clarence H. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 103.
[43] William Dunbar, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1999), 1.69.
[44] The printed edition is fragmentary, so these lines are quoted from Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 1.94.

doing, he made his dream of virtue more dramatic, and brought its climax into conversation with the metrical romances that were enjoying a vogue among early Tudor readers. Indeed, upon dissecting Hawes's dragon, it becomes clear that one of the most significant influences on the poet's early work was not the example of any given poet, but rather the juxtaposition of materials created by early English print. On the shelves of Wynkyn de Worde's shop, metrical tales of giants and dragon-slayers sat alongside devotional treatises, dreams of spiritual warfare, and older prints of Chaucerian and Lydgatean poetry. All of these works were not, of course, published with the same readership in mind – de Worde catered to many different needs and tastes – but the varied output of the Fleet Street press seems to have fed into Hawes's own sense of what was valued by his contemporaries. From around 1506 onwards, his poetry was published on the same press that had shaped his literary interests, and Hawes could number himself among those whose "goodly name / In prynted bokes doth remayne in fame."[45]

III

When Hawes finished *The Example of Vertu* in 1503/04, he began writing *The Pastime of Pleasure*, a work that has a similar structure but a slightly different set of creative priorities. Firstly, its overall theme is not an allegory of spiritual maturation but a full-blown allegory of love; instead of battling the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, Hawes's new hero Graunde Amour battles such impediments to love as "Falshed," "Pariury," and "Ymagynacyon." Secondly, Hawes decided to abandon the dream vision format in *The Pastime of Pleasure*, thus allowing the process of going to sleep to become part of his narrative rather than serving as the occasion for it. These changes have a subtle but far-reaching effect on Hawes's debt to

[45] *The Pastime of Pleasure*, 1336-37 (referring to Chaucer's "goodly name" rather than his own).

romance. Because he decided to set his allegorical battles into a newly episodic love story, interspersed with scenes of rest and rumination, he could in fact achieve a more coherent integration of allegory and romance. Graunde Amour's adventures not only signify the gradual conquest of love's obstacles, but they also resemble the "feates of armes" and "grete actes" (3275-88) that any romance hero must perform to win favour with his lady. This more balanced relationship between form and content was the product of a gradual poetic development: romance entered Hawes's work through the back door of homiletic allegory, and only later did it take on a life of its own.

The stepping stone for this development was not the work of allegorists like Guillaume de Deguileville or Olivier de la Marche, but rather Hawes's own sense of what could be further developed from *The Example of Vertu*. His *Pastime of Pleasure* thus picks up on some of the missed opportunities of the earlier poem. The movement between scenes or settings in *The Example of Vertu*, for instance, had typically occurred within the space of a line or two: "Forth than we went to an hauen syde" (127) or "I walked with hym into a place" (50). Occasionally these journeys were longer, but only in the sense that Hawes used the word "longe" to describe them:

> Longe there we wandred, tyll at the last
> We came vnto a ryght grete wyldernes
> (1128-29)
>
> So forth I went by longe contynuaunce
> Tyll that I saw an herber of plesaunce
> (1147-48)
>
> Therein I trauayled by longe space
> Tyll that I mette a lady gloryous
> (1212-13)

The key word in these couplets is not in fact "longe" but the conjunction "tyll," which short-circuits the movement from one place to another. Dream vision commentators sometimes

suggest that sudden changes in scenery are in fact aesthetically appropriate, since they imitate the flitting movement of actual dreams. But Hawes seems to have become dissatisfied with the suddenness of these scene-changes. When writing *The Pastime of Pleasure*, he began to slow the pace of such journeying, and allowed his hero to become slightly more adventurous:

> Forthe than I rode, at myne owne aduenture,
> Ouer the mountaynes and the craggy rockes;
> To beholde the countrees I had grete pleasure,
> Where corall growed by ryght hye stockes,
> And the popyngayes in the tre toppes.
> Than as I rode I sawe me beforne,
> Besyde a welle, hange bothe a shelde and a horne.
> (4277-83)

