A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON ROBERT HENRYSON'S
MORALL FABILLIS

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(The Department of English)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
September, 1977

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ABSTRACT

While Henryson's Testament of Cresseid and Orpheus and Eurydice have received considerable critical attention and acclaim, his longest and most ambitious work, The Morall Fabillis of Esope, has been largely neglected; with the exception of one thesis (Jamieson: Edinburgh, 1964), it has either received summary treatment in surveys or else been subject to critical selection. This has unfortunately prevented the true stature of the poet and the virtuosity of his work from being appreciated as they deserve, and my thesis is an attempt to rectify this situation by treating the Fabillis in close detail and as a sequence. In my opinion, the Morall Fabillis is a major work of medieval literature.

My thesis also attempts to show how attention to the known facts of the poet's life can sharpen our critical focus in estimating the nature and purpose of his "Translatioun". Through them we can best arrive at an understanding of the foundations of Henryson's greatness. If we accept that Henryson was a university graduate in Arts and Canon Law, a reading of Aristotle, penitential handbooks and encyclopedias will help us to appreciate the polysemous allusiveness of his figural poetry, in which animal physiology, moral psychology and legal expertise are delightfully and subtly blended. If we accept that he was a schoolmaster, a reading of Priscian's Praeexercitamina will help us to understand better how Henryson structures his narratives, and research into
classroom teaching methods and curricula can even give us new insight into the principles by which he orders his collection. Since Aesop's *Fables* occupied a vitally important place in medieval education, Henryson's *Fabillis* is invaluable for an understanding of the way in which pedagogical aims, teaching methods and compositional exercises such as Priscian's affected medieval literary production and social values.

My thesis, then, has two main parts. In the introduction, I place Henryson in his historical and educational setting, and in the necessarily longer critical commentary on the fables, I show how knowledge of this setting helps us to come to grips with the extraordinary richness, subtlety, and—in a word—greatness of his work.
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LEGENDA

For convenience in typing, I have modernized Middle English and Middle Scots "thorn" (ɔ) throughout this dissertation. Otherwise, all Latin, French, Italian, Scottish and English quotations have been left unaltered. Editions of the Early English Text Society and the Scottish Text Society have been cited by their acronyms EETS and STS throughout. All Biblical quotations and references follow the King James Version of the Bible, and all quotations from Henryson's poetry--unless otherwise stated--are drawn from the edition of H. Harvey Wood, *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1933).
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Middle Scots poet Robert Henryson is worth studying primarily because he is the greatest poet of the fifteenth century, a superlative writer of 'English' poetry in a century during which England could produce nothing better than John Lydgate—apart, that is, from the anonymous writers of lyrics and ballads. On top of this, he was a pre-Reformation prophet calling for moral and legal reform, and an educator whose interests clearly reflect not only the fifteenth century "absorption of neo-classicism into the sphere of scholasticism", but also the influence of educational methods on literary practice. Hence, he is quite as fascinating to study from the points of view of educational, social, political and literary history as from that of literary criticism.

Since Marshall Stearns's and Sergio Rossi's books on him in the 1950's, Henryson studies have gradually snowballed. John MacQueen's study in 1967 is the only other book on him to date, but a number of articles have enlarged our appreciation of Henryson's language and narrative method; his use of Classical myth and allegory; his relationship to Chaucer, Dunbar, and Continental influences; and so on. However, while Henryson's Cresseid and even his Orpheus have enjoyed a considerable degree of critical attention, his longest work has been relatively neglected, despite a gentle plea from Sergio Rossi that while the Testament is "la
piu nota", the Fabillis is "la piu complessa e impegnativa". This is unfortunate. If as much attention were given this work as has been given his other long narratives, Henryson's true poetic stature would become more readily apparent.

Three major factors, then, have been involved in the neglect of the Fabillis. The first I have already suggested: the concentration of critical attention on the Testament of Cresseid and Orpheus and Eurydice. The other two have to do with apparent flaws in the Fabillis itself: the Moralitates very often seem to be inconsistent with the fables they are supposed to expound, and the collection itself appears to be unorganized.

Recently, such critics as Toliver, Denton Fox, and Jamieson have gone some of the way towards justifying the part played by the moral in the structure of the Fabillis, and Roerecke has tried to demonstrate the "symmetry" of the work. Though the first objection has been partially met, the second is still current and represents in most critics' minds a serious obstacle to the evaluation of the Fabillis as a master work.

The confusion stems very largely from John MacQueen's championing of the Bannatyne Manuscript as textually superior to the Bassandyne Group (the Bassandyne and Charteris editions and the Harleian MS.). The ramifications of his argument are quite complex, can be faulted at more than one point, and need not be gone into in detail. Basically, carried away by his preference for the undoubtedly attractive readings of Bannatyne, he jumps to the conclusion that it must also represent the original arrangement of the fables, since those three not found in it (The Fox,
the Wolf and the Cadger, The Fox, the Wolf and the Husbandman, and The Wolf and the Wether) he believes to be "additions made after 1485"\(^{17}\) and the publication of Caxton's *Aesop*. Such a conclusion is unwise, considering Fox's cogent arguments on the dating of the fables,\(^{18}\) and considering the evidence to the contrary provided by the Bannatyne MS. itself.

If we look at Bannatyne,\(^{19}\) we notice first of all that the *Fabillis* are interspersed with other miscellaneous allegoric material: the first fable copied (*The Preaching of the Swallow*), is followed by Holland's *Howlat*, and "The Talking of the Tod" by Orpheus and Eurydice and *The Bludy Serk*. Nor is this all; directly following we find *The General Prologue* and *The Cock and the Jasp*. This, surely, is good evidence that Bannatyne does not represent Henryson's original ordering. If it did, we should expect to find the Prologue in the position where prologues belong— it is too elaborate a statement to introduce merely *The Cock and the Jasp*.

What the effect of MacQueen's view has been on subsequent criticism, we can see if we turn to recent theses on the *Fabillis* by Jenkins, Schrader, Gerke, Roerecke and Fratus.\(^{20}\) Besides supplementing Jamieson's earlier work on sources and analogues, they all believe, more or less, that there are some principles of unity lurking somewhere in the tales. However, only Roerecke offers a full scale treatment of the *Fabillis* as a consciously ordered sequence;\(^{21}\) the others, confused (as Jenkins admits) by MacQueen's forceful championing of the Bannatyne text, all cautiously settle for isolated consideration of what seem to them 'outstanding' tales.
Moreover, Roerecke cuts the Gordian knot by accepting the "more traditional" authority of the Bassandyne Group without attempting to refute MacQueen's case for the Bannatyne MS. ordering.  

My view in this matter is coincident with Denton Fox's, that "we now have so little evidence [of Henryson's final intentions] that we may as well be content with the order in Bassandyne since it, unlike the order in Bannatyne, provides a plausible beginning and end." Beyond this, we can find an obvious unity in "The Talking of the Tod" series, similarities between the 'central' fables of the Lion and Mouse and Preaching of the Swallow, and a balance between fox and wolf tales around this centre. However, Henryson is not following a ready-made schema such as Gower uses in his Confessio Amantis: his approach is either idiosyncratic or else reflects the requirements of a different literary tradition.

I believe that the ordering of his text reflects his experience as a teacher at both the moral and rhetorical levels, and that this is what conditions the shape of his creation. In my view, the problem of order becomes less of a problem once we adjust our expectations of Henryson's literary work to fit what we know of his career. His Fabillis, it seems to me, is a collection ordered to meet more than one need, and this multiplicity of aim is what makes his ordering principles so hard to discern.

Besides, as Tom Scott says,

"Poetry for him was a religious vocation, a teaching by parables.... He is almost legally precise, one of the most consistent, logical, and integrated of poets."  

Indeed, since these are qualities that any reader will recognize,
it cannot be assumed that Henryson, along with Lydgate, lacked
the ability to order his material. What then? How can the meagre
details of Henryson's life help us to appreciate his guiding con-
cerns?

We know much less about Henryson's life than we do about
Chaucer's, and what little we do know has hitherto been dismissed
as of little value for appreciation of the poetry—and this may be
ture for his Testament. However, his Fabillis can hardly be appre-
ciated without being considered in terms of his 'biography'.
Henryson was a Dunfermline schoolmaster and poet, possibly also a
notary there, probably a licentiate in Arts and a bacchalaureate
in Decrees from Glasgow University and must have died prior to
the printing of Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris" c. 1508.25 The
rest is blank.

Remarkably, Tom Scott's critique tallies with just these
facts; and, if they are correct, we would expect a look at Henry-
son's poetry through the filters of educational, legal, and civic
traditions to be helpful in sharpening our critical focus. I
assume that a university graduate would make extensive use of mat-
terial he had studied, or of study methods he had learned, when he
came to write. I also assume that a schoolmaster's literary pro-
duction would follow schoolmasterly aims, methods and principles
of ordering and possibly be intended for schoolroom use. Notarial
experience might also be expected to lead to incorporation of civic
themes.

The major aim of my introduction, then, is to place Henryson
in his professional setting and to explore the tradition of educa-
tional literature his fables come out of.

Glasgow

Henryson is usually believed to have been the Magister Robertus Henrisone in artibus Licentiatus et in Decretis bachelarius who was incorporated into the University of Glasgow on the 10th of September, 1462, "just before the university closed for the annual vacation." If this was indeed the poet, as seems probable, we might expect his Glasgow years to have left a stamp on his thought that would be apparent in his later work and interests.

Founded to complement St. Salvator's College of theology and arts in the University of St. Andrews, the University of Glasgow was very new when Henryson was there. Both Bishop Turnbull and James II particularly wanted a school of law at Glasgow, one that would contribute to the solution of urgent problems of state, many of which rose from the turbulence of an ill-educated and disloyal nobility, who yet were the traditional legal administrators. To this effect, the new University was modelled after the pattern of Bologna, the most famous of all medieval law schools.

From rector David Cadzow's inaugural lecture on canon law in the Dominican priory, "De honestate clericorum", it is also evident that "the answer to the malice of the Lollards, and the rebellious barons associated with them" was believed to be sound theology above all. Cadzow had been at the Council of Basle and was interested in education as a weapon of reform. Indeed, as
J. H. Burns has said, "conciliar experience was one of the factors moulding ecclesiastical leadership in fifteenth century Scotland." From our point of view, however, Henryson's association with the rector of his faculty is particularly important. As Durkan puts it,

It must have been quite an experience for his [Cadzow's] young listeners to meet the aged precentor and catch a little of the glow of renewal that inspired some at least of the men who had gone to the Council of Basle.

Besides this, the men who founded St. Salvator's and Glasgow University were all "bred in the outlook of the via antiqua." Since the death in 1437 of its principal exponent, Lawrence of Lindores, Nominalism (the via moderna) had given way to Albertism, which underwent a revival in the universities during these years. This middle-of-the-road philosophy was just what we would expect of conservative reformers—and of the author of The Preaching of the Swallow. Doubtless Henryson owed much to the shaping influence of his Alma Mater in this respect.

We know very little about life at the infant University in the 1450's and 1460's, but what we do know suggests that its existence was a struggling one. The town itself was not very prosperous and the University endowed only by Turnbull. Consequently, when the Bishop died in 1454,

the early loss of their leader and the incidence of famine and plague must have reduced the university teachers almost to despair, burdened as they were with debts for the rent of the pedagogy.

The civil turmoil in the west of Scotland at this time doubtless also contributed to the setback.
Fortunately, however, Cadzow seems to have been a friend or relative of a local magnate, Lord Hamilton, and in 1460 managed to prevail upon him to give the High Street building as a college to the faculty of arts. "No doubt," Durkan suggests, "it was part of this area that also provided the home of the school of canon law." Since the Glasgow statutes, like those of St. Andrews, insisted on lecturing by all graduates for a period of two years upon graduation, it is possible that Henryson was so occupied during the years 1463-65.

Only a few tantalizingly brief details of student life in Glasgow come to light from these years. In 1462 the Feast of the Translation of St. Nicholas included an interludium played by the masters and students of the University; and in 1462 weekly disputations became a part of academic routine. Perhaps the poet who created

"brutal beistis [that] spak, and Understude,  
In to gude purpos dispute, and argow,  
Ane Sillogisme propone, and eik conclude." (44-46),
took part in these. We may also note that Henryson's incorporation, possibly to lecture, coincided with the 1463 foundation of a chaplainry to support the readership in the faculty of canon law.

Nevertheless, "in view of the average annual incorporations into the university" the canon law faculty "cannot be said to have been a flourishing school." After Cadzow's death some time before 1468, financial difficulties seem to have led either to a break in the teaching, or to a drop in the quality, as we find students going elsewhere: William Elphinstone to Paris and Orleans,
Thomas and Vedast Muirhead to Louvain, Mark Muirhead to Bologna, and so on. Henryson too seems to have followed the trend, for on the 26th of November, 1468 we find him being provided for as schoolmaster at Dunfermline by Abbot Bothwell.

MacQueen's hypothesis that Henryson left Glasgow out of disgust with legal practices and for greater financial gain seems unlikely. His new salary was eleven marks and a rent-free house, out of which he was expected to lodge and teach poor scholars free of charge. This sum was no more than the value of the chaplaincy attached to the readership in the faculty of canon law at Glasgow, which was twelve marks. And while the most recent historian of the period calls ten marks "a fair professional salary for the time", the acceptance of a schoolmastership does not mark Henryson as a particularly ambitious man. Theologians made 100 pounds and even canonists 100 marks! Indeed, the move seems quite consistent with the theme of moderation which we find preached in the Two Mice.

His disgust with legal practice is more problematic. MacQueen possibly oversimplifies. It is certainly true that the poet castigates lawyers and legal process in the Sheep and Dog, the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman, and other fables. But it is the abuse of the system, not the system per se that he attacks. At any rate, in moving from a university to a grammar school post, he seems to have recognized at the university level the force of Aristotle's point that "It is not possible nor easy to remove by argument the long-standing habits which are deeply rooted in one's character." Accordingly he seems to have returned to a more basic educational level to train the
young in virtue and habituate them less painfully\textsuperscript{54} "to enjoy and be pained by the things [they] should."\textsuperscript{55}

But a problem remains from this early period of Henryson's career that MacQueen does not touch.

To obtain a degree in canon law it was neither necessary nor usual to take as a preliminary the full arts course and obtain a degree in arts. This, however, was the normal requisite for the student of theology....\textsuperscript{56}

So speaks Nicholson. We are left wondering why Henryson changed horses in mid-stream and took up the study of canon law after starting out in arts? Whatever the reason, the change seems to have stood him in good stead when he came to look for a position. No doubt Richard Bothwell, who was something of a patron of the arts as his last will and testament suggests,\textsuperscript{57} wished to make use of Henryson's legal expertise as well as secure a good schoolmaster, for in Benedictine monasteries of the fifteenth century

nearly all the prior's most trusted clerical advisers were ... graduates in canon or civil law or both.... The ecclesiastical lawyers ... not only appeared in court on behalf of the convent but also acted as technical consultants who might well dictate the prior's approach to a particular problem.\textsuperscript{58}

This was doubtless how Henryson came to be a notary, as we shall see in the next section.

Moreover, his employer, Abbot Bothwell, seems to have been a close friend and associate of Bishop Turnbull of Glasgow.\textsuperscript{59} Along with William, Earl of Douglas, and Andrew de Durisdeer, the two acted as ambassadors to England in 1451-52;\textsuperscript{60} and part of the King's Holy Year offerings (1450) to his confessor Turnbull also
went to help in Bothwell's rebuilding project, which "explains
the presence of the bishop's coat of arms on one of the pillars
of the new extension." The association of the two probably
dated from Bothwell's transfer from the sacristanship at Dunfermline to the Abbacy of Paisley, near Glasgow, in 1444. (He also
became Abbot of Dunfermline in that year, a somewhat unusual pro-
ceeding.) Certainly Bothwell made friends in the cathedral
town, for in 1463, the year in which Henryson may have begun to
lecture at Glasgow University, we find that

one man at least--Thos. Bully, Canon of the
Cathedral Church of Glasgow--was so moved by
gratitude for all the good that Richard Both-
well had done to him and to others that he
left all his goods to make provision for the
abbot and his successors in office in their
house at Stirling.

In closing this section, we should of course ask what effect
Henryson's canon-law training had upon his development as a poet.
The influence of this training is, it seems to me, measurable not
only in terms of Henryson's ability to dispute, make fine distinc-
tions and control complex arguments. Canon lawyers were also
trained in penitential theory, and it is this which makes Henry-
son's moralizations in general and the whole fable of the Fox's
Confession in particular so exacting. If Moralitates sometimes
seem to be 'loose', or at odds with the thrust of the narrative,
this too is calculated--as I shall show in commenting the Prologue
and the fables themselves.
Dunfermline

Late Medieval Scotland, with a population of less than 400,000, was too small to develop any strongly independent cultural or artistic traditions. Even Edinburgh, which Froissart describes as the Paris of Scotland, had (c. 1400) less than 400 houses and a total population of fewer than 3,000 families. Glasgow was little more than a village huddled round a cathedral church, and the Regality of Dunfermline was little better. Though we have no contemporary estimates that I am aware of, in 1624 it was estimated there were 200 houses in Dunfermline holding a population of about 1,600.

But if the country was relatively poor, the population scanty, and civic institutions late in developing, it was also a more personal world; one in which poets could speak directly to kings, as Dunbar did, without the absurd posturings of a Lydgate. And though Dunfermline was small and poor by English or even Edinburgh standards, it had a prestige all its own. It was the centre of the Scottish cult of Malcolm Canmore's Queen, Saint Margaret, whose effigy appeared on the regality seal of the burgh, and whose relics must have attracted numbers of pilgrims to the burgh. Her festival, apparently, was enough of an attraction even to call away an English commander from the siege of Lochleven.

What really ensured the prestige and prosperity of the town, however, was Margaret's founding of a Benedictine Abbey there, circa 1074. Subsequently, the Abbey's close association with
St. Margaret led to its becoming "a Scottish Westminster Abbey" in which lay the bones of eight kings, four queens, five princes, and two princesses, among them St. Margaret, David I, and--most famous of all--Robert the Bruce. The connection was not only with the dead but with the living. James I was born in the monastic guest house (which often doubled as a royal residence) in 1394, "probably on 25 July, the feast day of the Apostle James." Local pride in this is attested by the fact that a monitory distich carved in stone over the lintel of the Abbot's House takes its inspiration from James's "Balade of Gude Counsel":

"Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only free,
Thow dant thi twnge, that powar has and may." (15-16)

The Abbot's House version adapts James's saw to couplet form:

"Sen vord is thrall and thocht is fre
Keip veill thy tounge I coinsell the." 

We also hear of the queen residing there during the Wars of Independence and of various kings wintering and visiting.

From the strain James I's return to Scotland put on Durham's resources when the Scots and English magnates haggled there for a fortnight in 1424, we can guess how large Dunfermline's endowments must have been to support such additional expenses. Indeed, D. E. Easson has estimated that the minimum income of the Abbey (in 1561) was 9,630 pounds. Only two other houses in the entire country topped that figure: St. Andrews Priory with an income of 12,500 pounds, and Arbroath with an income of 10,924 pounds. It was thus extremely rich, and with the incomes of its Pluscarden (3,570 pounds) and Coldingham (2,600 pounds) dependencies added--
not to mention Abbot Bothwell's additional income of 6,100 pounds from Paisley--probably the richest.  

In fact so rich was it that a disputed succession in 1419 could lead one of the claimants to cause his luckless adversary "to be detained in irons in the prisons of laymen" at Bruges and there "to be inflicted with divers losses and injuries." The King too took an active interest in the succession, and in 1472 appointed Henry Creighton over the heads of the monks who had elected Alexander Thompson. Creighton (or Crichton) came of a powerful clan; members of his family included the Chancellor of Scotland, Sir William Crichton, and the Admiral of Scotland, Sir George Crichton. The King evidently intended to feather his own nest by this appointment, for it took place in the year that he first staked a claim to the Dunfermline dependency of Coldingham.

Dunfermline and its dependencies were obviously high stakes, and undoubtedly Henryson lived in a political storm-centre in which religious and worldly demands must often have been in intense conflict. In the power-vacuum left by James III's demise in 1488, the Abbey's revenues even came under the eye of Pope Innocent IV, who, by papal bull, made Cardinal-Deacon Raffaelle Sansoni de Riari commendator on August 12, 1491. A high price was also to be paid by any newly nominated Abbot. A few months after his appointment we find Creighton granting a nineteen-year tack of the teinds of the parsonage of Stirling in order to raise 450 pounds to help pay for his installment. Sometime later we find him granting further tacks to Edinburgh burgesses in 1477-78, and it is in three of
these that we find the poet acting as notary and witness.\textsuperscript{90}

The finding is worth a short aside on notarial activities. It was not unusual for a schoolmaster to fill-in as a notary for a local monastery. For instance at Durham about this time we find the monastery secretariat staffed by a small group of local notaries.\textsuperscript{91} Furthermore,

The Scottish approach to legal training was more academic than professional and was based upon the study of canon and civil law at the universities, together, perhaps, with a notarial apprenticeship that taught the techniques of conveyancing.\textsuperscript{92}

In short, being a notary was a natural extension of being a lawyer. As Bruce Webster tells us,

In the Middle Ages [in Scotland], the only professionals [in the law courts] were the clerks and notaries who drew up the documents, who advised their clients in their pleadings, and for whom the various legal treatises [such as \textit{Regiam Majestatem}] were produced. In contrast to the judges, they were often graduates in law.\textsuperscript{93}

Nor indeed was there a hard and fast differentiation between canon law and civil law; the latter was only spasmodically taught.\textsuperscript{94}

Lastly, in view of Henryson's criticism of foxy notaries in the \textit{Sheep and Dog} who "scraip out Johne, and wryte in Will, or Wat" (1277) we should notice that

each notary was \ldots required to keep a book in which he entered copies of all transactions. The notary was recognized as part of the national system of legal records, and therefore the keeping of protocol books (as they were called) and their safe custody was regulated \ldots. Indeed there was an effort to use protocol books as a sort of land register.\textsuperscript{95}
As custodians of local property rights, notaries held positions of considerable power in the community—and doubtless, if they were honest, of respect.

To return to my main thread, the monastery of Dunfermline was the economic hub of town life and would have been the primary client and employer of many of the

"smiths, weavers, masons, wrights, tailors, bakers, shoemakers, flesher's, dyers, brewsters, fullers, and cadgers" notices in the Dunfermline Registrum. Since the monastery housed about the same number of monks as Durham Priory (30-40), the abundant Durham records are most helpful in giving us an approximate idea of how many townspeople would have found employment within the walls. There were "fifty or sixty servants receiving stipends from the Durham bursar early in the fifteenth century", and this would represent a significant proportion of the conjectured Dunfermline population of 1,600 souls.

Just as the monastery was the economic hub of town life, so it was the centre of vigorous intellectual and artistic activity. We have already identified Abbot Bothwell as something of a patron of the arts who furnished his abbey with "books and ornaments and other ecclesiastical jewels." Unfortunately, very little evidence of this survives—a psalter of the abbot's, the north porch of the church, and the Book of Plascarden, which he commissioned c. 1460. The last work mentioned, however, seems to have been ordered not only to win literary fame for the Abbey but to defend its interests; in it the Coldingham dispute is backdated with a decision favourable to the Dunfermline chapter.
All the same, it must—to use Henryson's phrase in "The Abbot Walk"—have been "ane abbay [that] was fair to see". Since the Abbey itself (but not the church) had been burnt by Edward I in 1303, we can imagine that much of the ornamentation, like the delicate Decorated west-window of the refectory, was relatively new. Given St. Bernard's diatribe against the fashion for depicting the intrigues of the cock and the fox on monastery walls, and written evidence that the refectory at Fleury was "decorated with paintings from the fables of Aesop" and their moral tituli, Aesop's fables may even have been depicted on the Dunfermline walls. Certainly some kind of didactic painting was.

In the northeast aisle-vault of the Abbey church are still visible four painted apostles, and inspection of the vaulting elsewhere in the church shows that the whole was once entirely painted. Presumably Biblical scenes would have predominated; examples of these are the Judgement of Solomon still visible on the walls of the fifteenth century tower at Dunkeld, and the Cain Slaying Abel to be found in John Knox House, Edinburgh (the pre-Reformation residence of the abbots of Dunfermline). The scenes may well have been similar to the subjects described by M. R. Apted in his The Painted Ceilings of Scotland. One surviving illustration given is of Aesop's "The Fox and the Grapes". Such paintings were mainly proverbial in content and exemplary in intention; as Erasmus points out, the men of the Middle Ages were not blind to the values of advertising:

I have known [he says] a proverb inscribed upon a ring, or a cup, sentences worth remembering painted on a door or a window. These are all devices for
adding to our intellectual stores, which, trivial as they may seem individually, have a distinctive cumulative value. 107

So we see in the nearby "Palace" at Culross and the inscription on the Abbot's House, Dunfermline. It is not at all without the bounds of probability that Henryson, on his way to class or taking a meditative perambulation through the Dunfermline cloister,

On caiss ... kest on syde [his] E
And saw this writtin upoun a wall:
'Off quhat estait, man, that thow be,
Obey and thank thy god of all'. 108

In short, Henryson's didactic bent would have been ingrained not only by his profession and training but by his surroundings as well. Even when writing a romance (The Testament of Cresseid), he cannot help making it didactic. We should not underestimate his connection with the Benedictines.

The Benedictines of the fifteenth century appear not only to have commissioned works but to have been quite active artistically and intellectually themselves, especially in the fields of literature and education. In England, Thomas of Walsingham wrote a commentary on the Metamorphoses (De Archana Deorum), and William Chartham and John Wheathamstede both wrote educational treatises—the latter basing his work on Vincent of Beauvais' De Eruditione Nobilium. 109 In practice, however, it is clear that monastic education would have been largely oriented towards the public recitation and understanding of the Divine Office. At least one precentor of Dunfermline, John Angus (b. 1515), went on to become a member of the Chapel Royal at Stirling and wrote hymns and canticles in the vernacular that have come down to us. 110 So too, in
discussing the evidence for Henryson's knowledge of musical theory in his *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Sidney Harth concludes that

Henryson would have had to do some rather close reading in musical theory even to have known of a Hypolocrian mode or a double fifth.... It is dramatically appropriate that Orpheus' music is as esoteric as this. 111

This is perhaps less surprising if we think how central a part music played in the life of a monastery, and how much a part of that life Henryson as schoolmaster would have been.

Although monastic education was in the main perfunctory, there was obviously also a policy of sending-on the best students to study theology at St. Andrews. We find two monks, John Scot and Stephen Brig, receiving papal permission to study there in 1416; another, John Shaw, was a bachelor of theology there by 1430--"in spite of having been dilated to Prior Haldestone for heresy"; and yet a fourth, William Brown, became a professor of theology at the same University in 1439. 112 Brown seems to have been a well-known poet as well as a theologian; two Bannatyne poems by a "Broun" have been ascribed to him, 113 and he appears to be the poet referred to in the Bannatyne version of the "Lament for the Makaris":

"In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun
With Maister Robert Henrysoun." 114

Apparently Henryson's usher, Sir John Moffat, was also something of a littérateur, to judge by his comic moral tale, "The Wyf of Auchtermuchty"; 115 so too was the contemporary author of the "Balade of Gude Counsel" included in the *Book of Pluscarden*. Evidently Henryson's didactic poetry would have found an apprecia-
tive audience at Dunfermline, and not only among schoolboys.

**Dunfermline Schools**

In trying to determine where in Dunfermline Henryson is likely to have lived and taught, an accurate knowledge of the topography of the medieval town is essential. Unfortunately we do not have this. Though a rough map of the town in the sixteenth century has been drawn up by J. M. Webster and A.A.M. Duncan from information in the Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, much remains to be done in this area besides the recent excavation of a schoolhouse on the site of St. Leonard's Hospital "at the tounis end".\(^{116}\) Besides the reference to "Haly Bluid Acre" past the East Port (where, presumably, Haly Blude Passions were performed, as at Aberdeen), there are a number of tantalizing references to "the Grammar School",\(^{117}\) the "Schoolhouse Croft",\(^{118}\) the house and lands of Sir John Moffat in the "Collier Raw",\(^{119}\) and to the Master of the Grammar School's right to feu "the New Row Croft or St. Margaret's Acres".\(^{120}\) Evidence of a school above the "Rattenraw" (parallel to and north of the High Street) also comes from the preservation of two pediments embedded in a wall on the site. One reads

\[ \begin{align*} \text{Sep} \\
\text{Doce et} \\
\text{Castiga ut} \\
\text{Vivat Puer} \end{align*} \]

and the other

\[ \begin{align*} \text{Fave Mihi Mi Deus} \\
1625 \end{align*} \]

Presumably Henryson taught both within and without the monastery, for Sir John Moffat is referred to in 1525 as "Domino Johanne Moffat, presbitero magistro scolarum ac scule grammaticalis de
Dunfermlyne'.\textsuperscript{121} (Moffat further appears in 1513 as a "notary publik" and in 1493 as "chaplane of the morne Service",\textsuperscript{122} which seems to bear out McKay's observation that "the schoolmaster of the time was often chaplain, lawyer and notary all rolled into one";\textsuperscript{123} if his usher could hold three posts, it seems the more likely that the poet-schoolmaster was also the Robert Henryson acting as abbot's notary.) The proliferation of schools in Sir John's 1525 title needs some explaining. Inside the monastery we would expect to find a song school for the young monks. Besides this, there was often an almonry school for the poor children of the town maintained at monastic expense, as well as a public grammar school outside for the middle-class boys of the town.\textsuperscript{124} (Doubtless it is to the almonry school that Abbot Bothwell refers in his 1468 provisions.)

Now, from the Dunfermline Burgh records we know that in 1488 the Almshouse stood "without the east yet on the north side of the Causay",\textsuperscript{125} but we do not know whether the boys of the town would have been taught along with the almonry boys or in a separate school. Dobson finds that, at Durham,

the convent's grammar school ... usually known as the almonry school, was ruled by a secular master who taught not only the poor children of the 'Aumery' but also the sons of country gentlemen, lodged in the city and sometimes in the prior's apartments.\textsuperscript{126}

However, Moffat's title suggests an outside grammar school. Incidentally, we know that Durham Priory had grammar schools at its collegiate churches of Howden and Northallerton, and, since the Dunfermline schoolmaster had had control over the grammar schools
of Perth and Stirling in the twelfth century, it is possible that the master of Dunfermline still acted as headmaster of a number of Dunfermline dependencies in the fifteenth. This is as much sense as I can make of a confusing record, and I turn now to a consideration of the theory and practice of elementary education in the fifteenth century.

**Elementary Education**

As D. L. Clark has said, the teaching of literature in Antiquity and the Middle Ages was intended to give boys both "models to imitate in their speaking and writing and ... models of morals and manners to imitate in their lives." This being so, a factor of prime importance in elementary education was the moral rectitude of the schoolmaster; the Admission Oath of the Schoolmaster enjoined a life of obedience to Church authority that was very seriously taken in an age of lollardy. Included in the Oath were prohibitions on instructing the young in the sacraments and on allowing them to dispute catholic faith or read anything likely to corrupt their morals or their faith. As we shall see, Henryson carefully observes these points. His theology, most evident in the *Preaching of the Swallow* is scrupulously orthodox; his treatment of the *Fox's Confession* is suitably circumspect in its handling of the sacraments; and--despite the fact that, according to Aristotle, the whole of animal existence is concerned with both nutrition and procreation—only in "The Talking of the Tod" series does he touch on the second of these concerns. Even then he can hardly be accused of inciting to
immorality; the vices his hens portray in the Cock and Fox are comic, but hardly attractive, and the extra-marital begetting of Father Wer in the Parliament is mentioned primarily for moral reasons; it illustrates the monitory proverb "Mel with ane whore and gait a thieff and ther starts up ane hanged man."  

Another factor of potentially great importance in accounting for the surprise blossoming of a school text into serious literature is that the fifteenth century revival of interest in classical education and literature went hand in hand. Admittedly it is difficult to estimate the precise effect of this, in Scotland at least, but it is not too much to say that the fifteenth century was the great age of the literary schoolmaster.

With Poggio's discovery of the complete text of Quintilian at St. Gall in 1416, the interest in, and the prestige of the schoolteacher increased considerably. The Plutarchan treatise on education had been translated into Latin five years before by Guarino, and, as F. H. Colson says, "the two [discoveries] fitted happily together." Lorenzo Valla, who is known even to the Scottish author of King Berdok, treats Quintilian as a high authority in his Elegantiae; Aenius Sylvius, who visited the court of James I, "is full of Quintilian" in his De Liberorum Educatione (1450); the younger Guarino's De Ordine Docendi et Studendi (c. 1458) shows "how his father adapted Quintilian to classroom practice", and "in Erasmus ... we find the influence of Quintilian at its height," though the De Ratione Studii "perhaps owes more to the 'progymnasmata' of Aphthonius or Hermogenes."

