

## Wynkyn de Worde, Stephen Hawes, and the improvisation of genre in early sixteenth-century English poetry

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The printing of the poems of the early Tudor poet Stephen Hawes (c. 1474–before 1529) by the London printer Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5) is the earliest example of the sustained publication of a contemporary English poet by a single printer. Previous criticism has drawn attention to de Worde’s role in establishing new, diversified markets for English literary texts, though with an emphasis on Chaucer, Lydgate, and Middle English romance, and to the “labelling” features’ used to market and organise his books, especially his editions of religious texts. Not yet fully understood are the motivations and techniques for de Worde’s promotion of *contemporary* English poetry – written by relatively unknown poets and more obviously meant to entertain – and the importance of his innovations for the production and consumption of English literature during the first half of the sixteenth century. His printing and illustration of the poems of Hawes, and the afterlife of the poet in later publications, raises questions about the cultural capital attached to the named author in early English print, and demonstrates the commercial and imaginative potential of the connections encouraged *between* printers’ literary publications, however apparently unlike.

Documentary evidence attests to Hawes’s role as a groom of the Chamber of King Henry VII between 1503 and probably around 1509;<sup>1</sup> but almost the only witnesses for his literary activity are de Worde’s editions of his poems.<sup>2</sup> Five of Hawes’s poems survive: the short *Conuercyon of Swerers* (composed

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<sup>1</sup> A. S. G. Edwards, ‘Hawes, Stephen (b. c.1474, d. before 1529)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] [online] <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12647> (accessed November 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Besides the record of a payment of ten shillings made in January 1506 ‘for a ballet that he gave to the kings grace in reward’. Edwards, ‘Hawes, Stephen’, ODNB. There are no complete sixteenth-century manuscript witnesses for Hawes’s poems. A quarto manuscript of some version of the *Pastime* is listed among the contents of the library of Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622) but is no longer extant. A. G. Watson, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 64. Extracts from the *Pastime*, the *Conuercyon*, and the *Conforte* appear in Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS 230, fol. 246v; British Library, MS Harley 4294, fol. 80r; and Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 813.

before April 1509), comprising an attack on the blaspheming stereotypical of the court; *A Ioyfull Medytacyon* (c. June 1509), written in celebration of the coronation of King Henry VIII; and three first-person allegories framed as dreams, *The Example of Vertu* (1503/4), *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1505/6), and *The Conforte of Louers* (1510/11).<sup>3</sup> The earliest surviving texts are the near-contemporary editions printed by de Worde between perhaps 1506 and 1530.<sup>4</sup>

*Here begynneth the boke called the example of vertu* (London: De Worde, [1506?]) *STC* 12945. Single copy extant in Cambridge University Library (CUL).

[*The Pastime of Pleasure*] ([London: De Worde, 1509]) *STC* 12948. Single imperfect copy extant in the British Library (BL). Further fragments extant in the Bodleian Library and CUL.

*The conuercyon of swerers* (London: De Worde, [April–before June 1509]) *STC* 12943. Single copy extant in BL.

[*The Conuercyon of Swerers*] (London: De Worde, [1509?]) *STC* 12943.5. Single copy extant in the Huntington Library (HL).

*A ioyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our moost naturall souerayne lorde kynge Henry the eyght* (London: De Worde, [1510?]) *STC* 12953. Single copy extant in CUL.

*The conforte of louers...* ([London]: De Worde, [c.1515]) *STC* 12942.5. Single copy extant in BL.

*Here begynneth the passe tyme of pleasure* (London: De Worde, 1517) *STC* 12949. Single copy extant in the Morgan Library.

[*The Example of Vertu*] ([London: De Worde, c.1520]) *STC* 12946. One leaf only extant in CUL.

*Here foloweth a compendious story, and it is called the exemple of vertu...* (London: De Worde, 1530) *STC* 12947. Copies extant in HL and the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

This interest shown by a single printer in a contemporary English poet is without parallel in early English print. The closest analogue is the long-standing collaboration between Richard Pynson and Alexander Barclay.<sup>5</sup> However, where Pynson's printing of Barclay's poems, mostly translations, is sporadic and non-exclusive, de Worde's printing of Hawes, in a flurry around

<sup>3</sup> Titles for and quotations from Hawes's poems are from Stephen Hawes, *The Minor Poems*, ed. Florence W. Gluck and Alice B. Morgan, EETS, o. s., 271 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); and *idem.*, *The Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. William Edward Mead, EETS, o. s., 173 (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

<sup>4</sup> Titles given in the list below (and in figures and Appendix) are as printed rather than edited titles. Places and dates of publication are from A. W. Pollard and G. W. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* [*STC*], 3 vols., 2nd rev. edn, rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), with revisions from Joseph J. Gwara, 'Dating Wynkyn de Worde's Devotional, Homiletic, and Other Texts, 1501–11', in Martha W. Driver and Veronica O'Mara (eds.), *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 193–234; and A. S. G. Edwards, *Stephen Hawes* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 119 (for editions printed after 1511; Gwara is preferred for earlier editions).

<sup>5</sup> See David R. Carlson, 'Alexander Barclay and Richard Pynson: A Tudor Printer and His Writer', *Anglia*, 113 (1995), 283–302.

1509 and then at intervals of more or less ten years until 1530, can be understood as part of a larger effort to establish a non-court audience for contemporary English poetry with nevertheless courtly credentials.<sup>6</sup> The paratexts with which de Worde frames Hawes's verse – from woodcut illustrations,<sup>7</sup> to the printing of the author's name, to the citation of Hawes by other writers associated with de Worde – are indicative of a growing tendency amongst London printers to provide opportunities for their readers to make imaginative cross-reference between their varied literary output.<sup>8</sup> They represent an alternative to the marketing of English literary texts primarily on the basis of authorship – what Kevin Pask in *The Emergence of the English Author* and Alexandra Gillespie in *Print Culture and the Medieval Author* regard as integral to the development of English 'print culture'.<sup>9</sup> Focusing on de Worde's printing of Hawes, and the role of his editions within an expanding network of textually and/or visually related books, this article examines the processes for marketing, categorising, and collecting English poetry in early sixteenth-century England – what I describe as an 'improvisation of literary genre' running parallel but separate to the 'emergence of the English author'.

Wynkyn de Worde belongs to the second generation of English printers. A German immigrant, de Worde accompanied William Caxton from Cologne to Westminster in 1475 or 1476 and almost certainly helped to establish his press there.<sup>10</sup> After Caxton's death in early 1492, de Worde inherited the business. He left Westminster for Fleet Street in 1500 or 1501, probably in order to be closer to the publishing and mercantile centre of London.<sup>11</sup> De Worde's retention and later modification of Caxton's device, as well as the notices in many of

<sup>6</sup> After de Worde, printers' interest in Hawes is relatively limited: the *Conuercyon* was printed at London by John Skot for John Butler in 1530 (STC 12944) and by William Copland for Robert Towe in 1551 (STC 12944.5); the *Pastime* was printed at London by John Wayland in 1554 (STC 12950) and twice by William Copland in 1555, for Richard Tottel (STC 12951) and John Waley (STC 12952).

<sup>7</sup> Referenced below by their number in Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* [Hodnett], repr. with additions and corrections (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>8</sup> I adopt Gérard Genette's definition of *paratexts*: the 'verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, [or] illustrations' which accompany literary texts, but with Helen Smith and Louise Wilson's important qualifications that paratexts operate throughout, not only at the beginning, of early printed books, and have a meaning and function not necessarily determined by the author. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1; Smith and Watson, 'Introduction', in *eadem.* (eds.) *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–14, at 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Norman F. Blake, 'Wynkyn de Worde: The Early Years', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1971), 62–9, at 62; Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: British Library, 2010), 131.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem.*, 'Wynkyn de Worde: The Later Years', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1972), 128–38, at 128–9; Hellinga, *Caxton and Early Printing*, 132.

his Westminster editions that the books were printed 'in Caxtons house', may have been designed 'to create a feeling of continuity between Caxton's and his own press'.<sup>12</sup> Yet de Worde differs from Caxton in terms of the number and diversity of the over eight-hundred editions issued before his death in around 1534.<sup>13</sup> De Worde established new markets for the religious and school books that constitute the bulk of his output.<sup>14</sup> From a literary-historical perspective, he is notable for the publication of older verse romances and contemporary English poets not seen under Caxton's press.<sup>15</sup> To some extent, de Worde's choice of English literary texts reflects Caxton's and his contemporary Pynson's 'adherence to traditions of literary popularity close to those of Middle English manuscript culture'.<sup>16</sup> The works of Chaucer and Lydgate dominate, Malory appears, and a number of Caxton's prose translations of Continental romances were reprinted before 1510.<sup>17</sup> Soon, however, de Worde began to augment his English literary repertoire with works by contemporary poets: John Skelton, William Nevill, William Walter, and, most extensively, Hawes.