The mountain spring, the encrusted coral, and the exotic parrots all retain the suggestion of a pleasant dream, but because this journey leads to a test of the knight's prowess, it also resembles passages from Malory's *Morte Darthur*, such as when Lancelot "wandred here and there" before seeing a challenger's "whyght shylde" hanging from a tree.[46] To hover between these different literary expectations was part of Hawes's effect. An early reader, for instance, might have recalled that one of Lydgate's dreamers drank from the "quyke stremes colde" of a hillside "welle,"[47] but a devotee of romance might also have known that when a knight finds himself "Upon the crest of the crag by a cold well," he was not in a dreamlike place of refreshment, but a giant's lair.[48]

Hawes came to realise, it seems, that choosing a knight errant as a visionary protagonist offered up a range of formal possibilities that he had not fully appreciated or exploited in *The Example of Vertu*. By slowing the pace of his adventure, he was able to clear a space for scenes of longing that were central to any love poem. But by so doing, Hawes also

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[46] Sir Thomas Malory, *Works*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 495.
[47] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 2.386.
[48] *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, line 882, quoted from *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English* Stanzaic Morte Arthur *and* Alliterative Morte Arthure, ed. Larry D. Benson (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986), 141.

wandered away from many of the homiletic assumptions of his earlier work. The context offered by St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, for instance, is not quite operative when Graunde Amour settles down to rest in a lonely valley:

> I came to a dale;
> Beholdynge Phebus declynynge lowe and pale,
> With my grehoundes in the fayre twylyght
> I sate me downe
> (326-29)[49]

Although these simple, sensuous lines capture the life of lovesick knight, they might have confused some of the allegorists whom Hawes is sometimes said to have imitated. In Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier deliberé*, for instance, the narrator specifies that there was no need to record "Mes sejours et mes repousees" ("My stops and stays"),[50] since they were extraneous to his allegory; the only valley he walks through is the Valley of Time, which signifies the forward movement from birth to death.[51] According to Guillaume de Deguileville, meanwhile, putting down the Armour of God was a clear sign of moral disarray: "I holde hym a manly knyght, | Wych ... in hys harneys, day & nyht | Ys founde redy."[52] In one of the specially-designed woodcuts for *The Pastime of Pleasure*,[53] however, Graunde Amour is pictured not on his feet, ready to grapple with the Three Enemies in spiritual combat, but reclining on his side, with his long sword in its sheath and his head propped

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[49] It has not been noticed that these lines inspired an image in one of W.H. Auden's finest lyrics, "Lady, weeping at the crossroads," written in 1940. Hawes's line "With my grehoundes in the fayre twylight" becomes, in Auden's opening stanza, "Would you meet your love / In the twilight with his greyhounds" (W.H. Auden, *Collected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson [London: Faber and Faber, 2007], 277). Hawes's lines had been quoted admiringly by C.S. Lewis in his *Allegory of Love* (281), which Auden had been reading in 1940. The poet later remarked that Lewis was "an invaluable guide to the best passages in the minor writers like Hawes and Douglas" (W.H. Auden, *Prose: 1949-1955*, ed. Edward Mendelson [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008], 624).
[50] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier deliberé (The Resolute Knight)*, ed. Carleton W. Carroll, trans. Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 64-65.
[51] Ibid., 108-09.
[52] Quoted from Lydgate's translation: *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. F.J. Furnivall and Katharine B. Locock, Early English Text Society, e.s., 77, 83, 92, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1899-1904), 2.246-47.
[53] Since the 1509 edition is fragmentary, the earliest witness to this woodcut is *The passe tyme of pleasure* (London, 1517; *STC* 12949), sig. A4r.

languidly in his hand. Many allegorists thought of Sloth as a wicked hag, "moosy-heryd as a raat,"[54] but Graunde Amour was not so anxious about the idea of falling asleep: "Slouthe vpon me so fast began to crepe" (330), he says; "The heed must rule, it can not be denyed!" (147).