In Scotland too in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth
century we find hints of an interest in humanist education and Quintilian. MacQueen has opened this path to further study with a fine discussion of the humanist Latin-style of Archibald White-law, James III’s secretary, and of his humanist books. We may go further in pointing out that a much less exalted figure, Gilbert Haldane, student at St. Andrews in 1478, owned a Liber de proprietatibus terminorum Ciceronis, Dati Agostino’s De Variis Loquendi regulis et figuris, and Guarino’s Praecepta de studendi ordine, all bound in one volume and printed at Cologne in 1470.

As Durkan and Ross have noted in their study of early Scottish libraries, "a striking number [of printed editions] came to Scotland before 1500 (especially of the Venetian ones)." Italian contacts were not negligible. At a slightly later date we find a significant number of local schoolmasters and students owning humanist editions—often of Quintilian. John Forman of Cupar had Pico della Mirandola’s Opera Omnia; Thomas MacGibbon, master of Dundee, had a volume of Angelo Poliziano (whose Orfeo R.D.S. Jack thinks Henryson knew); he and William Turner, who was associated with the schoolmaster at Dumfries, had humanist editions of Quintilian; James Leslie, a student at Banff, had Lorenzo Valla’s Elegantiae.

But this is not to say that Quintilian had no influence on medieval education before Poggio’s discovery of the complete text in 1416. The influence is just more difficult to assess accurately. Certainly the mutilated text was available throughout the Middle Ages. Of it, in Colson’s words, the educational part had suffered little, and the main losses were those of the sixth and seventh
books, the latter of which is perhaps the least interesting part of the work.\textsuperscript{140}

Thus, in the thirteenth century, the encyclopaedist Vincent of Beauvais, whose monumental work was widely disseminated throughout Europe, "shows a very full knowledge of Quintilian."\textsuperscript{141} Even the pseudo-Boethian \textit{De Disciplina Scolarium}, which we know was widely read in English grammar schools,\textsuperscript{142} also seems to make use of him, while the commentary on the \textit{Scolarium} attributed to Aquinas "makes unmistakable use of Quintilian."\textsuperscript{143} We know, too, that there was a copy of this pseudo-Boethian work at Chaucer's St. Paul's by 1358,\textsuperscript{144} so it is probable that a large, ancient, well-endowed monastery like Dunfermline, headed by a lover of books such as Richard Bothwell, would have had a copy of at least this. As M.L.W. Laistner has said, "in the last analysis, the authors studied were primarily those available in the nearest monastic or cathedral library."\textsuperscript{145}

Of course we cannot know for certain what books Henryson would have had to hand in the monastery library at Dunfermline, but we may make tentative inferences on the basis of 1) the perhaps atypically well-endowed holdings of St. Paul's School, London, and 2) the evidence of the more conservative \textsuperscript{1432} Glasgow Cathedral Catalogue. (Besides the monastery library at Dunfermline, there was also a friary library at Inverkeithing; its register no longer survives but we do know that, following the \textit{Redemptor Noster} of Benedict XII (1336), the friars would have acquired "duplicates or even triplicates of books dealing with grammar, logic, philosophy, and theology."\textsuperscript{146})
The St. Paul's catalogue needs no introduction. Of standard grammars we find multiple copies of Donatus, Alexander of Villa Dei's Doctrinale, Priscian, and Everard's Grecismus (which Dorena Wright shows Henryson used for his Testament); of standard readers we find several copies of the auctores octo (Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Maximianus, etc.), Persius, Juvenal, Horace, Virgil's Georgics, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Lucan and Statius; of reference works, Isidore's Etymologies, a concordance to the Bible, dictionaries, a book of synonyms, and a lapidary; and of Aristotle, several books on natural philosophy and logic.

The Glasgow Cathedral Library catalogue does not of course reflect grammar school interests particularly, but it is worth surveying because Henryson attended Glasgow University a mere twenty-five years after the catalogue was made. In most respects the holdings are what we would expect—conservative. We find at least thirteen books of or on Peter Lombard's Sentences; twenty-three books of Augustine's (including five copies of De Civitate Dei); many volumes of Canon Law; several copies of Aristotle's Ethica, Parva Naturalia, and--interestingly--Rhetorica; also one copy each of Isidore's Etymologies, St. Bernard's Works, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Petrarch (!), and Boethius' De Consolatione with the gloss of Nicholas Trivet. (This last may have been the text Henryson used to moralize his Orpheus and Eurydice.)

It is, I think, significant that we catch in Henryson's literary work a range of reference as wide as that exhibited in the Glasgow catalogue: the Grecismus (and Chaucer's Troilus) in the Testament of Cresseid, Trivet on De Consolatione perhaps in his
Orpheus, St. Bernard in his Annunciation, and Aristotle in the Morall Fabillis and throughout his work. It shows, I think, what the literary schoolmasters of the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance all believed, that

there is ... no discipline, no field of study ... which may not prove of use to the teacher in expounding the Poets and Orators of antiquity.

Since schoolmasters taught poetry this way, it was natural that they should write this way too, with an eye to edification and the learned footnote. And, since "most of the standard school-texts ... were in verse" for easy memorization, they might write verse themselves by way of compiling a class-reader, and have students write on themes culled from them.

It was standard procedure, then, for the grammar master to copy out an authoritative tract, in whole or in part, and add "a commentary on it, or an interlinear gloss, and sometimes, tracts of his own devising." In support of this last hypothesis, at least one fifteenth century manuscript is revelatory. MS. Edinburgh 136, at the University Library, contains a moralization of Virgil's Harpies from Aeneid 3, 210, dedicated to Edward, Duke of York (ff. 144-170); four short addresses from three harpies (ff. 170-71); and an allegorization of the properties of the Antelope, dedicated to Henry V (ff. 171-75)--all identified as the compositions of a John Seward, who taught primitiva scientia at Cornhill. These are followed, moreover, by an Argumentum in Ludicra describing the literary disputes engaged in by Seward's circle in London and dedicated to the University of Oxford (ff. 178-189). The first
two items are examples of the common practice of using Virgil for themes on which to write classroom compositions, the third reveals that Seward taught natural science as well as moral allegory, and the fourth, that a schoolmaster did not necessarily keep his literary and his schoolroom activities in separate mental compartments, as it were. The dedications suggest that Seward's verses, like those of the anonymous author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* (possibly Master Nicholas of Guildford), were intended to advertise their author's literary and pedagogical skills to nobles who might need private tutors for their children, or know of others who did. Moreover, if the master was a concerned teacher like Alcuin, Erasmus, 'Nicholas of Guildford', or William of Wheteley (whose work we shall shortly touch on), he might also try to bring "the vital problems of the age into the schoolroom" through his text.\(^{153}\)

Truly the schoolmaster was the arbiter of literary taste.

Though *Aesop* is perhaps too elementary to appear in the Glasgow Cathedral catalogue, and does not appear in the St. Paul's catalogue where we would expect it, we nevertheless have ample evidence of its ubiquitous presence in medieval *florilegia*—many of them obviously schoolroom texts. By the company it keeps we can get a rough idea of the parameters of the grammar school curriculum:

1. In (Bodley) *MS. Laud Misc. 707*, *Aesop's Fables* follows Vinsauf's *Poetria Novella* *<sic>* and *'versus proverbiales'* by John of Garland, and precedes *'versus morales*', a *tractatus de dictamine rhythmico*, and *Seneca's De Remediis Fortuitorum*. 

28. 
2. (Bodley) MS. Digby 26 (B.N. 3) begins "Iste liber constat mag. T. Jolyffe" (annotated by another hand in the margin: "principal of Glass Hall, Oxford, circa 1450-60") and also gives "notae de pecuniis T. Jolyffe anno 1400". There follow these headings: *questiones grammaticales atque responsa*; *elementa grammaticae*; *sive Donatus Minor*; *'Facetus', poema anonymum de moribus*; *sive metaphrasis metrica libri Tobiae*; *tractatus grammaticalis de usu casuum*; *regulae grammaticales*; *Catonis Disticha moralia*; *carmen de contemptu mundi*; [*Marbodi, episcopi Redonensis*] *de lupo fabula, sive parabola*; *Fabulae Aesopicae*. (This last begins "Expl. Fabula declarat, datque quod intus habet. Laus tibi sit, Christe, quoniam liber explicit iste. Explicit liber fabularum qui dicitur Esopus"); *historia metrica Zosimae monachi et S. Mariae Aegyptiacae*.

3. In (Bodley) MS. Add. A. 170, written in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century, Aesop is followed by a verse paraphrase of portions of the Bible; a poem of moral and religious advice; the *Ecloga Theoduli*; a *Liber Faceti*; and an elegiac poem on the Seven Vices.

4. MS. Bodley 496 is a mid-fifteenth century work copied by T. Grant in Latin and French. It contains a *Historia Alexandri*; the *Apocalypsis* of Walter Map; Nigellus de Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum*; a *Speculum Monachorum* for the use of Glastonbury; processional hymns; and Goliardic poems, besides Gualterus' *Fables*.

5. (Bodley) MS. Hatton 92, written in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, contains a polemic against those who held that Salome, the companion of the two Maries, was a man; a prose analy-
sis of the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; the *Integumenta Ovidii Metamorphoseos* attributed to John of Garland; John Gower's *Chronica Tripartita*; *auctoritates patrum* on moral subjects; Latin metrical proverbs [*Cato?*]; and Aesopic and other fables taken chiefly from the *Parabolae* of Odo of Cheriton.

6. (Bodley) MS. *Digby 100* contains *Pars Fabularum Aesopicarum*; a number of works on metrics, pronunciation and tropes by Bede, Marbod of Rennes and John of Garland; a *Liber Senece De Virtutibus Moralibus*; *sententiae ex patribus*; *Theoduli Ecloga*; some Greek; *Catonis Disticha*; *Horatii Libri Epistolarum*; *Ovidius de mirabilibus mundi*; a *carmen de poenitentia*.

A few appearances of our text also reflect some of the uses it was put to in the classroom, either as translation exercises or as memorable extracts for rote memorization and sentential embellishment:

1. (British Museum) MS. *Shrewsbury School 4* contains extracts from Aesop's *Fables* and the *Eclogues* of Virgil.

2. (Bodley) MS. *Rawlinson C 552* (fol. 23b) includes *Proverbia Aviani sententiae ex fabb. ejus*.

3. (Bodley) MS. *Rawlinson D 1120*, the notebook of Zachary Merrill, a school usher writing as late as 1685, also contains (fol. 3) "Phrases collected out of Aesop's *Fables*".

4. (British Museum) MS. *Harley 5751*, a collection of the fifteenth century written for the instruction of young clerks pro-
ceeding to orders by Master Rochus Sallay, includes not only extracts from Aesop's Fables "per me R.S." (ff. 261-263), but notes on the Properties of Things (ff. 268-270); a description of the Ages of Man (ff. 278-281); a Tabula de confessione (ff. 289-293); and a summary of Catholic Doctrine (ff. 301-326).

5. (Bodley) MS. Rawlinson 1447, a book ruled and headed for notes on subjects in natural and moral philosophy (beginning with "De tempore" and "De stellis fixis" and ending with "De animae definitione"), includes a "Description of Hell", a "Life of Aesop" and miscellaneous other pieces.

Two questions remain: when and how would Aesop have been studied? The first is simple, the second complex.

It was the opinion of Dr. Richard Cox, tutor of Prince Edward from 1544, that a boy should first be introduced "to Cato [Disticha Catonis], to so propre and profitable fables of Esops, and othre holsom and godly lessons that shall be devisyd for hym",154 and in this he was following tradition. Well on into the sixteenth century we find Aesop being used in the First, Second, and Third Forms at Winchester and Eton (followed by Cicero, Terence, and Ovid's Metamorphoses in Forms Four and Five).155

The more complex question of how Aesop would have been used I shall consider in terms of the following sub-headings: Grammar School Literary Exercises, Allegory, and the Introduction to Aristotelian Science.
Literary exercises were a cut above the simple paraphrases expected from the very young. They involved the setting of a theme, usually "within the range of the boys' interests" and drawn from classroom reading; this was to be composed according to the prescriptions in one of the graded exercises of Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* (recommended by Quintilian). The following day the student was expected to write out his composition and have it by heart for recitation in front of the schoolmaster on the third day. This pattern remained basically the same right through into university. The scholar aiming at the bachelor's degree in Arts would, as part of his final examination, receive from the master a proverb from which he would have to compose verses, letters, and a hymn in order to prove his competence in the arts of *versificandi, dictandi, et metrificandi*. A rare glimpse into the medieval classroom at composition time is afforded by the *Gesta Romanorum* 's story of how the schoolboy sold his soul to the Devil in return for a crib to a difficult theme. St. Augustine too was subjected to such exercises, as we can see from this passage in the *Confessions*.

My master put a task upon me, that I should declaim upon these words of Juno, expressing both her anger and her sorrow, that she could not keep off the Trojan king [Aeneas] from going into Italy.

The exercise Augustine's master set him was one in Comparison, balancing Juno's anger against her sorrow, the seventh of Priscian's exercises; as we shall see, Henryson also follows it in the *Cock and Jasp*. "Seven or eight exercises of this kind [there
are ten in Priscian] done under careful supervision should be sufficient to enable the student to lay out matter for original prose composition without help," Erasmus asserts.162

Here is Quintilian on the whole process (Aesopic fable was Priscian's first exercise):

Pupils should learn to paraphrase Aesop's fables, the natural successors of the fairy stories of the nursery, in simple and restrained language and subsequently to set down this paraphrase in writing with the same simplicity of style: they should begin by analyzing each verse, then give its meaning in different language, and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet's meaning. This is no easy task even for the expert instructor, and the pupil who handles it successfully will be capable of learning everything. He should also be set to write aphorism, moral essays (chriæ) and delineations of character (ethologiae), of which the teacher will first give the general theme, since such themes will be drawn from their reading.163

Not only would students have been expected to paraphrase Latin into English, but vice versa, as the vernacular exercises in the Magdalen College Grammar School Book show.164 At a more advanced level students would have to versify the same set of exercises. We catch a glimpse of such practices in 1479 in the Paston Letters, when a young boy writes home:

And as for my coming to Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to get with a little continuance. The question set was
Quomodo non valet hora, valet mora?
on which I wrote
Arbore iam videas exemplum. Non die possunt Omnia supleri; sed tamen illa mora.165

Another distinctive feature of schoolroom activity was, as we saw in MS. Rawlinson 1447, the extraction of notes from set
reading material and the arranging of them under headings for easy memorization:

"Let us class ... everything that we learn and then by repeating these headings we shall call to mind all that they cover." 166

So speaks the humanist Rodolphus Agricola. Erasmus' *De Copia* is the epitome of such a compilation, but the technique was already old in the Middle Ages. John of Garland, writing on "The Art of Remembering", tells us that

when the teacher makes a philological or etymological explanation of any word, let us gather it into that third column, along with some natural phenomenon that may symbolize the word in question; and by means of its symbol we shall be able to memorize it and select it for our own use. 167

The only difference here seems to be that the medieval student's columns were in his head. Also of interest to the student of Aesopic fables is that John's mnemonic symbols are animal ones. His diagram suggests "*Animalia terrestria*" and "*Animalia volatilia*". Thus the student would have expansion aids as well as set models from which to compose--almost a set of modern "generative" frames.

What is so important about these techniques, as J. J. Murphy has rightly observed, is that,

If tropes and figures were learned from a textbook like Donatus, and were exemplified or studied in actual poems--whether Latin or vernacular--it would seem likely that new and original productions by writers trained in this way would tend to follow the genres represented by the models. This does seem to describe precisely what occurs regularly in medieval English literary art. 168

As I shall show in the body of my thesis, Henryson makes full use
of Priscian's Praeexercitamina exercises to structure his fables, either in whole or in part. The Cock and Jasp can be read as an exercise in Encomium and Comparison, the Two Mice as a Thesis exercise, and so on.

We need not be too surprised at Henryson's elevation of a series of humble Aesopic exercises to the level of great literature, however; even Quintilian assumes, in the passage just quoted (p. 33), that literary schoolmasters will write such exercises, and Murphy's hypothesis is born out as much by the practice of Antique as Medieval authors. Donald Lemen Clark believes that the practice of Comparison showed Plutarch the fundamental technique which he uses in the Parallel Lives. 169 He also finds that

The Heroides of Ovid, who had been trained in the school exercise, are excellent examples of what words Dido might say to Aeneas or what Medea might say to Jason [Prosopopoeia], 170

and apparently has marshalled enough evidence concerning the same author to assert that "his Metamorphoses ... may well be considered as school exercises elevated to great literature." 171

Not unnaturally, then, since they had inherited their educational system from Antiquity, did the writers of the Middle Ages follow suit. And if their results look somewhat different to us, this is largely a measure of the great changes separating them from the past. For instance, the classical classroom exercise in fabricating a lawsuit (controversia), which was designed originally to coach prospective civil servants in public speaking, was still a part of the school curriculum in the Middle Ages, but no longer served the same function. It had in fact degenerated into litera-
ture. "The Middle Ages regarded these fabricated lawsuits as fiction," Curtius says. "The elder Seneca's Controversiae are a principal source of the Gesta Romanorum."172

We should not, then, be surprised to find that a number of Henryson's legal fables are dressed up as controversiae. At least one other beast fable, the Eobasis Cuiusdam Captivi, gives evidence of having been an untidy assemblage of school exercises; a quarter of it is made up of tags from Horace and Virgil, presumably for students to ferret out.173 R. R. Bolgar believes that the exercise method had a stultifying effect on medieval literature, and this was no doubt too often true. However, a technique is only as good as the mind which uses it, and the work of literary schoolmasters, such as Alcuin, Aelfric—and Henryson, can be of the highest quality.

I turn now to the question of allegorization in the Fabillis. The question of what major channels made the exegetical tradition a part of the cultural repertoire of medieval writers and their audiences was answered long ago by Robertson and Huppe in their introduction to Piers Plowman: the schools. But, because the evidence of Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalicon and John of Salisbury's Metalogicon was all that was currently available, their argument did not convince many critics.174 Since then, however, J. J. Murphy has shown that

An exposure to Donatus would ... have acquainted any English writer with the rudiments of the figures and tropes (allegoria has seven species in Donatus). Virtually every fourteenth century library catalogue ... shows that both of Donatus's primers were available in England.175

And, better still, Robert Risse's edition of a commentary on
Avianus clearly shows that, not only would grammar school children have been familiar with the four standard exegetical levels, but they would have expected a fifth—scholastice—which "restricts its figurative meaning to a specific subject, the immediate world of the medieval student." 176

Such information is very useful to have when embarking on an examination of Henryson's Fabillis. The only pity is that no Aesopic commentaries have been edited that might throw light on the question of what sorts of parameters the scholastice level might set for the Cock and Jasp, the Two Mice, and the rest. Since we know that Latin-speaking was enforced in the schools by spies called "asini" or "lupi", 177 it is possible that the Wolf's beating by the Cadger, say, would have been applauded scholastice in the classroom. Certainly the Magdalen College Grammar School Book uses local and contemporary references quite freely.

Many of Henryson's descriptive images are also moral images. That is, they have a precise and premeditated significance that is subordinated not only to local narrative realism, but to a larger argument that usually serves the Moralitas. The meaning of the whole derives from the sum total of each part, and the narrative must be checked against the guidelines in the Moralitas rather as if, to use Gregory Martin's phrase, it were "a sensuous acrostic". 178 But this is not to say that allegory is pertinent everywhere. 179 Nor is it to admit any awkwardness or inappropriateness in moralizing Reynardian matter, a practice of Henryson's at which some critics baulk. The moralizing of originally amoral material was going on everywhere in the High and Late Middle Ages: we have an
Ovid Moralisé, a Roman de la Rose Moralisé, and volumes of Renart tales by such indefatigable moralizers as Jacquemart Gelée, l'épicier de Troyes, and others.

Of course, the first qualification above raises a problem, for how are we to know what to allegorize and what not? The simple answer is that we don't, but that knowing this should not hinder us from pursuing exegesis that is not inconsistent with the Moralitas and the details of the narrative. In Ranald Nicholson's estimation of the Fabillis,

the explicit Moralitas [often blatantly naive] is directed at the reader who is not versed in allegorical tradition; for those who are skilled, subtleties abound. 180

This is a supposition well within the bounds of the medieval theory of allegory as a veil to hide truth from the ignorant. Criticism of Henryson's allegorization has too long and overcautiously languished as a result of Stearns's overgeneralizations. The poet's intention in writing his Moralitates was, as Nicholson suggests, not to say everything (and thus merely hand us an "answer sheet") but--good teacher and poet as he is--to help the reader with a broad outline and encourage him to interpret the rest for himself.

The rhetoricians fully approve of such a process. Vinsauf tells us that when Alexander of Macedon, then at war with Athens, demanded hostages from that city, an old man replied with the exemplum of "The Wolf at War with the Shepherd", in which the Wolf demands that the Shepherd be his hostage in order to ensure peace. Vinsauf concludes thus:
When he had said this, he stopped.... And since he cleverly gave only part of his meaning to the ear, he saved part for the mind. This is the method of a man of skill.... 181

A fellow fabulist, Paulus Diaconus, makes use of just this method when he concludes his fable of "The Sick Lion" with this conundrum (he gives no Moralitas): "Seek valiantly to ascertain what this fable may mean." 182

Allegorical interpretation of the Morall Fabillis is much helped by the fact that animals were regularly associated with the sins in flexible but generally quite well-defined categories. In other words, when in doubt, we can resort to the encyclopaedias or Christian exegetes. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah 4:14, was one of the first to represent animals as various types of men, and Chrysostom to suggest that animals could be used not just for food but for instruction by analogy. 183 By the twelfth century the idea was so familiar as to occasion the introduction of a Sphaera Bestiarii—'in which each of the sins is depicted by its symbolic animal --into manuscript illumination. 184 St. Ambrose in his De Paradiso even equates Adam with the nous, Eve with the sensus, and the birds and beasts of the Garden with "nostri irrationabiles motus" and "inanes cogitationes". 185 This is one idea that Henryson, who we know from a reference in "The Want of Wyse Men" may have read Ambrose, seems to have followed up in moralizing such a fable as the Parliament of Fourfooted Beasts.

Political allegory is also suggested by such tales as the Lion and Mouse and the Wolf and Wether. Here again there is a long tradition of using animal names as masks for political fig-
ures. Precedent was apparently set by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the idea was repeatedly seized on thereafter, notably by Lawrence Minot in his *Six Kings*. Bernard Andreas, poet laureate to Henry VII, also compared—with considerable ingenuity—the twelve feats of Hercules to Henry's own triumphs in *Les Douze Triomphes de Henry VII*. And in the communes of Italian city-states the political use of animal fables was well understood; the name and function of one such author of a *Confessio Lupi, Vulpis et Asini* has even come down to us from the thirteenth century: "da notizia Federico Patetta". His fable is on the same theme as one in Thomas Wright's *Political Songs*. (In this a lion pardons the guilty fox and wolf after being bribed, and executes an innocent ass who has the temerity to think that innocence obviates bribery.) As we shall see, the thrust of such popular protest is not very different from that of Henryson's *Sheep and Dog* and *Wolf and Lamb*.

Most of Henryson's animals also appear in such political prophecies as "The Cock of the North" and "The Whole Prophecy of Scotland", but since these are largely unintelligible to us now, we can do little more in this area than point out the possibility of local association. Another feature which may have helped local identification in political allegory is that many Scots citizens from Henryson's period have names such as James Dog (the Royal Wardrober satirized by Dunbar), Alexander Lyon (Lord of Glamys), William Tod (a priest and clerk), Richard Wyly (Collector General in Scotland), Father Were (O.P., confessor to James III), Thomas Salmund and Robert Laverock (skinners of Edinburgh), Patrick Panter (tutor to the boy chancellor of St. Andrews, Alex-
ander Stuart), and Robert Lamb (a native of Dunfermline whose daughter Margaret had married a John Henryson some time before 1515). In this respect it is not inappropriate to mention that as early as 1313 Jean de St. Victor had described a festival pageant at Paris in which the guilds presented all the characters of the *Roman de Renart* practising the various professions!

Following close on the heels of grammar school introductions to allegory might come an introduction to the university arts course.

The grammar school curriculum was, as R. R. Bolgar says, "singularly elastic". If a schoolmaster was interested in some desirable specialty, in law, in science, or, rhetoric, he would teach this to his older pupils. Schoolmasters were also expected to be encyclopaedic in their exposition of texts as we have noticed, and Erasmus confirms the widespread use—and abuse—of this approach when he pleads,

> in reading a classic, let the Master avoid the practice, common to inferior teachers, of taking it as the text for universal and irrelevant commentary.

Ultimately the method goes back to Roman schoolroom methods of studying literature, such as Quintilian sets forth (it was this approach that championed Virgil as the sum of classroom knowledge):

> Training ... [says Quintilian, cannot] be regarded as complete if it stops short of music, for the teacher of literature has to speak of metre and rhythm; nor again if he be ignorant of astronomy can he understand the poets; for they, to mention no further points, frequently give their indications of time by reference to the rising and setting of the stars. Ignorance of philosophy is an equal drawback, since there are numerous passages in almost every poem based on the most intricate questions of natural philosophy.
This classroom method of studying poetry also influenced the production of poetry quite as much as the classroom composition exercise, for it helped form the expectations of both writer and audience as to what a poem should contain. As Juan Ruiz says in the introduction to his *Book of Good Love*:

> My intention was [not only to] recall everyone to mindfulness of good works.... I composed this book also to provide lessons and examples of prosody, rhyme and invention.  

Astronomical, philosophical, physiognomical, and even musical references (in the *Orpheus*) are everywhere in Henryson's work, and we should note them--since they were intended to be noticed (and, perhaps, commented). Some of this matter, especially the theology in the *Preaching of the Swallow*, is quite advanced, and we might well wonder if schoolboys were really expected to cope with it.

Apparently they were. From William of Wheteley's Commentary on Boethius' *De Consolatione*, we learn that he presented his *lectio* of both this and the pseudo-Boethian *De Disciplina Scolarium* to his grammar school students at Stamford and Lincoln. Nor, apparently, was this an isolated phenomenon. From the significantly large numbers of extant copies of the *De Disciplina* occurring in manuscripts containing grammar school material, it appears that, after the brief period of its use in the faculty of arts, the *De Disciplina* came to be used by those grammar school masters who wanted to provide for their students an introduction to the subject matter which they would meet in the faculty of arts.
The form Wheteley used was the University Questio, and his matter was wide ranging, the better "to give his students an introduction to certain basic principles of biology, psychology and natural philosophy." Some of this is surprisingly detailed, as his treatment of Aristotelian psychology shows (Questiones 1-13). Interestingly, his intensive treatment of philosophia naturalis also helps to explain the presence of such texts in some of the teaching florilegia containing Aesops (cf. MS. Rawlinson 1447). From such evidence we might expect to find a good deal of natural philosophy and Aristotelian learning packed into Henryson's fables, consciously or unconsciously.

In conclusion, Wheteley's evidence confirms my previously expressed conviction (p. 5) that we can expect Henryson's Fabillis to reflect his teaching concerns and scholastic education. As I shall show in my following commentary on the fables, Henryson's mind is permeated by categories and definitions inherited from Aristotle. I shall also show something else I have already stated (p. 34): that the narrative moulds for Henryson's retellings of Aesop's Fables are provided by Priscian's exercises. In fact, I think it is not too much to say that the remarkable variety of Henryson's Fabillis is deliberate, and guided by an aim more practical and serious than the demonstration of mere technical virtuosity. His collection, it seems to me, was written to provide a series of models for students having to master the various techniques of composition, as well as to be a showcase for ex-students appreciative of his handling of those rhetorical and narrative techniques.
In analyzing the fables, I shall also attempt to remove the two stumbling blocks cited at the beginning of this chapter as major factors in the present neglect of the *Fabillis* (p. 2). Once we see precisely how Henryson's invention of narrative detail is controlled by his moral concerns, and once we appreciate how each Tale and *Moralitas* contributes to the process of Christian education, I believe Henryson's genius will be readily apparent. His extraordinary powers of synthesis, comprehensiveness, facility of expression, penetrating revitalization of old traditions, lively faith, humour and humanity—all these make his *Fabillis* easily the greatest literary work of the fifteenth century English-speaking world. His *Fabillis*, as J.A.W. Bennett has said,\(^{207}\) is his masterpiece.

However, the most effective introduction to the world of the *Morall Fabillis* is Henryson's own *Prologue*, to which I now turn.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1 Charles d'Orleans is the only other serious candidate.


4 MacQueen, *loc. cit*.


8 Cf. MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


15 Roerecke's attempt to find "symmetry" in the Fabillis is largely unsuccessful, as I shall demonstrate in my chapter on "The Talking of the Tod".

16 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, Appendix I.

17 Ibid., p. 193.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


22 Of all MacQueen's reviewers, only Denton Fox presents cogent objections to his championing of Bannatyne: "As far as I can tell, after making a complete collation, Bannatyne and Bassandyne have generally about the same degree of inaccuracy," he says. (Notes and Queries 212 [n.s. 14] 1967, p. 349, col. 1.)

23 Ibid.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


38 Durkan, *Turnbull*, pp. 52-53.


44 *Ibid*.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


48 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 21.

49 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 167; McRoberts, Essays, p. 157.


51 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 11.


54 Ethics, 1179b, 30-36; Apostle, p. 199.

55 Ethics, 1105a, 10-20; Apostle, p. 24.


57 Cf. Webster, Dunfermline, p. 49.


59 Durkan, Turnbull, p. 28.

60 Ibid., p. 47.

61 The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland: Fife (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 120; Durkan, Turnbull, p. 28; MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 21.

62 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 48.

63 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


65 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 265.

66 McRoberts, Essays, p. x.

67 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 107.


70 Webster, Dunfermline, facing page illustration.


73 It was later rebuilt, c. 1128-50, on a grandiose scale by the architects of Durham Cathedral, to house her remains (Webster, Dunfermline, pp. 206-207).

74 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 17; Webster, Dunfermline, p. 12.

75 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 17; cf. also Skene, Book of Pluscarden, pp. 13, 52, 56, 76, 78-79, 80, 185, 197, 231, 278, 287 passim.

76 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 225. MacQueen is inaccurate to say (p. 16) that it had become a royal residence before Henryson's time.

78 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 60.

79 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 257.

80 Ibid., p. 170; Webster, Dunfermline, p. 51.

81 Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 108.


83 Ibid., pp. 55 and 49.


86 Durkan, Turnbull, p. 19.


88 Henderson, Annals, p. 172. See also The Vatican Archives Registers of Supplications, vol. 941, pp. 90(v), 91(v) [microfilm at Glasgow University].

89 Cosmo Innes, ed., Registrum de Dunfermelyn, liber cartarum abbatie benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn (Edinburgh, 1842), nos. 476, 481 (hereafter cited as Registrum de Dunfermelyn); Nicholson, Scotland, p. 471.

90 Registrum de Dunfermelyn, nos. 479, 480, 488; also J. M. Webster and A. A. M. Duncan, eds., The Regality of Dunfermline Court Book 1531-38 (Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, Alva, 1953), pp. 60-61.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)

91 Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 141.

92 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 310.

93 Bruce Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 (London, 1975), p. 159. Hereafter cited as Webster, Scotland.


95 Webster, Scotland, p. 213.


97 Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 121.

98 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 49.


102 I realize that, as we can see from a similar poem in the Vernon MS. entitled "Thank God of all", (F. J. Furnivall, ed., The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., II, EETS o.s. 117 [London, 1901], p. 688. Hereafter cited as Furnivall, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.) Henryson's poem is basically an exercise on a set theme, but since the line I quote does not occur in the Vernon version, nor in any other version that I am aware of, I am prepared to accept it as local colouration.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)

105 It seems to me that the tower may well have housed the bishop's consistory court, with which the painting would be in accord. Compare the only known remaining consistory court at Chester, which is in the southeast tower.

106 M. R. Apted, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1966), plate 52. (Hereafter cited as Apted, Painted Ceilings.) This item is not noticed by Kenneth Varty in his Reynard the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art (Leicester, 1967). Hereafter cited as Varty, Reynard the Fox.


110 Webster, Dunfermline, pp. 80-81.


113 Webster, Dunfermline, pp. 67-69.

114 Cf. Webster, Dunfermline, pp. 67-68 for a fuller argument.


116 This information was communicated to me verbally by the Dunfermline Librarian in 1975.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)

118 Ibid., p. 219.

119 Ibid., p. 298.


121 Beveridge, *Burgh Records*, 1525, item 168.

122 Ibid., 1513, item 298 and 1493, item 47; also 1507, item 355 and 1519, item 288 passim.


126 Dobson, *Durham Priory*, p. 60.

127 J. Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1876), pp. 4-5; MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*, p. 17.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


133 Ibid., p. lxvii.

134 Ibid., pp. lxx to lxxii.

135 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, pp. 13-15.


137 Ibid., p. 15.


139 Durkan and Ross, Early Scottish Libraries, p. 20.

140 Colson, Quintilianus, p. lx.

141 Ibid., p. lii.


143 Colson, Quintilianus, p. liii.


146 William M. Bryce, History of the Scottish Grey Friars, I (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 28. R. B. Dobson's description of the fifteenth century holdings of Durham is also useful. Apparently at Durham, desks I-III held glossed copies of the Bible and Patristic works, IV-VI held scholastic religious writings (125 MSS.), VII
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)

(side A) held histories and saints' lives, VII (side B) Latin classics and medical treatises, and VIII-IX volumes on canon and civil law, "leaving the tenth desk reserved almost exclusively for an impressively large set of Aristotelian works" (Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 368).