It is not entirely clear who or what first encouraged de Worde to print Hawes's poems. As A. S. G. Edwards observes:

It is hard to account for this sudden appetite for verse by a hitherto unprinted poet. The publication of works by a court poet may suggest either an effort on de Worde's part to gain access to the court circle through printing Hawes, or an effort from within the court circle to have such works in circulation as widely as possible through the medium of print. (Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 145)

Neither suggestion is wholly satisfactory: there is scant evidence for the appreciation of Hawes's poetry at court and, besides a vague allusion to the late king's financial policies in the *Ioyfull Medytacyon* (71–4), little to recommend his writings as, following Edwards, 'commentaries on the nature of kingly responsibility addressed obliquely to Henry VII'.<sup>18</sup> Norman F. Blake proposes that Henry VII's mother, the known bibliophile Lady Margaret

<sup>12</sup> Blake, 'De Worde: Early Years', 63.

<sup>13</sup> For an impression of de Worde's output, search by publisher using the search query 'de Worde' at *English Short Title Catalogue [ESTC]* <<http://estc.bl.uk/>> [accessed 4 February 2021], which includes all of the *STC* and is updated daily.

<sup>14</sup> A. S. G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale, 'The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England', *The Library*, 6th ser., 15 (1993), 95–124, at 117–18.

<sup>15</sup> On de Worde's unusual interest in the printing of contemporary poetry, see especially A. S. G. Edwards, 'Poet and Printer in Sixteenth Century England: Stephen Hawes and Wynkyn de Worde', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1980), 82–8; *idem*, 'From Manuscript to Print: Wynkyn de Worde and the Printing of Contemporary Poetry', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1991), 143–8; Edwards and Meale, 'Marketing of Printed Books', 118–20; and Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Squire of Low Degree and the Penumbra of Romance Narrative in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Elizabeth Archibald, Megan G. Leitch, and Corinne Saunders (eds.), *Romance Rewritten: The Evolution of Middle English Romance: A Tribute to Helen Cooper* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018), 229–40.

<sup>16</sup> Edwards and Meale, 'Marketing of Printed Books', 118–19.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*; and Carol M. Meale, 'Caxton, de Worde, and the Publication of Romance in Late Medieval England', *The Library*, 6th ser., 14 (1992), 283–98.

<sup>18</sup> Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 145.

Beaufort, may have facilitated de Worde's publication of Hawes's verse.<sup>19</sup> De Worde advertises his association with Margaret in a number of books printed in around 1509, the year of her death.<sup>20</sup> In the colophons to his two editions of the *Conuercyon*, de Worde describes himself as 'prynter vnto ye moost excellent pryncesse my lady the kynges graundame' (sig. [A8r]); and Hawes too praises Margaret as the king's 'moder so good and gracyous' at the end of the *Example* (2061). However, given that the editions which Margaret actually commissioned from de Worde are almost exclusively of religious texts, her active role in the promotion of Hawes's longer poems – love allegories, inconsistently moralised – seems doubtful.<sup>21</sup> It is more likely that de Worde printed Hawes on his own initiative, perhaps initially in collaboration with the poet.

It is not known how de Worde obtained his texts of Hawes's poems.<sup>22</sup> There is some internal evidence to suggest that Hawes anticipated the dissemination of his verse in print, but little certainty as to how that process was effected. In the envoy to the *Pastime*, Hawes dispatches his book with an unusual prayer for the accurate 'Impressyon' of the text rather than its faithful copying by scribes: 'Go lytell boke I pray god the saue/ Frome mysse metryne by wronge Impressyon' (5803–4).<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere, there are in-text references to de Worde's woodcut illustrations. Following the grotesque dwarf Godfrey Gobilyve's report of his failed attempt to woo a rich old maiden appear the lines: 'Lo here the figure of them both certayne/ Iuge whiche is best fauourde of them twayne' (3780–1). On the facing page is a woodcut illustration depicting a bald-headed man and a loathly lady (Hodnett 1011: 1509, sig. [M2r]; 1517, sig. M8r), a visual analogy to the preceding joke about the respective ugliness of Godfrey and the old maiden.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in the *Conuercyon*, the lines attributed to Christ, 'Beholde this letter with the prynte also/ Of myn owne seale by perfyte portrayture' (350–1), seem to refer to the *imago pietatis* woodcut earlier in the book (Hodnett 390: sig. A3v). These textual references to the publication and illustration of Hawes's poems, together with the evident attention given to their presentation by de Worde, suggest a degree of collaboration between poet and printer – at the very least, they must have been aware of each other's processes.<sup>25</sup> Yet de Worde had his own motives for printing Hawes's poems. His interest in the poet is not restricted to Hawes's known period of activity at court: de Worde reprinted the *Pastime* in 1517, and the

<sup>19</sup> Blake, 'Later Years', 134–5; cf. Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 145.

<sup>20</sup> Listed in Edwards and Meale, 'Marketing of Printed Books', 101 n. 23. As in the case of Caxton's claimed aristocratic patrons, it is unclear whether Margaret's endorsement also constituted material patronage.

<sup>21</sup> See Susan Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, 6th ser., 20 (1998), 197–240, at 227 and 230–1.

<sup>22</sup> On the absence of manuscript witnesses for Hawes's poems, see n. 2.

<sup>23</sup> The *OED*'s first attestation of the noun *impression* with the sense 'The process of printing'. *impression*, n., def. 3a., *OED*.

<sup>24</sup> The words in the scrolls coming from the woodcut characters' mouths in turn refer back to the text: 'fayr mayde wyllye haue me' (cf. *Pastime*, 3768); 'nay syr for ye be yl fauoured' (cf. *Pastime*, 3769–70).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Edwards, 'Poet and Printer', 83.

*Example*, with some significant variants, in around 1520 and 1530.<sup>26</sup> In this, Hawes's status as groom of the Chamber seems to have been important to de Worde as a marker of a particular kind of fashionable court poetry, rather than as a claim to topicality or royal or aristocratic authorisation for his books. An initial period of collaboration between Hawes and de Worde may have presented the printer with an opportunity to establish a market outside of the court for amatory, ostensibly instructive, often fantastic English poetry, with putative court connections. His reprinting of Hawes may represent periodic attempts to reinvigorate that market, reissuing Hawes's dream poems alongside other English poets in textually and visually related editions that recommended and promulgated one another.

De Worde's Hawes editions can thus be seen as a powerful alternative to the promotion of contemporary English poetry primarily on the basis of authorship. Gillespie has written in *Print Culture and the Medieval Author* on the use of the 'medieval author' – principally Chaucer and Lydgate – as a means of ascribing cultural capital to English literary texts in print and encouraging the compilation of separate, often unbound books in nonce-volumes or *Sammelbände* (bound volumes of separately printed or hand-written texts, returned to below). De Worde's printing of Hawes demonstrates a solution to the problem of marketing contemporary English poetry that was not attributed to a recognisable author. The paratexts in de Worde's Hawes editions speak of an effort by the printer to present his literary publications as a textually and/or visually related network of books that connects his customers to the reading habits and aesthetics of the court.<sup>27</sup> Hawes's name and, perhaps more importantly, his status as a groom of the Chamber, signalled the courtly credentials of de Worde's books, but are just one example of the printers' careful attention to the layout and illustration of his literary publications. Martha W. Driver demonstrates de Worde's use of "labelling" features' such as his printer's device, woodcut illustrations, and the titlepage 'both as a way of increasing the impact of text upon the reader, and as a means of selling books and

<sup>26</sup> On the textual variants between de Worde's Hawes editions, especially the 1506? and 1530 *Example*, see Edwards, 'Poet and Printer', 87; and Tsuyoshi Mukai, 'Wynkyn de Worde's Treatment of Stephen Hawes' *Exemple of Vertu*', *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, 5 (1990), 57–74, who argues that the changes in the 1530 *Example* reflect de Worde's freer and more reader-conscious handling of Hawes's poems after his death.