Hawes's resting places reveal the central contradiction of his broadening debt to romance: he began to imagine the life of a "knyght aduenturous" (2485) in ways that conflicted with the Pauline allegory of knighthood. When Graunde Amour is knighted in the castle of Melyzyus, for instance, he is given the same Armour of God that Youthe had received in *The Example of Vertu*. But he is also taught to "vpholde and maynteyne euermore / The welthe of maydens" and to be "redy, true, and eke obeysaunt / In stable loue" (3384-88). The figure of Minerva, who gives this advice, is open-ended and romantic in her parting words: "Ryde on your way, the weder is full clere; / Seke your aduenture" (3454-55). But when Graunde Amour rides on his way, with his valet and his two greyhounds, it is as if Hawes himself begins to venture evocatively beyond the allegorical mode. The passage reveals a striking development in the poet's technical abilities, and deserves to be quoted in full:

> With bothe my greyhoundes and my varlet
> Thrughe the playne and in to wyldernes,
> And so alofte amonge the hylles gret,
> Tyll it was nyght so thycke of derkenes
> That of constraynt of veray werynes
> We lyght adowne vnder an hyll syde,
> Vnto the day to rest vs there that tyde.
>
> And whan my page my helmet vnlaced,
> He layde it downe vnderneth my hede
> And to his legge he my stede enbraced,
> To grase about whyle on the grase he fed,
> And than also his horse in lyke stede,
> With bothe our greyhoundes lyenge vs nere by;
> And slouthe our hedes had caught so sodaynly

[54] Lydgate, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, 2.371.

That all the nyght we slepte in good reste,
Tyll agaynst day began to neye and cry
My stede, Galantyse, with a rorynge breste,
And eke began to stampe full meruaylously,
Whose hye courage awaked vs wonderly
And ryght anone we kest vp our eyes
Beholdynge aboue the fayre crystall skyes,

Seynge the cloudes rayed fayre and rede
Of Phebus rysynge in the oryent
And aurora her golden bemes sprede
Aboute the ayre clerely refulgent
Withouten mysty blacke encombremente.
Vp I arose and also my page
Makynge vs redy for to take our vyage.
(3459-86)

In a passage like this, Hawes shows he was capable of taking, as well as passing, his time. The movement from one place to the next is suffused with a range of focusing details, which slow the pace of the interlude: the page unlaces his master's helmet and "layde it downe vnderneth my hede"; he ties the steed "Galantyse" to his leg so that the horse can "grase about whyle on the grase he fed"; and the two allegorical greyhounds, whose names we know are "Grace" and "Gouernaunce," simply revert to being sleepy dogs, settling down for the night. Unlike in *The Example of Vertu*, in which the word "tyll" closes down the movement between scenes, it here sustains and enriches that movement: the travellers ride forth, not *tyll* they reach a destination, but *tyll* the sun sets; and they sleep, not *tyll* the dawn wakens them, but *tyll* the horse begins to neigh and stamp. Only then then do they cast up their eyes to see how the clouds have reddened, letting them know that it is time to be getting on. Although this scene develops from an identifiable romance trope, Hawes would have found only the faintest suggestion for it in the romances printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Gye restyd hym a thrawe:
All hys armvr he dud of drawe.

(*Guy of Warwick*)[55]

He reinede his hors to a chesteine
And felle aslepe vpon þe pleine
(*Bevis of Hampton*)[56]

Vppon the playn restid Generides,
Wery and feynte, it was noo synne to saye
(*Generydes*)[57]

Hawes goes far beyond these simple scenes of knightly rest. To find a closer stylistic analogue, one has to look to hybrid works like John Metham's *Amoryus and Cleopes* (1449) or the Older Scots *Clariodus* (early sixteenth century), both of which embellish chivalric stories with stylized descriptions of "Phyry Phebus / With hys glymerryng bemys."[58] But Hawes himself probably had in mind the grandeur and expansiveness of Lydgate's historical romances, the *Troy Book* and the *Siege of Thebes*, in which many scenes unfold "Atwen þe tweyliȝt and þe rody morwe."[59] When the Greeks arrive at Troy, for instance, Agamemnon locates "a place couenable, / Whiche hym þouȝt was most agreable," and as his tents are pitched and horses tethered, he keeps watch "Til on þe morwe, þat þe rowes rede / Of Phebus chare gonne for to sprede."[60]