149 I have no evidence of Henryson's use of St. Bernard myself, but Dr. William Beattie of Edinburgh University has quoted me apposite lines and will shortly be publishing an article on the subject.

150 De Ratione Studii; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 168.


152 Ibid., p. 101.

153 Foster Watson, The English Grammar School to 1660 (London, 1908; rptd. 1968), p. 346; according to Luitpold Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne (Cornell, 1959), p. 32, a rhetorical textbook by Alcuin doubles as "a speculum principis, a tractate on kingship or on good government".


155 Leach, Educational Charters, pp. 448-451, 517.

156 De Ratione Studii; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 169.


158 Ibid., p. 268.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


162 De Ratione Studii; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 173.


169 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 199.

170 Ibid., p. 201.

171 Ibid., p. 183.

172 Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans., Willard R. Trask (New York, 1963), p. 155. Here-
after cited as Curtius, European Literature.


175 Murphy, "Verbal Arts", p. 124.


179 Ian A. W. Jamieson, "'To Preve Thare Preching be a Poesye': Some Thoughts on Henryson's Poetics", Parergon 8 (April, 1974), p. 26, quotes St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, Bk. XVI, Ch. 2 to this effect (hereafter cited as Jamieson, "Henryson's Poetics"). Shirley Guthrie, "The Ecloga Theoduli in the Middle Ages", Doctoral Thesis, Indiana University, 1973, p. 91, also refers to Servius, the great commentator of Virgil, for the same opinion. Hereafter cited as Guthrie, "Ecloga Theoduli".


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


184 Bodley MS. Ashmole 304; Brieger, English Art, 1216-1307, plate 43b.


188 Carlo Filosa, La favola e la letteratura esopiana in Italia del medio evo ai nostri giorni (Milan, 1952), pp. 56-58, 63.


190 O'Sullivan, "Political Themes", p. 360.

191 The Vatican Archives, Registers of Supplications, 1433-79, unpublished [Glasgow University] Index, 28th August, 1467.

192 Ibid., 27 Nov. and 6 Dec., 1468.

193 Ibid., 7 Feb., 1465.

194 Ibid., 31 Mar., 1477.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I (Cont.)


197 Beveridge, Burgh Records, 1515, item 297.


200 Ibid., p. 195; Murphy, "Verbal Arts", p. 127.

201 De Ratione Studii; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 173.

202 Institutes of Oratory, I, 4; Ullich, Educational Wisdom, pp. 111-112.


206 Ibid., p. 259.

CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL PROLOGUE.

At the beginning of his discussion of the Prologue to the Morall Fabillis John MacQueen asserts that Henryson imitated the verse Romulus and the Isopet de Lyon in providing his Fabillis with a general Prologue, but he wrote more consciously in a tradition of literary theory and criticism than did the authors of either of his models. This is basically sound, and I hope to show in this chapter that Henryson's reliance on and reorganization of traditional models is even more extensive than MacQueen suggests.

MacQueen believes that the closest parallels to Henryson's Prologue are found in Boccaccio, though he traces his theory back through Fulgentius' commentary on Statius' Thebaid (which uses the kernel image) to Horace's "aut prodesse...aut delectare". But if Boccaccio claims that "the pleasure derived from fictitious narrative is wholesome and creative", so do many others. And if his discussion of the four categories of fabula is behind Henryson's own schematic approach—as it is—this is not because Henryson was necessarily reading Boccaccio (Dorena Wright in another context has shown that Henryson almost certainly did not use Boccaccio but the humbler Graecismus); both he and Boccaccio were probably relying on Macrobius.

Fox, on the other hand, believes that the opening line of the Prologue "contains a complex pun", and I agree, though I think
there is a greater complexity here than he has pointed out. He believes that "Henryson would also have expected his audience to notice that his opening lines echo...the beginning of the Bruce." This is a rather wild suggestion, I feel, for again it only shows that both Barbour and Henryson were aware, like Boccaccio and other educated men, of Macrobius' definitions, and were merely making it clear to their audiences what kind of a narrative they could expect. As Leclercq points out, "Often at the beginning of a piece of writing it is explained to which category it is to belong." Henryson is not in "opposition to Barbour", as Fox suggests, quite simply because they are writing different kinds of fable. Henryson's type, "fictitious matter using fictitious techniques", is in category B₁ on Dronke's chart, whereas Barbour's, "true matter using fictional techniques and containing seemly things only", is in category B₂ii.

However, this point is quite peripheral to Fox's main argument, which remains undamaged. His point, briefly, is that Henryson's first two lines state the central problem and theme of the whole prologue: how can fictional and apparently frivolous verse be justified? In the rest of the stanza he gives, very briefly, his answers. Beyond this, "the last two lines [of stanza 7]... form the whole basis for the Fables", underpinned as they are by the figural technique. Fox's argument remains the best short treatment of the Prologue available, and it is a pity that restrictions of space force him to "pass over the rest of the prologue" which he sees as a "complicated, brilliantly organized, and seemingly casual expansion of the ideas of the first stanza." It is chiefly upon
Fox's leads that I wish to dilate by showing how Henryson's terminology has almost—to use Tom Scott's phrase—a scholastic precision to it.11

But, before proceeding to a detailed investigation of the sources of Henryson's fable theory and his "inventioun", I should point out that particular arguments of Jenkins'12 and Jamieson's13 will be fielded as they relate to particular lines or passages discussed. Jenkins' arguments, though excellent in applying the methods of "New Criticism" to the text itself, suffer from a tendency to overgeneralize Henryson's use of conventions. For instance, he attributes to Henryson at some points an originality he does not, at those points, possess, simply because he is unaware of the extent to which what he takes to be an "idiosyncratic turn"14 is really itself conventional! The problem is that no critic has yet paid close enough attention to the exact nature of the tradition (Jamieson confines himself to a study of fabular sources and analogues). Thus, while I agree with Jamieson and Jenkins in principle that the distinctiveness of Henryson's treatment arises from his "accentuation of a few particular details rather than from the novelty of his ideas",15 I believe that a closer look at the tradition, or traditions, will show us that it is far less easy to detect Henryson's "personal imprint" on his material than has been supposed. While Jamieson and Jenkins have gone part of the way towards setting the Prologue in its true perspective—Jamieson by comparing it to Gualterus Anglicus' prologue and Jenkins by contrasting it with Lydgate's—Henryson's "inventioun"
encompasses many points that these analogues do not; consequently a consideration of Henryson's achievement in the context of only these authors would be misleadingly incomplete.

For instance, I find much less difference between Henryson's and Lydgate's prologue than Jenkins professes to. His observation that Lydgate "is not primarily concerned with how the fable works [as Henryson is], but with its usefulness"\textsuperscript{16} is a good one, though one should qualify it to avoid giving the idea that Henryson is writing an \textit{Ars poetica} rather than a prologue. He is concerned with how the fable works precisely because, as I shall show, he is concerned to demonstrate its usefulness. He differs from Lydgate not in his attitude towards the use of the fable as a literary form, but in sharpness of intellect and ability to co-ordinate a complex argument.

But first a caution on method. Given the scantiness of evidence in our period I have had to cast my net very wide in the search for analogues to Henryson's attitudes towards poetry. However, objection to this can only be an ideal one, for as R. R. Bolgar notes:

\begin{quote}
We can trace a large number of classical elements in all education previous to the eighteenth century. There is a continuity of tradition in the West from Alcuin to Erasmus...because each generation clung conservatively to the methods of its predecessors, and because the ancient text-books exercised a direct influence on each new group of teachers.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

In this context we should remember that Henryson was a schoolmaster. Moreover, the fact that there were so many different attitudes towards the functions of poetry can largely be explained
by the fact that "Patristic authority could be quoted for almost any attitude." 18

What then is a representative medieval idea of the function of a prologue? John of Garland gives a textbook answer:

"A prologue is an introductory discussion to the work which follows it; it may or may not contain proemial matter [an advance outline of a book's contents]." 19

Of course, in the strict sense, Henryson does not give us a review of contents--except of the Cock and the Jasp in his last stanza. However, he does introduce us to major themes and images, and does provide us with a working understanding of how these show man images of vice which he can recognize and learn from. If the explanation seems to us rudimentary this is largely because the poet was not writing for the twentieth century; he assumes things that we have lost sympathy with and must feel our way back to through 'outside' reading.

Part of this problem, of course, is that we do not easily recognize or accept the conceptual categories that the medieval writer could expect his readers (on all their differing but 'typed' levels) to slide into. All the same, if we wish to make a medieval writer comprehensible to twentieth century readers, we do them and our writer no kind of service by passing him off as a man just like ourselves, as if his only value--and it is of course a value--lay in his modernity. His value is much more intangible and subtle than this and must be something that each reader, given the necessary information, is left to make up his own mind about. In Tom Scott's words:
I cannot agree that the 'authority' we should appeal to [in reading Henryson] is our own response to the poem: our response is conditioned by our knowledge, and the function of scholarship, as distinct from criticism, is to help our response by enlarging our knowledge. Poetry does not live in a vacuum.

Schrader's valuable translation of the sources and analogues of the Prologue fulfills a part of this service, dealing with auctores, commentators, and preachers using fabular material, as well as with the prologues of other fabulists. The range of arguments and authorities cited is remarkable as much for its variety of nuance as for its basic agreement on principles. Odo of Cheriton cites St. Basil (author of a treatise on education); the Speculum Sapiencie quotes Aristotle's Problemata; Mayno refers to the same philosopher's Ethics 1128a, 1-20; the Ysopet de Lyon to "Tully" (Cicero); Bozon grounds his argument on Job 12:7-8; and the author of the Ysopet de Chartres, put on the defensive by one Dagobert, ripostes with Aristotle in his epilogue. All of them agree that the aim of reading is spiritual profit, but as we might expect from the appeal to such a diversity of sources, the means of achieving this vary.

The scientific argument, for which Aristotle's works form the basis and which is given fullest expression by Henryson in the Prologue to the Preaching of the Swallow, is this: since the human mind is tied to the senses and can know [God] only by means of "the artificial images of things", it is natural to learn by means of images. Of course, the common people find it easier to understand this approach, but the difference between the understanding of clerks and peasants is one only of degree, not of
kind: clerks are not angels, nor are peasants animals--except metaphorically. The rhetorical argument is basically a refinement in its own proper sphere of the scientific argument: men need to be persuaded where they are already convinced but unwilling to act.

A saying which is adorned with joys
Is more willingly heard.

Tully taught to do thus
To attract more the hearts of the people,\textsuperscript{23}
says the Ysopet de Lyon.

The ecclesiastical argument is not really in a category by itself since it is an amalgam, in various degrees depending on author, time and place, of the preceding appeals to the heart and the head, set in a Christian context. But Augustine, in his De Doctrina Christiana, had further narrowed the range of what was to be considered profitable: only what was consonant with Christian doctrine and inducive to a life of (Christian) virtue. This was the oft-quoted policy of "spoiling the Egyptians".\textsuperscript{24}

Now the authorities cited by these users of fabular material in many cases correspond very exactly to what one would expect them to cite, given the respective backgrounds of the citers. Thus Odo naturally refers to St. Basil since he is a fellow monk and because he has access to him in the monastic library; the citations of Aristotle by the author of the Speculum Sapiencie and by Mayno no doubt reflect their university background, since Aristotle was the author for the schools.\textsuperscript{25} The author of the Ysopet de Lyon may also have studied rhetoric, though he need not have read Cicero's Ad Herennium to quote him; he could merely have
been using a florilegium of some sort. And this gives us one
answer as to why statements of poetic theory were to remain so
standardized and limited until the advent of printing. Exigencies
of time, place, and opportunity were very restrictive: books took
a long time to copy and were very expensive; few scholars until
Poggio had the time, means, or inclination to search out classical
texts or, until Boccaccio, the patience to compile lists of the
arguments for and against poetry and frame detailed defences.
Even Boccaccio seems to have got most of his argument from Pet­
rarch's writings and Petrarch his from Jerome.

Thus all statements on poetic theory are severely practical.
Prologues being rhetorically 'good form', they are not usually
dispensed with, but they are often no more than standard gestures
directed at particular audiences. As Aesop was a standard reader
it is not surprising to see the author of the Ysopet II de Paris
trimming his sail accordingly:

I have put it in French to be understood by
children and laymen....
God will give a blessing to the clerk or
beginning clerk who reads this....26

Henryson too was very likely to have intended his Morall Fabillis
for the classroom as well as for the edification of adults.

But my point here is that, given what we have seen of the
relationship between theory, function, and access to sources, we
can best arrive at a true appreciation of Henryson's 'uniqueness'
by seeing how the form of his argument in the Prologue is shaped
to his situation. In this context, his relative sophistication
and academic training on the one hand, and the severe function-
ality of some of his arguments on the other hand, seem hardly surprising. As a student of Aristotle and Church Law, and as a schoolteacher at a great Abbey, he would have had access to the scholastic tradition, at least through his student notes, to some classics, and to a wide range of theological, devotional, and canon law material at both Glasgow and Dunfermline. It is this complex of factors I believe that makes Henryson's Prologue at once so precise and yet so general: the scholar may have read widely, but the teacher had to be a reductionist, and in any case probably had to rely on his memory.

As Jamieson has shown in spite of himself, the differences between Henryson's Prologue and Gualterus' are more remarkable than their similarities. In Gualterus' words, they agree (as do all) that "Embellished with jests, serious things please more sweetly," and both use images of flower and fruit, kernel and shell. Gualterus' influence, then, carries us through the first three stanzas only, and even in these Henryson's accenting is different.

Part of the difference is due to the fact that the latter was writing in the more expansive form of rhyme royal whereas the former wrote in terser couplets. But Henryson is not expansive in the rambling way Lydgate is; he uses his form to say more more compactly. (A good example of a beautifully controlled periodic sentence occurs in stanza five.) Whereas Gualterus' prologue runs to twelve lines, Henryson covers the same ground in twenty-one lines and manages to work in subtleties of argument and vivid details not found in his source. Gualterus, then, pro-
vides Henryson with only a bare frame for his discourse. It was of course obligatory. His students would have expected it, would have seen where he went beyond his source, and would have learned from and been encouraged by it to expand and develop literary arguments of their own.

So, then, to the Prologue itself:

Thocht feinyeit fabils of al poetre
Be not al grunded upon truth, yit than
Thair polite termes of sweit Rhetore
Richt plesand ar Unto the eir of man;
And als the caus that thay first began
Wes to repreif the haill misleving
Off man be figure of ane uther thing. (1-7)

The locus classicus for Henryson's opening lines (both for its conceptual categorizing of types of fable according to their relative truth or fictitiousness, and even for its phrasing) is probably Macrobius' famous Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis. Macrobius begins this way:

Fables--the very word acknowledges their falsity--serve two purposes: either to gratify the ear or to encourage the reader to good works.... Those that draw the reader's attention to certain kinds of virtue are divided into two types. In the first both the setting and the plot are fictitious, as in the fables of Aesop, famous for his exquisite imagination. 30

Henryson's dependence on this passage is obvious but not slavish. The more advanced students or the better educated among his audience would be quick to appreciate the subtle variations he works upon his "dyte". The etymological derivation that Macrobius refers to is suggested by Henryson's adjective "feinyeit", the expression "feinyeit fabils" being a commonplace, as we can see by the conjunction of terms in the nearly contemporary Thrie
Priests of Peblis: "then, quod the fule 'without feinyeing or fabil held up your hand [on oath]'". 31 (The Book of Pluscarden also uses this dichotomy: "feinyeit ... suthfast". 32) Another parallel and obvious vitalization of the conventional is apparent in the Prologue's appeals to the ear (3-4) and to good works (6-7).

But even here Henryson exercises great care in shaping his materials. William Stahl's translation presents Macrobius' two purposes as mutually exclusive, and this is the way Gualterus Anglicus--whom Henryson obviously does not rely on in this respect--takes them when he advises the reader that

"if the fruit pleases more than the flower, gather the fruit; if the flower more than the fruit, gather the flower." 33

But, as Dronke notes, this "seems to ignore the force of Macrobius' phrase 'to please the ear', or also [aut quoque] to encourage." 34

Henryson, as we see, is more exact in his "maner of Translatioun" (32); "And als the caus.../Wes to repreif..." he tells us. What seems to be 'original' here is the definite subordination of one purpose to the other. Whereas "rhetoric" is "richt plesand", "to repreif" was the "caus" that fables first began. The position is of course a perfectly orthodox Augustinian one, one that would probably only have drawn contemporary comment as being well said or as having gone one step further in the Christianization of Macrobius and Aesop. (Similarly, in the first of Cato's Distichs, we are told that although Cato was a pagan he was a good man who wrote nothing doctrinally objectionable! 35) Pleasure to Augustine could never be an end, only a means for man's proper end, which
was (and this is where the fable's *raison d'être* comes from) a virtuous life directed towards the love of God.\textsuperscript{36}

Also worthy of consideration are the concessive, defensive opening "Thocht..., yit than", and the quantifier "not al" in the second line. Is Henryson simply being rhetorical and creating an arresting eye-catching beginning? Partly; but the opposition he assumes is not as shadowy as we might think.

The adage "poets are liars" is a hoary one, for even in the fourth century B.C. Aristotle can cite the authority of "the proverb: 'bards tell many a lie'",\textsuperscript{37} and Henryson's near contemporary Fergusson, a fellow citizen of Dunfermline, also quotes it.\textsuperscript{38} Macrobius' discussion of fable is actually only a late Latin attempt to clarify the age-old dispute over various kinds of poetic discourse and their relative value. Repeated by Fulgentius in his very popular *Mythography*, this line of reasoning gained currency in the Middle Ages among men of a literalist stamp and was repeated by such an eminent rationalist as Thomas Aquinas. Petrarch, in compiling his list of objections, included it,\textsuperscript{39} and not only Boccaccio but Albertino Mussato and Salutati a century later are on record as having to defend poetry against the disapproval of a Dominican and a Carmelite friar respectively.\textsuperscript{40} Nor were the objections only from those of a narrowly religious bent. "Petrarch heard them from a physician, ...from a certain Sicilian dialectician, from the rhetorician Benvenuto de Imola, possibly from people of Averroistic tendency."\textsuperscript{41} Moreover, as Osgood points out, if Augustine, Lactantius and Jerome were the sources of "virtually every objection" of these opponents, they also provided
Boccaccio with the quarry for his replies!  

One suspects that the hydra-headed recurrence of this argument was as much due to artificial stimulation in the schools as to accidents of temperament. And fortunately Suetonius, in a discussion of the way rhetorical exercises or suasoria were taught in Roman grammar schools, is quite specific: "frequently they [the pupils] defended or attacked the credibility of fables." If this were still true in Henryson's time—and the recurrence of the dispute century after century (not to mention the traditional nature of elementary education) rather suggests that it was—then we could see how Henryson's arresting opener would have been vivid to his audience of schoolboys or ex-schoolboys in a way that it is not to us. It would have been at once traditional, conventional, and yet 'of the moment', contemporary.

Earlier I suggested that Henryson was "being rhetorical" in his concessive opening line and a half, and it is now time to show how. John of Garland, along with Geoffrey de Vinsauf one of the best known medieval authors on rhetoric, tells us that

three elements are necessary to the exordium: benevolence [achieved by revealing usefulness]; docility [achieved by announcing one's approach]; attention [achieved by introducing a difficulty].

Henryson does all these things, but it is in the very first line that he catches his reader's attention, dragging him in off the street, as it were, into the middle (in medias res) of a heated discussion. Even the construction he uses is listed by Garland. It is the seventh way of beginning: "Students commonly make an exordium with the adverb 'while', dum ...."
Lastly, the seventh line includes a helpful definition of *figura*, which suggests again the habit of mind of one used to clear and concise schoolroom exposition, and follows it up with three increasingly complex illustrations in stanzas two, three, and four. In figural allegory, the figure does not exist merely for the sake of the thing that it is a figure of; it has a reality of its own that is not denied. This is important for Henryson since it enables him both to teach public and private morality on the figurative level and animal physiology and psychology on the literal level.

Fables do not merely instruct, they instruct by "repreif". This, as we shall see when we come to stanzas seven and eight, is inevitable given the Aristotelian and Augustinian definitions of man and animal. Since man's life is figured by the activities of passionate creatures, it follows that the greater part of the treatment will be given up to portrayal of vices. By the Middle Ages, Quintilian's statement that

"moral questions do belong in the exercises of the schools, for the nature of evil must be known that we may better defend the good", had been harmonized with Job 12:7. As Erasmus' writing shows,

there is nothing which advantages the life of man of which nature has not shown us some example in wild creatures, to the end that they who have not learnt philosophy and the rational arts may be admonished by them.

Aesop's *Fables*, by the very fact that it could be treated on a number of different levels, was admirably suited to be a pleasurable exercise-book in basic moral training; Henryson is right
to put these qualities before everything.

In lyke maner as throw the bustious eird,
(Swa it be labourit with grit diligence)
Springis the flouris, and the corne abreird,
Hailsum and gude to mannis sustenence,
Sa dois spring ane Morall sweit sentence,
Oute of the subtell dyte of poetry;
To gude purpois quha culd it weill apply.       (8-14)

Seed-cultivation imagery as a metaphor for spiritual growth
is extremely commonplace in the Middle Ages, so to find it used
in stanza two as a figurative illustration is no surprise. The
biblical locus classicus is of course Christ's "Parable of the
Sower". Fulgentius builds on this when he asseverates that
"to do well is to sow the seeds of future goodness," as does
Boethius, when, in his treatise on the Trinity, he hopes that
"the seeds of speculation, gathered from the writings of the bles-
sed Augustine, have in my work borne fruit." Augustine had used
the image too, in talking about planting "the seeds of faith"; however, the passage of his that Boethius seems to have had partic-
ularly in mind was the famous and cryptic doctrine of seminal
reasons, which Aquinas incorporated into the *Summa Theologica* in
the dictum that "the principles of common law are said to be the
seeds of the virtues.""5

Chaucer too had used the image, in the *Parliament of Fowls*
(202-05), the *Legend of Good Women* (9311-12), and the conclusion
to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, though his balance of 'old' and 'new'
and "fruit" against "chaf" is handled with much more literary
bravura; in Henryson the artist is subordinate to the teacher--no
poetic loss--and his understanding of the developable significances
of his trope takes deeper root in the culture of his time. In emphasizing the "Morall...sentence" as what is to be culled from poetry, he is within the ecclesiastical tradition that goes back to the "Parable of the Sower", but in emphasizing the need for the "bustious eird" and "subtell dyte" of poetry to be "labourit with grit diligence" he seems rather to be looking to educational theorists like Aristotle and Quintilian.

In a passage of the Ethics that is of crucial importance for the history of education, Aristotle, like Henryson in his first stanza, concedes only to riposte:

> Perhaps argument, and teaching too, cannot reach all men, but the soul of the listener, like the earth which is to nourish the seed, should first be cultivated by habit to enjoy or hate things properly; for he who lives according to passion would neither listen to an argument which dissuades him nor understand it, and if he is disposed in this manner, how can he be persuaded to change? In general, passion seems to yield to no argument but force. So one's character must be somehow predisposed towards virtue, liking what is noble and disliking what is disgraceful.

But, he goes on,

> a life of temperance and endurance is not pleasant to most people, especially to the young. For this reason the nurture and pursuits of the young should be regulated by laws, for when they become habitual they are not painful.55

Quintilian also tells us that,

> as deep plowing makes the soil more fertile for the production and support of crops, so, if we improve our minds by something more than mere superficial study, we shall produce a richer growth of knowledge and shall retain it with greater accuracy.56

Since Aristotle's Ethics was required reading in most medieval universities and the original teachings of Quintilian were in
process of being rediscovered, it seems highly probable that Henryson would have known and retained these passages; another fifteenth century schoolmaster at Magdalen Grammar School certainly did:

They that be sumwhat dull of wytt ought to recom­ pense their ydylnes with diligence and labor, for ther was never man so dull, nither no thynge so herde for eny man, but with diligence and labor he may overcome it. For mannys wytt is like a felse, that the better he is dressyde and tylld, the lustyer he bryngeth forth. Therfor no mann may excuse hym by dulness. 57

The passage diverges from Aristotle just enough to meet the needs of its context, for it is an exercise-passage written for his no doubt lazy or unwilling students to translate into Latin!

Aristotle talks of regulating the young and the Magdalen master says they must be "dressyde" (much as Erasmus does). Henryson, seemingly aware of Aristotle's further point that "he who lives according to passion would neither listen to an argu­ ment ... nor understand it," 58 stresses that teaching is in vain if the one being taught does not listen (cf. the Larks in the Preaching of the Swallow) or understand (cf. the Wolf in the Wolf and Lamb). His further awareness of Aristotle's dictum that pas­ sion yields to no judgement but force, is, I think, part of the message of the Mare's kick in the Parliament of Beasts and the Cadger's cudgelling in the Fox, Wolf and Cadger. As we shall see, the "bustious eird" of the narrative remains a "feinyeit fabil" if the reader doesn't cultivate it properly, one that brings forth the tares of the parable or the "wickit thocht" of the Preaching of the Swallow (1902-10). It is important for the Christian and for his community that he "seek valiantly to ascer-
tain what this fable may mean", in order that, as Henryson says in line 14, he may apply it "To gude purpois" in his life. (We shall see this expressed explicitly in the Cock and Jasp.)

In this respect Henryson is more positive that the reward of the labour will be sweet, a "Morall sweit sentence", for Aristotle is only sure that habituation will render right action "not painfull". But this difference, again, is one rather of culture than personality. The only ultimate reward for the pagan who can apply such lessons to his life is the knowledge that he and others know he is behaving virtuously; for the Christian it is eternal beatitude.

As the Book of Pluscarden tells us, putting the whole argumentative process of the first two stanzas in proper perspective, "the sang is sueyt quhen that the sound is suth." Of course there is no problem if the surface level of the song is true, but when it is "bustious", or, in the Book of Pluscarden's terms, "feinyeit thing", one must begin the taxing task of "wringing lilies from the acorn."

In concluding my discussion of this stanza, I want to point out the significance of particular words and phrases that I have not already looked at, so as to try and enlarge our critical field of vision. Firstly, Henryson's simile can be taken allegorically on the basis of an etymological interpretation derived from Isidore: "homo 'a man' hath the name of humo 'the erthe'." The application of Aristotle and the Magdalen master is suggested even while the simile shifts its significance to include the cultivation of poetry as an aspect of the cultivation of the soul.

The noun of the first phrase we are dealing with adds yet
another slight shift in perspective to our stanza's significance, for "dyte" (Makculloch MS. "dyt") means primarily a versified composition, though it also has an overtone of legal indictment that may have been intended to foreshadow the Sheep and the Dog and the other compositions relating to justice. Reminding the reader, in this way, that poetry is an artfully constructed composition also suggests that the advice given in stanza two applies not only to the act of reading, but to that of writing. Nothing would be more natural than that Henryson's "translatioun" of a text commonly used as a compositional exercise in schools should provide this kind of advice. "Inventioun" involved a searching for themes, and the student's task was to find a suitable fable that could be shaped to, or that fitted, the moral sentence he wanted to cultivate.

Thirdly and lastly, though I grant that what makes the final line of this stanza fresh is the way it is rhetorically employed to undercut what has gone before, it is in itself a stock phrase: "To gude purpois quha culd it weill apply" (14). We find such an analogue in Erasmus' De Pueris Instituendis apropos educational training:

Man, instead of physical powers, is given a mind apt for training; in this single gift all others are comprised, for him, at least, who turns it to due profit. 64

Perhaps such phraseology as Henryson's suggested the "Parable of the Talents" to medieval writers, but in any case it also indicates that the hinge on which successful or unsuccessful action turns is the free will.
The nuttes schell, thocht it be hard and teuch,
Haldis the kirnill, and is delectabill.
Sa lyis thair ane doctrine wyse aneuch,
And full of fruit, under ane fenyeit Fabill.
And Clerkis sayis it is richt profitabill
Amanis ernist to ming ane merie sport,
To light the spreit, and gar the tyme be schort.(15-21)

Jamieson believes that these lines are developed from the last two lines of the Gualterus prologue: "The lightness of foolish words bears a worthy burden,/As a dry shell conceals a good kernel." But this, while undoubtedly true, doesn't tell us how he developed them—whether he made up the rest out of his own 'imagination' or whether he worked-in other suitable common-places for particular effects or as part of an exercise in amplificatio.

The image of the nut is, as Pearsall says, "a metaphorical cornerstone of medieval aesthetic", and can be used with varying significance. For Adam of St. Victor it is "the image of Jesus Christ": the green sheath His flesh, the wood of the shell the bitter cross, the nourishing kernel His hidden divinity. Averroes uses it, in his commentary on the Parva Naturalia, to treat the differing kinds of perception by which the "rind" or form of things becomes increasingly abstracted in the mind as it is received in turn in the common sense, and in the imaginative, estimative, and memorative faculties. Alan of Lille also uses the image, as do Fulgentius and Juan Ruiz, among others. All emphasize the bitterness of the rind, the sweetness of the kernel, and the need to penetrate the bitter to reach the sweet.

But the reference most ubiquitous and most easily accessible
to a schoolmaster occurs in Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*. This gives, as an example of how a *chreia* (a brief exposition for the purpose of edification) should be worked out, the following theme: "Isocrates said, 'the root of education is bitter, but its fruit sweet'" and provides as the illustration of the theme "As farmers who toil ought to reap the fruit, so with speeches...." It is not hard to see how Henryson, in composing his own edificatory exposition, might naturally have slipped into a familiar and opposite pattern and associated nuts and shells with seed and fruit. The association is made the more natural for the fact that the kernel image aptly develops by way of illustration the significance of the last line of the preceding stanza: "To gude purpois quha culd it weill apply."

Of interest in Henryson's adaptation is the fact that he chooses to use "delectabill" instead of the more usual "sweit". The necessity of rhyming "delectabill" with "Fabill" and "profitabill" (in itself a nicely subliminal reminder of the theme of stanza one, reinforced mnemonically by the pleasure of chiming sounds) is a part of the reason. But again the epithet is traditional; according to Thomas of Walsingham's *Accessus ad Auctores*, Aesop's

was not the heavy-handed severity nor the imperiousness of method used by many philosophers to inculcate moral maxims: instead he employed those *sweet* inducements and *delectable* fables in order to entice the minds of men to good. 74

At this point an important textual crux should be noticed. Line sixteen in the Charteris, Bassandyne, and Harleian versions
reads "Haldis the kirnill and is delectabill" whereas in Bannatyne and Makculloch it reads "... the kyrnal suiet and delectabill". With the Charteris, Bassandyne, and Harleian versions the subject of "is delectabill" seems to be "the nuttes schell" whereas in Bannatyne and Makculloch "the kyrnal" is obviously what is "delectabill". Those who would like to see Henryson as a writer of the Renaissance defending the value of his art will prefer the first reading, as Shallers and Toliver do, since the second denies the value of art as an end in itself (surely an English Department heresy!). But the second reading is more likely to be closer to Henryson's intentions both in terms of medieval literary theory and in terms of textual authority, for the Makculloch MS. is the oldest of all surviving versions. The coupling of "suiet" and "delectabill" is I think another stylistic argument in favour of the Makculloch MS., given the fact that it seems to be conventional.

Only one other thing remains to be pointed out about the language Henryson employs to present the nut-kernel simile and that is the double meaning of "fruit". The term, making its first appearance here, aptly looks both ways in the simile and is what one might call a pivot-word. Even the elementary medieval Latin student would know that fructus was a term synonymous with "documentum, moralis and moralitas". The alliterative doublets "full of fruit" and "fenyeit Fabill" help, I feel, to create by their juxtaposition following the wry-humoured "wyse aneuch", the tone of voice of one who has clinched an argument. With the mention of "fenyeit Fabill" the argument has come full circle, but our sense of the term is certainly not what it was at the beginning of the Prologue; Henry-
son has proved his point.

And Clerkis sayis it is richt profitabill
Amangis ernist to ming ane merie sport,
To light the spreit, and gar the tyme be schort.

Forther mair, ane Bow that is ay bent
Worthis unsmart, and dullis on the string;
Sa dois the mynd that is ay diligent,
In ernistfull thochtis, and in studying:
With sad materis sum merines to ming,
Accordis weill: thus Esope said I wis,
Dulcius arrident seria picta Iocis. (19-28)

From here on, we part company with Gualterus as the basic model. The argument shifts from a discussion of goals to a discussion of means: the profitableness of sport. But who are the "Clerkis" referred to? One of them seems to be Aristotle. In Ethics 1128a, 1-20 he discusses the good life and the different kinds of levity, and shows how levity can be virtuous. Bromyard, who spices his predication with plenty of fables, also repeats the passage in the preface to his Summa Praedicantium,77 and Horace is another one that Henryson's pluralization "Clerkis" suggests he could be aware of (cf. Ars Poetica, 334-35).