<sup>27</sup> On the convergence of aristocratic, gentry, and professional interest in Tudor England's increasingly rarefied culture of chivalry and romance, as reflected in readers' bibliographic choices, see further Carol M. Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers, and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 201–38, especially 206–7 and 216–20; Caroline Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), 219–41, at 239–41; and with specific reference to the reading and exchange of books within and around the household of Margaret Beaufort, Mary C. Erler, 'The Laity', in Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 134–48, at 142–8.



developing a recognisable “image” for the printer’.<sup>28</sup> These features are especially apparent in de Worde’s editions of religious and school texts, and Driver has written on the use of author portraits to illustrate texts attributed to mystical writers and contemporary ecclesiasts and grammarians.<sup>29</sup> Woodcuts illustrations could also provide ‘[n]arrative representations of the contents of the book’, and are prominent too in de Worde’s romance publications.<sup>30</sup> Similar strategies are discernible in the printer’s presentation of contemporary literary texts, though arguably with as great an emphasis on their supposed providence and function as their particular contents or authorship.<sup>31</sup> Bearing visual as well textual resemblance to one another, each of de Worde’s books adds value to the next as part of a recognisable category of literature – a genre, even – catering to a socially aspirant, codifying early Tudor readership. Rather than deriving their cultural capital from the biography or patronage of the historical poet, de Worde’s Hawes editions advertise the value of his poetry as part of a pleasurable, profitable bibliography. And in turn, while Hawes’s allegorical dream poems presented characters and settings which were compelling in their own right, they also provided de Worde with the names, phrases, and images with which he could encourage analogies between his other literary publications.

Nowhere is this desire for analogy more apparent than in de Worde’s production and reuse of the woodcuts illustrating his Hawes editions. Between perhaps 1506 and 1509, de Worde produced two series of woodcuts for his editions of the *Example* and *Pastime*. The 1509 and 1530 editions of the *Example* have the same ten woodcut illustrations (Hodnett 1255–64); one is repeated (Hodnett 1257), and Hodnett 1255, depicting the god of Love enthroned, is duplicated on the titlepage of the 1509 edition.<sup>32</sup> (De Worde’s use and reuse of the *Example*’s and *Pastime*’s single-block woodcuts is fully tabulated in my Appendix). All of these woodcuts seem to have been produced explicitly for

<sup>28</sup> Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England* (London: British Library, 2004), 77–144, 77 quoted; cf. *ead.*, ‘Ideas of Order: Wynkyn de Worde and the Title Page’, in John Scattergood and Julia Boffey (eds.), *Texts and their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 87–149; and on de Worde’s use of heraldic woodcuts as ‘a visual accompaniment to texts with a nationalistic bias, principally as a means of making his books a more attractive prospect’, Edwards and Meale, ‘Marketing of Printed Books’, 101–12, 112 quoted.

<sup>29</sup> Driver, *Image in Print*, 83.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 89; see further Jordi Sánchez-Martí, ‘Illustrating the Printed Middle English Verse Romances, c.1500–c.1535’, *Word & Image*, 27 (2011), 90–102.

<sup>31</sup> Again with an analogue in de Worde’s religious books. See Driver’s discussion of de Worde’s production and reuse of a woodcut portraying St Bridget in fourteen books connected with the Bridgettine abbey at Syon: ‘The Bridget woodcut links these texts and points to a common source: Syon Abbey. [...] The woodcut is not authorial – the books in which the bookplate appears were not written by Bridget – nor is it necessarily related thematically to the contents. Instead, the Bridget woodcut signifies Bridgettine approbation of certain texts.’ Driver, *Image in Print*, 146–49, 149 quoted; cf. Martha W. Driver, ‘Nuns as Patrons, Artists, Readers: Bridgettine Woodcuts in Printed Books Produced for the English Market’, in Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleen L. Scott (eds.), *Art into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum Medieval Symposia* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995), 237–67, at 249–52; and Driver, ‘Pictures in Print’, 243–4.

<sup>32</sup> Hodnett 1260 is duplicated on the titlepage of the 1530 edition.

the *Example*, demonstrating ‘a concern for close correlation of the verbal and visual aspects of a contemporary poetic text [that] seems without precedent in early sixteenth century printing’.<sup>33</sup> Six are reused in later de Worde publications, amongst them the romances *The kynght of the swanne* (STC 7571 and 7571.5), *Syr Degore* (STC 6470), and *The hystorye of Olyuer of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne* (STC 18808).<sup>34</sup> De Worde devoted similar attention to the *Pastime*. Nineteen of the twenty-four woodcuts in the 1517 edition (Hodnett 412, 1007–18, 1089–90, 1108–9, and 1244) seem to have been produced for that text.<sup>35</sup> Seven reappear in later de Worde publications: further romances dating from around 1510 to 1520 and, in the case of Hodnett 1009, which depicts a woman giving a ring to a man (Fig. 1), four editions: the titlepage of the *Conforte*, the titlepage and penultimate leaf of de Worde’s 1517 *Noble and amorous aunycient history of Troylus and Cresyde* [*Troilus*] (STC 5095), and the titlepages of *The iiii: leues of the trueloue*, printed in perhaps 1510 (STC 15345), and *Vndo your dore* [*Squire of Low Degree*], printed in perhaps 1520 (STC 23111.5).<sup>36</sup> Some of de Worde’s illustrations closely correspond to the details of Hawes’s text: the depiction of the god of Love in the *Example* (Hodnett 1255: [1509], titlepage and sig. E6v; 1530, sig. E5v; cf. *Example*, 1296–1309); the personified figure of Fame, enveloped in flames, in the *Pastime* (Hodnett 1008: sig. A3v; cf. *Pastime*, 155–61); and, perhaps most extraordinarily, the battle between Hawes’s poet-narrator, ‘Graunde Amoure’, and a steel-breasted, talon-wielding, scorpion-tailed giant (Hodnett 1015: sig. Q4v; cf. *Pastime* 5096–109).<sup>37</sup> Unsurprisingly, these are among the woodcuts for which de Worde was unable to find further use in later publications. However, looking at the editions in which the *Example* and *Pastime* woodcuts are reused – romances, pseudo-histories, and antifeminist satires – one sees the emergence of a visually recognisable and thematically related corpus of English literary texts.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Edwards, ‘Poet and Printer’, 83.

<sup>34</sup> Titles for early printed books are as printed (uncapitalised and, where necessary, shortened), except for editions of Hawes’s poems (see n. 3).

<sup>35</sup> Hodnett 1007 and 1109 are repeated and Hodnett 1258 appears three times. Of the twenty new woodcuts, four (Hodnett 1007–8, 1090, and 1244) are lacking in the imperfect copy of the 1509 *Pastime*, though as Edwards observes, ‘since the text is defective at all the points where they should have occurred there is no reason to assume that the 1509 edition lacked them’. Edwards, ‘Poet and Printer’, 83 n. 7.

<sup>36</sup> See Seth Lerer, ‘The Wiles of a Woodcut: Wynkyn de Worde and the Early Tudor Reader’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59 (1996), 381–403 and the discussion below.

<sup>37</sup> For further analysis of the correlation between text and image in de Worde’s Hawes editions, see Edwards, ‘Poet and Printer’, 83–8.

<sup>38</sup> On de Worde’s cultivation of a market for short, antifeminist pieces, partly as an outgrowth of his ventures in shorter verse romance, see Julia Boffey ‘Wynkyn de Worde and Misogyny in Print’, in *Chaucer in Perspective: Middle English Essays in Honour of Norman Blake*, ed. Geoffrey Lester (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 236–51; and Alexandra da Costa, *Marketing English Books, 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 95–126. Certain of these editions share woodcut illustrations with the *Example* and the *Pastime* (see further below and Appendix); this association between courtly romance and antifeminist satire in the minds of early Tudor writers, printers, and readers may begin to explain the incongruous character of Godfrey Gobylye in the *Pastime*.



## The cōforte of louers

The comferte of louers made and compyled by Steuen Hawes somtyme grome of the honourable chambere of our late souerayne lord kynge Henry the seventh (whose soule god pardon). In the seconde yere of the reygne of our most naturall souerayne lord kynge Henry the eyght.