But what is most disarming about Hawes's scene is how the melancholy world that he wishes to describe does not quite cooperate with the allegory of knighthood that has occasioned it. In *The Example of Vertu*, for instance, Youthe had been given the helmet of

[55] *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: The Second or 15th-Century Version*, ed. Julius Zupitza, Early English Text Society, e.s., 25, 26 (London: 1875), 48.
[56] *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, 1.86.
[57] *Generydes*, ed. W. Aldis Wright, Early English Text Society, o.s., 55, 70 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1873-78), 113. Published by Richard Pynson in 1504? (*STC* 11721) and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1506? (*STC* 11721.5).
[58] John Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, ed. Stephen F. Page (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). Quoted from the online edition, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/page-metham-amoryus-and-cleopes (lines 333-34).
[59] John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Henry Bergen, Early English Text Society, e.s., 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906-35), 1.103.
[60] Ibid., 1.392-93.

"mekenes" by the figure of Dame Sapyence, to prepare him for a confrontation with the Three Enemies of Man:

> She armed me her selfe alone,
> And laced my helmet of her gentylnes...
> (1389-90)

Such a helmet was answerable solely to the spiritual meaning apportioned by St. Paul in Ephesians 6:13, and had no further function in the poem. But in *The Pastime of Pleasure*, it is clear that the world of romance has exerted a subtle pressure on Hawes's imagination, leading him to enter more fully into the perspective of his questing knight. Although the helmet of Graunde Amour is introduced as the helmet of "mekenes" (3380), it also takes its place in a world that has been naturalized by romance. Removing it does not shadow forth some grave abdication of spiritual duty, but is simply one of the weary formalities of preparing a place to rest:

> And whan my page my helmet vnlaced,
> He layde it downe vnderneth my hede
> (3466-67)

These are the sort of vivid details that Edmund Spenser would later incorporate into his immersive allegorical sequences, as when the enemies of the sleeping Sir Guyon "gan his helme vnlace, / Both fiercely bent to haue him disaraid" (with "disaraid" punning on a sense of moral disarray).[61] What is striking about Hawes's descriptions, however, is not that he should have failed to invest them with allegorical significance, but that he should have included them in the first place. There is a development not only in the poet's formal abilities but in his understanding of what can be accommodated by the allegorical mode. Indeed,

[61] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Qveene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton, with Hiroshi Yamashita, Toshiyuki Suzuki, and Shohachi Fukuda, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 228 (II.viii.17).

although such scenes are not central to Hawes's allegory, they are not entirely peripheral to it either: time passes, dilates, and in some scenes comes almost to a standstill, not because the poet has lost his way, but because whoever 'abydeth paynfull penaunce, / Thynketh a shorte whyle a longe contynuaunce' (3919-20). A lover's life, it seems, is filled with moods and contingencies that are less totalising than "The worlde, the flesshe & the deuyll," and only some of them become tangible enough to be confronted in hand-to-hand combat. Many others are experienced by Graunde Amour as emotional realities, felt in the restive movement from one place to the next.

Hawes is often referred to as a "transitional" figure by literary historians, but such a label tends to obscure the subtler transitions that took place in his own writing. As this article has shown, the motifs of romance first arrived into Hawes's poetry as a way of intensifying his dream of virtue, and fashioning it into a trial-based experience. But between 1503/04, when he finished *The Example of Vertu*, and 1505/06, when he finished *The Pastime of Pleasure*, Hawes managed to transform romance motifs into a site of stylistic innovation and experiment. By so doing, he created an newly ambiguous style of love poetry, which moves boldly and intuitively between different literary expectations. As Graunde Amour rides through the mountains and the valleys, he has the liberty to brood, to sleep, to feel anxious or restless, but he is also able to wander through different modes of signification, and to traverse the boundaries between genres and styles. Hawes was thus a transitional poet in a deeper sense, in that he could use scenes of movement to slow the pace of his hero's self-discovery. Unlike subsequent Tudor love poets, Hawes seems to have felt that a poem about longing and lovesickness should not be brisk or pithy or easily rehearsed, but should instead take place over a long succession of tiring days and restless nights.

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