However the direct source for Henryson's passage seems to be Pseudo-Cato, not Aristotle, and this seems natural enough considering that Cato's Distichs was a companion-piece to Aesop's Fables in the classroom. Here is the passage in its Latin and English versions:

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis
Ut possis animo quemvis suffere laborem.

Sumtyme to thi studiing
Thou puit joye evere among;
Thou shalt betere afturward
Suffre travayle strong.78
The passage, like Aristotle's, seems to have been popular among writers who wanted to justify the presence of non-didactic material in their work; Juan Ruiz, in his prologue to the Libro de Buen Amor also uses it explicitly:

It is the saying of a wise man, and Cato said it, that among the cares a man has in his heart he should intersperse [entreponga] pleasures and merry words, for much sadness brings much sin. [Note that in the Gayoso MS., the copyist cites the Latin text above].

Henryson has taken liberties with the second line, just as Ruiz has, and indeed their arguments follow the same curve. Ruiz warns us (tongue in cheek) that "much sadness brings much sin" and Henryson goes on to tell us in stanza four that "the mynd that is ay diligent, ...Worthis unsmart". Both have in mind the commonplace idea that too much study can lead to melancholy.

If relaxation can be "richt profitabill" in refreshing the mind that "dullis on the string" like the proverbial ass on a one-stringed harp, it can also be profitable in another way; and Henryson's defence of the fable form is enough to show us how. By their very nature fables appeal both to the sensitive and to the intellectual faculties. Aesop's Fables was both a book in which "children muche delite" and one in which "is included much morall and politike wisedom." The great danger in the initial stages of literary studies was that the "nuttes schell" be so "hard and teuch"

"that the child, who is not yet old enough to love his studies, ...come[s] to hate them and dread the bitterness which he has once tasted." (Fulgentius' swollen hands, and Augustine's and Erasmus' childhood
fear of the birch are all witnesses to the darker side of primary education.) Lest this happen "his studies must be made an amusement" says Quintilian. Erasmus best puts the matter in a nutshell:

In choosing subject matter...it is desirable to take some pains to discuss what is naturally attractive to the youthful mind.... Brightness, attractiveness, these make the only appeals to a boy in the field of learning...yet there is no reason why in this early stage of education utility should not go hand in hand with delight.

I cannot tell that anything is learned with better success than that which is learned by playing (per lusum discere) and this is a very harmless sort of fraud to trick a person into his own profit.

Boccaccio also tells us in the prologue to his Lives of Famous Women that he has added some moral exhortations to his stories so that by being mixed with pleasure "their value would enter the mind by stealth." But perhaps most revealing of the way in which the dual characteristics of Aesop's fables could be used by the schoolmaster as a saving lure is an anecdote of Boccaccio's made in defence of poetry in the De Genealogia Deorum:

I once heard...tell of Robert...the famous King of Jerusalem and Sicily--how as a boy he was so dull that it took the utmost skill and patience of his master to teach him the mere elements of letters. When all his friends were nearly in despair of his doing anything, his master, by the most subtle skill, lured his mind with the fables of Aesop into so grand a passion for study and knowledge, that in a brief time he not only learned the Liberal Arts familiar to Italy, but entered with wonderful keenness of mind into the very inner mysteries of sacred philosophy.

Though the truism that Boccaccio applies (learning is easiest when most enjoyed) has a very obvious relevance to Henryson's text,
we need not assume that Henryson went directly to Boccaccio. The latter seems to be recounting a legend that grew up around the fact that the most popular of all schoolroom Aesopists, Gualterus Anglicus, taught and wrote his fables at the Sicilian court. This being so, Boccaccio was probably doing no more than embellishing what lay to hand.

In any case, Boccaccio and Robert of Sicily's schoolmaster were not the only ones aware of the technique. Augustine, in announcing it "necessary that men be not only instructed but also deeply moved", makes it clear that "reason gave the name rhetoric to the subject which aims at bringing this about." He regrets that "it is a subject characterized more by necessity than by integrity, whose lap is filled with seductive enticements", but approves it in so far as, by it, people "may be led to what is to their own advantage."87 Luckily his use of the technique in the classroom is on record, in a passage of his Confessions (6, 7) relating to the conversion of Alypius:

It occurred to me that the passage which I happened to be reading could very well be explained by an illustration taken from the games in the arena. It would appeal to the students and make my meaning clearer, and it would also enable me to make a laughing-stock of those who were under the spell of this insane sport. You know, my God, that...Alypius...took my words to heart.88

Perhaps less explicit but nevertheless directly analogous examples of how a pleasurable illustration could be used to shame a student into virtuous behaviour can be found in the Cock and Jasp and Henryson's fox fables:
"Na mervell is, ane man be lyke ane Beist, 
Quhilk lufis ay carnall and foull delyte; 
That schame can not him renye, nor arreist," (50-52).

It is a common figure, and one I shall treat in its proper place. Here all I want to point out is that Henryson's argument is integrated in ways that are likely to remain invisible to us until we study what he has to say in the light of Antique and Medieval educational theory and practice. Subordinate though pleasure is to moral profit, it is a vital working relationship, not at all "inorganic" and unsatisfactory as Jamieson sees it. 89 It is only unsatisfactory if we do not understand the vital way in which medieval ideas on education could--at their best--interlock to produce great literature.

I conclude the general discussion of this stanza by returning to Erasmus, since what he says will increase our understanding of how a number of other things in Henryson's Prologue are also a product of the schoolroom:

... can anything be better adapted to the youthful capacity than the reading of ancient Fables? [The first steps in the education of little children are being dealt with, prior to the learning of Latin. Vernacular texts or oral exposition in the vernacular would therefore be required.] For they appeal by their romance, they are good for moral lessons, they help vocabulary. There is nothing a boy more readily listens to than an apologue of Aesop, who under cover of pleasant stories teaches the young the very essence of philosophy. You relate, again, how Circe transforms the comrades of Ulysses into swine and other animals. It is a story to rouse interest and, perhaps, amusement; but the lesson is therein driven home that men who will not yield to the guidance of reason, but follow the enticements of the senses, are no more than brute beasts. Could a Stoic philosopher preach a graver truth? ...Comedy is intelligible to boys, and teaches them many deep truths of life in its lighter vein. Then it is time to teach the names of objects .... Lastly, short sentences containing quaint conceits, proverbs, pithy sayings, such as in ancient times were the current coin of philosophy. 90
By "short sentences" Erasmus probably means Cato's Distichs, which commonly preceded study of the Latin Aesopus. Thus we can appreciate how Aesop might be experienced at more than one stage of a boy's education on more than one level of understanding, and with more than one kind of pleasure. That this should be so was particularly valuable to the schoolmaster, given the fact that boys were not usually segregated according to age, as they now are, but shared the same classroom and the same teacher at the same time. Breugel's etching of "The Ass at School", though parodistic, gives a good idea of the physical situation. Besides this, Erasmus' lesson on transformation is exactly Henryson's here (56) and in the following "Fabillis". This will be useful to have in mind when we come to deal with the "Reynardian" fables, which some critics have claimed are unsuited to didactic exposition.

As we have previously noticed (p. 84), the last line of stanza three ("To light the spreit, and gar the tyme be schort") is not a close translation of Cato's distich in the way that its preceding line is. We see Henryson doing with a distich of Cato's what he had been doing with Gualterus' argument in the first two and half stanzas: amplifying his matter and building up to his most important point last. Common sense tells us that tempering study with entertainment so as to preserve one's mental health (st. 4) is a more fundamental human requirement than spicing one's routine with jokes and pranks to kill time (st. 3, l. 21).

The image of the "Bow that is ay bent", which "Worthis un-smart, and dullis on the string", is a common one. It appears in
a list of proverbial sayings in the _Bannatyne MS_, as "a bow that is long bent it will wax dull"; Pliny the younger also refers to it; and so does a Renaissance anecdote about Saint John in which, reproved by an archer for playing with his pet quail, the Saint replies that as the string of a bow needs loosening from time to time, so, for a man, relaxation precedes achievement.

The dictum held an important place in the theory of education, moreover: Quintilian stresses the importance of relaxation, amusement, and useful games, and so do Wheteley and the _De Disciplina Scolarium_ after him. Hence it aptly leads up to the proverbial major premise taken from Gualterus: *Dulcius arrident seria picta Iocis* (embellished with jests, serious things please more sweetly).

This quotation from "Esoppe" is at once the capstone to the preceding argument and the introduction to his statement of intention in the next couple of stanzas.

Of this Authour, my Maisteris, with your leif,
Submitting me in your correctioun,
In Mother toung of Latyng I wald preif
To mak ane maner of Translatioun;
Nocht of my self, for vane presumptioun,
Bot be requiest and precept of ane Lord,
Of quhome the Name it neidis not record.

In hamelie language and in termes rude
Me neidis wryte, for quhy of Eloquence
Nor Rethorike, I never Understude.
Thairfoir meiklie I pray your reverence,
Gif that ye find it throw my negligence,
Be deminute, or yit superfluous,
Correct it at your willis gratious.       (29-42)

Having determined that fables are profitable in more than one way, he announces his intention to "translate" them and assures himself of the goodwill of his readers or listeners by extended use of an
expected modesty formula. If not to be noted for its 'originality' in our sense, it is, nonetheless, to be appreciated as a skillfully modulated variation on a standard theme, with no trace of Lydgatean awkwardness or sly Chaucerian double-entendre à la his Franklin.

I do not think, as Jamieson does, that Henryson is here being two-faced or subservient towards "those who might not know the convention" while laughing at them with "the cognoscenti" by way of a "rhetorical treat". True, he may be raising a slight smile, either if we remember that his "hamelie language" is forced on him by his choice of text, or if we believe that some at least of "my Maisteris" may have been his schoolboys, for whom a "Translatioun" of Aesop would be quite in order. But it is humour that hurts no one, least of all himself. If we assume he is addressing boys, we can also discern a practical advantage behind the formula, for if, as Wheteley suggests, they are to be encouraged to make sport of competition in debate, how much more would they be eager to turn to their essays on Aesop if invited to improve on their master's version! Textbooks like Aesop were common property, working texts, not hallowed literature.

That this is an intended level of reference in the stanza is made more likely by other details, such as the fact that Henryson refers the bow simile not just to "ernistfull thochtis" but to "studying" (cf. Cock and Jasp, 153) and that he writes not just by "requeist" but by "precept" of a Lord. One wonders what kind of a lord would request a protegé to write a translation of Aesop and give him, as well, instructions on how to write or what to write? It is possible that "requeist and precept" is just a doublet phrase
in which the second term adds nothing to the meaning of the first. Jamieson notes a number of these in stanza eight for instance.\textsuperscript{100} In any case, if "precept" is taken to mean "an authoritative command" (\textit{OED}, 1), this would make not merely for a clumsy, but for an awkward reading; one doesn't request \textit{and} command someone to do something at the same time! So it would seem less awkward to understand "precept" in its other sense of

an instruction, direction, or rule for action or conduct, especially an injunction as to moral conduct; a maxim. Most commonly applied to divine commands. (\textit{OED}, 2)

What sort of lord would provide moral direction, we might well ask? Henryson's \textit{dominus} at Dunfermline was of course the abbot. There were several during the time he is likely to have been at Dunfermline, but the one who probably attracted him from Glasgow, and who therefore is likely to have had the greatest influence on him, was Richard Bothwell (1445-1470); he was also the patron of the author of the \textit{Book of Pluscarden} and one modest enough not to have allowed his name to be entered in the dedication to that work. (The author declares in his prologue that he prepared his Chronicle "at the desire, order and commission of the venerable father and lord in Christ D\textemdash, by God's permission now reigning abbot of the monastery of Dunfermline and governing the said monastery."\textsuperscript{101} Skene, however, deduces from manuscript evidence that the Chronicle was compiled in 1461 and therefore commissioned by Bothwell.\textsuperscript{102})

Other candidates eligible to have given the poet precepts, and modest enough--or well enough known--not to have had their name
recorded in doing so are Aesop (who appears as Henryson's "Maister" in the Lion and the Mouse and elsewhere "puttis in memorie" what the poet is to retell) and God the Holy Ghost. If we consider the latter, we might remind ourselves that Henryson was a conscientious schoolmaster likely to have heeded Aquinas' warning that "we are forbidden to call a man a teacher in this sense, that we attribute to him the pre-eminence of teaching which belongs to God." Before leaving stanzas five and six, the reader should be made aware of an interpretational difficulty in line 41. Professor MacQueen believes that the line is

almost certainly an indication that he aimed not at a technically low style, which for his purposes would be 'deminute', nor at a 'superfluous' high style ... but at a mean--some form of the middle style.

I heartily agree that Henryson aimed at a mean, but do not see how it necessarily follows that "therefore" he must have been writing in the middle style. The whole question of levels of style is very far from being understood at the present time, and while we should be grateful for MacQueen's pioneering of this approach, we need not swallow his arguments whole. Henryson could just as well have meant that, in writing the low style required for fables, threadbare ("deminute") language was as much to be avoided as long-winded ("superfluous"). The middle style was good only for pleasing the ear, according to Augustine. What Henryson is aware of, in my opinion, are the stringent requirements of "the severe, clerkly style". (Notice that there is nothing in Lydgate to match this "subtell" modulation of Henryson's argument; for the
monk of Bury the fable-form is no more than "a pewter dyssh" to hold "ryall dentees" of "moralytees", ll. 17-21). 108

We come now to what Jamieson, Fox, and Jenkins 109 have identified, in Jamieson's words, as "the central 'fegour' of the work". Jenkins claims that the opening lines of this stanza are "a close translation" of Fabulae Vincentii Bellovacensis ("Et ut vitam hominum ostendat et mores, inducit aves et arboris bestiasque loquentis, probanda cuiuslibet fabula"), 110 and they are indeed similar. But it is less tendentious to see both texts as following a prescribed tradition rather than to assume that one directly copies the other.

My Author in his Fabillis tellis how
That brutal beistis spak, and Understude,
In to gude purpois dispute, and argow,
Ane Sillogisme propone, and eik conclude.
Put in exempill, and in similitude,
How mony men in operatioun,
Ar like to beistis in conditioun. (43-49)

The device by which "brutal beistis spak" was a common rhetorical convention: prosopopoeia. Explanation of it could be found in preceptive rhetorics like Vinsauf's 111 or in school exercise books such as Priscian's Praeexercitamina, in which it was included as a separate literary exercise. Hermogenes' Progymnasmata, of which Priscian's work is a translation, discusses fable under myth, and after rehearsing what lies behind Macrobius' later definitions (that fable "may ... be fictitious, but [must be] thoroughly practical for some contingency of actual life") adds that it should also be plausible:

How may it be plausible? By our assigning to the characters actions that befit them. For example, if the contention be about beauty, let this be posed
as a peacock; if someone is to be represented as wise, there let us pose a fox. ...now telling in bare narrative, now feigning the words of the given characters.... Orators too (beside poets) appear to have used myth instead of example.  

All of this is useful for a right understanding of what Henryson was doing. Firstly it clarifies the way in which we should view his much vaunted animal naturalism—as a function, skillfully applied, of the precept that while a fable may be used as the example of an argument it must be plausible. Thus it must not just be morally practical, but artistically believable too. But who were the orators who by their practice sanctioned the use of Aesop for moral argument? And, even if prosopopoeia sanctions the speech of animals, how could Henryson go to the extreme of having them speak syllogisms?  

Both answers lie partially to hand in Boccaccio. He begins thus:

Fiction is a form of discourse, which, under the guise of invention, illustrates or proves an idea; and, as its superficial aspect is removed, the meaning of the author is clear.

He then goes on to distinguish the traditional four kinds, justifying the use of animal fable by the fact that "Aristotle, chief of the Peripatetics, and a man of divine intellect, did not scorn to use it in his books." (The passage he refers to is in the Rhetoric [2, 20] where Aesop, in a council's plea, used his fable of the vixen, the ticks and the hedgehog. ) Having appealed to the authority of the master of the schoolmen, he then feels justified in saying,

"if I conceded that poets deal in stories I think I thereby incur no further disgrace than a philosopher would in drawing up a syllogism."
So much for our first point; the fact that fables can illustrate ideas in a general way is obvious enough, especially if they are used figuratively, as Boccaccio notes. But why insist on animals syllogizing? Is this just another bit of Chaucerian fantasy? Perhaps. But, however new the twist, it is less far from the safe ground of tradition and respectability than we might think, as I shall show. One more question. Is the expectation that this statement raises satisfied in the Fabillis themselves; do we meet any 'rational' beasts? Both questions can now be answered. For one thing, it depends on how loosely or rigorously we care to define syllogism. For another, Henryson's construction is loose: is his Author or are his animals syllogizing? The answer seems to be 'both'.

Certainly the rigorists will be satisfied by the scholastic precision of the Lamb's argumentation in the Wolf and Lamb and the Sheep's in the Sheep and Dog, but formal reasoning on the part of an animal is less obvious in other fables. There are two obstacles to our appreciation of its presence. The first can be surmounted once we understand the difference between the philosopher's and the rhetorician's logic:

The rhetorical syllogisms have omissions; they differ from the syllogisms in philosophy in that the latter lead directly to conclusions while the former leave the conclusions drawn from the premises and postulations to be considered further by the juror.  

This of course helps underline the significance, from the logical angle, of a previous qualification of Henryson's in stanza two: the fable is not going to hand the reader/listener the moral sen-
tence without his working for it. He is expected to be one "To
gude purpois quha culd it weill apply", and this intention is
conveyed by the repetition of the phrase "to gude purpois" in
line 45.

A further difference between the philosophical and the rhe­
torical syllogism is that the former has three parts (major prem­
is, minor premise, and conclusion) and the latter has five (in­
cluding any number of "proofs" or illustrative examples attached
to both major and minor premises). As a result the dividing
line between argumentative illustration and syllogistic proof was
necessarily vague—at least in the hands of rhetoricians such as
preachers and poets.

Our second obstacle to appreciating how Henryson's animals
can be said to syllogize is our assumption that they will neces­
sarily form correct syllogisms. This is not warranted by the
facts. Since Henryson's *Fabillis* is principally concerned to
treat the blandishments of the Vices "be figure of ane uther
thing", most of his animals, such as the Wolf and the Paddock,
will employ faulty reasoning, or sophistry.

The educational, not to say dramatic, importance of incorpor­
ation of sophistical argumentation into fables is well understood
by John of Salisbury. He holds that a study of the "snares" of
sophistry is "beneficial for the young" until such time as they
can be led to recognize its limitations and learn to strive after
truly rigorous logic:

For [he says] often our senses are duped. This not
only happens with children.... Sensation deceives
the untutored, and cannot pronounce sound judgement.
[But] Since our mind perceives how we may be deceived by our senses, it strives to obtain knowledge which it can be sure is correct.... It is this concern which gives birth to 'prudence'... a virtue of the conscious soul, whose object is the investigation and skillful utilization of the truth.... Prudence looks to the future, and forms providence; recalls what has happened in the past, and accumulates a treasury of memories; shrewdly appraises what is present, and begets astuteness or discernment. 119

It is not hard to see how this process of correction can be applied to the Fabillis. Educational theory contributes to their rhetorical design in so far as types of behaviour that have duped us initially are to be stored in the "treasury of memory" and "prudently discerned" when they recur in altered guise to test our alertness. (This kind of exercise is hardly to be distinguished from William of Wheteley's training of his students to look for distinctiones. 120)

Over and over again in the Morall Fabillis we are presented with the same fundamental conflict "between man's carnal and spiritual sides", 121 but in deceptively different dress each time. No two fables are the same in surface structure, however much the fundamental conflict remains the same. And for this reason (as we will appreciate in considering "schame" in stanza eight): our perceptivity, our ability to reason and "choose or act accordingly" 122 is being tested and retested in a series of moral exercises.

Because of this, we must not expect to find a consistently explicit formal ordering among Henryson's fables. All of them are related to one thing, but not necessarily to each other at the literal level. Henryson's ultimate concerns are spiritual, and
artistic considerations are subordinate to these ends. Of course this is not to deny Henryson's artistic achievement, which is very considerable; however, if we would appreciate the *Fabillis* as a medieval work of art, we cannot avoid approaching them as a collection of moral fables. In Quintilian's words, "the instructors of morals and of eloquence were and are identical."\textsuperscript{123}

The extravagance of Henryson's claim that animals can "Ane Sillogisme propone, and eik conclude" is thus mitigated artistically in terms of Henryson's practice, his use of dialectical disputation in the fables themselves. It is also mitigated by the restatement, in this new context, of his basic theme that, even if it is a hoax, it is done "In to gude purpois" (45) and therefore justifiable.\textsuperscript{124} The phrase, as I have noticed briefly before, looks back to line 14 of stanza two, "To gude purpois quha culd it weill apply", and does so to good effect. At this stage of his argument Henryson is about to demonstrate the vital seriousness of the fable form, that seriousness which accounts for Boccaccio's calling Aesop "grave and venerable",\textsuperscript{125} and for Martin Luther's exclamation that

\begin{quote}
next unto the Bible, we have no better books than Catonis Scripta and Fabulas Aesopi ... for their writings are better than all the tattered sentences of the Philosophers and Lawyers.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

Fables are a vital spiritual exercise not merely because they can be allegorized like the tales of the *Gesta Romanorum*, but because their analogy between men and beasts is a deadly serious one, justified by a wide variety of authors.

The figure of animals as symbolic of the deadly sins that
Henryson takes up in the last couplet of this stanza and develops in the next goes back, according to Morton Bloomfield, at least as far as the Desert Fathers:

How mony men in operatioun,
Ar like to beistis in conditioun.

Na mervell is, ane man be lyke ane Beist,
Quhilk lufis ay carnall and foull delyte;
That schame can not him renye, nor arreist,
Bot takis all the lust and appetyte,
And that throw custum, and daylie ryte,
Syne in thair myndis sa fast is Radicate,
That thay in brutal beistis ar transformate. (48-56)

But we also find it in Aristotle:

A brut[ish] man is most likely to exist among barbarians, but sometimes also because of disease or injury; and we apply such bad expression also to those among men who go beyond the limits of vice. 128

Examples also lay to Henryson's hand in the writings of the Church Fathers, as we have seen in Chapter One; it was even a popular metaphor and certainly "na mervell" in Henryson's day, but the precision of Henryson's thought reveals his familiarity with Aristotle's arguments on the subject.

At the base of the analogy was Aristotle's definition of man as a rational animal. Man shared a life of the senses in common with all other animals but it was his endowment with reason that set him apart and gave him dominion over the beasts of the field. However, error, as Aristotle notes in the De Anima, "is a state more natural to animals [than truth], ... in which the soul spends the greater part of its time," and as a result man's life was seen as a struggle to maintain a fully conscious rational existence, one in which the intellect was not "veiled" by the passions.
Thus Aristotelian psychology was sympathetic to the Christian idea of psychomachia, providing it with a scientific base that educated fabulists could exploit by reducing the margin of difference between men and animals. Such data was very useful to the fabulist aware of Aristotle's dicta that all animal life consisted in the two acts of procreation and nutrition and that such animal quarrels as the war between the fox and the wolf (mentioned in the Historia Animalium and made the structural cement of the Ysengrinus and the Roman de Renart) were about these concupiscible things. Nor was it so funny to the medieval mind to think of animals as having emotions, for they had at least the rudiments of these: desire (the concupiscible appetite) and anger (the irascible), both of which belong to the sensitive soul and follow sense-knowledge. "In a general way in the lives of animals many resemblances to human life may be observed," Aristotle remarks.

There was also a social hierarchy in the animal world just as in the human—we see it recognized in the Renart and in the Parliament of Fourfooted Beasts—and the various animals of this world had formal characteristics just as had their counterparts in the professions and estates of the human world. Plausibility, for Hermogenes and Priscian, consisted (as we have seen) in "assigning to the characters actions that befit them", and these could always be lifted from Aristotle's Historia Animalium to aid invention (as we shall see when we come to the Prologue of the Cock and Fox). More than that, certain animals were even endowed with estimative powers akin to reason:

Sensation belongs to all animals, but wisdom is found in only a few; therefore they differ. And
he [Aristotle] allows wise judgement to 'a few animals', and not exclusively to man, because even certain brutes have a sort of prudence or wisdom, in that they instinctively form correct judgements on what they need to do.\textsuperscript{137}

The point has obvious relevance to such fables as the Cock and Jasp and the Preaching of the Swallow. However, I shall not attempt to give a complete summary of Aristotle's theories of perception and psychology here, but will refer to them in so far as they inform our understanding of Henryson's fables individually. My point is simply that the dividing line between man and animals was much thinner than we might suppose.

Turning to the details of Henryson's version of this argument in stanza eight, we cannot help being struck by the way his definition of man-as-beast is conditioned by the absence of "schame" and by the reinforcement of "custum". Here again we have evidence, not of his 'originality', but of his ability to select key issues from complex arguments and present them in an uncomplicated way, so as to suggest more than they state. For shame--the knowledge that one is doing, or has done, what one knows in one's conscience to be wrong--is a key term in both Aristotle's Ethics\textsuperscript{138} and Christian ethical doctrine. Aristotle believed, as we have seen, that a sense of right and wrong had to be inculcated from an early age in order for shame to work as an effective brake on wrong-doing. For Christians, it was innate. "There is," says St. Augustine, "a kind of law in us also, consisting of the imperative commands of conscience."\textsuperscript{139} Such is the germ of the idea that becomes Henryson's justly famous "reversal tactic".\textsuperscript{140} In terms of the language
of the time, it should more accurately be called the "revertere" tactic, since it is one that we have already seen Augustine applying in the classroom to achieve Alypius' conversion, and one that his description of it in the De Doctrina Christiana clearly shows to have a Socratic base in dialectic:

There are also true processes of reasoning which lead to wrong conclusions because we logically follow up a mistake of the person with whom we are having a discussion. These conclusions are sometimes drawn by a good and learned man, his aim being to produce a sense of shame in the person whose mistake led to the conclusion, and so to lead him to renounce his error.\textsuperscript{141}

It is also the subject of a number of medieval lyrics in which birds admonish men to revertere.\textsuperscript{142}

This concept of the "prikke of conscience" is the basic mechanism behind the action of the Two Mice and the Cock and the Fox and, indeed, of the Cock and the Jasp, into which, in another stanza, the General Prologue inevitably and naturally leads. The failure to heed the "prikke of conscience" is, as stanza eight explains and the Cock and the Jasp illustrates, to deny what is innate in us that can lead to rectification and rejuvenation of the soul through penance. The person so shameless as not to heed this is truly spiritually dead, no better than an animal, and in fact much worse (as Henryson points out in the Moralitas to the Wolf and the Lamb, 2736). For animals have an imperfect voluntary capacity to act. Unlike man, they do not deliberate (reason) before acting, as Aquinas explains.\textsuperscript{143}

The process of this symbolic transformation, evident even in the large scale movement from the first to the last half of the
Fabillis, is naturally a gradual one. Each successive acquiescence in sin without a following act of repentance leads to a dulling of the sense of shame. Reversal can theoretically take place at any point in this process, but becomes increasingly less likely the less the sense of shame impinges on consciousness, and the more "accustomed" the soul becomes to sin. In "The Talking of the Tod" Lowrence has at least a spark of shame, but the Wolf of the 'Lupiad' is totally blind.

Another key word that lends associative richness to our understanding of this accustomizing growth of sin is "Radicate", meaning "rooted". Its very Latinity seems to echo the famous line of St. Paul "radix omnium malorum est cupiditas" (I. Tim. 6:10) and, at the same time, the educational application suggested by Aristotle's Ethics that we find nearly contemporaneously in Erasmus' De Ratione Studii:

... remembering [from Aristotle] how difficult it is to eradicate early impressions, we should aim from the first at learning what need never be unlearned, and that only.144

The tight weave of Henryson's argument is deftly completed by the cap word that is used to close the final couplet of the stanza and rhyme with "Radicate": the word "transformate". This one word conjures up the whole of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Even if first-formers were not familiar with this from class reading, they might have graduated to Aesop from such stories as the one Erasmus would have his boys told, in which "Circe transforms the comrades of Ulysses into swine."145

Stanza eight thus has an obvious general application, but it
also has a more specific one that becomes evident in a classroom context. It was widely believed, on Aristotle's authority, that children were hardly to be distinguished from animals, so untrained were their reasoning faculties, and so much more did the "raging" of their blood expose them to the domination of their sensitive faculties. So, if man's life started uncomfortably close to that of an animal, and if it was only too easy for man to sink back to the level of the beast, it was by training the mind in the "impressionable" years of childhood (when the mind was "like unformed wax") that it could be raised up. Hence the Christian importance of education. "Animals are trained by degrees according to their power," says Erasmus, "and so should children be...."

This Nobill Clerk, Esope, as I haif tauld,
In gay metir, as poete Lawriate,
Be figure wrait his buke: for he nocht wald
Lak the disdane off hie, nor low estate.
And to begin, first of ane Cok he wrate,
Seikand his meit, quhilk fand ane Jolie stone,
Of quhome the Fabill ye sall heir anone. (57-63)

In his last stanza, Henryson returns to his starting point with a brief encomiastic epilogue in which he praises his author and recapitulates his educational achievements. Such at least seems to be the force of "as I haif tauld" (57), and the way in which the choice of "gay metir" and writing "be figure" (58-59) as essential qualities of the Aesopic style recall the "polite termes" and "figure of ane uther thing" (3, 7) in the first stanza. Even here Henryson achieves a certain modulation of effect, for the last stanza's "gay metir", which seems to refer as much to the pleasing harmonics of his own rhyme royal as to the elegiac coup-
lets of his "Esope", Gualterus, is a slight addition to the colores rhetorici or "polite termes" of his first stanza. The reintroduction of "Esope" also provides Henryson with a graceful way of "conveying his matter", allowing him to make a smooth transition from the General Prologue to the Cock and Jasp by simply shifting attention from the author to his first fable.

Aesop, we presume, is "Nobill" because he teaches virtue, and "poete Lawriate" as much for that reason as for his Petrarchan qualities. The Harleian MS., however, is alone in this reading; all the other texts follow in substance the Makculloch Manuscript's "in gay metyr and in facund purpurat [empurpled eloquence]". So I will leave the discussion of Aesop's laureateship until the Prologue to the Lion and the Mouse raises the issue again. Although Gualterus' carefully balanced phrasing is, by the standards of the time, quite consciously literary, to call it "in facund purpurat" does seem an exaggeration. The effect is typical of an encomium, and balances with extreme praise of his author the extreme modesty of reference to his own "hamelie" and "rude" style in stanza six. Finally, Henryson's one-line summary of the Cock and the Jasp fulfills John of Garland's last and optional requirement for the model prologue, a brief proemial outline of contents.

The statement about not wanting "the disdane off hie, nor low estate" is also balanced against stanza six's reference to his own plea for correction if his style "Be deminute, or yit superfluous". As in stanza six, it attempts to capture the good will of its audience by appealing to the widest possible range of taste. A quotation from Vinsauf reveals the aim of this common technique:
... be not exclusive, but rather social in your eloquence. The advice of the ancients runs 'speak as the many, think as the few'. But at the same time, do not make yourself vulgar: you can be at the same time pleasant and skillful in speech. Therefore, do not have regard to your own powers, but rather his with whom you speak. Give a weight to your words that is suited to his shoulders, and speak words proper to your matter. 149

And one from Boccaccio shows its effect:

Such then is the power of fiction that it pleases the unlearned by its external appearance, and exercises the minds of the learned with its hidden truth; and thus both are edified and delighted with one and the same perusal. 150

The "gay metir", then, will please those of "low estate", and the "figure" will exercise those "off hie".

Thomas Waleys also applies this distinction in preaching to lay folk as opposed to ecclesiastics. The former need merely be instructed; the latter need also be entertained since already familiar with what they are being told. 151 Here too we may suppose that some at least of Henryson's listeners or readers were acquainted with and well disposed towards "Esope's Fabillis" and therefore needed stronger doses of eloquence to hold their attention. Even so, Henryson is quite capable of modulating from the "purpurat" style of the Lion and the Mouse (Prologue) to the high style of Christian exhortation in the Parliament of Fourfooted Beasts (831-37, 971-84). But to admit he uses both a secular and a Christian rhetoric is not to accuse him of inconsistency. His effects are always calculated. If he uses the "purpurat" ornate style in the Lion and the Mouse it is for a condemnatory purpose, and if we read the fables purely for the pleasure of his eloquence he is quick to correct our response in his Moralitas--as we shall see in the Cock and the Jasp.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

PROLOGUE

1 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 96.

2 Ibid., p. 97.

3 Dorena A. Wright, "Henryson's Orpheus and Eurydice", pp. 41-47.


7 Peter Dronke, Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism (Leiden, 1974), p. 26 (hereafter cited as Dronke, Fabula). The following is his schematic version of Macrobius' distinctions (I, 2, 7-11):

A delighting B exhorting

B1 fictitious matter B2 true matter

using fictional using fictional

techniques techniques

B2i containing B2ii containing

unworthy elements

seemly things

only

8 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 339.

9 Ibid., p. 340.

10 Ibid., p. 341.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

after cited as Jenkins, Thesis.


15 Ibid., p. 3.

16 Ibid., p. 9.

17 Bolgar, The Classical Heritage, p. 27.

18 Ibid., p. 57.

19 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 63.