Fig. 1 Stephen Hawes, *The cōforte of louers* ([London]: De Worde, [c.1515]) STC 12942.5, titlepage, showing Hodnett 1009. London, British Library, C.57.i.52 (© British Library Board. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

Consider, for instance, the print peregrinations of Hodnett 1009. Seth Lerer, writing of de Worde's reuse of the woodcut in the *Iiii: leues*, the *Conforte*, *Troilus*, and the *Squire of Low Degree*, suggests that, 'by reprinting it prominently in these other texts, ... de Worde offers his readers a set of critical associations among [them]'.<sup>39</sup> So, in the *Iiii: leues*, de Worde's use of Hodnett 1009 as the frontispiece for the edition may have been suggested by its position in the *Pastime*, where Graunde Amoure discovers his beloved, 'Bell Pucell', making 'a garlonde ... With trueloues' (1991–2) at 'the very moment introduced by the woodcut of the man and woman'.<sup>40</sup> There is a further connection between the *Iiii: leues*, the *Conforte*, and *Troilus*: in the *Conforte* and the *Iiii: leues*, the words printed in the scrolls above the man's and woman's heads – 'Holde thys/ a token ywys' and 'for your sake/ I shall it take' – evokes the ring-exchange episode in *Troilus* (III.1366–72), but by means of a 'Skeletonized' paraphrase in *Phyllype Sparowe* (682–92, composed c.1505).<sup>41</sup> The allusion is obscure, but is indicative of the textual and visual cross-references which de Worde seems to have encouraged.

The range and complexity of the possible associations of a woodcut like Hodnett 1009 become further apparent upon closer examination of de Worde's possible sources for the image. Driver's *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* gives a detailed account of de Worde's adaptation and recutting of woodcuts from French, Flemish, and Dutch sources for his editions of the 1490s and early 1500s.<sup>42</sup> Among his experiments in the medium was the production of composite images made of multiple factotums: 'separate woodcuts [depicting, for example, male and female figures, backgrounds, and buildings] used in various combinations to form different illustrations within a text or across a number of texts'.<sup>43</sup> De Worde's chief sources for his composite images were the editions published by Antoine Vêrard, a Parisian printer who produced a number of liturgical and didactic books for the English market between 1503 and 1508.<sup>44</sup> De Worde's *Kalender of shepheherdes*, published in 1508,

<sup>39</sup> Lerer, 'Wiles of a Woodcut', 395.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 391.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 385–6. Lerer takes this latter detail as evidence for Worde's involvement in a poetic rivalry between Hawes and Skelton, on which see further Hawes, *Minor Poems*, ed. Gluck and Morgan, 160–2; Edwards, *Stephen Hawes*, 81–2; and Alistair Fox, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 42–5.

<sup>42</sup> Driver, *Image to Print*, 40–7; cf. the remarks in A. S. G. Edwards, 'Continental Influences on London Printing and Reading in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in Julia Boffey and Pamela King (eds.) *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London), 229–56, at 235–6.

<sup>43</sup> Martha W. Driver, 'Woodcuts and Decorative Techniques', in Gillespie and Powell (eds.), *Companion to the Early Printed Book*, 95–126, at 99.

<sup>44</sup> See John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vêrard* (London: Chiswick Press, 1900), 70–96; Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Vêrard: Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems, and Presentations* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997); and on the 'sequences of response and emulation' discernible in de Worde's and Pynson's publication of editions of French texts, Julia Boffey, 'Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and the English Printing of Texts Translated from French', in Jennifer and Richard Britnell (eds.), *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 171–83.

contains his earliest use of one of early English print's most versatile factotums: a young man in a coat looking back over one shoulder (Fig. 2) – what Driver calls the 'Everyman figure'.<sup>45</sup> The figure had earlier appeared in Vêrard's *Therence en françois* (c. 1500), representing the lovers Pamphile and Cherea, as L'amaunt or L'amoureux in the allegorical poetic anthology, *L'amoureux transy sans espoir* (1502), and in Vêrard's own English *Kalendayr of the shyppars*, published at Paris in around 1503 (STC 22407).<sup>46</sup> It was copied and reused by de Worde and other English printers in a variety of publications until as late as the 1560s, an important 'pictograph' in what Driver describes as 'a conscious construction of a grammar of images, which is directly connected to the rise of literacy',<sup>47</sup> and a reminder that 'English printers were demonstrably influenced by the ways their continental counterparts presented books'.<sup>48</sup> Frequently appearing on the titlepages of books, the Everyman figure 'often represent[s] personifications of Love and/or Folly ... , with the image serving as a marketing device for the volume'.<sup>49</sup> It invited the same kind of visual analogies as de Worde's reuse of single-block woodcuts, but with a far broader range of reference. The figure is incorporated into two composite images in the *Pastime* (sigs. R6r and R7r), in both instances representing Graunde Amoure. Later de Worde editions in which the Everyman figure appears, often as a beleaguered husband or lover, include *The fyftene joyes of maryage* (STC 15258), *Gesta romanorum* (STC 21286.3), *The Noble History of King Ponthus* (STC 20108), and *Troilus* (representing Troilus),<sup>50</sup> each of which also include single-block woodcuts from the *Example* and/or *Pastime* (see Appendix). Of particular interest in relation to Hodnett 1009 is the relationship between Everyman and another factotum figure which de Worde derived from Vêrard: a woman in a long gown raising her right hand (Fig. 2) – the 'Everywoman figure'.<sup>51</sup> Like Everyman, the Everywoman figure illustrates a variety of de Worde editions between which his readers were invited to make textual and visual cross-reference: notably, William Nevill's Hawes-influenced *Castell of pleasure* (STC 18475),<sup>52</sup> *The fyftene joyes of maryage*, *King Ponthus*, *The kynght of the swanne*, and *Troilus*. Together, the Everyman and Everywoman figures may also have provided a pictorial source for Hodnett 1009. On the titlepage of de Worde's edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, printed

<sup>45</sup> See Driver, *Image in Print*, 55–63, to whom I am indebted for much of the material in this paragraph. De Worde's woodcut illustrations in his 1508 *Kalendar* are derived from *The kalendayr of the shyppars* (Paris: [Vêrard], 1503) STC 22407. No copy survives of de Worde's 1508 edition; its layout and illustration are conjectured from a revised edition printed in around 1516, but with the 1508 colophon (STC 22409).

<sup>46</sup> Driver, *Image in Print*, 53–5.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 75, though the link between illustration and literacy is more usually discussed in relation to lay readership of religious and devotional books; see, for example, Driver, 'Pictures in Print'; and Kathleen Kamberick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1550* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), 155–96.

<sup>48</sup> Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> Driver, *Image in Print*, 63.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 60–2.

<sup>51</sup> See *ibid.*, 64–72. The figure was first used by Vêrard in his c.1500 *Therence en françois*.

<sup>52</sup> See A. S. G. Edwards 'Nevill's *Castell of Pleasure* and Stephen Hawes', *Notes & Queries*, 28 (1981), 487.