22 Speculum Sapiencie; ibid., p. 162.


27 The earliest copy of his Prologue and the Cock and the Jasp is preserved amongst the logic notes of one Magnus Makculloch.

28 Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", p. 593.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)


34 Dronke, Fabula, p. 16.

35 Furnivall, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., p. 554.


38 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 691, p. 86.


40 Ibid., p. xli, n. 97.

41 Ibid., p. xxxiv.

42 Ibid., pp. xl to xli.

43 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 65-66.

44 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 59.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

46 Erich Auerbach, "Figura" in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, trans., Ralph Manheim (New York, 1959), pp. 11-76. Hereafter cited as Auerbach, "Figura".

47 Institutes of Oratory, III, viii, 43 f.; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 225.

48 De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 190.

49 The Regulation of Oxford University Booksellers (1275) states this: "Since that field is known to bring forth rich fruit for which the care of the farmer (colonus) provides painstakingly in all respects, ... we [should] labour in the fields of the Lord to bring forth a hundredfold in virtues and science." Quoted in Lynn Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York, 1971), p. 100. Hereafter cited as Thorndike, University Life.


53 Gilson, Augustine, pp. 206-208.


55 Ethics, 1179b, 25-36; Apostle, pp. 198-199.

56 Institutes of Oratory, X, 3; Ullich, Educational Wisdom, p. 118.

57 Nelson, A Fifteenth Century Schoolbook, p. 153. Cf. also Erasmus’ comparison of the training of young minds to the husbandman’s fashioning and training of fruit-trees in De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 183.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

58 *Ethics*, 1179b, 25-36; Apostle, pp. 198-199.


60 D. L. Clark tells us that school exercises were intended "to give them [boys] literary models to imitate in their speaking and writing and to give them models of morals and manners to imitate in their lives", *Greco-Roman Education*, p. 146.


63 See *OED*, "ditty" and "dittay".

64 *De Pueris Instituendis*; Woodward, *Erasmus*, p. 184.


71 Cf. MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*, p. 96 for citation.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

73 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 187.


76 Risse, "Avianus", p. 42.


80 Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour (1546) quoted in Carver, Acolastus, p. lix.

81 Institutes of Oratory, I, 1; Ullich, Educational Wisdom, p. 105.

82 Ibid.

83 De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 214.

84 Ibid., p. 180.


86 Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry, p. 51.

87 De Ordine ii, 33-44; Howie, Augustine, p. 256.

88 Pine-Coffin, St. Augustine: Confessions, Bk. VI, Ch. 7, p. 121.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

89 Jamieson, "Henryson's Poetics", p. 28.

90 De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 212.


92 Bannatyne MS., III, p. 10, ll. 60-61.

93 Curtius, European Literature, p. 418.


95 Institutes of Oratory, I, iii, 8 ff.; Colson, Quintilianus, p. xxvi.


98 Jamieson, "Henryson's Poetics", p. 29.


100 Jamieson, "Henryson's Poetics", p. 29.


103 Cf. MS. Digby 26 (B.N. 3) in Chapter One, p. 29 for such a dedication of an 'Aesop' to Christ.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

105 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 99.

106 De Doctrina Christiana, iv, 53-55; Howie, Augustine, p. 388: "The aim of the moderate style, which is to give pleasure by virtue of mere eloquence, is not a worthy end in itself."


111 Murphy, Three Rhetorical Arts, p. 50.


113 Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry, p. 48.

114 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 127.

115 Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry, p. 47.


117 Ibid., p. 55.


119 Ibid., pp. 221-222.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

120 Wheteley, says his editor, was "convinced that training his students to look for possible distinctions (distinctiones) which ought to be made in order to guarantee the accuracy of all statements was an important part of the education which the students received as they mastered the content of these elementary questiones." (Sebastian, "William of Wheteley", p. 267) We might note that Henryson's Mouse in the Paddock and the Mouse is deficient in just this ability to discriminate, and that the distinctio method seems to have been assimilated to classroom teaching at quite an early date. So at least a poem in the Bannatyne MS suggests by its reference to Cato:

"As Cato says in his teaching
In al thingis knaw the quantetie
As all tyme askis of everything."

(Bannatyne MS., II, p. 110, ll. 53-55)

Such a lesson was probably a vital part of Henryson's reversal tactic. For instance, if we fail to distinguish the Wether in the Wolf and Wether from the Sheep in the Sheep and Dog and the Lamb in the Wolf and Lamb, and lump them all in the symbolic category of 'silly innocents', we are likely to be put to shame by the Moralitas of the Wolf and Wether. Shame, as we shall see in stanza eight, is a part of prudence, and prudence is the "science" of the Jasp that we are told to "ga seik".

121 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 356.


123 Institutes of Oratory, XII, 2; Ullich, Educational Wisdom, p. 121.

124 John of Garland notes in his Parisiana Poetria that "A fable contains events that are untrue, and do not pretend to be true; it follows that avoiding vice in fabulous narratives means lying with probability ... dumb animals are made to speak for our edification, as in Avianus and Aesop" (Lawler, pp. 101, 105).

125 Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry, p. 48.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

127 Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 245 ff.

128 *Ethics*, 1045a, 30-35; *Apostle*, p. 116.


130 Cf. Kenelm Foster and Silvester Humphries, trans., Aristotle's *De Anima* in the Version of William of Moerbeck and the Commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas (London, 1954), p. 380 (hereafter cited as Foster and Humphries, *De Anima*): "If you take away that by which things differ, they are left the same; and if rationality is removed from man he is left simply an animal."


133 *Historia Animalium*, 589a, 1-5; Ross, *The Works of Aristotle*, IV.

134 *Historia Animalium*, 609b; *ibid.*

135 Foster and Humphries, *De Anima*, p. 200.


137 Foster and Humphries, *De Anima*, 488b, 10-30, p. 382; also Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 99.

138 *Ethics*, 1115a, 10-15; *Apostle*, p. 46.

139 *Enarr. in Ps.*, 57, 1; *PL* 36, 673-674; Gilson, *Augustine*, p. 130.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II (Cont.)

141 De Doctrina Christiana, ii, 47-50; Howie, Augustine, p. 358.


144 De Ratione Studii; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 162.

145 De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 212.

146 Ethics, 1128b, 15-20; Apostle, p. 77.

147 Ibid., p. 197.

148 Cf. MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 562, ll. 543-547 for a similar use of the phrase "hie nor lowe dege".

149 Murphy, Three Rhetorical Arts, p. 72.

150 Osgood, Boccaccio on Poetry, p. 51.

CHAPTER III

THE COCK AND THE JASP.

This poem has received more critical attention and provoked more argument than any other of Henryson's fables. Briefly, it involves a Cock who finds a gem on a dunghill as he searches for his dinner, praises its nobility and value, but rejects it as unsuitable food. The *Moralitas* tells us that the bird represents a fool who rejects the gem of prudence and science.

To this we can react in four possible ways: 1)

1) We may be aware of the outcome, and pick up Henryson's criticism of the Cock from the beginning.

2) We may be unaware of the outcome, yet pick up the criticism of the Cock from the first encounter.

3) We may be unaware of the outcome, sympathize with the Cock, become shocked at the *Moralitas*, and have to reread the narrative to discover how we have been duped.

4) We may be unaware of the outcome, sympathize with the Cock, react in shock to the *Moralitas*, and reject it as perverse.

Modern criticism runs the whole gamut. For example, Godshalk prefers the first; MacQueen seems to accept the second; Jamie­son and Fox favour the third; and Marshall Stearns and MacQueen's anonymous reviewer in the *TLS* assume the fourth possibility.

But it is between the proponents of the third and fourth points of view that the most—and the most heated—debate has
taken place. Obviously Henryson's artistic integrity is the issue, and it was for insisting that "the Cock is a poor person of character and integrity" that Jamieson took Stearns to task. However, the defenders of the fourth point of view were hydra-headed, and Tom Scott and Elizabeth Watson had to repeat the exercise when the anonymous TLS reviewer of MacQueen's Robert Henryson insisted on the same thing. Lack of familiarity with the figural technique is, as Watson and Fox have pointed out, the source of the trouble for those who see the Cock sympathetically and who protest that the Moralitas is disruptive. They read literally what should be read figuratively.

Of course we have seen Henryson in the Prologue insisting on the importance of his figural method, but how is it linked to his purpose in the Cock and the Jasp? He seems to assume a hierarchy of kinds of understanding when, in the last stanza of his Prologue he tells us that "Esope.../Be figure wrait his buke: for he nocht wald/Lak the disdane off hie, nor low estate" (57-60). As we have seen in a statement of Boccaccio's, the uneducated are expected to appreciate the literal story and the educated will appreciate the figural meaning of it. Henryson applies this psychological fact to good moral purpose in the Cock and the Jasp in a very sophisticated manner. Nor does he, any more than Shakespeare, have to build from scratch in doing so. The Tale of the Cock and the Jasp is traditionally first in medieval Aesop collections.

The reason for its first place becomes clear if we consider the moral conclusion most usually found with it, "Aesop tells these things to those who do not understand," in relation to Cax-
ton's assertion that the Jasp is "This fayre and pleysaunt book" and Henryson's hortatory advice to the reader to "Ga seik the Jasp". (Godshalk puts the cart before the horse in assuming that Lydgate's version is the norm: "Thys foule ys....Ayene all vyces the morall champion." It may be the norm for the uneducated fifteenth century reader or the average modern reader, but as an interpretation of this tale it is quite unusual; it can, I think, be accounted for by the fact that Lydgate is a monk more used to the ecclesiastical connotations of the cock than the fabular.) By implication, if we as readers reject the Moralitas, as the Cock rejects the Jasp, we will get nothing from the Fabillis.

In other words, Henryson is merely illustrating in a concrete manner what he proposed in his Prologue, that "the caus that thay first began/Wes to repreif the haill misleving/Off man be figure of ane uther thing." He shows us how insidious our earthly attachments are by having us sympathize with this short-sighted fowl's industrious "appetyte". Then, by showing us how unreasonable and ridiculous the bird's and our attitudes are, he makes vivid to us the truth of his initial proposition. After our shock, if we have any sense we will have learnt our lesson, cultivate the "bustious eird" of poetry "with grit diligence", and "Ga seik the Jasp" of spiritual understanding in the following fables.

That Henryson is using this traditional function of the Cock and the Jasp in a highly conscious manner is, I think, evident if we notice that it is the only one of the Fabillis that keeps to the original Romulean ordering. (For instance, the Wolf and Lamb and Paddock and Mouse, which occur in second and third position
in Romulus and its derivatives, appear as his last two.) Henryson retains it because it already had a very useful function to perform that he, better than anybody, knew how to exploit for maximum effect. As Michael Baxandall has so brilliantly shown in his Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, the public's visual capacity must be the artist's medium: cognitive categories influence literary production. And the cognitive categories in this case are approximately the same whether we are reading the poem in the fifteenth or the twentieth century. How we respond to the Cock and the Jasp indicates whether or not we have read and remembered Aesop's fable before, whether we pick up the tone of disapproval or seeming approval in the Tale, whether or not we are familiar with the figural technique, and whether or not we are prepared to be instructed by it.

Modern controversy, as we have seen, neatly demonstrates that the most crucial set of alternatives is the last one: whether or not we are prepared to be instructed by the fable. And Henryson, in making his Jasp signify Prudence (128), and in exhorting us to "Ga seik the Jasp" which the Cock rejects, consciously clarifies the nature of the choice that the fable offers. "For prudence," as Gerke has pointed out, "is concerned with proper choice," and the Cock's opinions in the Tale are carefully juxtaposed with the interpretation of the Moralitas. In MacQueen's words, they represent "two balanced expositions of opposed points of view." Henryson has taken a bare hint of Aesop's to the effect that those who do not appreciate the point of his fables are fools; and given it much graver significance. What the Cock rejects are saving
Christian truths.

To see how this is so I shall consider the fable in detail. Henryson's version of the fable is, as Jamieson shows, unlike other versions. He does not begin with the mere statement that a cock searching for food found a jasp, but instead gives us a portrait of the bird.

To put this observation in the terminology of Priscian's Praeexercitamina, other versions are content to employ one of the five summary modes of telling a tale: direct declarative, indirect declarative, interrogative, enumerative, comparative. So Gualterus (whom Henryson was certainly amplifying, as we know from the evidence discussed by Gregory Smith) leads up to what the cock said in three swift, parallel, adverb clauses:

"While he was digging in the dung with his hard mouth, while he was seeking food, while he was stunned by a discovered jasper, the cock said...."

Henryson himself is quite capable of such an effect, as we can see from lines 106-8 and 134-36, but he wants to be more expansive, and so resorts to ecphrasis of character and of action; his Cock is brought vividly before our eyes, as is the Jasp's loss:

Ane cok sum tyme with feddram fresch & gay,
Richt cant and crous, albeit he was bot pure,
Flew furth upon ane dunghill sone be day;
To get his dennar set was al his cure.
Scraipand amang the as, be aventure
He fand ane Jolie Jasp, richt precious,
Wes castin furth in sweeping of the hous. (64-70)

If Henryson "seems to have entered into the Cock's nature himself," as Pearsall suggests, this is to be expected; ecphrasis demands that "the expression correspond to the thing." The effect is achieved swiftly and easily in four lines by adding new
toucches to the stock-image: "Gallus in suo sterquilinio plurimum potest" or, "Ane cok is crous in his awin midding."\(^{22}\) The lines that correspond to this in the \textit{Cock and the Jasp}, "Ane cok...,/Richt cant and crous...,/Flew furth upon ane dunghill...", form the backbone of Henryson's description.

Henryson's portrait of the Cock is of a bold, high-tempered, proud, gaily clad ("with feddram fresch and gay"), but poor ("bot pure") member of the lower gentry who "steps out" in \textit{chanson d'aventure} style,\(^{23}\) and discovers a marvellous jewel "be aventure". Two details may modify our favourable impression of the Cock: the fact that "all his cure" is set upon getting "his dennar", and the fact that this barnyard aristocrat finds his "aventure" by "Scraip- and amang the as". He does not see himself as we come to see him, for, as Aristotle comments in his \textit{Ethics} (a text Henryson certainly read, as we know from his "Want of Wyse Men", 17),

\textit{Vain people are fools and ignorant of themselves, and conspicuously so; for thinking themselves capable of honourable undertakings, they make the attempt, and then they are exposed. And they adorn themselves in dress and pose for effect...thinking that through these they will be honoured.}\(^{24}\)

The Cock too is gaily dressed, postures verbally, is preoccupied with the idea of nobility, and is finally exposed as merely paying lip-service to it. His foolishness should of course be clear to us as we read, assuming that we have heeded the \textit{Prologue}'s twice-repeated warning that "Esope" employs a figural technique. If it is not clear, the \textit{Moralitas} enforces a second reading that will make it so. The ash stands for the "dunghill of this world" (from which St. Margaret, Patron Saint of Dunfermline, was imagined by
her punning biographer to have been taken\(^\text{25}\) and the Cock is brave
on it "as flesh is bold while on earth."\(^\text{26}\)

The way in which Henryson sets up his *ecphrasis* of action, for which there is no discoverable source in any other version of this fable, should again be familiar to us from the *Prologue*. A brief relation of events, encapsulated in the last couplet of the first stanza,

"He fand ane Jolie Jasp, richt precious,
Wes castin furth in sweeping of the hous." (69-70),
is amplified in the following stanza:

As Damisellis wantoun and Insolent,
That fane wald play, and on the streit be sene,
To swoping of the hous thay tak na tent,
Thay cair na thing, swa that the flure be clene.
Jowellis ar tint, as oftymis hes bene sene,
Upon the flure, and swopit furth anone—
Peradventure, sa wes the samin stone. (71-77)

As has been mentioned, the amplification is Henryson's own; it seems to be an ironic inversion of the Parable of the Lost Silver (Luke 15:8-10), as Jamieson\(^\text{27}\) and MacQueen\(^\text{28}\) suggest. Besides explaining how the jewel came to be on the dunghill, it serves to suggest a parallelism between the "Damisellis wantoun and Insolent" and the Cock "richt cant and crous".\(^\text{29}\) Again, this is not something we fully appreciate until we have reached the end of the Tale, for at this point we do not see the further similarities between the Cock's rejection of the Jasp as unfit for his "tume Intraill" and the damsels' hasty sweeping out of the Jasp so that they too can satisfy their carnal desires by being seen "on the streit".

But where do these "Damisellis" come from? I have suggested
that this stanza of amplification is Henryson's own, but it is not entirely original. He seems to be building on such commonplace advice as

"Teiche weill your sone and gif him your counsale
Bot hald yor dochtir ay in strete bensale", 30

and the warning of the Good Wife to her daughter to go

"Nocht oft into the street vaverand,
For vaverying betakynnis vilsumnas
Vanvit, velth, or wantownas." 31

What about the sweeping of the house? The detail is obviously necessary and a natural way of explaining the jewel's removal to a dunghill, but it is not the only reason that could have been given if plausibility was the only thing at stake: the Jasp could have been dropped. The action of sweeping thus seems to have been introduced to satisfy a figural requirement. As Godshalk suggests,

In a broad sense the sweeping of the house represents the business of living which should be done with proper attention to the purpose of one's actions. 32

But I believe we can be even more specific than that.

Juan Ruiz mentions in his Libro de Buen Amor how on Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, "She [Lady Lent] leaves nothing unpurified in whatever house she enters.... No corner she peers into, but the dirt disappears from it." 33 The custom referred to lies behind Herbert's "The Elixer" (19-20), of course, and our modern "spring-cleaning". Once we understand this, everything falls into place. Our "Damisellis" are only paying lip-service to Lent, 34 just as the Cock is paying lip-service to the Jasp's virtue. Careless sweeping of a house is a relatively minor fail-
ing; but failure to put one's spiritual house in order is folly. That Henryson wanted to apply this not only to "Damisellis" and "Jaspis" but to the readers of such a spiritually profitable work as "Esope's" Fabillis is, I think, obvious. "In the very beginning of his first fable, Henryson starts the interplay between animal and man" that Fox sees as forming "the whole basis for the Fables".  

"How mony men in operatioun,  
Ar like to beistis in condiouin."  (48-49)

We come next to the Cock's encomiastic comparison. "Encomium is the setting forth of the good qualities that belong to someone in general or particular" as Priscian and Hermogenes tell us, and Comparison is included "under encomium as a means of amplifying good deeds." According to Aphthonius "the comparison is a twofold encomium" and, as he adds, it is "very effective, but especially that which compares the small with the greater." Hermogenes agrees: "The greatest opportunity in encomia is through comparisons."  

This then is the mould in which the Cock's oration is cast. I shall analyze the Cock's speech in some detail to show just how skillful it is.

Sa mervelland Upon the stane (quod he)  
'O gentill Jasp! O riche and Nobill thing!  
Thocht I the find, thow ganis not for me.  
Thow art ane Jowell for ane Lord or King.  
Pietie it wer, thow suld ly in this mydding,  
Be buryit thus amang this muke on mold,  
And thow so fair, and worth sa mekill gold. (78-84)

The Cock begins by apostrophizing the Jasp's lineage in two parallel exclamations, "'O gentill Jasp! O riche and Nobill thing!"
(79), the second endowed with one more adjective than the first. Geoffrey de Vinsauf is as well aware as Henryson that this device can be used both solemnly and comically to 'send up' self-important fools:

You may laugh at a ridiculous man--suppose there is such a one: 'As much in his own opinion as in the opinion of the vulgar he is a learned man.' [But]...if you wish to inveigh fully against foolish people, attack in this way: praise, but facetiously....40

Most critics have likewise seen the dramatic irony in the Cock's address to the Jasp. But is it not also possible that the Cock sees himself as engaging in such verbal irony--albeit backfiring--at the expense of the Jasp? The Cock's point of view in the Tale and the narrator's in the Moralitas are so obviously counterpoised that it is hard not to believe that Henryson intended to condemn the Cock "from his own mouth" and hold up to mockery the mocker; the device is repeated in the Fox's Confession and Parliament.

The high-flown rhetoric of "'O gentill Jasp! 0 riche and Nobill thing!'" is almost immediately undercut by the unadorned contrastive comment that follows: "Thocht I the find, thow ganis not for me." The line is adapted from Gualterus' "neither am I fit for you, nor you for me", and is repeated again at the conclusion of the Cock's speech thirty-two lines later: "Thow ganis not for me, nor I for the" (112). The next line, "Thow art ane Jowell for ane Lord or King", does not come from Gualterus but is a natural enough expansion in such a context, as the similar reference to "royal gifts" in the Romulus of Nilant shows.

The pity topos concluding the last three lines of the stanza
involves further parallelism with substitution of terms ("buryit" for "by" and "muke on mold" for "mydding") that literally buries the comparison under a load of rhetoric! Evidently the Cock takes pleasure in and wants to heighten the Jasp's "tragedy", its fall from fairness into filth. His reference to the Jasp's being "worth sa mekill gold" should, I think, be read as part of the Cock's mockery of the Jasp.

In the following stanza the pity topos evoked by the tragic fall of the Jasp into the mud is expanded in the manner we have previously seen Henryson employ in lines 68-77 and parts of the Prologue. But there is nothing monotonous about it. In line 82 what is emphasized as pitiable is that "thow [the Jasp] suld ly in this mydding", whereas, in line 85, the contrastive shift in focus of "'It is pietie I [the Cock] suld the find" allows the natural introduction of reasons or excuses from the Cock's side:

'It is pietie I suld the find, for quhy
Thy grit vertew, nor yit thy cullour cleir,
It may me nouther extoll nor magnify;
And thow to me may mak bot lyttill cheir.
To grit Lordis thocht thow be leif, and deir,
I lufe fer better thing of les availl,
As draf, or corne, to fill my tume Intrail. (85-91)

The germinal theme of the stanza that the poet cultivates so assiduously from his source to such profusion of "colour" is presented in the sixth line: "I lufe fer better thing of les availl" (90). It translates directly Gualterus' "things less dear I love more." Henryson's specification of what the Cock considers to be "fer better thing", which concludes the stanza, also seems to be "a maner translatioun". For the Ysopet de Lyon (another verna-
cicular translation of Gualterus) reads at this point "[I would] Rather you were replaced by grains of corn or barley/For they better make me open my gullet."\(^{45}\) (Jamieson notes that the *YSopet de Lyon* is the only other version which has an equivalent for Henryson's interpretation of the Jasp as "science" in line 137: "The rich jasper is knowledge \([\text{savoir}]\)."\(^{46}\)

As usual, Henryson builds up to his most important point last, on the way allowing his Cock to show off not only his rhetorical feathers but seemingly, in lines 86-87, his lapidary lore (actually he betrays his hearsay knowledge of it, as lines 120-133 of the Moralitas show). The presentation of his first three reasons,

"Thy grit vertew, nor yit thy cullour cleir,  
It may me nouther extoll nor magnify;  
And thow to me may mak bot lyttill cheir." (86-88),

is an elaborate one, the interweaving of subjects in the first line and of verbs in the second syntactically anticipating the more condensed and generalized statement in the third line. The first line also involves a *chiasmus*, the adjective-noun ordering of "grit vertew" being reversed in "cullour cleir". Further, the subjects of the first two reasons are attributes of the Jasp, and therefore to be classed together, whereas the subject of the third ("thow") stands for the Jasp itself.

The Cock's objection that neither the Jasp's "grit vertew" nor "cullour cleir" can "extoll" or "magnify" him is entirely reasonable so long as we see him the way he sees himself—as a cock. Behind his self-assured assertion here and partial explanation two stanzas later (99-105) lies an unexpected major premise
that is ultimately Aristotelian:

Each animal is thought to have a proper pleasure, just as it has a proper function; for a given pleasure is proper to its corresponding activity. This would appear to be so if each species of animal is considered also; for the pleasures of a horse, of a dog, and of a man are different; and as Heracleitus says, 'Donkeys would choose sweepings rather than gold.'

On the figurative level, however, we may recall that "from about 1450 to about 1500 ... only about a third of the seventy-eight lords of parliament" could write at least their own signatures, and may also remind ourselves that the Education Act of 1496 "to put the sons of the nobility to school" suggests that not enough went, and may, consequently, see the Cock as a prototype of Squire Weston.

The new sentence that begins the last three lines of the stanza

"To grit Lordis thocht thou be leif, and deir, I lufe fer better thing of les availl, As draf, or corne, to fill my tume Intraill." (89-91),

reiterates and expands upon the contrast first set up in the preceding stanza:

"Thocht I the find, thow ganis not for me. Thow art ane Jowell for ane Lord or King." (80-81)

The result is a two-stanza chiasmus. In stanza twelve a contrast between the Cock's needs and the Jewel's status is followed by "pity" at its fall; in stanza thirteen the reason for pity, stated in terms of the Cock's needs, is followed by a contrast between the Jewel's status and the Cock's needs.
What remains of the Cock's peroration is quite as tightly knit as stanzas 12 and 13, from which they are in fact spun:

st. 14 'I had lever [haif] scrapit heir with my naillis, Amangis this mow, and luke my lifys fude, As draf, or corne, small wormis, or snaillis, Or ony meit wald do my stomok gude, Than of Jaspis ane mekill multitude: And thow agane, Upon the samin wyis, For les availl may me as now dispyis.

st. 15 'Thow hes na corne, and thairof haif I neid, Thy cullour dois bot confort to the sicht, And that is not aneuch my wame to feid. For wyfis sayis, lukand werkis ar licht. I wald have sum meit, get it geve I micht, For houngrie men may not leve on lukis; Had I dry breid, I compt not for na cukis. (92-105)

The opening subject-verb-comparative of the first line, "I had lever [haif]", obviously amplifies the subject-verb-comparative of the last two lines of the preceding stanza, "I lufe fer better" (90); however, slight variation prevents monotony in the restatement. Repetition of a whole phrase from the kernel sentence in the preceding stanza, "As draf, or corne," (cf. 91, 94), also helps maintain clarity of outline; and on the firm stock of these repetitions blooms before our eyes a new ecphrastic image of the Cock scraping with his nails for small worms or snails to fill a grumbling stomach (the Cock's "tume Intraill" is even ironically alluded to in the Moralitas, 145-47). The Cock's most confident, and the poet's most daring argument follows:

"And thow agane, Upon the samin wyis, For les availl may me as now dispyis." (97-98)

It is a rhetorical reversal of point of view, such as would be expected in the amplification of a contrastive argument. What is unusual about it is the skill with which it is introduced--in
The reversal of stanza fifteen is elaborated in the same terms as stanza thirteen, but back to front. First the "corne" argument is presented as an argument from necessity. As that of a Cock, it is entirely plausible and even scientifically exact:

"The life of animals may be divided into two acts--procreation and feeding; for on these two acts all their interests and life concentrate".

Aristotle tells us. But as the argument of a bestial man it can be no more than an attempt to excuse gluttony by dressing it up as "neid" (on the human level, this "need" is for gold, the "riches" of line 138, as we learn in the Moralitas). The ambiguity in this word is of course the kingpin that holds together the two levels of the argument.

Next the "cullour" argument is developed in terms that implicitly set the Cock's argument--unknown to himself--in the context of the "Damisellis" stanza (eleven). Qua cock, he is right to claim the Jasp's colour "bot confort to the sicht", but not as a man! He lacks spiritual understanding.

Finally, in the last three lines, the Cock follows his "authority" with another proverb (possibly invented) that encapsulates the argument memorably, and tacks on a proverbial phrase. The last is the sort of detail that has earned the Cock his place in surveys of Scottish Literature as a type of the cheerful, hardworking Scotsman who likes plenty of salt in his porridge. However, his professing not to mind about stale food so long as it is filling principally bespeaks his narrow-minded, sour-grapes attitude.
For the final stanza of the Cock's oration,

'Quhar suld thow mak thy habitatioun? 
Quhar suld thow dwell, bot in ane Royall Tour? 
Quhar suld thow sit, bot on ane Kingis Croun, 
Exaltit in worschip and in grit honour? 
Rise, gentill Jasp, of all stanis the flour, 
Out of this midding, and pas quhar thow suld be; 
Thow ganis not for me, nor I for the.'

(106-12),

I can do no better than quote Denton Fox's admirably succinct analysis:

In this last stanza...the three rhetorical questions, bound together by anaphora and parallelism, increase in concreteness (mak thy habitatioun--dwell--sit; Royall Tour--Kingis Croun), in complexity (one clause--two clauses--three clauses), and in intensity of praise, leading up to the second line of the third question, with its three terms of praise (Exaltit, in worschip, in grit honour). Then comes the direct imperative to action (Rise), and then the sad diminuendo of the last two lines...

As I have suggested before, the Cock's "command" to the Jasp to "Rise...and pas quhar thow suld be" is given in the terms of a knighting ceremony, the romance phrase "of all...the flour" adding to the effect. But, as the last line and the Cock's subsequent action reveal, the Cock is merely paying lip-service to the Jasp. He has no intention of restoring it to its place; moreover he has his values upside-down: it is the Jasp which could "raise" him! His whole magnificent speech, brought grandly full-circle by his last Gualteran inversion, founders on the flippant mockery of his last remarks; it becomes obvious that his discovery of the Jasp was an excuse for an idle, vainglorious flapping of rhetorical feathers, and no more. Two fables later, such a display will have more immediately serious consequences for Chantècleir, but the first sin of Pride is suitably intimated here in the Tale of the
first fable.

The exact nature of what has been rejected is next on the agenda, as Henryson turns to "the inward sentence and intent" in stanza 17. On the literal level it is profitless to wonder who found the Jasp and what happened next; that is the realm of fairy-tale parodied in Colkelbie Sow. But, on the figurative level, the question of "quhen, or how, or quhome be it wes found" is the raison d'etre of the whole fable; and we realize this in the incremental repetition of lines 115-16 in the conclusion to the Moralitas (159-61).

The short modesty formula "Of this (as myne Author dois write)/I sail reheirs in rude and hamelie dite" (118-19) further enhances the dignity of the Moralitas as a literary exercise in its own right. Not only the formula of submission but the very wording "rude and hamelie" looks back to the "hamelie language" and "termes rude" of the Prologue (36). Just as the Cock has presented the worldly argument, so the narrator will rehearse the spiritual argument—and in the very same terms and style the Cock has used.

Stanza 18 presents a problem. Denton Fox feels that it "may well be a cancelled fragment" and, according to Jamieson, intends to omit it in his forthcoming edition of the Fabillis. Gerke likewise feels uneasy with it and would like to transpose it with stanza 17. Of the editors, Ritchie, Gregory Smith, and Elliot all place the stanza in the Moralitas, on the authority of the Bannatyne MS, whereas Harvey Wood places it in the Tale, on the authority of the Makculloch and Harleian MSS. and Charteris and Bassandyne editions.
Gerke's suggestion can, I think, be rejected as raising more problems than it solves. If stanza 18 is placed before stanza 17, how is it supposed to relate to the Cock's speech? But Fox's suggestion needs to be considered by comparing stanza 18 with stanza 19:

This Jolie Jasp had properteis sevin:
The first, of cullour it was mervelous,
Part lyke the fyre, and part lyke to the hevin.
It makis ane man stark and victorious.
Preservis als fra cacis perrillous.
Quha hes this stane, sall have gude hap to speid,
Or fyre nor water him neidis not to dreid.

This gentill Jasp, richt different of hew,
Betakinnis perfite prudence and cunning,
Orrante with mony deidis of vertew,
Mair excellent than ony eirthly thing;
Quhilk makis men in honour for to Ring,
Happie, and stark to wyn the victorie
Of all vicis, and Spirituall enemie.  (120-33)

Both begin and develop in the same way, "This Jolie Jasp" corresponding to "This gentill Jasp", and the list of its "properteis" to what it "betakinnis". The statement that "It makis ane man stark and victorious" (123) seems to be a slightly more expansive version of "Quhilk makis men in honour for to Ring, /Happie, and stark to wyn the victorie" (131-32); the phrase "richt different of hew" (127), on the other hand, seems to be a contraction of "Part lyke the fyre, and part lyke to the hevin" (122). What then are the differences?

For one thing the latter stanza is much more explicitly exegetical than the former, which seems by its greater allusiveness to have been intended for the esteem of the "hie" rather than the "low". In the former, seven properties are listed: 1) its marvellous colour, 2) its likeness to fire, 3) its likeness to
"the hevin", 4) its ability to make a man strong and victorious, 5) its ability to preserve a man from perils, 6) its bringing of good fortune to the one who has it, 7) its protection against (a) fire and (b) water. "Sevin" may be meant generally rather than precisely (cf. OED), but in any case some of these categories are barely distinguishable. In the above, 2 and 3 can both be subsumed under 1; 4 and 5 seem to be opposite sides of the same coin, as do 6 and 7.

The apparent looseness of thought would seem to support Fox's thesis, even if the mode of argument can partially account for it. Understanding of this stanza, at least, is not possible on a literal level--but perhaps its function is to illustrate just that, and thus dramatize our need to acquire exegetical expertise in moral reading. I am not at all sure that "of course," as Fox assures us, "even the most unlearned members of his audience would be thoroughly accustomed to symbolic meanings." This begs the question of his audience and what we are to understand by the phrase "thoroughly accustomed". There is a great deal of difference between being accustomed to hearing symbolic exposition every Sunday and being able to apply it for oneself--as one would have to do here.

Gerke's excursus into the lapidary symbolism of this stanza reveals that the likeness of the Jasp to "fyre" and "hevin" (122) probably refers to its being "dropped with rede and...grene", though the reference to "hevin" may also suggest the place of origin of sapientia, as the allusion to Matt. 6:19-20 in lines 138-40 suggests. The reference to "fyre nor water" (126) may specify
the Jasp's influence over the bodily humours or adversity and prosperity. The latter case would explain the Jasp's function of making "ane man stark and victorious" and preserving him "fra cacis perrillous" (123-24). (This quality of jasper also appears in Bartholomaeus Anglicus as "The vertu therof...maketh a man siker in periles." In short this stanza seems to be both esoterically and practically oriented. It extolls the advantages of possessing the stone without explicitly stating what it represents.

Stanza 19 does that. The Jasp is said to betoken "perfite prudence and cunning" and the remaining lines serve both to refer back to the terms of the preceding stanza (as has been shown) and to build on them a distinction between its "eirthly" and "Spirituall" qualities. The fact that the stone is "Ornate with mony deidis of vertew" suggests that the fruits of "perfite prudence and cunning" are good works. (There is probably an echo here of Proverbs 1:8-9, "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother: For they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head....") Also significant is the intensifying adverb "all" in the last line, which balances a previous appearance in the first stanza of the Tale. The intention seems to be to add one more suggestion to Henryson's regular network of contrasts: that whereas the Cock has set "al his cure ...to get his dennar" (67), the Jasp is set "to wyn the victorie/ Of all vicis" (132-33).

As Jamieson and MacQueen have shown, this and the following stanza,

Quha may be hardie, riche, and gratious?
Quha can eschew perrell and aventure?
Quha can Governe ane Realme, Cietie, or hous,
Without science? no man, I yow assure. 
It is riches that ever sail Indure, 
Quhilk Maith, nor moist, nor uther rust can screit; 
To mannis saull it is eternall meit. 

(134-40),

contain a number of reminiscences of Wisdom Literature. In such a context, this seems entirely reasonable, unusually elaborate though the Moralitas is for a fable. Where most fabulists like Gualterus are content to claim that the Jasp represents "the gift of wisdom" Henryson provides a refurbished framework which is innovative in the sense that it renews and makes explicit old connections. This sort of procedure is exactly what one would expect of someone working in a school beneath the walls of a monastery. In fact stanzas 19 and 20 can be almost completely explained (what has not already been explained in relation to stanza 18, that is) in terms of two substantial passages from Proverbs 8:10-12, 15, 18, and 3:13-16. (In what follows substantial similarities are underlined, and the numberings prefaced CJ refer to lines in the Cock and Jasp.)

Receive my instruction, and not silver; and knowledge rather than choice gold. (8:10)

(CJ 130) For wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it. (8:11)

(CJ 128) I wisdom dwell with prudence, and find out knowledge of witty inventions. (8:12)

(CJ 136) By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. (8:15)

(CJ 140, 131, 134) Riches and honour are with me; yea, durable riches and righteousness. (8:18)

(CJ 132) Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getmeth understanding. (3:13)

(CJ 130) She is more precious than rubies: and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. (3:15)

(CJ 140, 131, 134) Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour. (3:16)

To begin with stanza 19, the greater particularity of Henry-
son's explication of the Jasp as "prudence and cunning" (128) seems to echo Proverbs 8:12 above, where "witty inventions" has the same force as "cunning". This reminiscence seems then to have suggested its preceding line (8:11), of which Henryson's "Mair excellent than ony eirthly thing" (130) is a paraphrase. The close spacial proximity of "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom" (3:13) to 3:15, one of the passages of which "Mair excellent than ony eirthly thing" (130) is a paraphrase, may also have suggested the use of "Happie" in line 132, for Proverbs 8:11 and 3:15 are identical; so are 8:18 and 3:16, and this reinforcement seems to have influenced Henryson's development of the theme of "honour and riches" that runs like a thread through lines 131 (honour), and 134 (riches), to culminate in the powerful New Testament allusion of lines 138-40.

If we look at Proverbs 8:18 and 3:16 we can see how this may have happened. Both passages contain the phrase "riches and honour" but, significantly, the former also refers to "durable riches and righteousness". "Righteousness" would have been another mnemonic hook likely to catch on the theme of winning "the victorie of all vicis" that Henryson was developing (123, 132-33), and "durable riches" obviously suggests "It is riches that ever sail Indure" (138). But how do we get from governing "ane Realme, Cietie, or hous" (136) to "It is riches that ever shall endure"? The answer is, I think, that, when Proverbs 8:18 came into Henryson's head, verses 15 and 16 came with it:

"By me [Wisdom] kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth."
And, in the context of the contrast between the Cock's "meit" (114) and "eternall meit" (140) to which we have seen Henryson building up through the contrast of "eirthly" (130) and "Spirituall" (133) values, it was only natural that the theme of "durable riches" should itself recall and rise to the perfectly balanced words of Christ himself in Matthew (6:19-20):

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt.... But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt...."\(^{64}\)

That borrowed phrases could be so inextricably and brilliantly fused in the fire of faith and forged into living thought is a silent testimonial to the depth and richness of Henryson's interior religious life.

Again, this is less surprising if we remember that Henryson was attached to the monastery of Dunfermline and would thus be familiar with the lectio divina, an exercise in "ruminating the sacred word".\(^{65}\) It is this deep impregnation with the words of scripture, Dom Jean LeClercq tells us,

that explains the extremely important phenomenon of [monastic] reminiscence whereby the verbal echoes so excite the memory that a mere allusion will spontaneously evoke whole quotations and, in turn, a scriptural phrase will suggest quite naturally allusions elsewhere in the sacred books....\(^{66}\)

Discussing the Biblical imagination, in a passage which suggests the psychological basis of Henryson's desire to balance secular against sacred rhetoric in his fable, LeClercq further adds that

The spiritual men of those days counsel the renunciation of carnal images; but this is in order to substitute for them a holy imagination.\(^{67}\)
Our Cock, like a little Daun Pseustis, must give way to the Alithalian Truth of the moral.

Nor is this all. If "riche" (134) preserves the Proverbial thread of thought in these stanzas, its companion attributes "hardie" and "gratious" also pull their weight. The former adjective looks back to "stark" (123, 132) and the latter seems to refer with gentle irony to the Cock's "gracious" rejection of the Jasp in lines 110-11. Similarly, in the next line, "perrell" and its context recall the argument in stanza 18 that the Jasp "Preservis als fra cacis perrillous" (124); and "aventure" reminds us of the Cock's "aventure" in the first stanza (68). I am unable to decide whether this argues for or against Fox's idea that stanza 18 should be rejected. However, what I have said earlier about Henryson's not wanting to have "the disdane off hie, nor low" in stanzas 18 and 19, and about the language of stanza 18, lines 121-22, echoing that of stanza 13, lines 86-87, inclines me to think that the stanza should be retained under the Moralitas, where Bannatyne, Smith and Elliot place it.

Lastly, just as the language of stanza 17 looks back to the Prologue, and that of stanza 18 to stanza 13, so the very style of the opening lines of stanza 20 (which concludes discussion of the Jasp),

"Quha may be hardie, riche, and gratious? Quha can eschew perrell and aventure? Quha can Governe ane Realme, Cietie, or hous," (134-136),

recalls by its anaphora and parallelism the opening lines of the Cock's concluding stanza:
Again the similarity is intended to emphasize the difference. Whereas the Cock has been so carried away by his own words that the mere mention of "Exaltit" can lead him, by etymological association, to beg the Jasp to "Rise," Henryson's enjambed conclusion "Without science?" (137) is eminently practical in its reversal of the argument. It should as well be noticed that the order "Realme, Cietie, or hous" (136) provides a stylistic echo to this in its reversal of the Cock's order of "habitation...Royall Tour...Kingis Croun," (106-08).

From discussion of the qualities of the Jasp, Henryson turns in stanza 21 to discussion of the Cock. In doing so he uses the same large-scale contrast that his Cock has used (97-98):

This Cok, desyrand mair the sempill corne
Than ony Jasp, may till ane fule be peir,
Quhilk at science makis bot ane moik and scorne,
And na gude can: als lytill will he leir.
His hart wammillis wyse argument to heir,
As dois ane Sow, to quhome men for the nanis,
In hir draf troich wald saw precious stanis. (141-47)

The Cock seeks the "sempill" corn because he is a fool who does not understand what we know from stanza two of the Prologue, that corn can be figurative, "spirituall meit". Again Henryson goes behind Gualterus' "You may understand the foolish man as the cock"70 to vitalize the argument by allusion to Proverbs 1:7, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and instruction." (The following verses, Proverbs 1:8-9, are probably also behind line 129, stanza 19.) It is therefore unnecessary to assume that he knows the Ysopet de Lyon71 just
because his text and it are the only versions not to conform to the traditional association with wisdom. The presentation of the Cock as a fool who makes "ane moik and scorne" of science also, I think, supports my argument that the Cock's speech, especially its concluding imperative, is sarcastic in tone. At this point in the *Moralitas*, however, the tables are turned on him, the comment that he is one who "na gude can" suggesting the stubborn stupidity of his setting "al his cure ...to do [his] stomok gude" (67 and 95).

Gerke's discussion of "His hart wammillis wyse argument to heir" (145) is excellent:

"Given the heart, the seat of affections, the attributes of an unsettled stomach strikingly portrays the will directed towards sensuality." 72

But he fails to realize how this very striking image gains local force from a detail in the Tale: "wammillying" is a natural result of a "tume Intraill" (91)! As for the concluding simile in the last two lines, which comes from Matthew 7:6, it is naturalized both by its relevance to the Cock and to the Jasp. The sow was a traditional symbol for gluttony as much associated with dung-heaps as cocks,73 and Henryson has been careful to build up Gualterus' argument to suggest the Cock's gluttony (90-96); also, although Henryson follows Gualterus in making his gem a Jasp,74 most fabulists refer to it as a pearl.

Knowledge of this latter identification seems to have dominated Henryson's thinking in this and the next stanza, where it is the major image. In stanza 21 he applies it to those who reject
understanding; in stanza 22 he applies it—in obvious reference to the Parable of the Pearl of Great Price—to those who embrace "studie" (153). Those who are willing to labour at the "subtell dyte" of his poetry "with grit diligence" (9, 13) in order to "get science" (154) should "Ga seik" it in the remaining Tales. Also indicative of Henryson's ability to achieve complex effects in the service of holy imagination is the way in which references to learning are used to counterpoint the major contrastive theme of rejection and acceptance. "Als lytill will he leir", which goes with the idea of "rejection", is counterbalanced by "understandis nocht", which precedes the "acceptance" one.

We might notice too that whereas "perfite prudence and cunning" (128) were equated in stanza 19, and "science" introduced in the following stanza, in stanza 22 "science and cunning" are linked and we are told that it is "perfite studie" that leads to science. Henryson seems to mix his terms quite happily, assuming that their interrelationship is familiar enough not to need explaining; but his silent assumptions have lead to critical disagreement. Fox believes "the context makes it clear that he [Henryson] is referring to wisdom which leads to spiritual profit" even though wisdom appears only once, as an adjective in the sentence "His hart wammillis wyse argument to heir". Schrader takes him to task for this and concludes

Henryson is plainly speaking about the kind of knowledge that can be learnt in school or otherwise by experience, and not about Biblical sapientia...wisdom may follow from understanding, but Henryson is stressing the practical knowledge that must come first.... He is like Holkot, who does not believe that man through his power can acquire a saving knowledge of God: Sapientia is a free gift.
Though there is no need to drag Holkot in, and though he doesn't quote theological authority for his remarks, Schrader is essentially right.

Aquinas, discussing wisdom, science and understanding in his *Summa Theologica* finds that wisdom considers the highest causes whereas science perfects the intellect, and in *Questiones Disputatae* adds that "scientific knowledge is caused in our soul by sensible things and by the teaching of man." The reference to teaching is important, I think, if we remember that Henryson equates acquisition of the Jasp with proper, figurative understanding of his fables. Obviously he doesn't want to give the vain-glorious impression that his fables are divinely inspired—though he does believe that "Esope's" are. He can do all that is possible for a human teacher, but not more. The rest is between God and the individual soul. "Science must be transformed by faith" before it can become "subject to the working of wisdom and benefit from the help of grace."

The Cock's oscillation between recognition of the Jasp's excellence and his scorn of it seems to suggest that, as a man, he believes in the truth of salvation (the Jasp is noble) but despair of his own (but no good for him). According to Aquinas,

'"despair is not only a sin but also the principle of all sins' and those who despair have 'given themselves up...unto the working of all uncleanness.'"

The fact that despair is the principle of all sins has obvious point in this first fable of Henryson's collection. Aquinas' further discussion on "Whether there can be Despair without Unbelief"
is relevant to both the Cock of this fable and the Fox of the Fox's Confession (One might notice the way in which these fables that have to do with despair enclose two fables which illustrate the efficacy of grace, the Two Mice and the Cock and Fox.):

Unbelief pertains to the intellect, but despair to the appetite.... Now...in order to pass from the universal estimation (with which the intellect has to do) to the appetite for a particular thing, it is necessary to have a particular estimate.... Hence it is that a man, while having right faith in the universal, fails in an appetitive movement, in regard to some particular, his particular estimation being corrupted by a habit or a passion. In the same way, a man, while retaining the true estimation... that there is in the Church the power of forgiving sins, may suffer a movement of despair, namely, that for him...there is no hope of pardon, his estimation being corrupted in a particular matter. 84

Henryson's careful playing up of the Cock's desire for worms and snails, which are unpleasant from the human point of view, seems symbolically designed to support such an interpretation.

It is also important to notice here the central importance of the term "estimation" which clarifies the relation to science of another term in Henryson's interpretation of the Jasp: prudence. Prudence is the ability to make a proper choice and decide upon a course according to the knowledge of the world which science supplies. 85 So Henryson encourages his readers to exercise their own powers of discernment on the ambiguities of his Tale, and, in the Moralitas, besides explicating it himself, hints at the means that should be employed.

As Gerke has said in an excellent discussion of Henryson's "symbol-allegory",

the interpretation given in the moralitas may be only the starting point, of varying explicitness, of the allegory contained in the fable. Essentially the
moralitas...presents the theme which guides the reader into the proper areas of thought whereby he can think about the allegorical significance of the details. The moralitas is only the beginning of the interpretative activity.86

The reason he gives for this is that "If Henryson appended a complete allegorization to cover every possible detail, the effect would be to paralyze the reader's action."87 In Rosamund Tuve's words,

What counts is whether a metaphorically understood relation is used to take off into areas where a similitude can point to valuable human action, or to matters of spiritual import.88

What then is the underlying truth upon which the Cock and Jasp is "grunded" (2)? Stanza 20, I think, hints at the answer: "Quha can Governe ane Realme, Cietie, or hous, Without science?" (136-37). These lines reflect the medieval assumption that private morality, the government of the self, was the foundation of public morality, the government of the state; and the end of both would be the establishment of the City of God.89

Not only was this relationship evident to statesmen who had read their Secreta Secretorum; educators from Aristotle to Erasmus were aware of the vital, if humble, role that elementary education --largely considered as the inculcation of virtue--played in the maintenance of the spiritual health of the state. Virtue was not innate, it had to be cultivated by teaching and discipline. "Experience proves that people easily deceive and delude themselves, while to come to true knowledge they need to be taught by others" Aquinas remarks in his commentary on the De Anima.90 And these are precisely the axioms that lie behind Henryson's poetic
in the *Cock and Jasp*.

We can see this if we consider the following *Moralitas* lines as a warning against ignorant error (represented by the Cook):

"Weill wer that man over all uther, that mocht
All his lyfe dayis in perfite studie wair
To get science; for him neidis na mair."  (152-54)

Nor is this all. That Henryson's entire movement of thought is a scholastic commonplace can be seen by comparing his preceding passage with one from Oresme:

And just as, according to Aristotle, *Ethics*, Bk. III, a habit is generated by actions, so by how much more a person studies and investigates and creates etc., his soul is rendered that much more perfect.91

A passage from the *Ethics* is even more specific:

Virtues too are distinguished according to this difference, for we call some of them 'intellectual', e.g. wisdom and intelligence and prudence, but others 'ethical', e.g., generosity and temperance.... [And] an intellectual virtue originates and grows mostly by teaching...whereas an ethical virtue is acquired by habituation.92

Henryson uses all three terms in the "intellectual" category and is, of course, aware that they are fostered by teaching, since he recommends the reader to spend his time in "perfite studie" (153). Moreover, this categorization seems to govern the choice of his next fable. Having shown in the *Cock and Jasp* the need to cultivate the intellectual virtues, in the *Two Mice* he goes on to illustrate the importance of temperance.

"Of this mater [more] to speik, it wer bot wind.
Thairfore I ceis, and will na forther say."  (159-60)
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

THE COCK AND THE JASP

1 I adapt Jamieson, Thesis, p. 47.


3 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 109.


5 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 348.


8 Stearns, Robert Henryson, p. 109.


10 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 347.

11 Cf. Robertson, On Christian Doctrine, Bk. III, Ch. 5, p. 84.

12 Alain de Lille's introduction to his Anticlaudian is also relevant:

"In this book the literal meaning's sweetness will allure the puerile ear; moral instructions will imbue the proficient mind; and the keener subtlety of the allegory will sharpen the perfect intellect."

13 MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 569, ll. 92, 95.

14 Baxandall, Painting and Experience, p. 33.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III (Cont.)

16 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 106.
18 Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 25.
22 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 72, p. 11.
24 Ethics, 1125a, 25-35; Apostle, p. 69.
28 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 106. This is one of the "two figures from the parables ... singled out as antitypes of acedia, to teach zeal and vigilance" we are told in Siegfried Wenzel's The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1967), p. 104. Hereafter cited as Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III (Cont.)


34 The Ash Wednesday line "Memento homo quia cinis est et in cinerem reverteris", which heads Henryson's Orpheus in Chepman and Myller, gives us the idea. Lip-service to Lent can be found in the Two Mice (248, 320), the Fox's Confession (723) and the Fox, Wolf and Cadger (2000).


36 Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 30.

37 Ibid., p. 33.


39 Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 32.

40 Murphy, Three Rhetorical Arts, p. 49; first noticed by Jamieson, Thesis, p. 50.

41 Cf. Eccles. 21, 23: "The heart of fools is in their mouth."


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III (Cont.)


47 Ethics, 1176a, 5-10; Apostle, p. 190.


49 Historia Animalium, 589a, 1-5; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.

50 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 343.

51 Ibid., p. 346, n. 20.


54 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 347, n. 22.


60 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 101 ff.


62 Cf. OED "cunning" sb. 3 & 4 where, besides being the know­ledge of how to do a thing, cunning can also mean a science. Henryson assumes this sense when he shifts his terms from "prud­ence and cunning" (l. 128) in the one stanza to "science" (l. 137)
in the other. The word occurs with this sense in the *Cock and Fox, 407*, and *Sum Practysis of Medecyne, 14-15*, as Jamieson notices, Thesis, p. 53.

63 The intermediary verse, 8:17, is not negligible either, since it refers to the whole process of that acceptance of "knowledge rather than choice gold" (8:10) which Proverbs 3 and 8 and the *Cock and Jasp* have in common: "I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me." From this and the evidence of a fifteenth century textbook containing this model sentence,

"for scholars to acquire knowledge by which they can understand what they read is better than going after gold and silver like misers who, because of such greed, are more likely to be damned than saved" (British Museum MS. Add. 37, 075, fol. 256, cited and translated in Miner, "The Teaching of Grammar", pp. 124-131), I think it is fairly safe to conclude that Proverbs 3 and 8 had a recognized relevance to the classroom. This theme, which links personal instruction and governance to political government, I shall return to later in discussing the relationship between prudence and science.

64 John 6:27 also echoes this passage in terms of meat.


68 The reader will recall that the *Ecloga Theoduli*, referred to by Dunbar in his *Flyting with Kennedy, ll. 81-82*, works on just such a system: Biblical stories are juxtaposed with pagan myths to silently illustrate the superiority of the former. The *Ecloga* would have been familiar as another very popular schoolbook.

69 Noticed by MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*, p. 106.


71 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 44.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III (Cont.)

73 Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 248. Stowe, in his 1598 *Survey of London* recalls that when a loose pig was found near the market, one of the proctors for St. Anthony's would tie a bell about its neck "and let it feed on the dunghills" (Edward Armstrong, *Saint Francis: Nature Mystic*, Berkeley, Calif., 1973; retpd. 1976, p. 118. Hereafter cited as Armstrong, *Saint Francis: Nature Mystic*).


75 Matthew 13:45-46.

76 This Biblical image of the Pearl of Price is quite traditional in an educational context. The Sermon delivered at the first convocation of the University of Glasgow, for instance, refers to the need to acquire the "pearl of wisdom" (Durkan, "The Scottish Universities", p. 375), as does the Pope's inaugural letter to the same University, which seems to lean on the passage from Aristotle quoted in connection with 11. 152-154:

By assiduous study he [man] may win the pearl of knowledge, which shows him the way to live well and happily, and by preciousness thereof makes the man of learning far to surpass the unlearned, and opens the door for him clearly to understand the mystery of the universe, helps the ignorant and raises to distinction those that were born in the lowest places. (Dickinson, *A Sourcebook*, Vol. II, p. 112)

Again, the Papal Statute for the education of Benedictine monks (1335) states:

"By the practise of reading, the pearl of learning is acquired ... and through the knowledge of human law the mind is made more logical and just."

(Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 289)

And a contemporary Englishman can even write on a codex of Isidore's *Etymologies*:

"This booke is a scoolemaster to those that are wise, But not to fond fooles that learning despise, A Juwell it is, who liste it too reede, Within it are Pearells precious in deede."

(Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 455)
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III (Cont.)

77 Fox, "Henryson's Fables", p. 345, n. 16.
79 ST I-II, Q. 57, A. 2.
80 McGlynn, Aquinas: "The Teacher", p. 26. Perhaps we should not insist too much on scholastic categories in our poem. In two contemporary Scottish poems we are told that "science cummis only of Godis grace": Book of Plascarden, p. 395 and Bannatyne MS., II, p. 191.
81 Cf. Lion and Mouse, l. 1374. Also notice that Henryson's argument here, in ll. 155-156, is amplified by Aesop in stanza 199, ll. 1391-97 of the Lion and Mouse.
82 Gilson, Augustine, p. 124.
85 ST II-II, Q. 47, A. 10; also Ethics, 1140a, 25-30.
89 Gerald B. Phelan, trans., St. Thomas Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 8 (Toronto, 1949), p. 34: "The King is indeed the minister of God in governing the people, as the Apostle says [Romans 13:1, 4], 'All power is from the Lord God'." Hereafter cited as Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship.
90 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 381.
91 Hansen, "Oresme", p. 343.
92 Ethics, 1103a, 5-10; Apostle, p. 20.
CHAPTER IV

THE TWO MICE

Though the fable of the Two Mice is generally acknowledged one of Henryson's finest, the reasons for its popularity have been to some extent fortuitous. One main reason has been the fact that its Moralitas is quite unobtrusive and seemingly expendable. Another is the delightful, Beatrix Potter-like way in which Henryson seems to paint his animal portraits. Both need to be qualified, and have been to some extent in recent years by Jamieson, MacQueen, Jenkins, Schrader and Gerke.

However, one confusion that has arisen between the proponents of the "delightful animal portraits" approach (such as Kinsley, Stearns and Wittig) and those who see the Mice essentially as men has been exactly this tendency to go to extremes and assume an "either/or" attitude towards interpretation. It is I think essential to point out that this was almost certainly not Henryson's intention, here or in any other of his fables. He takes special pains to explain not merely that his exposition is figural but that it must be figural if it is to have any real value.

The important thing about the figural technique, as Auerbach was the first to make clear, is that it derives from methods of interpreting the Bible and consequently insists on the reality and importance of both literal and allegorical levels. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is a historical event in its own right but also
a foreshadowing (in terms of correct ethical behaviour) of God's sacrifice of his Son. The figure is not an "either/or" one, as often in Greek allegory, but a "both...and" equation.

Recognition of this fact will save us from the sort of critical shuffling Schrader, for instance, gets into when he tries to insist that the reference to the outlaw-status of the Country Mouse reinforces her nature as a mouse rather than as a human being: "these are thieving mice" he says, "not fallen Christians." True, they may not be "fallen Christians", but it does not follow therefore that they are rather to be seen as "thieving mice"; the source of confusion to my mind lies in the rigidity of his own figural interpretation. There is no difficulty if we see the Mice as types of man in exile, Homo Viator. Certainly the pilgrimage motif of stanzas 26-27, and other details, reinforce such a reading, as Gerke and MacQueen have shown.

Jamieson's attack, however, shifts the grounds of the argument somewhat, and can be met in a slightly different way. In discussing this fable he states that "we should seriously question the attempt to see Henryson as an observer of animal life; he is rather dependent on literary inspiration." Again, I do not see that the alternatives he sets up are mutually exclusive. Certainly Henryson is not an observer of nature in quite the romantic way Wittig, Kinsley and others might like to see him, but he is an observer of nature all the same—a medieval one. In fact I think his qualities as an observer and as a user of literary sources are scarcely to be distinguished, since—and this is as true today as
it was in the fifteenth century—his reading naturally reinforces his way of seeing. As a schoolman, his perception of the animal world would be conditioned by Aristotle, and, as the master of a monastery school, he would have overlaid this scientific base with the symbolic interpretations of the Bestiaries, much as Erasmus did.11

I want now to summarize the conclusions of Jamieson's very valuable source-study of this fable, for we cannot adequately appreciate Henryson's design until we understand the ways in which it is similar to and different from other versions. The most significant fact arising from Jamieson's tabulation of similarities12 is that Henryson is most structurally innovative in his introduction and conclusion.

Stanzas that can be isolated for our attention as largely Henryson's own are the first six, which present the relationship of the two Mice (24), the contrast in their ways of life (24-25), the description of the Town Mouse's pilgrimage to her sister's house (26-27), their euphoric meeting (28), and the description of the Country Mouse's home (29); the eighth, in which the Country Mouse argues on the basis of her relatedness to the Town Mouse (31); the fourteenth, which describes the journey from country to town (37); the eighteenth, in which yet more food is added to the feast (41); the twenty-fourth and fifth describing the entrance of the Cat (47) and its "play" with the Mouse (48); and the twenty-ninth, describing the contentment of the Country Mouse once she has returned home (52).
The first six stanzas, it is true, seem to use as a springboard John of Sheppey's statement that the country mouse calls the town mouse "bona soror" and also seem to make capital of Bromyard's designation of the town mouse as a burgher (Bromyard's phrasing "For the burgher is represented as having visited...the rustic" may also suggest that this was more traditional than we have evidence for). Again, the cat (47-48) is found in Odo and Sheppey, who employ it instead of the more usual steward as the agent of the country mouse's discomfiture. In the Romulus tradition and Marie de France's version, the country mouse verbally warns "de chaz", and Jamieson believes that "the poet may have developed the second episode from these hints." Likely enough, but no other of these versions uses both steward and cat as Henryson does. What we have to determine is why he did develop this and the other motifs listed. I think we can discover the reason most clearly in a diagram (see note for key):

**Introduction:**
- Life of CM(1)
- Life of TM(1)

**Quartets:**
- TM visits CM(3)
- Home of CM(1)
- Feast of CM(1)
- Argument (5)
  - Moralizing(1)
- CM visits TM(1)
- Home of TM(1)
- Feast of TM(1)
- Argument (1)
  - Feast of TM(1)
- SP visits (1)
- CM Homeless(1)
- Fear displaces
  - Feast(11.3)
  - Feast Arg.(2)
- GH visits (1½)
- CM Homeless
  - (11.2)
- *Escapes Cat's
  - Feast(1)
- Argument(1)
- CM returns(1)
- *Home of CM
  - (11.2)
- *Feast of CM
  - (11.5)
- Argument of
  - Moralitas(4)
Henryson's additions make a tale of contrasts even more symmetrical (and in two places, quartets 2 and 3, deliberately reverses the order for effect). The structure calls attention to itself in providing a series of parallel, contrastive movements that are so juxtaposed as to set up the proof for the Country Mouse's arguments—which are also those of the *Moralitas*. The moral, in other words, is embodied in the action of the Tale in such a way that the relationship between the situations of the two Mice and their actions speaks for itself—"to gude purpois quha culd it weill apply". If this is not clear, then the arguments of the two Mice further crystallize the issues in the concluding section of each "quartet", essentially an *Altercatio Superbiae et Humilitatis* (cf. l. 208 and st. 34).

It will be remembered that one of the reasons given for the popularity of this fable was the fact that the *Moralitas* was unobtrusive. I think we can now see why. Not because as an artist Henryson is really ashamed of the moralizations he feels honour-bound to apply, but because he wants his readers to exercise their own discriminatory faculties, rhetorical and ethical. We have seen him insisting in the *Prologue* that the "bustious eird" of the Tale needs to be cultivated with "grit diligence". And we have seen him exhorting the reader to "Ga seik the Jasp" after having convinced him, by the startling discrepancy between the literal and figurative levels of the *Cock and Jasp*, of the need to do so. Having produced such a psychological awakening, the moralist in this fable eschews the more rigidly allegorical
one-to-one method. Instead he encourages his by now more cautious reader to enter more fully into the spirit of the situation presented.

In doing so, he does not of course abdicate from his moralistic responsibilities; he merely changes tactics, and continues to manipulate his reader's response morally by the way in which he structures narrative events and dramatic conversations. The reader is induced, first of all, to sympathize with the poor Country Mouse and, consequently, to accept as reasonable the inferences that she herself draws from her dramatic experiences. He thus "gets prudence" the easy way, "discriminates" merely by accepting emotionally the dialectical movement of the Tale, and enjoys doing so. "With sad materis sum merines to ming,/Accordis weill".

If the Two Mice is one of the easiest fables to appreciate this is because it was meant to be an introductory exercise in ethics. It should be criticized in its context, in terms of the larger strategy of the whole series.

The tactics of this strategy, however, lie in Henryson's perception of the exploitable possibilities of the form of the fable, and in this sense, as a rhetorical exercise, the fable is remarkably sophisticated. For the way in which he adapts and develops the received versions suggests that he had a particular literary model in mind--that of the Thesis. This is not really very surprising if we remember that the Thesis was one of Priscian's rhetorical exercises and to be found not only in his Prae-
exercitamina, but in the *Ad Herennium* and Quintilian's Institutes as well. However, Quintilian's discussion of it reveals the peculiar affinity between our fable and this form. It is, he says, "drawn from the comparison of things, as whether a country life or city life is more desirable." Unfortunately he gives no example, and we must assume it was as much of a common topic as the question of "Whether or not to Marry" which Hermogenes cites and Chaucer parodies in the *Merchant's Tale*.

Boccaccio, however, gives us a useful idea of the way in which the *topos* might be developed. In his *De Claribus Mulieribus*, he concludes a euhemeristic discussion by wondering whether to praise or condemn the ingenuity of men:

> Who will condemn the fact that wild, wandering men were led out of the woods and into cities? Who will condemn the fact that men who were living like beasts were led to a better life?.... But, to turn the argument around, who will praise the fact that the scattered multitudes living in the forests, accustomed to nuts, wild fruit, the milk of animals, the grass and rivers, having no worries, satisfied by the laws of nature, sober, modest, and without deceit...were attracted to delicate and unknown foods? If we do not deceive ourselves, we shall see that because of this the door was opened to vices.... I hardly know whether, or rather I do know that, those golden centuries, although primitive and uncivilized, were greatly to be preferred to our age of iron....

Henryson, of course, puts such an appeal to the vanished virtues of a golden age into Aesop's mouth in the *Lion and Mouse*; but the general dialectical movement, and, indeed, many of these very details are also suggestive of his *Two Mice*.

An equally important indication of how easy it would have been in the Middle Ages (given the benefit of a school education)
to see how the Two Mice could be developed as a Thesis comes from Renart le Contrefait. Urged to take a wife, Renart recounts the tale of "Les Deux Souris" to show that "une vie tranquille est préférable a l'état de mariage"! No doubt Renart (or L'Epicier de Troyes) had been to grammar school and enjoyed showing off his book-learning, but in such splicing we can perhaps discern an associative pattern. The recall of exercises on "Whether or not to Marry" bring along with them—to the author's mind as to the minds of his audience—memories of other Thesis topics such as "Whether a Quiet Life in the Country is better than a Hectic Life in the Town" and, of course, the Aesopic "proof" for this question.

So much for the evidence for such an association. What, then, is a Thesis? It is, Hermogenes tells us, "a discussion of a matter considered apart from every particular circumstance." Strictly speaking, as an argument appropriate to all and not just to individuals, it is the figurative level of our fable that approximates to the Thesis. The tale of a town mouse and a country mouse, taken literaliter, would be a Hypothesis, or suasoria, for, Hermogenes goes on, "if we take a definite person and circumstances, and thus make our expositions of reasons, it will not be a Thesis, but a Hypothesis." In any case, the distinction is a formal one and the method of procedure identical for both.