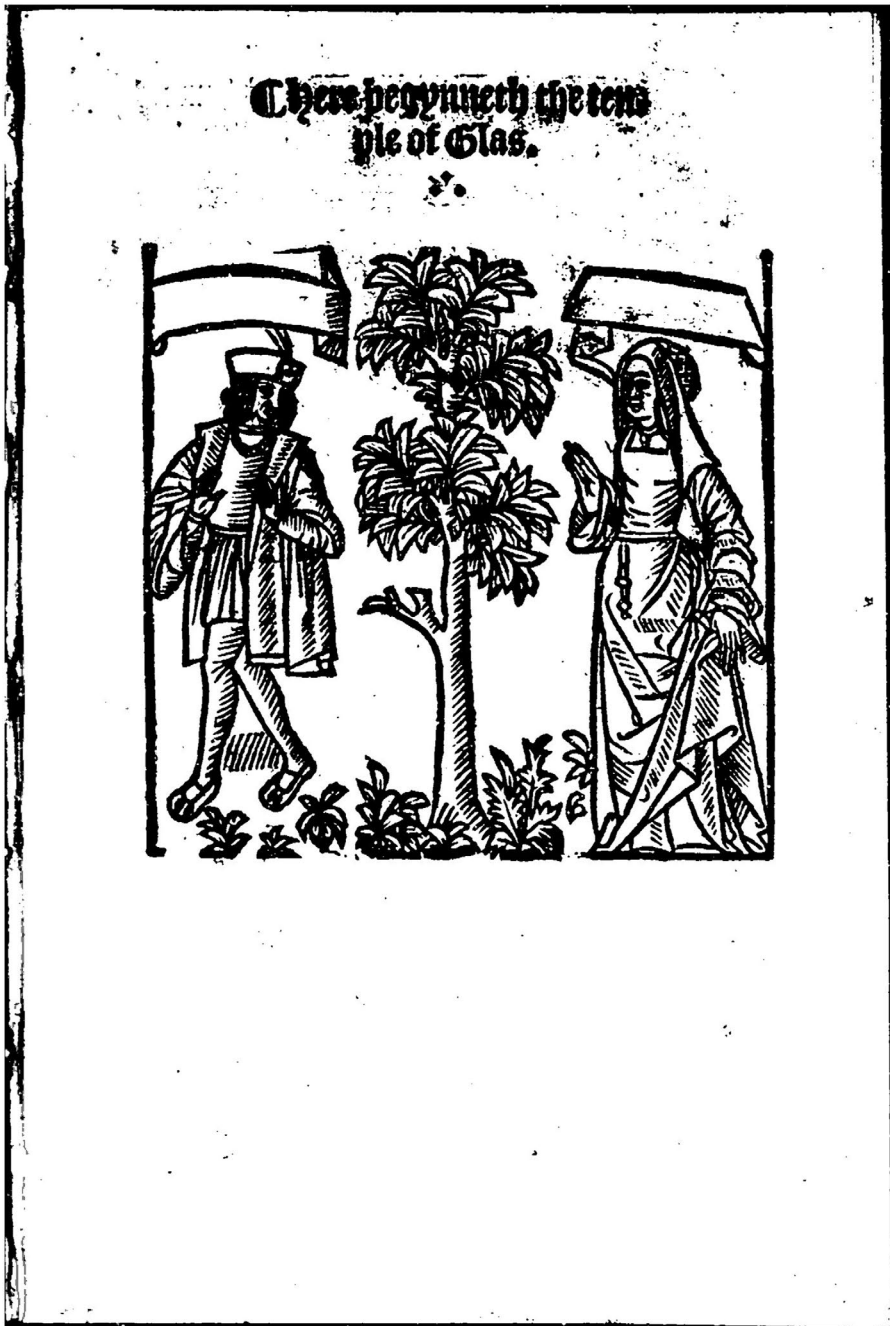


Fig. 2 John Lydgate, *The temple of glas* (London: De Worde, [1506?]) STC 17033.7, titlepage, showing the 'Everyman' and 'Everywoman' factotum figures. London, British Library, C.132.i.39 (© British Library Board. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

in perhaps 1506 (*STC* 17033.7), the figures appear in a composite image that bears a striking resemblance to Hodnett 1009: Everyman is on the right, Everywoman on the left; and they are separated by a tree factotum (Fig. 2). This is the first edition of the *Temple* to have an illustrated titlepage, a rough antecedent for the titlepage of the *Conforte*.<sup>53</sup> I do not mean to suggest that the latter edition was envisaged as a sequel or companion to the *Temple*; nevertheless, the resemblance is apposite to a text in which Hawes makes direct reference to Lydgate's 'bokes' – one of the 'confortes' claimed by the love-sick poet-narrator (*Conforte*, 279–87) – and which has structural and thematic parallels with Lydgate's framed first-person allegories. Such details reinforce the idea of de Worde's production of textual and visual connections between his books – connections that he was confident would be appreciated, even innovated, by his readers (see further below). Much like the depersonalised poet-narrator's of Hawes's dream poems, the Everyman figure – Graunde Amour – the Everywoman figure – Bell Pucell – and their single-block woodcut relations belong to no one text or poet and have no definite signification. They are available as representations of youths, lovers, and husbands, of maidens, beloveds, and wives, whether in romance, pseudo-historical, or satirical texts, and helped early Tudor readers to draw together these diverse reading materials.

It is becoming increasingly clear that authorship, far being from the only or even the most significant means of accruing cultural capital in early English print, was just one of the ways by which de Worde and his contemporaries were able to promote their literary publications. In the case of Hawes, advertising the character and reputation of the historical poet seems to have been of less importance than assimilating his identity to the type of the lover-poet-moralist, as demonstrated by a brief reprising of his name and writings by de Worde and his associates in around 1530. Hawes's name appears in the colophon or on the titlepage of each of de Worde's editions of his poems; yet in over two decades of publication, the printer supplies only one further biographical detail regarding the poet, Hawes's position as a groom of the Chamber:

Stephen Hawes somtyme grome of the honourable chamber of our late souerayne lorde kynge Henry the seuenth (whose soule god pardon).

(Hawes, *Conforte*, titlepage; cf. Fig. 1)<sup>54</sup>

The next references to Hawes in print are posthumous; both appear in de Worde editions and were written by writers associated with his press. In his verse preface to de Worde's 1530 edition of Chaucer's *Assemblie of fowls* (*STC* 5092), the printer-poet Robert Copland somewhat incredibly names 'yonge Hawes' alongside Lydgate as one of the deceased 'heyres' of Chaucer

<sup>53</sup> Earlier editions of the *Temple*, printed by Caxton ([1477?]), de Worde ([1493?] and [c.1500]), and Pynson (1503), are unillustrated (*STC* 17032, *STC* 17032a, *STC* 17033, and *STC* 17033.3).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Example* ([1506?]), sig. A3r; *Conuercyon* (1509), sig. [A8r]; and *Ioynfull Medytacyon* ([1510?]), sig. [A4v]; and *Pastime* (1517), sig. A2v (colophon not extant in imperfect 1509 edition).



(sig. [A1v], l. 9).<sup>55</sup> The verse is an address to the 'New Fanglers' who cry out for new writing, while 'Olde morall bokes stonde styll vpon the shelfe' (27). Copland's dismissal of the 'Tryfles and toyes' (29) currently in demand recalls Hawes's condemnation of the writing of 'gestes and trifles without fruytfulnes' in the *Pastime* (1391). Hawes's writings are held to contain the same 'morall sperkes' (23) as the books of Chaucer and Lydgate, and it is probably no coincidence that de Worde reprinted the *Example* in the same year.

Probably a year earlier, in 1529, a longer eulogy for Hawes appears in the prologue to Thomas Feylde's *Contrauerse bytwene a louer and a jaye* (STC 10838.7).<sup>56</sup> Feylde's first stanza closely follows the proem to Hawes's *Conforte*, praising poetry as a moral and edifying pastime:

Thoughe laureate poetes in olde antyquyte  
 Fayned fables vnder cloudy sentence  
 yet some intytuled fruytefull moralyte  
 Some of loue wrote grete cyrcumstaunce  
 Some of cheuaulrous actes made remembraunce  
 Some as good phylosophres naturally endyted  
 Thus wysely and wyttely theyr tyme they spended.

(Feylde, *Louer and a jaye* [1529?], sig. [A1v], ll. 1–7)

Feylde next passes judgement on a series of love poets from antiquity (8–14), praises Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate in terms of their 'rethoryke', 'eloquence', and 'moralytyes' (15–21, 15 and 18 quoted), before turning to a less likely poetic exemplar, Hawes:

yonge Steuen Hawse whose soule god pardon  
 Treated of loue so clerkely and well  
 To rede his werkes is myne affeccyon  
 whiche he compyled for Labell pusell  
 Remembrynge storyes fruytefull and delectable  
 I lytell or nought experte in poetry  
 Oflamentable loue hathe made a dytty.

(Feylde, *Louer and a jaye* [1529?], sig. A1v, ll. 23–9)

<sup>55</sup> See A. S. G. Edwards, 'An Allusion to Stephen Hawes, c.1530', *Notes & Queries*, 224 (1979), 397. Four translations from French by Copland were published by de Worde between perhaps 1506 and 1512. By 1514, Copland seems to have set up his own press, though many of the books bearing his colophon were probably printed for de Worde. Copland continued to provide occasional verses for de Worde's publications until the latter's death. Mary C. Erler, 'Copland [Coplande], Robert [Roberte] (fl. 1505–1547)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/6265> (accessed November 2020); see further *eadem.* (ed.), *Robert Copland: Poems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

<sup>56</sup> Feylde's only known work. Reprinted in perhaps 1532 (STC 10839). STC suggests a [1527?] date for de Worde's first edition; I follow Edwards in placing the edition closer to 1530, a year of apparently renewed interest in Hawes amongst de Worde and his associates. Edwards, 'Allusion'.



Feylde, like Copland, presents Hawes as a poet of virtuous love; one who, like Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, ‘is deed’ and ‘gone’ (*Parliament* [1530], sig. A1v, ll. 9, 11). However, unlike the poets of England’s medieval past, whose manuscript books Copland has lain up ‘tyll that the lether moules’ (14), Feylde conceives of Hawes’s within the fiction of authorship devised at the end of the *Conforte*, where the allegorical lady ‘Pucell’ reveals to Hawes’s poet-narrator ‘Amoure’, that

Of late I sawe aboke of your makynge  
 Called the pastyme of pleasure whiche is wond[rous]  
 For I thyn[k]e and you had not ben in louynge  
 Ye coude neuer haue made it so sentencyous  
 I redde there all your passage daungerous  
 Wherefore I wene for the fayre ladyes sake  
 That ye dyd loue ye dyde that boke so make

(Hawes, *Conforte*, 785–91)

In the *Louer and a jaye*, Hawes’s books are attributed to Amour, lover of Pucell, rather than Stephen Hawes, groom of the Chamber. The description of Hawes as ‘yonge’ indicates the quasi-Troilean status which he had come to occupy in the bibliographic imaginary – an attentive courtier, vulnerable to the caprices of love, but amenable to wise counsel.<sup>57</sup> This is a convenient fiction for Feylde, who has written his own ‘dytty’ ‘Oflamentable loue’ under similar auspices. The *Louer and a jaye* is an allegorical dream poem in which the poet-narrator reports a conversation overheard between a lover, ‘Amator’, and a Jay, ‘Graculus’, precipitated by the departure of Amator’s beloved, ‘pucell’ (sig. A3v, l. 22). An exposition of the dream is supplied in ‘Lenuoye of the auctoure’, with clues to the identities of Amator and his beloved:

Who lyketh thy [i.e. the book’s] sentence and pondureth it ryght  
 Contectynge well in his remembraunce

<sup>57</sup> Contrast the presentation of Barclay as a moral poet-advisor in the mould of Lydgate in the author woodcuts (Hodnett 1510 and 1962) illustrating Pynson’s editions of his poems and translations, analysed in Julie Smith, ‘Woodcut Presentation Scenes in Books Printed by Caxton, de Worde, and Pynson’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1986), 322–43, at 333–8; and the ‘Skelton Poeta’ and author woodcuts (Hodnett 2056, 2058, 2287) illustrating Richard Faques’ 1523 *A goodly garlande or chapelet of laurel* (STC 22610) and John Rastell’s small quarto editions of short poems by Skelton, printed in perhaps 1527 and 1528 (STC 22611, 22604), discussed in Mary C. Erler, ‘Early Woodcuts of Skelton: The Uses of Convention’, *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 87 (1986–7), 17–28; and Jane Griffiths, ‘What’s in a Name?: The Transmission of “John Skelton, Laureate” in Manuscript and Print’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 215–35, at 224–33. An imagined affinity between Hawes’ (Graunde) Amour and Chaucer’s Troilus is further recommended by the *Pastime*: Troilus is mentioned five times in the poem, twice specifically in relation to Graunde Amoure’s separation from and eventual union with Bell Pucell (1808–27, 4481–82).

Knowe maye he truely that by ['on account of'] a lady bryght  
 Thou was compyled by pastymes pleasaunte.  
 Suche grete vnkyndnesse whiche caused varyaunce  
 Was shewed to a loue called. F. T.  
 Her name also begynneth with. A. B.

(Feylde, *Louer and a jaye* [1529?], sig. [C4v], ll. 8–14)

Feylde is as uninterested as was Hawes in the *Conforte* in providing any definite extra-literary referents for his allegory. 'F. T.' clearly stands for 'Thomas Feylde', named in the colophon (sig. [C4v]); but 'A. B.' is no more helpful than the *Conforte*'s 'my p p p p thre' (140) for identifying the poem's Pucell. As in Hawes, the value of Feylde's poetry relies on its expression of topical commonplaces – here, 'the actes and propertyes of women' (sig. C4v, l. 2) – using a form and types associated with the 'pastymes pleasaunte' of a refined social elite. Feylde does not pretend to emulate the medieval authors cited in the prologue. Like Hawes, he is visible only as Amator-Amour. The identity is reinforced by the titlepage to the *Louer and a jaye*. Feylde is not named; and the illustration is a composite image composed of the Everyman figure and an altered version of the tree factotum used in the 1506? *Temple* (Fig. 3). Here, Everyman represents Feylde-Amator, forging a visual link to the lovers in the *Temple*, the *Pastime*, *Troilus*, and, by analogy with Hodnett 1009, the *Conforte* – all products of de Worde's press.<sup>58</sup> It would seem that, by around 1530, the names of Hawes and his books perform a similar function, as markers of literary genre within an expanding print market – points of reference whereby other English poets could signal the pleasure and profit to be derived from their books.

Marketing English poetry by means of analogy rather than authorship seems to have proved a commercial success. De Worde and his associates continued to develop the possibilities for textual and visual cross-references between their books, with Hawes's *Example* and *Pastime* providing a useful paradigm. The publication by de Worde of a number of English literary texts containing allusion to or borrowings from Hawes has led A. S. G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale to posit 'the existence of a de Worde poetic coterie' during the 1520s and early 1530s.<sup>59</sup> Between perhaps 1520 and 1533, de Worde pub-

<sup>58</sup> A further suggestive parallel is Vêrard's use of the Pamphile-Cherea-L'amaunt factotum to represent L'amant in the sprawling lyric verse collection *Le Jardin de Plaisance* (Paris: Vêrard, 1501). The book's composite images, complementing a loose narrative frame for the anthology, serve, according to Jane Taylor, to replicate 'the experience of verse-production and verse-reception in the world of the court. [...] Vêrard's determined effort to re-imagine a social-narrative articulation for his anthology bespeaks an anxiety to provide poems with the sort of social context which alone, it seems, can give them legitimacy'. Taylor, *The Making of Poetry: Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 230, 289. Analogues such as these re-emphasise de Worde's evident awareness of Continental publishing trends and might be further investigated in relation to his selection and presentation of English literary texts.

<sup>59</sup> Edwards and Meale, 'Marketing of Printed Books', 119; cf. Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 146–8.



Fig. 3 Thomas Feylde, *The contrauerse bytwene a louer and a jape* (London: De Worde, [1529?]) STC 10838.7, titlepage. British Library, C.132.i.45 (© British Library Board. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

lished Christopher Goodwin's framed first-person allegory, *The chaunce of the dolorous louer* (STC 12046);<sup>60</sup> the Boccaccian *Hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus* (STC 3184.5) and *Guystarde and Sygysmonde* (STC 3183.5), both translated by William Walter; Feylde's *Louer and a jaye*, Nevill's *Castell of pleasure* (STC 18475);<sup>61</sup> *Thenterlude of youth* (STC 14111), for which the *Example* is a direct source;<sup>62</sup> and Walter's antifeminist dialogue, *The spectacle of louers* (STC 25008), which includes borrowings from the *Pastime*.<sup>63</sup> De Worde's publication of contemporary English poets constitutes only a small portion of his English literary output; nevertheless, his selection and marketing of even this limited number of texts sets de Worde apart from Caxton, Pynson, and Julian Notary among England's early printers.<sup>64</sup> Edwards suggests a 'degree of interconnectedness' between de Worde's publication of Walter, Feylde, Nevill, and his reprinting of Hawes 'that seems not to have a great deal to do with actual content', but which was guided instead 'by a consistency of taste – in this instance, interest in Hawes's works'.<sup>65</sup> I am inclined to agree, but with the caveat that similarities in content seem to have been less meaningful to de Worde and his associates than similarities in function – and in this respect, de Worde's pleasurable, profitable, English books are closely aligned. A program of moralising and contextualising paratexts facilitated de Worde's publication of courtly, amatory, often romance-type English verse by little-known contemporary poets – 'storyes fruytefull and delectable' such as those prescribed by Hawes, Feylde, and Copland.<sup>66</sup> Crucially, de Worde and his associates seem to have appreciated the role of the reader in the collecting and application of their books. The bibliographic network or literary genre represented by de Worde's English literary publications is deliberately inclusive, one in which authors such as Hawes feature as one among many organising principles. As will be seen below, it was ultimately de Worde's readers, not the printer himself, who determined the consumption and compilation of contemporary English poetry. Textual and visual connections serve as prompts, not directives, in what can be understood as an interactive improvisation of genre in early sixteenth-century England.