The Thesis (or Hypothesis), we learn, differs from the Commonplace in that it is an "inquiry into a matter still in doubt", and can be simple (the advisability of marriage), relative (advisability of marriage for a king), or twofold (if we argue "whether
it is better to contend in games than to farm" and dissuade from one thing in order to persuade to another). The Two Mice, then, is a twofold persuasion, and this accounts for its unusual balance.

"Theses" Hermogenes says, "are determined by the so-called final topics--justice, expediency, possibility, propriety"; Aphthonius, on the other hand, lists the lawful, the just, the rational and the possible; but Quintilian limits them to three: what is honourable, what is useful, and what is possible. For, he says, "What is lawful, just, pious...may be included under what is honourable" and what is "pleasant, or free from danger, belongs to expediency." 25 These topics of discussion are of interest for our appreciation of the way Henryson structures his argument. Since Hermogenes presents them as constructive arguments, indicates they are to be followed by destructive ones taken from their opposites, and suggests we put at the end "exhortations and the common moral habits of mankind", I assume he agrees with Aphthonius that a thesis should have the same disposition as an oration. It

"should begin with an exordium, may add a statement of facts (narratio), proceed to confirmation and refutation, and conclude with an epilogue." 26

Let us turn to the Tale and see how this is worked out. Because the exordium (which aims to make the audience well disposed and attentive) need only be insinuated, 27 Henryson merely alludes to "Esop, myne Authour" as if he were dictating the Tale, and plunges into the narratio.

Quintilian is more helpful than Priscian in explaining the
function of the narratio, or statement of facts: "The statement of a case," he tells us, "is an exposition of what has been done, or is supposed to have been done, adapted to persuade." The last phrase is important. "For," he explains, "a statement of facts is not made merely that the judge may comprehend the case, but rather that he may look upon it in the same light as ourselves." Obviously Henryson's attempt to engineer our response indirectly is no new technique, intelligently handled though it is. Moreover, there were recognized ways of giving the narratio agreeableness or charm (suavitas). As Cicero makes clear in his De Partitione Oratoria, the narratio has agreeableness when it involves elements of wonder, suspense, and the unexpected, mingled with emotional disturbance, dialogue between persons, grief, anger, fear, joy, desire. From this we can see how Henryson's original opening stanzas are designed to build up in unexpected ways the contrast of the Thesis topic.

Mice had a special significance for the medieval mind that we are likely to miss. Just as, by etymological process, it was considered that "Homo...ex humo est factus", so it was believed that mice "ex humore terrae nascantur". The life of mice could also fitly symbolize human existence subject to Fortune's fickle Wheel. Aristotle provides a physiological reason for this connection in his De Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae that may help explain why Henryson's Mice are sisters:

salacious animals and those abounding in seed age quickly; the seed is a residue, and further, by being lost, it produces dryness (as in old age and corpses) ...by natural constitution and as a general rule males live longer than females, and the reason is that the male is an animal with more warmth than a female.
Mice are prolific, therefore short-lived, and Henryson's particularly so because of their sex. Presumably this, and not just a desire for cosy Romantic miniaturism, is one reason why he will send his Country Mouse back to a "den, / Als warme as wolle" at the end; it will preserve her life better than fine food! Moreover, the oft-noted human qualities of Henryson's Mice may perhaps owe something to Pliny's remark that there were "mice in Egypt that walk on two feet and use their forepaws as hands."33

At any rate the theme of transiency, which mice suggest by their very nature, is a major postulate of Henryson's Thesis—especially, but not only, as it is developed in terms of Fortune's Wheel. After we are told in the first stanza that the eldest Mouse dwells in "ane Borous toum" and her sister "uponland", the life of the latter is described in just this diction of transiency: "Quhyle under busk, quhyle under breir, / Quhilis in the corne," (166-67). The reason for such an unstable life is also made clear; because of her foraging in the corn to "uther mennis skaith" she lives "as outlawis dois". The deprivations of mice were taken more seriously by the agriculturally-based medieval community than we may imagine,34 and such vermin were not infrequently "outlawed" by solemn excommunication as part of the attempt to prevent crop-destruction. Actions of this sort occurred against field-mice at Laon in 1120, rats at Berne in 1451, rats at Langres in 1512 and 1513, field-mice at Stelvio in 1519, and so on. One Bartholomew Chassenée (b. 1480) even made a name for himself as a lawyer by successfully defending rats, and capped his no doubt impecunious
career with a volume on the subject, *De Excommunicatione Animalium et Insectorum.*

The description of the Country Mouse's winter suffering is carried over into the second stanza of the Tale, presumably to increase the contrast between her life and her sister's.

This rural mouse in to the winter tyde,
Had hunger, cauld, and tholit grit distress;
The uther Mous, that in the Burgh can byde,
Was Gild brother and made ane fre Burges;
Toll fre als, but custom mair or les,
And fredome had to ga quhair ever scho list,
Amang the cheis in Ark, and meill in kist. (169-75)

The fact that the Town Mouse can "ga quhair ever scho list" no doubt supplies the naturalistic basis for her being hyperbolically given exemption from taxes, and even the highest civic accolades of guild membership and freedom of the city. Whereas her sister is described as being at one extreme of the social scale, completely without legal rights or property, she herself is placed at the other extreme: beyond normal social restriction. (That the Great Customs of Dunfermline, Kirkaldy, South Queensferry and Musselburgh were all due to the Abbot of Dunfermline may also have had some uncertifiable local significance.)

Implicit in the Thesis "Whether or not a Country Life is preferable to a Town Life" is the question of the nature of true happiness. In the opening stanzas the Town Mouse seems to have it all. She has "fredome", her sister must run for her life ("quhyle under busk, quhyle under breir"). But if at first we respect the Burgess for her "fredome", this is due to the poet's clever handling of his narratio. It amuses and draws us in, as a
statement of facts should. Once distracted by its charm, we find it only too easy to adopt the Town Mouse's point of view and take our pleasure for an end rather than for a means.

But though we initially respect the Burgess, we very soon come to realize that such freedom is more of a hindrance than a help in a search for the happy life. It places the Town Mouse beyond normal appetitive restrictions, encourages intemperance, and opens the door to great anxieties. As we will discover, the Cats of the Burgh of Hell pay little attention to the "fredome" one Mouse grants another; and in such a context, we come to see that it is the pariah Country Mouse who, by her temperance, is most truly "furth and fre" (355), able to live "In quyet and eis withoutin ony dreid" (363).

Henryson's metamorphosis of Town Mouse into merchant prince was thus in all probability a choice carefully considered. It furthers the debate on the nature of true happiness by making use of ready-made categorizations that the Medieval Church inherited from Aristotle. According to "the chief of those who know",

the life of a money-maker is one of tension; and clearly the good sought is not wealth, for wealth is instrumental and is sought for the sake of something else. 39

So well off is the Burgess Mouse that she can even think of going on a journey for pleasure:

Ane tyme when scho was full and unfute sair,
Scho tuke in mynd hir sister uponland,
And langit for to heir of hir weilfair,
To se quhat lyfe scho had under the wand.
Bairfute, allone, with pykestaf in hir hand,
As pure pylgryme scho passit out off town,
To seik hir sister baith our e daill and down.
Furth mony wilsum wayis can scho walk,
Throw mosse and mure, throw bankis, busk & breir,
Scho ran cryand, quhill scho came to a balk;
'Cum furth to me, my awin Sister deir,
Cry peip anis!' With that the Mous culd heir,
And knew hir voce as kinnisman will do,
Be verray kynd; and furth scho come hir to. (176-89)

The way in which this trip is described as occurring to her mind
I think indicates its casual nature, and there is precedent for
this point of view in the Ysopet de Lyon version, which begins:

A rat brought up in the city
Was vexed to remain.
To recover her appetite
She was going to amuse herself a little.
She found the field rat.  

MacQueen has compared the "pure pylgryme" to another famous female
gadabout: the Wife of Bath.  
And Gerke has pointed out the religious undertone of the homo viator image present in this description. According to him, the Mouse's journey represents man's
wanderings in the wilderness of the world on his way back to Para-
dise. Both critics give us valuable perspectives on these
stanzas, but there is also, I believe, a commonplace topos that
allows us to put these seemingly discrete insights into a dynamic
relationship.

Though she initially undertakes the journey for pleasure, the
town Mouse soon finds it quite a rough and desperate affair, as
the description of the "mony wilsum wayis" she takes "Throw mosse
and mure, throw bankis, busk & breir", and the anxious "peip" in
her voice suggest. (The movement of these stanzas reflects, I
think, the larger psychological shifts of the whole fable, both in
terms of the sisters' experiences and in terms of the way our own
initial evaluation of the two Mice is reversed.) To understand how the literal and tropological threads are woven together here, we must remember what we have been told in the previous stanza (that she is a merchant prince) and ask ourselves how such a person might expect to fare on the road, both literally and tropologically. A stock passage in a political song from the reign of Henry III gives us the idea:

The poor man reigns more safely than he who amasses wealth.... While the...lurking spoiler spoils him who is laden, an empty traveller will sing before the thief.43

This *topos* was extremely well known. Langland expands the idea out over twenty-one lines in the C text of *Piers Plowman*, Bosch paints it on the closed wings of the *Hay-Wain* triptych, and Lily includes it in his *Grammar* as by Juvenal: "*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.*"46 I think we can be pretty sure that our little merchant prince was aware of it too and dressed as a "pure pylgryme" in an attempt to avoid just this danger on the road. Such action would not have been unusual, as we can see from a passage of the *Wallace*, in which the news is brought to the Protector-outlaw that his mother had left Elrisle for fear of the English:

"Fra thin disgyst scho past in pilgrame wied; Sum gyrth [safety] to sek in Dunfermline scho yeid."47

Henryson gives us a fine ecphrastic double-image of a rich (fat and succulent) burgess (mouse) scurrying frantically "in disguise" through a landscape filled with imaginary predators, at once very mouse-like and very merchant-like!
The difficulty the Town Mouse has in finding her sister's home (cf. 183-87) is again a functional detail, which, besides dramatically emphasizing her own exposure to danger, suggests by contrast how prudent her sister is in concealing herself. The Town Mouse exposes herself to unnecessary risks for the sake of pleasure; her sister, as an outlaw, is more prudently aware of the precarious nature of her life. Nevertheless, when she recognizes her sister's voice "as kinnisman will do, / Be verray kynd" (a point of animal communication Aristotle remarks on 48), she comes out to meet the Town Mouse. A charming little reunion scene follows:

The hartlie joy, God! geve ye had sene,
Beis kith quhen that thir Sisteris met;
And grit kyndnes wes schawin thame betwene,
For quhylis thay leuch, and quhylis for joy thay gret,
Quhyle(s) kissit sweit, quhylis in armis plet;
And thus thay fure quhill soberit wes thair mude,
Syne ffute ffure ffor ffute unto the chalmer yude. (190-96)

It is, however, quite functional beneath its charm. First of all, by verbal invocation, the unseen presence of God is felt to preside over the scene, and this has some importance later, as we shall see. Secondly, just as the Country Mouse knows her sister's voice "Be verray kynd", so here "grit kyndnes wes schawin thame betwene" (192). This, I think, is intended to establish the truly open-hearted character of the Country Mouse so that, when we later hear her arguing that

"...blyith and mery cheir,
...suld mak the maissis that ar rude,
Amang freindis, richt tender and wonder gude." (229-31),

we can believe her. Her words suit her past actions. Henryson thus establishes his argument in the narratio by means of the first
of the three modes of persuasion: the character of the speaker. Lastly, the terms in which the meeting of these sisters is described,

"For quhylis thay leuch, and quhylis for joy thay gret, 
Quhyle(s) kissit sweit, quhylis in armis plet;"

(193-94), parallel in their syntactic movement the description of the outlaw
Country Mouse's uncertain life in the corn (166-67). The effect
draws attention, on the one hand, to the Town Mouse's giddy thankfulness at surviving the imagined terrors of the road, and on the other, to the temporary lack of sobriety (195) that the society of her sister introduces into the life of the Country Mouse.

The *ecphrasis* of the Country Mouse's "sober wane" is a masterpiece of compressed understatement: original, vivid, and richly figurative.

As I hard say, it was ane sober wane, 
Off fog & farne ffull febilie wes maid, 
Ane siEie scheill under ane steidfast stane, 
Off quhilk the entres wes not hie nor braid. 
And in the samin thay went but mair abaid, 
Without fyre or candill birnand bricht, 
For comonly sic pykeris luffis not lycht. 

(197-203)

The opening phrase draws attention to the fact that this *descriptio* is not in any version of the fable his audience might know and is therefore "hearsay". The same tag is used for a similar reason again at the end of the Tale (st. 52). After having escaped the Cat, the Country Mouse "merilie markit unto the mure" (no doubt "singing before the thief"), and the poet terminates the stanza with an "abrupt conclusion" that tells his audience they have reached the end: 50 "I can not tell how weill thairefter scho fure."
The final stanza of the Tale, which describes the interior riches of the Country Mouse's home, comes as a shock, both rhetorically and in terms of inventive rehandling of traditional material. But the parallelism of the catch-phrases and descriptions work a similar surprise. Stanza 52 stands in heightened contrast to stanza 29 on the literal level even as it explicitly confirms what was intimated at the figurative level of the earlier stanza.

The fact that the Country Mouse's home is a "sober wane" is not without significance, for the phrase does not necessarily mean "mean"—though, again, we do not necessarily realize this at the time. "Sober", in the Moralitas at least, seems to refer to sobrietas, the part of temperance concerned with food and drink, and there is similarly a hint for the alert in stanza 29. Again, not only the younger Mouse's manner of greeting, but the very description of her abode will bear witness to the veracity of her words in the upcoming debate.

The temporary nature of the Mouse's dwelling (on the literal level) serves to reinforce our sense of the impermanence of her existence, for "ane sillie scheill" is a simple shelter built by shepherds for the duration of their stay in high summer pastures. Froissart, in the reign of David II roughly a hundred years earlier, tells us that it took only three days to build such a hut "provided the builder had five or six poles and boughs to cover it." The domiciles of mice would doubtless do without such poles, but both mice and men would use "fog and farne" to cover their shiels. The fact that it is "under ane steidfast stane" would also make sense
on two, possibly three, levels: as referring to a mouse's nest hidden under a stone, to a summer shiel the poles of which rest against a supporting stone, and, Gerke suggests, to the home of a man "poor in spirit" who makes his support the sure rock of faith (Matt. 7:24-27).

Besides suggesting the Country Mouse's prudent concealment of her dwelling, the qualification of the "scheill" as one "Off quhilk the entres wes not hie nor braid" (200) extends the allusion to Matthew (7:13-14):

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Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. 55
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Matthew 7:17-20, which intervenes between the ideas from Matthew 7:13-14 and 24-27 used here, seems also to have suggested the reference to the Parable of the Wheat and Tares (Matthew 13:24-30 and 37-43) in the first stanza of the Moralitas. The ideas are very similar. But, if we again remember that the Town Mouse is also a merchant prince, the line also echoes Christ's pronouncement that "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matthew 19:24).

Even the concluding couplet of the ecphrasis, beneath the charming playfulness of its attempt to draw correspondences between animal and human behaviour, is supportive of this. The last line is a modification of a proverb, "He that does ill hates the light", which looks back to John 3:20, "For every one that
doeth evil hateth the light,...lest his deeds should be reproved."
(The saying will be used again to comment on the nature of the
Fox in the Fox's Confession, 618-20.) The burgess is in her own
way as much of a thief as the outlaw.

But to return to the crux in the second line. There are
actually three variant readings: "maisterlig" (Bannatyne),
"misterlyk" (Asloan) and "febilie" (all others). All have some­
thing to be said for them. The Bannatyne and Asloan texts are
obviously closely related, here and in the wider context of the
Tale. Where the other versions read "steidfast stane" (199) Ban­
natyne and Asloan agree in reading "erdfast stane"; where the
others have "nuttis, and candill" in the next stanza (l. 206),
Asloan and Bannatyne have "nuttis and peis". The Bannatyne-Asloan
reading "peis" must I think be preferred since "candill" seems
too much of a luxury for the Country Mouse. Her sister's pièce
de résistance, after all, is "ane quhyte candill out off ane cof­
fer stall,/In steid off spye..." (286-87). The desire to repeat
this delightful line probably accounts for the scribal transposi­tion.
In any case the line must read "peis" since two stanzas
later the Town Mouse complains "Thir wydderit peis, and nuttis,
.../Wil brek my teith" (222-23). Asloan, however, has more orig­
inal readings than Bannatyne, and I presume it is Bannatyne who
misunderstands Asloan (or an Asloan-type) in line 198. For the
reading "misterlyk" is not "maisterlig" spelled differently, as
in the sixteenth century form mister. It is a completely dif­
ferent word, meaning "needfully", (cf. Fox's Confession, 730)
and is to be preferred to "maisterlig" if *difficilior lectio* is a criterion. Certainly "needfully" makes good sense in the passage, suggesting that the area the Country Mouse lived in was so poor in natural resources as to preclude the use of any other building materials beside "fog and farne".

One last point. Just as we need to remember here that the Town Mouse is a "toll fre" burgess masquerading as a "pure pyl-gryme", we should take into account an important detail in her sister's portrait: she is "Soliter". The term I think is meant to suggest that she is a solitary, a hermit. Being a solitary is not necessarily incompatible with being an "outlaw", for we will shortly encounter a contemplative Mare in the *Parliament of Four-futtit Beastis* who stands outside the law. Moreover, hermits were a not unfamiliar part of the social landscape; at Dunfermline, for instance, we find a "John Malculm, armyt till Our Lady" witnessing a deed in the Burgh Records in 1479. Perhaps the implication is that temperance, like "justice" in the *Moray Registrum*, "as if outlawed, lay in exile outwith the bounds of the realm" and was only to be found dwelling in solitude, away from the "Babylon" of the burgh.

This insistence on transience and the employment of pilgrimage, recluse, and "rock of faith" metaphors all suggest that Henryson is consciously developing the two given character-types of his Thesis in terms of opposed points of view as to man's proper end or "home". St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (XIX, 17) seems to provide the conceptual framework he elaborates on: 
But a household of human beings whose life is not based on faith is in pursuit of an earthly peace based on the things belonging to this temporal life, and on its advantages, whereas a household of human beings whose life is based on faith looks forward to the blessings which are promised as eternal in the future, making use of earthly and temporal things like a pilgrim in a foreign land, who does not let himself be taken in or distracted by them from his course towards God.... Thus both kinds of men and both kinds of household alike make use of the things essential for this mortal life; but each has its own very different end in making use of them.61

Henryson's presentation of the facts of the case can be seen, in this light, to glow with subtly significant hints of Augustinian dialectic. The physical disadvantages of the Country Mouse will be revealed as spiritual advantages, and the physical advantages of the Town Mouse will be seen to have terrifying disadvantages.

By its surprises and charm, the narratio effectively disposes the audience to listen with interest, sympathy and attention to the body of the Thesis: the Confirmation, presented in the verbal debate at the Country Mouse's, and the Refutation, presented in the proof-by-experience at her sister's house.

Quick reference back to the final topics for persuasion previously outlined (p. 164) will help us to appreciate how they structure the confirmatio. The Country Mouse's piety is evidently the basis of her argument in stanza 31:

'My mother sayd, sister, quhen we wer borne,
That I and ye lay baith within ane wame.
I kelp the rate and custome off my dame,
And off my leving into povertie,
For landis have we nane in propertie.' (213-17)

We should note how her argument-from-honour is silently supported by her already-discussed integrity of character. Further, the
topic "What is pleasant", which Quintilian subsumes under expediency, underlies the whole dispute in stanzas 30-36. "Quhat pleasure is in the ffeistis delicate,...?" (232) the Country Mouse asks rhetorically, identifying the crucial issue.

The debate between the two on the nature of happiness is occasioned by the differing life-styles and values of these types of temperance and intemperance. And this is reflected emotionally in the proud (208) and humble (215-16) ways in which they behave. As Cicero makes explicit in his De Partitione Oratoria, real debate must heed the conflicting values of basically two types of persons:

As a speech must be adapted, not alone to the truth but also to the opinions held by the audience, we must first realize that people are of two kinds, one uneducated who prefer utility to honour, and the other humane and cultivated who place honour above all things. 62

Such a dichotomized value-disagreement is the mechanism of Henryson's debate, the Town Mouse arguing from bodily comforts or utility, the Country Mouse arguing from spiritual consolation or honour. It does not become fully clear, however, until stanza 33. We are first led in with a display of table manners that stealthily subverts our initial estimation of the two Mice.

The debate opens with the Town Mouse's proud scorn of her sister's "dayly fude", a definite breach of etiquette, according to Cato's Distichs: "When your poor friend gives of his property,/ Accept well pleased and thank him handsomely." 63 John of Salisbury also quotes to the same effect from Horace's Satires (II,
What contributes to discreet gaiety [at banquets], however, is everywhere to be sought... 'Adversity is wont to show the temper of the guest as of the chief; prosperity to conceal the same.'

Certainly the Country Mouse knows that her sister is the one who should feel ashamed, not herself. "'Ye be the mair to blame" (212), she says. Nevertheless she shows appropriate restraint in her answer (213-17), and thus gains our approbation. In John of Salisbury's words from the same passage on feasting, "he who shows patience in enduring it [insult] appears to have deserved the good will of all in view of his self-control."

Indeed temperance, or self-control, is the virtue that the Country Mouse calls attention to not only in conduct but in speech. After reminding her sister of her own humble origins, in that "I and ye lay baith within ane wame" (214), she piously claims "I keip the rate and custome off my dame" (215), perhaps hinting that "it is better a gudname...or ony othir precious Jowell".

Her appeal to honour is bolstered by the prudent self-knowledge of her asseveration that "landis have we nane in propertie" (217). On the mouse-level, she is aware of her outlaw status (168 and 203), and, on the human level, of the Pauline warning that "we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out" (I. Tim. 6:7).

Her sensitive nose slightly out of joint at this reminder of her ill-breeding and humble origins, the Town Mouse can only mumble "have me excused" in the next stanza, complain of a stomach-ache, and get off a Parthian shot about dining "alsweill as ony Lord"
But her attempt to turn the argument into a question of utility by appealing to the stomach is not well controlled. Her protest that "Thir wydderit peis, and nuttis, or thay be bord,/Wil brek my teith" (222-23) certainly indicates, on the animal level, that she has tastes quite unnatural to a mouse; but, much more importantly, it echoes the Prologue:

"The nuttes schell, thocht it be hard and teuch,
Haldis the kirnill, and is delectabill." (15-16)

This suggests, on the human level, that the Town Mouse is not "wyse aneuch" to appreciate any but physical values (as indeed the quotation of Philippians 3:18-19 about making a god of the belly will make explicit in the Moralitas).

The Country Mouse's answer in the following stanza,

'Weil, weil, sister' (quod the rurall Mous),
'Geve it pleis yow, sic thing as ye se heir,
Baih melt and dreink, harberie and hous,
Salbe your awin, will ye remane al yeur.
Ye sall it have wyth blyith and mery cheir,
And that suld mak the maissis that ar rude,
Amang freindis, richt tender and wonder gude. (225-31),

shows, as I have said, that she is alive to her social obligations as host, and can be conciliatory and magnanimously hospitable. But etiquette does not prevent her from recognizing her sister's shift of argument (from honour to expediency) and countering it--in the very terms in which she makes her apology--with an appeal to the superiority of spiritual pleasures. One is reminded of Ovid's praise of Baucis and Philemon in the Metamorphoses (viii, 677-78), and significantly John of Salisbury is also reminded of the same example in his chapter "On Feasting" in the Policraticus:

"Even Jupiter, as the fable tells us, accepted the hospitality of a poor hut...because 'Above all else there was the cheery face and eager rich good will.'"
Henryson's literary imagination seems to be weaving the shuttle back and forth in quick contrasts between reminiscences of simple feasts that are rewarded, such as Baucis and Philemon's, and memories of proud ones, such as Herod's in the Ludus Coventriae "Death of Herod", that are punished as Death appears at the door. Compare, for instance, the way Henryson's Burgess Mouse "prompt forth in pryde" (208) and Death's comment on the way Herod calls his knights to the table with "Ow I herde a page make preysing of pride" (168); compare also the Town Mouse's answer to her sister's question "'how lang will this lest?'" (278) with Death's words "Ow se how prowedly yon kaytyff sytt at mete/Of deth hath he no dowte he wenyth to leve evyr-more" (194-95); finally, compare the Cat's appearance (326-29) with Death's (168-232). Henryson's lines, then, provide a brilliantly muted fusion of classical, biblical and fabular allusions—not to say monkish ones as well, for "St. Benedict, in his chapter on guests [Reg., I. iii] seems to expound a frugal type of kindness, not merely in a religious, but in a courteous and urbane spirit as well." 

In the following stanza,

'Quhat plesure is in the ffeistis delicate,
The quhilkis ar gevin with ane glowmand brow?
Ane gentill hart is better recreate
With blyith curage, than seith to him ane Kow.
Ane modicum is mair ffor till allow,
Swa that gude will be kerver at the dais,
Than thrawin vult and mony spycit mais.' (232-38),

the Country Mouse completes her argument with a series of artfully varied "rhetorical proofs" that expand, in characteristic fashion, on the concluding lines of the preceding stanza (229-31). Three proverbial sayings make up the stanza, the argument of the first
couplet (232-33), a rhetorical question expecting the answer "none", being turned around, syntactically and dialectically, in the second (234-35) into a direct affirmation of its opposite.

In terms of sources, the lines appear to be an expansion of a passage in Lydgate's "Frogge and Mowse" (st. 62, ll. 429-31). However, both poets also seem to be looking back to Proverbs 15:15-17, since the "Kow" referred to by Henryson (235) translates "stalled ox" in Proverbs 15:17. The moral of the Ysopet I, in translating it as "fat calf", also seems to have recognized this verse from Proverbs as Gualterus' source for his more general statement:

"A great desire was satisfied by a small meal.
A noble countenance made worthy a cheap feast."

And for this reason I think we can assume that medieval fabulists were quite capable of expanding along similar lines without necessarily being aware of each other's work. I certainly do not think Henryson had access to the Ysopet. Whether he had access to Lydgate is another matter.

Henryson's "glowmand brow" (233) has a parallel in Lydgate's "heavy chere, frownyng or grogying" (431), but none in Proverbs or elsewhere. All the same his hypothetical use of the monk of Bury is not slavish, for he even seems, in "Ane gentill hart is better recreate/With blyith curage" (234-35), to work in a reminiscence of Ecclesiasticus 26:4, "a good heart maketh at all times a cheerful countenance", which develops a contrast to it. Where the first half of Henryson's fourth line reads "With blyith curage," Lydgate's reads "With hevy chere". Moreover, two of Lydgate's remaining
three lines in stanza 62 are fillers, whereas the Country Mouse's rhetorical larder is well "stuffyd". Henryson follows his balanced, contrastive couplets with a beautifully climactic three-line statement in which the alternatives of a contrastive main clause are divided by a critically important qualifying middle term. (The Town Mouse does not have a "gude will" as we know from the "mony wilsum wayis" she takes on her "journey", l. 183.)

For these lines I think he goes back directly to Proverbs. Whereas we have seen both him and Lydgate using Proverbs 15: 15 and 17, here he seems to be remembering the contrast of verse 16, "Better is little with the fear of the Lord than great treasure and trouble therewith", in terms of Gualterus' "A noble countenance made worthy a cheap feast." The "thrawin vult" is the particular detail not found in Proverbs which suggests Gualterus, and perhaps Ovid. For those (unlike the Town Mouse) who have ears to hear, "vult" does not simply mean the physical face, but the cheer or bearing. The idea of personifying Good Will as "kerver at the dais", on the other hand, seems to be Henryson's own touch.

By echoing the last three lines of the previous stanza (229-31) and opposing "thrawin vult" (238) to "mery cheir" (229), and "gude will" (237) to "freindis" (231), the last three lines of this stanza (236-38) assure us rhetorically of the validity of the Country Mouse's opinion. In Aristotle's words, examples following enthymemes "have the effect of witnesses giving evidence, and this always tells." At the same time they are proved experimentally by the downcast "browis" of the Town Mouse who "had
little will to sing" at these words. (They sing a materialistic "Hail Yule, Hail" at her house of course, but it quickly becomes a song of sorrow.)

At the level of debate formalism the Country Mouse has presented a confirmatio of the superiority of her honour values to her town-dwelling sister's values of utility. In the next stanza her sister can do no more than sit and glower, getting off only a feebly vicious remark "halff in hething" that shows her unwillingness to respond with truly "mery cheir":

"'Sister, this victuall and your royall feist, 
May weill suffice unto ane rurall beist."  (244-45)

All the sting of this remark lies in the discrepancy between what is said and what is implied by the "royall...rurall" parallelism. She seems to be adapting such a proverb as "The king's chaff is worth other men's corne."?7 Perhaps we should also bear in mind Aristotle's remark in the Ethics that

just as the equal (mean) is greater when related to the less but less when related to the greater...
the temperate man appears intemperate to the insensible but insensible to the intemperate.78

The Town Mouse tries to contain her sister's argument by limiting its applicability; it only seems valid to those who have never experienced anything better:

'Lat be this hole and cum into my place; 
I sall to you schaw be experience
My gude friday is better nor your pace; 
My dische likingis is worth your haill expence. (246-49)

With these words the debate enters its second formal phase, the refutatio of the opposite point of view.
In the Town Mouse's appeal to experience lies the key to solution of the argument—and her second blunder. At first it goes her way, so that the merry cheer made at her table seems to confirm her own point of view. But this is to anticipate. Let us review her assertions.

They follow naturally from her slight in the last couplet of the previous stanza and involve two parallel appeals to the stomach:

"My gude friday is better nor your pace;
My dische likingis is worth your haill expence." (248-49)

Her method is an impoverished version of her sister's, two stanzas earlier, and argues the difference in social and economic standing of the Burgess and her yokel sister by increasingly extreme comparisons. The contrast may well be an invented variant of such a well-known maxim as "The crookes of Forth is worth ane earldom in the North." But Henryson's originality lies in his turning such a contrast into a religious one that helps us respond to the Town Mouse in a way that she did not intend.

Once again she reveals her intemperance by careless overstatements that show the crassness of her materialism. "Gude friday", the culmination of Lent, is a day of fasting and abstinence. To suggest that her Good Friday "bread and water" is better than her sister's Easter (Pace) feast may well suggest how rich she is, but also how nominal a Christian! The crudity of her second comparison needs no mention.

Her following arguments,

"I have housis anew off grit defence;
Off Cat, nor fall trap, I have na dreid." (250-51),
preserve the same balance as the first two comparisons but introduce slight variation in the reversal of subject and predicate. Nothing like the rhetorical complexity of her sister's conclusion (236-38) is achieved. At any rate, she follows her two quantitative appeals to pleasure here with two appeals to security (Quintilian lists it under expediency). And it is this argument-from-security that forces the Country Mouse to take up the challenge, visit her sister's, and prove her argument "be experience". The grudging phrase "'I grant,'" in the final line suggests that she is unconvinced but ready to accept the testimony of experience as final.

Whereas the Country Mouse's "sober wane" had been described as structurally weak but spiritually well-founded, her sister's "worthy wane" is spoken of only in terms of its physical goods. It is worth quoting Pedro de Ayala's description of stately homes in the reign of James IV to make explicit what is not in the descriptio! The houses of the Scots, he says, are built of stone and provided with excellent "doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys". Moreover "all the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain and France is to be found in their dwellings."81 Obviously such details would be irrelevant to the Mouse as a mouse, but Henryson's reductionism also has a particular effect in view on the figurative level. His simple tabulation reads like a page from Andrew Halyburton's ledger, effectively betraying the acquisitive squint of our diminutive burgess's world-view:

"Baith Cheis and Butter upon thair skelfis hie,
And flesche and fische aneuch, baith fresche and salt,
And sekkis full off meill and eik off malt." (264-66)
In the Asloane version the "spence" is spoken of as "ane innes", which would further identify the Town Mouse's home as a place of intemperance. It is in a tavern, for instance, that Langland paints Gluttony's portrait. Moreover, by statute of the realm in 1427, the provision of inns had become a general responsibility of all the burgesses of the realm!

Further details reinforce the Burgess's materialism, as many critics have pointed out. Courtesy books of the period, such as the Babees Book, tell us that the mindful Christian should on entering a house bid "God speid" and say grace at meals. The Town Mouse does neither (262, 268). She ignores spiritual values for ones of a physical nature, such as washing before meals (268); and this seems to be the point of Henryson's later ironic remark as the Mice run for cover from the Spenser: "Thay taryit not to wesche, as I suppose," (295).

Another little joke has given critics some difficulty. Henryson mentions, in what seems like a paradox, that the mice

"... drank the watter cleir
In steid off wyne, bot yit thay maid gude cheir."

Presumably nobody could fail to be cheerful with so much to eat, however stingy the host with his wine-cellar. But how to explain the turning of wine into water? A proverbial answer can, I believe, be found: "Myce wants kned [musty] water." If this was familiar, as its provenance suggests, the implication would be that "watter cleir" is to mice what wine is to men! Inebriation, whatever its source, is a metaphor for delusion, and the thought seems to be that the Mice—who are certainly deluded at that moment—are drunk
at the height of their prosperity when they sing "'haill yule, haill!'" (289).