<sup>60</sup> Goodwin's only other known work, *The maydens dreame*, was printed at London by Robert Wyer for Richard Bankes in 1542 (STC 12407).

<sup>61</sup> Almost certainly a reprint of an earlier edition. An edition of Nevill's *Castell of pleasure* was printed at London by Hary Pepwell in 1518 (STC 18476).

<sup>62</sup> I. Lancashire (ed.), *Two Tudor Interludes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 39–41.

<sup>63</sup> A. S. G. Edwards identifies the *Pastime* as the source for two episodes in Walter's *Spectacle* in 'William Walter and Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*', *Notes & Queries*, 33 (1986), 450–51.

<sup>64</sup> See Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 143; Edwards and Meale, 'Marketing of Printed Books', 119; and Boffey and Edwards, 'Penumbra of Romance', 239–40.

<sup>65</sup> Edwards, 'Manuscript to Print', 147–8.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Boffey and Edwards' suggestion of a shift during the later part of de Worde's career towards the printing of short, 'generically mixed' works by living English poets, 'in which tropes of love chivalry, questing, and testing familiar in romance might mingle with dream, debate, sometimes satire, and comedy'. Boffey and Edwards, 'Penumbra of Romance', 236.

In a bibliographic culture of manuscript booklets and nonce-volumes, where the availability of texts depended as much on happenstance as on demand, paratextual links between de Worde's English literary publications presented buyers and compilers with multiple options by which to organise their reading materials, whilst stimulating further print consumption. Gillespie posits that de Worde, like Caxton before him, printed folio and later quarto editions of English texts that invited collection in *Sammelbände* because of their visual and functional analogies.<sup>67</sup> '*Sammelbände*, like manuscript booklets', argues Gillespie, 'allowed for a dynamic aspect in the early trade in printed books. They could accommodate for the whims of buyers', but also demonstrate the 'new mechanisms' devised by printers and retailers 'to single out, promote, and also to link their wares'.<sup>68</sup> Alexandra da Costa's recent *Marketing English Books, 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading* also considers the role of 'complementarity' – 'the potential for a work to be bound with others' – in the sale of books.<sup>69</sup> The low survival rate of *Sammelbände* in libraries and private collections makes it difficult to assess buyers' responsiveness to printers' marketing strategies.<sup>70</sup> Yet as da Costa demonstrates, as early as the beginning of sixteenth century, printers seem to have assumed that buyers would be able to browse through their own or a bookseller's stock before making a purchase. 'There is, then, enough evidence to believe that epitexts [i.e. paratexts] such as title-pages, tables of contents, woodcuts and even errata notices mattered a great deal in the marketing of early printed books.'<sup>71</sup> Even if exposed to only a fraction of a printer's output, buyers had ample opportunity for making connections between the books in a printer's or bookseller's shop, as well as those that they already owned. This is especially important for de Worde's marketing of otherwise diverse, perhaps not always obviously moral or instructive works by contemporary English poets, which gain value by means of analogy. Textual allusions and borrowings, reused woodcuts, hortatory prefaces and envoys, and, less prominently, authorial attributions, encouraged what I have been describing as the improvisation of genre by early sixteenth-century readers of contemporary English poetry, with Hawes as a perennial intertext.

<sup>67</sup> Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author*, 26–117; cf. *eadem.*, 'Poets, Printers, and Early English *Sammelbände*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 189–214.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 67–8.

<sup>69</sup> De Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 24. See also, focusing on the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the literary and intellectual ramifications of early modern 'compiling culture', Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

<sup>70</sup> On the 'pristine rebinding' of books previously bound together by modern libraries and collectors, see Knight, *Bound to Read*, 2–3, quoting Julia Miller, *Books Will Speak Plain: A Handbook for Identifying and Describing Historical Bindings* (Ann Arbor, MI: Legacy Press, 2010), 298.

<sup>71</sup> De Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 17, cf. 14–17 for the evidence, mostly in the prefaces and prologues to printed books, for printers' assumption that 'browsing will be part of the buying process' (17).



An early example, apparently representing more conservative literary tastes, is the book-list of James Morice, Clerk of Works to Margaret Beaufort from around 1505 until her death. The 'Kalendar of English bokes concerning to James Morice', dated around 1508, appears on the verso of the first leaf of a copy of John Tiptoft's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, printed by Caxton in 1481 (STC 5293) – 'the earliest surviving list of exclusively English printed books'.<sup>72</sup> Morice's twenty-three titles, mostly devotional and instructional texts, also include diversionary reading such as 'The Storie of the seuen Wise Maisters of Rome', 'Reynerd the fox', and 'Esope'. Nine of Morice's titles are enclosed by a bracket and accompanied by the note 'in j book'; they were probably bound together in a single volume. Morice's 'book' includes a work by Richard Rolle, four courtesy books, but also Lydgate's 'Temple of glase',<sup>73</sup> Caxton's 'order of knyghthode',<sup>74</sup> and Chaucer's 'The loue bytwene Mars and Venus',<sup>75</sup> intimating an interest in works of chivalry and medieval English authors alongside more practical writing. Mary C. Erler suggests that the book-list's 'strong investment in secular self-improvement might be considered to represent the reading preferences of an emerging professional class'.<sup>76</sup> And as markets grew, printers and retailers continued to expand the range of English, literary, ostensibly edifying texts which might find a place in books like Morice's.

Morice's book-list was produced during the period of de Worde's first printing of Hawes's poems. The contents of a *Sammelband* from the library of the eighteenth-century antiquarian Cox Macro, partially reconstructed by the bibliographer Seymour de Ricci in 1931, seems closely aligned with the literary tastes of the 'de Worde poetic coterie' a generation later.<sup>77</sup> According to de Ricci, the volume once contained copies of de Worde's second edition of Feylde's *Louer and a jaye*,<sup>78</sup> Goodwin's *Dolorous louer* and *The maydens dreame*,<sup>79</sup> Walter's *Spectacle of louers*, and translations of four satirical texts on marriage: *The payne and sorowe of euyll maryage*, translated by Lydgate (STC 19119); *A complaynt of them that be to soone maryed*, translated by Copland (STC 5729); *The complaynte of them that ben to late maryed*, translated by Copland (STC 5728.5);

<sup>72</sup> CUL, Inc. 3. J. 1. 1. For a full transcription of the book-list and identification of its editions, see J. C. T. Oates, 'English Bokes Concernynng to James Morice', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1962), 124–32, 129 quoted.

<sup>73</sup> Printed five times before 1508. See n. 53.

<sup>74</sup> A translation by Caxton of Ramón Llull's *Libre del orde de cavalleria* [*The book of the ordre of chivalry or knyghthode*], published in 1484 (STC 3356.7).

<sup>75</sup> *The loue and complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus*, published at Westminster by Notary in perhaps 1500 (STC 5089).

<sup>76</sup> Erler, 'Laity', 148.

<sup>77</sup> See Gillespie, 'Poets, Printers, *Sammelbände*', 194 and 195–9 on the difficulties of establishing an early Tudor provenance for volumes which may have been bound by later book-collectors, retailers, or librarians.

<sup>78</sup> See n. 56.

<sup>79</sup> See n. 60.



and *The fyftene joyes of maryage* (STC 15258), also possibly translated by Copland. Each edition was printed by or has some association with de Worde's press, and the titlepage of all but two shares a single-block or factotum woodcut with the *Example* or the *Pastime*.<sup>80</sup> Should the reconstructed Macro *Sammelband* be taken to represent an early-Tudor volume, the selection and arrangement of its contents indicate the receptiveness of its compiler to the textual and visual analogies suggested between de Worde's literary publications.

The star example of a de Worde *Sammelband*, and the compilation which most aptly demonstrates Hawes's place in the bibliographic network delineated above, is the volume that was sold at the auction of John Ker, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Roxburghe's library in 1812, formerly in the collection of the Revd. Richard Farmer, and now dispersed throughout the BL, Library of Congress, and HL.<sup>81</sup> This 'single-volume quarto assembly of lyric verse, visions, courtly love poems, and misogynist tracts' contained no poems by Hawes when described in 1812, though reminiscences of his books haunt its contents.<sup>82</sup> The volume's frontispiece, that of de Worde's 1517 *Troilus*, is shared by the titlepage of the *Conforte* (see above and Fig. 3); the third and fifth items, Nevill's *Castell of pleasure* and Walter's *Spectacle of louers*, are related to the *Pastime* both by textual borrowings and the illustration of their titlepages;<sup>83</sup> and two further framed first-person allegories, de Worde's 1506? *Temple* and *The complaynte of a lovers lyfe*, printed in perhaps 1531 (STC 17014.7), are by Hawes's claimed poetic 'mayster', Lydgate (*Pastime*, 48).<sup>84</sup> Other items include Walter's *Tytus & Gesyppus* and *Guystarde and Sygsmonde*, another copy of *The loue and complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus* included in Morice's 'book', and Felyde's *Lover and a jaye* with its eulogy for 'yonge Steuen Hawse'. These connections to Hawes's books need not indicate any special interest in Hawes's poetry *per se*; indeed, it seems highly improbable that the compiler of the Farmer *Sammelband* should have been guided in their selection by a taste for Hawes *reliquiae* while including no poems by the poet himself. Instead, the volume stands as the physical manifestation of the dynamic processes for marketing, categorising, and collecting printed literary texts during this period – an improvisation of literary genre involving poets, printers, and readers, which depends as much upon the appearance and perceived function of books as on their authorship or content. The texts of the Farmer *Sammelband* are amatory, often fantastic,

<sup>80</sup> *Payne and sorowe of ewyll maryage*. Hodnett 1264; *Complaynte of them that ben to late maryed*. Everyman and Everywoman figures; *Fyftene joyes of maryage*. Hodnett 1264; 1532? *Louer and a jaye*. Everyman figure; *Spectacle of louers*. Age-Councell figure (cf. *Pastime*, sig. R6r); *The maydens dreame*. Age-Councell and Everywoman figures.

<sup>81</sup> For a full description of the provenance and contents of the 'Farmer *Sammelband*' and remarks concerning the literary and commercial implications of its textual and visual connections, see Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author*, 110–16.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>83</sup> See nn. 52, 63, and 80.

<sup>84</sup> The frontispiece to *The complaynte of a lovers lyfe* is a composite image composed of the Age-Councell figure, the *Temple*-Feylde tree factotum, and the Everyman figure, two of which also appear in the composite image illustrating the titlepage of the 1506? *Temple* (see above and Fig. 1).

but insistently instructive; they are the compositions of various writers, but share an imagined affiliation to the mores and ideals epitomised by the Everyman-Troilus-Amour and/or Everywoman-Criseyde-Pucell depicted on their titlepages. The role of Hawes within such volumes, and in the bibliographic network they represent, is as a possible, though not essential, point of reference – a marker of genre rather than a guide to the meaning or selection of texts, and an advertisement for the products of de Worde's press.

De Worde died in late 1534 or early 1535, two years after the publication of William Thynne's *Workes of Geffray Chaucer* (STC 5068). The publication of Chaucer's *Workes* is understood as a pivotal moment in the 'emergence of the English author', inaugurating an early modern tradition of printing English poets' collected 'Works'.<sup>85</sup> This was not, of course, the only way to market English poetry in print, nor was it especially viable in the cases of contemporary poets without an established reputation. De Worde's printing of Hawes and his use of Hawes's poetry as an affirmative point of reference in later literary publications represents a practical and stimulating alternative to author-based marketing strategies. Adding value by analogy was a vital mechanism for supplying consumer demand for new writing. It warrants further examination as an integral component of early sixteenth-century English literary culture.

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<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Pask, *Emergence of the English Author*, especially 14–19.

Reuse of *Example* and *Pastime* woodcut illustrations in later de Worde publications

	Example new woodcuts										Pastime reused woodcuts*		Pastime new woodcuts (cont. below)			
	1255	1256	1257	1258	1259	1260	1261	1262	1263	1264	952	987	1241	412	1007	1008
<b>De Worde Hawes editions</b>																
Hawes, <i>The example of vertu</i> ([1506?]) STC 12945	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Hawes, [ <i>The Example of Vertu</i> ] (1530) STC 12947 (imperfect)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Hawes, [ <i>The Pastime of Pleasure</i> ] ([1509]) STC 12948				X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X		
Hawes, <i>The passe tyme of pleasure</i> (1517) STC 12949				X	X	X	X									
Hawes, <i>The conforte of louers</i> ([c. 1515]) STC 12942.5				X	X	X	X									
<b>De Worde romances and pseudo-histories</b>																
[ <i>The Noble History of King Panthus</i> ], trans. Henry Watson (1511) STC 20108													X			
<i>The kynight of the swanne</i> , trans. Robert Copland (1512) STC 7571. Reprinted [c. 1522] (STC 7571.5)				X					X	X						
<i>Syr Degore</i> ([1512-13]) STC 6470									X				X			
Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>The noble and amorous au ncyent history of Troylus and Cresyde</i> (1517) STC 5095																
<i>The hystorye of Olywer of Castylle, and of the foyre Helayne</i> , trans. Henry Watson (1518) STC 18808									X							

\*Hodnett 952 earlier uses: *The kalender of shepherdes* (London: Richard Pynson, 1506) STC 22408; Laurent d'Orleans, *The boke named the royall* , trans. William Caxton (London: Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, [1507]) STC 21430 and 21430a. Hodnett 987 earlier uses: *Kalender* (1506); *A liti boke the whiche traytyd many gode thinges for the pestilence* ([London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1509?]) STC 24235. Hodnett 1241 (probably) earlier uses: [*The History of the Excellent Knight Generides*] ([London: De Worde, 1506?]) STC 11721.5 (fragment only extant).



	<i>Pastime new woodcuts (cont.)</i>															
	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1089	1090	1108	1109	1241	1244
<b>De Worde Hawes editions</b>																
Hawes, <i>The example of vertu</i> [(1506?)] <i>STC</i> 12945																
Hawes, [ <i>The Example of Vertu</i> ] (1530) <i>STC</i> 12947 (imperfect)																
Hawes, [ <i>The Pastime of Pleasure</i> ] [(1509)] <i>STC</i> 12948	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Hawes, <i>The passe tyme of pleasure</i> (1517) <i>STC</i> 12949	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hawes, <i>The conforde of louers</i> [(c. 1515)] <i>STC</i> 12942.5	X															
<b>De Worde romances and quasi-histories</b>																
[ <i>The Noble History of King Ponthus</i> ], trans. Henry Watson (1511) <i>STC</i> 20108														X	X	X
<i>The kynght of the swanne</i> , trans. Robert Copland (1512) <i>STC</i> 7571. Reprinted [c. 1522] ( <i>STC</i> 7571.5)										X						
<i>Syr Degore</i> [(1512-13)] <i>STC</i> 6470															X	
Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>The noble and amorous au ncyent history of Troylus and Cresyde</i> (1517) <i>STC</i> 5095	X	X										X				
<i>The hystorye of Olyver of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne</i> , trans. Henry Watson (1518) <i>STC</i> 18808												X		X		





## Abstract

The printing of the poems of the early Tudor poet Stephen Hawes (*c.*1474–before 1529) by the London printer Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5) is the earliest example of the sustained publication of a contemporary English poet by a single printer. This article considers de Worde's printing of Hawes, in a flurry around 1509 and then at intervals of more or less ten years until 1530, as part of a larger effort to establish a noncourt audience for contemporary English poetry with nevertheless courtly credentials. The paratexts with which de Worde frames Hawes's verse – from woodcut illustrations, to the printing of the author's name, to the citation of Hawes by other writers associated with de Worde – are examined as evidence for a growing tendency amongst London printers to provide opportunities for their readers to make imaginative crossreference between their varied literary output. They represent an alternative to the marketing of English literary texts primarily on the basis of authorship – what I describe as an 'improvisation of literary genre' by early Tudor England's poets, printers, and readers.