After two stanzas describing the pleasures of her board, Henryson gives expression to the Town Mouse's feeling that she has proved her point "be experience". Her "blyith upcast and merie countenance" (274) is made to contrast mutely with her earlier "glowmand brow" (233) at her sister's table; it also qualitatively opposes her sister's "blyith and mery cheir" so as to point up the difference between pleasure as an end and as a means. Her point, she feels, is proved "be ressone" (276), but this only betrays the fact that, like the Cock and the Sow whose "hart wammillis wyse argument to heir", she equates reason with appetite and the demands of the stomach. As we shall see, the "difference/Betwix that chalmer and hir [sister's] sarie nest" (276-77) is not all to her own advantage!

The argument that Henryson chooses for his Country Mouse allows him to suggest that she is prudently aware of this, and has some powers of foresight. Such extreme contrasts as her sister builds only seem to remind her, as it does Henryson in his Moralitas, that "thay quhilk clymmis up maist hie" (371) are likely to fall furthest. Misfortune was inevitable for the person who "wenyth to leve evyr-more", as the Ludus Coventriae "Death of Herod" illustrates. Henryson's handling, however, is masterly, for he uses proverbial half-lines in a question-answer frame that he could be sure his audience would recognize as a commonplace argument for prudence.
Presumably he has the proverb "It is a good feast that lastis ay" in mind when he makes his Country Mouse guardedly ask, "'how lang will this lest?'" (278). Her sister's reply "'For evermair, I wait, and langer to.'" (279), though it recognizes the proverbial warning in an unthinking way, also destroys the veracity of the Town Mouse's own attempt to prove her point "be ressone". Her last phrase "and langer to" is not only over-assertively devil-may-care, but illogical. Time cannot last "langer" than "evermair"! Her spiritual bankruptcy is revealed as complete.

This very same lack of restraint leads the Town Mouse in the following stanza to begin a second round of gormandizing that is obviously gluttonous from the very fact that the first round had consisted of "flesche and fische aneuch". It too is as tediously additive in its piling up of conjunctions as the first round. (Lydgate also mentions "the second course", l. 399, but does not develop it; the mention of "mane full fyne" may also come from memory of Odo or Bromyard, as Jamieson suggests, but white bread must have been a fairly standard symbol of affluence.)

The lead-in line "Till eik [increase] thair cheir ane sub-charge furth scho brocht" (281) may have had greater suggestivity in the Middle Ages, when anyone with any pretensions to an education would have read Aristotle's *Ethics*, than it does now. For happiness the Philosopher defines as "of all things the most worthy of choice and not capable of being increased by the addition of some good." And just as the joke about clear water provided comic relief, so here the Town Mouse's quasi-religious presentation of her
piece de résistance is absurdly funny. The detail only really works on the animal level, but the balance of soft "candill" against the earlier mention of her sister's hard nuts (222-23), which are figurative, may suggest her impressionability, her lack of temperate self-control, her "wilsum wayis" (183).

Her social portrait was fixed in stanza two, but her moral portrait is painted from her actions. Though somewhat less explicit, it is nonetheless clear. As John of Salisbury says,

Lack of moderation in eating and drinking banishes temperance, the controller of all duties...man becomes slow to hear, swift to speak, and swift to take offense, also...rash. Virgil...intimates this in the feast of Dido.91

In effect the Town Mouse is a recognizable type of Intemperance.

In stanza 42 everything happens--and happens rapidly. Whereas, two stanzas ago, the Country Mouse was still suspicious and standoffish, following Pseudo-Cato's advice to "say little at a banquet",92 by this stanza the bewildering quantities of food seem to have turned her head. She surrenders to the pleasures of the moment and the potency of "watter cleir", and joins her sister in a drunken song which may itself suggest their *Carpe Diem* imprudence. Certainly the proverb "Ane Yule feast may be quat [repaid] at Pasche"93 suggests the "live now, pay later" attitude that also lay behind the Town Mouse's "for evermair" response.

At this point the moralist breaks in with a warning that gives the lie to the Mice's assurance of security:

"Yit efter joy oftymes cummis cair,
And troubill efter grit prosperitie." (290-91)

Such a technique may seem strange to us but was a recognized did-
actic device of the day, sanctioned by St. Augustine's recommendation in *De Doctrina Christiana* that "entreaties, reproaches, exhortations, pressures and every other means" may be employed "if his [the preacher's] hearers need to be *aroused* rather than instructed." Here, of course, the crisis is that the Mice have reached the pinnacle of prosperity "quhill thay micht na mair" (288). The phrase has the double function of suggesting that they stuff themselves to repletion and that their merriness can no longer last.

When the Spenser appears, all standing-on-ceremony is dispensed with, and it becomes each-for-himself. The Town Mouse abandons her role as elder, guide, and host as she dives for "ane hole", leaving her befuddled sister, "will off ane gude reid", to fend or faint for herself. The Country Mouse's "swoun" and the "happie cace" by which "The Spenser had na laser for to byde" (302-303) seem to echo the conclusion of Lydgate's "Frogge and Mowse" (which Henryson seems to have used before) in the way "the mowse for fere gan sowne" as the kite comes, paradoxically, to rescue her. But the important detail is one that had been omitted by the Town Mouse as unnecessary to the pleasures of her feast—-the reliance on God that is suggested in the first line: "Bot as God wald, it fell ane happie cace" (302). We might recall that the security of the Country Mouse's feeble dwelling was founded on such faith in God. As we shall see, her renewal of spiritual Citizenship will lead to the re-establishment of this security in the last stanza.
The half-line, "and left the dure up wyde" (305), which seems to be no more than a line filler after the passing of the Spenser, is also tautly functional; as the proverb goes, "at open doores dogis cumes in".\(^95\) This was a proverb which could also have ethical reference, as Boccaccio says when he writes in *De Claribus Mulieribus* "because of these the door was opened to vices."\(^96\) As a result, the claim of the "bald Burges" (306) that "this perrell is overpast" (317) is no more to be trusted than any of her previous statements.

Her--from the outside woefully comic--sister, still shaking in the grip of that *timor mortis* which is the beginning of wisdom,\(^97\) answers with as "hevie cheir" (318) as the Town Mouse had shown when offered "wydderit peis". Again a parallelism. Her claim that she cannot eat for fear and would rather "gnaw benis or peis,/Than [have] all your feist in this dreid and diseis" (321-22) may well be an expansion of Gualterus' justly celebrated *tour de force*, "I prefer to nibble a bean rather than to be nibbled by constant worry";\(^98\) the same comparison was also repeated admiringly by Odo, Bromyard and others. But the additional reference to Lent, "I had lever thir fourty dayis fast,/With watter caill" (320-21), is Henryson's own and introduced to accentuate once again the differing attitudes of the two Mice towards matters spiritual and physical. (At this critically important moment when the Country Mouse has her first chance to recognize the flaw in her sister's argument "be experience", we might also notice the strident "i"s of the first line \[316\], the intensifying mid-line rhymes on "meit" \[317\] and "eit"
and the contrast between feasting [322] and fasting [320] that the alliteration accentuates in its coupling.) However, the "fair tretie" (323) and "wordis hunny sweit" (315)—which may be intended to echo the proverb "It is dear bought honey that is licked off thorns"—persuade her to return to the table incontinently, despite her good intentions.

As will be evident from a quick glance back at the diagram on p. 159, the leisurely tempo of life in the country, indicated by the comparatively greater proportion of stanzas given to treatment of it, quickens in the town to panic pace: temperance gives way to gluttony and the security of Providence to the insecurity of Fortune's Wheel. Henryson's effects here are brisk, and serve as much to maintain the surprise of the unexpected second episode as to suggest the rapid turns of fortune. The Mice return to the board (the act itself would have a suggestive range beyond what we are used to, for the traditional image of gluttony is a man feasting at a table), and

... scantlie had thay drunkin anis or twyse,
Quhen in come Gib hunter, our Jolie Cat,
And bad God speid; the Burges up with that,
And till her hole scho went as fyre on flint;
Bawdronis the uther be the bak hes hint.

Fra fute to fute he kest hir to and ffra,
Quhylis up, quhylis doun, als cant as ony kid;
Quhylis wald he lat hir rin under the stra,
Quhylis wald he wink, and play with hir buk heid.
Thus to the selie Mous grit pane he did,
Quhill at the last, throw fortune and gude hap,
Betwix ane burde and the wall scho crap. (325-36)

The Cat's jollity provides a mocking contrast to that of the Mice (292) and, as has been said, her sudden appearance is like the coming of Death whom, after her recent last escape, the Country
Mouse "wes full sair dredand" (310). Moreover her "God speid" mocks the Mice's earlier omission of it (262), and perhaps suggests that, like Death, she is an agent of Providence.\textsuperscript{102}

The name Gib appears nowhere else, in fables that I know of, except Lydgate's "Frogge and Mowse" (406). Though it may have been borrowed directly, it need not have been. A Gilbert is French for a guiler, as we learn from an anonymous poem in Thomas Wright's \textit{Political Songs};\textsuperscript{103} thus the name is etymologically appropriate to a representative of Fortune who will cast the Mouse "Quhylis up, quhylis doun" (331).

Moreover the Cat could just as easily signify the Devil, for the \textit{Book of Vices and Virtues} tells us that

\begin{quote}
"the devel pleieth ofte with the synful right as the catt with the mous whan he hath y-take her. For when he hath longe y-pleied, he eteth her;"
\end{quote}

the \textit{Agenbite of Inwyty} has an identical reference,\textsuperscript{105} and Odo uses it in the \textit{moralitas} of his version of the fable\textsuperscript{106} to terrify ecclesiastical simonists and usurers into disgorging their ill-gotten gains! However, Henryson mutes this association for an obvious reason. The surprise-within-a-surprise is that the Country Mouse escapes, and this would call for explanation if the Cat were explicitly identified with the Devil. For this and the following reason it makes more sense to see the Cat as Death or Fortune sent by God to chastise his children into repentance:

\begin{quote}
"Thus to the selie Mous grit pane he did, Quhill at the last, \underline{throw fortune and gude hap,} Betwix ane burde and the wall scho crap."
\end{quote} (334-36)

In the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.
Just as, in this stanza, the Country Mouse learns by experience to associate rapid shifts of fortune first with anxiety and finally with "grit pane", so, in the next, as she climbs "behind ane parraling" (337) to escape the Cat, she learns that "when she is physically most high up she feels most cast down." The paradox is underlined by her "loud cry, '/Fairwell, sister, thy feist heir I defy!'" (342-43) which echoes in its stridently decisive but squeaky front vowels her sister's earlier exhortation to the opposite effect:

"'Quhy ly ye thus? ryse up, my sister deir, 
   ... this perrell is overpast.'" (316-17)

She has learnt her lesson and is determined to let her sister know it. The three proverbs with which she concludes the refutatio serve as the rhetorical proofs of her case:

"'Thy mangerie is mingit all with cair,
   Thy guse is gude, thy gansell sour as gall.
   The subcharge off thy service is bot sair,'" (344-46).

In claiming that her sister's "guse is gude" (345) but her feast "mingit all with cair" (344), she seems to be adapting a proverb we find in Fergusson, "A good goose indeed, but she has an ill gansell." It is too dearly bought. "Just as I have proved this by experience" she intimates to us and to her sister, "Sall thow find heir efterwart na ffall" (347). After thanking the "courtyne" and the "perpall wall" for defending her, she states her resolve to re-establish her life on the rock of faith with a heartfelt prayer, "Almichtie God, keip me fra sic ane ffeist!" (350), and returns home, happy to be "furth and fre", delivered from the bondage of her appetites.
The charm of the Tale does not detract from the fact that it is tragi-comedy with serious intentions. Though the fable is a "low" form and though the fate of Mice qua mice is of little significance, the fate of men, whether they be poor or rich, is not. In Augustine's words,

"... in issues of the sort we [Christians] deal with, where everything ... ought to be concerned with man's salvation, everything we speak of is a great issue."  

For this reason we should not disdain instruction from such a low source, as Henryson hastens to point out in the opening lines of his Moralitas. The growth of faith is like that of the mustard seed. So Licentius discovered in a particularly relevant passage of St. Augustine's De Ordine as, awakened by a little mouse, he and Augustine began a midnight conversation that was to lead to the conversion of the former. The way Licentius describes it leads me to think he may even have had the fable of the Two Mice in mind when he replied to Augustine,

Why should I not be instructed by that mouse or rat which revealed to you that I was awake? I frightened it off by the noise I made, and it showed wisdom in returning to its own resting place to commune with itself in peace. So why should I not be warned by the sound of your voice to indulge in [Christian] philosophy rather than singing [literature]?  

I have already discussed the last stanza of the Tale in describing how the Country Mouse's den is transformed by faith, and so pass on to the Moralitas, which constitutes the peroration or epilogue of Henryson's thesis. Quintilian warns that only the main points should be rehearsed so as to avoid "a sort of second speech", and indicates that besides recapitulating, the writer should appeal
to the feelings, for "The prosecutor has to rouse the judge, while
the defendant's business is to soothe him." We shall see Henryson doing all these things.

The Moralitas, then, can be seen as the consummation of the
Tale rather than as something seemingly opposed to it, as in the
Cock and Jasp. It can be seen this way the more easily both in so
far as it completes the movement of the fifth quartet by presenting
an argument (in didactic ballade form) to support the Country Mouse's
journey home to a sober feast, and in so far as it recapitulates
the major themes of the Tale in an explicitly Christian context.

The first stanza (53) discusses the theme of Instability, and
as has been said, echoes the Prologue (14) in warning of the need
to "tak heid" (365). The following lines,

"As fitchis myngit ar with nobill seid,
Swa interminglit is adversitie
With eirdlie joy, swa that na estate is frie," (367-69)
amplify the Country Mouse's asseveration that her sister's "mangerie
is mingit all with cair" (344) in terms of Christ's Parable of the
Wheat and Tares. By it we are reminded that this "cair" was due
to the instability of Fortune's Wheel on which "thay quhilk clymmis
up maist hie" (371) are likely to topple furthest into "adversitie"
(368). Therefore "content with small possessioun" (372) is best.

The second stanza (54) recapitulates the Feasting Motif by
approving the Country Mouse's decision in favour of "be sober feist"
(374). By also echoing the Beatitudes,

"Blissed be sempill lyfe withoutin dreid;
Blissed be sober feist in quietie;" (373-74),
it provides spiritual assurance of the psychological truth, intim-
ated in the last stanza of the Tale, that a "sillie scheill" can be transformed into a "den,/Ais warme as wull" by the attitude of mind of the inhabitant.115 "Quietie" or contentment is the key, and the following sententium,

"Quha hes aneuch, of na mair hes he neid,  
Thocht it be littill into quantatie." (375-76), again reinforces the point by verbal reminder of the Tale's last stanza, in which it was stated that the Country Mouse "had aneuch to eit,/In quyet and eis" (362-63).

This attitude, which is set in contrast to "Grit aboundance and blind prosperitie" (377) in the next line, is proverbial and mixes two well-known and related sayings: "Aneuche is a feast of bread and cheese"116 and "Be thow content, of mair thow has no neid."117 It does so to echo in sentential terms the contrast made concretely in the Tale between the sober poverty of the Country Mouse and her sister's "grit prosperitie" (291). The terms resonate with millenia of use: James I and Chaucer seem to borrow them from such Latin authors as Pseudo-Cato and Seneca,118 and the maxim can be found not only in Greek and Hebrew,119 but even in Ancient Egyptian sources such as these stanzas from the Instructions of Amenemope:

Better, then, is poverty in the hand of God  
Than riches in the storehouse;  
Better is bread when the mind is at ease  
Than riches with anxiety.120

The even older reference in the Maxims of Ptahhotpe121 is also relevant. Evidently the taste for this kind of moralizing predates the written word.
Stanza three (55) shifts from the soothing tactics of a defendant for the Country Mouse's position to the rousing tactics of a prosecutor of the Town Mouse's attitude. It does so by launching directly into an exclamatory address "O wanton man!" that cuts right through the intimate atmosphere created by the earlier use of the term "Freindis" (365) and the suggestion of Divine Benediction. But the rhetoric is quite appropriate in that it calls our attention to the importance of the attached Pauline utterance (Philippians 3:18-19) in censuring the wanton man "that usis for to feid/Thy wambe, and makis it a God to be" (381-82). This provides a scriptural yardstick by which the intemperateness of the Mice can be negatively judged.

The metaphor that follows,

"Lieke to thy self; I warne the weill but dreib,
The Cat cummis, and to the Mous hes Ee." (383-84),

considers the other, more terrifying, aspect of the Feasting Motif, and forces us to recognize intellectually the fable's retributional theme:

"Quhat vaillis than thy feist and royaltie,
With dreibfull hart, and tribulatioun?" (385-86)

This we have already emotionally accepted as proven "be experience" in the Tale. But even here Henryson is sensitive enough to leave his readers or listeners free to make up their own minds:

"Best thing in eird, thairfoir, I say, for me,
Is blyithnes in hart, with small possessioun." (387-88)

With this modesty formula, the poet can slip back naturally into the greater hearth-side intimacy of the defendant's role in the last stanza:
"Thy awin fyre, my freind, sa it be bot ane gleid,  
It warmis weill, and is worth Gold to the." (389-90)

The last stanza of the *Moralitas* (56) refers back directly to the description of the Country Mouse's den "Als warme as well" in the last stanza of the Tale (52); it does so to reemphasize the happiness that an honest life brings in explicitly human terms. Finally, the line "Quhairfoir I may conclude be this ressoun" (394) indicates clearly that the sentential, mnemonic refrain is the rhetorical premise (enthymeme) on which the Tale has been founded (cf. *Prologue*, 46). It also is a quiet reminder, amid all the extolling of temperance, of the intimate relation between that virtue and reason. "Quietie" holds man to his rational nature and gives him that true mental tranquillity which comes from the proper control of animal appetites.123

On this basis we might also notice that part of the reason for the Country Mouse's ability to reject her sister's feast was the fact that she had been "guided rightly towards...a life of temperance and endurance...from an early age";124 her ingrained frugality better preserved the balance of her reason so that she was properly able to assess her experience--with the aid of grace--and rectify her situation. The Country Mouse is twice called "selie" or simple (299 and 334) when she is in trouble, presumably in order to facilitate our understanding of how "A sillie bairne is eithe to learne."125 Certainly the mainspring of the Country Mouse's temperance is that, as she says, "I keip the rate and custome off my dame" (215). And this is one of Henryson's original stanzas.
By the end of the Tale, she, unlike her sister and the Cock, has got science: true knowledge of the world and of herself. The Two Ways open out before us into the rest of the Fabillis, and beyond.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

THE TWO MICE


3 Cf. the Prologue, st. 1, ll. 5-7, and st. 9, ll. 59-60; the value-discrepancy between the Tale of the Cock and Jasp and its *Moralitas* also supports the point by way of illustration.


5 Schrader, Thesis, p. 94.


12 Jamieson, Thesis, pp. 81-82.


14 *Ibid*.


16 Jamieson has not noticed that a definite precedent for Henryson's two-episode version does exist: Babrius' version (c. A.D. 222-235). But I have no evidence as to its medieval
FOOTNOTES – CHAPTER IV (Cont.)

circulation, and, in any case, what is most important is not what sources Henryson used, but to what purpose he used them.

17 The acronyms TM stand for Town Mouse, CM for Country Mouse, SP for Spenser and GH for Glb Hunter, the cat. Where a motif is new with Henryson I precede it by an asterisk. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of stanzas allotted to each motif, unless merely lines are involved, in which case the abbreviation ll. precedes the number.

18 Institutes of Oratory, II, iv, 24; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 203-204.


20 "Sa roustie is the world with canker blak,/That now my tailis may lytill succour mak", ll. 1396-97.


22 Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 36.

23 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

24 Ibid., p. 37.

25 Institutes of Oratory, III, viii, 26-27; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 113.

26 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 205.

27 Institutes of Oratory, IV, i, 5; Ibid., p. 113.

28 Institutes of Oratory, IV, ii, 31; Ibid., p. 115.

29 Institutes of Oratory, IV, ii, 21; Ibid., p. 116.

30 De Partitione Oratoria, IX, 32; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 117.

31 Isidore, Etymologies, XI, i, 4 and XII, iii, 1; noticed by
Gerke, Thesis, p. 138. The point, as Isidore goes on to explain, is that the nominative of humore is humus and the Latin for mouse is mus.


33 H. Rackham, trans., Pliny: Natural History, Vol. III, Bk. VIII (London, 1940), p. 95. Hereafter cited as Rackham, Pliny's Natural History (all references are to this volume).

34 Cf. Thomas Wright, "The Simonie" in Political Songs, p. 326, l. 69: "Ne shal the corn in berne ben eten wid no muis."


36 Cf. Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 6 and MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 123 for explanation of "custom mair or les".

37 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 263.

38 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 30.

39 Ethics, 1096a, 5-10; Apostle, p. 5.


41 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 125.


43 Wright, Political Songs, pp. 34-35.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)


46 Cf. Juvenal, Bk. IV, Satire X, 1. 22; for Lily, see Baldwin, Small Latine, pp. 592-593.


48 Historia Animalium, 608a, 15-21 and 612b, 15-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.

49 Aristotle in his Rhetoric (I, 2) gives the three modes of persuasion by the written word as: 1) the character of the speaker; 2) the rousing or allaying of the emotions; and 3) the proof provided by the words of the speech itself (Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 44-46).

50 Curtius, European Literature, p. 90.


52 Cf. Nicholson, Scotland, p. 4: "Both in Highlands and Lowlands there was a migration to the summer shielings, usually, but not always, on the upper slopes"; also OED, shell.

53 Froissart's Chronicle IV, 23; quoted in Stearns, Robert Henryson, p. 36.


55 Matthew 7:13-14.

56 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 310, p. 38.

57 Cf. OED mister.

58 Cf. OED + mister, and The Fox's Confession, 1. 730.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)


62 De Partitione Oratoria, 90; quoted in Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 138.


64 Joseph B. Pike, trans., Privilogies of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers, the Politricus of John of Salisbury, Bk. VIII, Ch. 10 (Minneapolis, 1938), p. 351. Hereafter cited as Pike, Politricus.

65 Ibid.

66 Richard Bauman, "The Folktale and Oral Tradition in the Fables of Robert Henryson", Fabula 6 (1964), p. 123, cites apt evidence of the fact that the ties of the merchant class with its country backgrounds were not yet dissolved: "The recorded possessions of one Francis Spottiswood, a prosperous cloth merchant of Edinburgh who died in 1540, included a horse and plow ... and other agricultural implements."


69 Pike, Politricus, Bk. VIII, Ch. 8, p. 336.

70 K. S. Block, ed., Ludus Coventriae or the Plaie called Corpus Christi, EETS e.s. 120 (London, 1922), pp. 174-177. Hereafter cited as Block, Ludus Coventriae.

71 Pike, Politricus, Bk. VIII, Ch. 13, p. 382.

72 MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 581.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)

73 Schrader, Thesis, p. 194, l. 81.

74 Ibid., p. 188, ll. 3-4.

75 Cf. OED "vult".

76 Rhetoric II, 20; quoted in Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 127.

77 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 1302, p. 99.

78 Ethics, 1108b, 15-25; Apostle, p. 32.

79 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 1331, p. 100.


81 Calendar of Letters between England and Spain, I, 174; quoted in Stearns, Robert Henryson, p. 37.


85 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 1042, p. 80.

86 For foresight as one of the three parts of prudence, see John Burnet, trans. and ed., Aristotle on Education (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 33-34. Hereafter cited as Burnet, Aristotle on Education.

87 Block, Ludus Coventriæ, p. 175, l. 195.

88 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 897, p. 69.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)


90 Ethics, 1097b, 15-20; Apostle, p. 9.

91 Pike, Polycraticus, Bk. VIII, Ch. 6, p. 321.

92 Cato's Distichs, 18, in Duff, Minor Latin Poets, p. 595.

93 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 122, p. 15.

94 De Doctrina Christiana, iv, 2-11; Howie, Augustine, p. 372.

95 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 46, p. 9; also Breugel's "Netherlandish Proverbs" No. 60, "Where the hedge is open, the pigs run into the corn" in Max Seidel and Roger H. Marijnissen, eds., Breugel (New York, 1971), p. 42. Hereafter cited as Seidel and Marijnissen, Breugel.

96 Guarino, Boccaccio: Concerning Famous Women, p. 12.


99 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 501, p. 62. The proverb is more explicit at this point in Gualterus: "This poison lies hidden in the honey." (Schrader, Thesis, p. 189, l. 19) Presumably Henryson can be less explicit because the motif is expected.

100 Ethics, 1146b, 20-25; Apostle, p. 120: "An intemperate man is led on to objects by deliberate choice, thinking that he should always pursue pleasure as it comes, whereas an incontinent man thinks that he should not do so, and yet he does."


103 Wright, Political Songs, p. 49.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)


105 Richard Morris, ed., Dan Michel's Agenbite of Inwyt, EETS o.s. 23 (London, 1866), p. 179, ll. 32-34.


107 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 94. Perhaps the employment here of the adverb "crafftelie" (l. 339) reinforced Bannatyne's misunderstanding of the Aslan reading "misterlyk" in his description of the construction of her house as "full Maisterlig" (l. 198).

108 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 145, p. 16 ("gansell": OFr. ganse alllie or garlic sauce).


110 De Ordine i, 5-17; ibid., p. 290.

111 Institutes of Oratory, VI, i, 1; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 128.

112 Institutes of Oratory, VI, i, 27; ibid., p. 129.

113 Matthew 13:24-30 and 40-43.


115 Henryson probably had Pliny or an encyclopedia of natural history such as Bartholomaeus' in mind when he wrote this phrase, for in the latter (p. 1226) the term "den" is used quite specifically: "Plinius speketh of mys and seith that some ... gaderen mete into here dennes: and hydeth himself in dennes in wynter time."

116 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 100, p. 13; also Bannatyne MS., III, p. 18, l. 16: "Anwhch is evin a feist."

117 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 168, l. 375; also The Magdalen College School Book model sentence, "He that hath but littell and can be content is better at ease than he that is riche and alwaye careth for more", in Nelson, A Fifteenth Century Schoolbook, p. 253.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV (Cont.)


121 Ibid., p. 168.


123 ST II-II, Q. 141, A. 2.

124 Ethics, 1179b, 30-36; Apostle, p. 199.

125 Ferguson's Proverbs, MS. no. 20, p. 7.
CHAPTER V

THE TALKING OF THE TOD, AND THE SHEEP AND DOG.

THE TALKING OF THE TOD.

Whereas the first two fables of the collection are implicitly linked by their thematic treatment of the related moral concepts of prudence, 'science' and temperance, the three tales which make up "The Talking of the Tod" are linked explicitly. The Fox's Confession begins by referring back to preceding events in the Cock and Fox, and the Parliament of Beasts likewise links with the Confession, so that thematic continuity is provided not only at the moral but at the narrative level: we follow the progressively degenerate and sinful careers of foxes through two generations. Moreover, the Cock and Fox is provided with a two-stanza Prologue "on the characters of animals" which seems to introduce all three fables, and the Parliament, besides including an extended "catalogue of fourfooted animals" that complements this Prologue, concludes "thus endis the talking of the Tod."

If we compare the three fables, further parallelisms appear. "Falset falyeis ay at the latter end" in all three fables (CF 568, FC 770-71, PFB 983-84), and in all three the Fox condemns himself from his own mouth. His opponents always have the last laugh. Besides this, the figurative super-plots of all three fables are concerned with either the good effects of repentance or the bad effects of improper repentance or shamelessness: in the Cock and
212.

Fox, the sinner who repents is mercifully spared punishment by Divine Providence; in the Confession, the improperly penitent is punished for his sins by an agent of God; and in the Parliament the career of an unregenerate trickster is brought to an end by the King in special session.

Whereas the Moralitas of the Cock and Fox does not treat this repentance theme explicitly, that of the Confession does, making explicit what the alert may already have "laabourit with grit dil­ligence" to understand in the Cock and Fox. The Parliament, on the other hand, gives a more thorough allegorical interpretation of its Tale than either of the others do of theirs (the Widow's significance is not explained in the Cock and Fox, nor is the Wolf's in the Fox's Confession), and combines the approaches of the two preceding fables' Moralitates; it develops the Cock and Fox fable's twin themes of flattery and vainglory in terms of the repentance psychology of the Confession. The Parliament Wolf represents sensuality, just as Chantecleir is represented by his hens as a sensualist, and the Parliament Fox stands for temptations which manifest themselves through the same kind of Lowrentian flattery as was treated in the Cock and Fox:

"Assaultand men with sweit perswasionis, Ay reddy for to trap thame in ane trayne;" (1134-35).

The Mare's kick, which is likened "to the thocht of deid" (1125) in the Parliament, also parallels "this suddane schoit" of death about which the Confession warns "gude folke" (789).

Adultery, of which Toppok accuses Chantecleir in the Cock and Fox (536), is also a theme of the Parliament in that Father Wer's
behaviour stems from his being "Bastard of generatioun" (799, 805-09). In the Confession the Fox is at least partially contrite, "Accusand thus his cankerit conscience" (663), whereas in the Parliament his son's corrupted blood-line and bad habits are seen as the cause of his being 'far the wer'.

Basing a limited series of tales in this way on the narrative misadventures of one character within a larger series linked only morally is not an unusual story-collection device. One finds it used, for instance, in the Bruno and Buffalmacco tales of Boccaccio's Decameron. But it is of course quite uncharacteristic of Aesopic collections. As Shallers puts it,

Fables were never joined to one another in this fashion, consequently they never developed into a cycle in which the animals developed as unique characters. For this reason among others, the fabulists killed off their animals at will while the trouveres did not. However, the Roman de Renart and its beast-epic derivatives did link Aesopic material in this way, as Branch II illustrates, and they did use Aesopic fables anecdotally. The Aesopic fable of "The Snake and the Man", for instance, is adapted to make Renart the clever arbiter who settles the dispute, and the fox's use of the fable of "the Two Mice" in Renart le Contrefait has already been mentioned. Thus, if it was possible to include Aesopic in Renardian material, the reverse could also apply.

Behind Shallers' analysis of the differences between the Aesopic and Renardian fables lies the fact that they were created to fulfill different functions: the Aesopic to edify, and the Renardian to entertain. This difference was not exclusive, of
course, but it did account very largely for the relative lack of attention fabulists gave to animal characterization, and also for the brevity of Aesopic as opposed to Renardian fables.

What is unusual about Henryson, therefore, is the way he can quite consciously use non-Aesopic sources for Aesopic purposes, increasing characterization within his Tales to give them greater popular appeal without compromising his didactic purpose. The narrative linking of "The Talking of the Tod" is decidedly a Renardian device, but dramatically it is made to subserve the themes developed in its Moralitates—as can be seen from the parallels I have drawn. As Shallers observes, Henryson remains firmly faithful to his didactic purpose in killing off his Fox in the Confession and Parliament. In this light we can appreciate how radically his approach to fables has been affected by the advice of the "Clerkis" he cited in his General Prologue:

"... it is richt profitabill Amangis ernist to ming ane merie sport," (19-20).

However, I do not believe, as Roerecke does, that the "unifying principle" of the Fabillis is a conscious juxtaposition of Aesopian and Renardian worlds. Given the facts, such an idea is just too forced. The amplification of narrative and development of character that is so much a feature of the beast epic is evident in all of Henryson's fables, and yet all are equally didactic. Besides, why would Henryson begin his Fox, Wolf and Husbandman, which is not of Aesopic provenance, "In elderis dayis, as Esope can declair" (2231), if he wanted to preserve such a distinction? The same goes for the Wolf and Lamb, which is definitely Aesopic
but not so designated.

Having established what these fables have in common, I shall briefly consider each in turn, paying most attention to the frame with which Henryson supplies his series. My reason for not considering these tales fully here is one of sheer expedience; inclusion of my detailed commentary on these four fables would make a long thesis even longer.

Very few critics have bothered to attend to the Prologue which heads this fable and the series. Schrader, for instance, merely informs us that

Henryson moves from a general statement about animals to an incident he has heard of recently. The common-places about certain animals may have charmed a young audience, but they also show the plenitude of exemplary beasts from which he could have chosen.\(^5\)

Henryson, I believe, is doing two things that critics don't seem to have noticed. Firstly, as Lydgate does in the *Fabules*, he capitalizes on Priscian's instruction that the "moral to be derived from the myth (fabula) is sometimes put first."\(^6\) His Prologue provides a promethium that is followed, not preceded as elsewhere in his work, by its fable. This, as we have already seen Aristotle observing in his Rhetoric (II. 20), has "the effect of witnesses giving evidence," and Henryson's use of the term "cais" (409), repeated again in lines 485 and 494, clearly indicates his conscious use of the fable as a rhetorical proof of the fact that the Fox is "fenyeit, craftie and cawtelous" (402). This much is commonplace. Examples, under which beast fables were included in the "invented" category, were, along with proverbs or sentential statements, recog-
nized forms of rhetorical proofs. The fable was especially so recognized by Aristotle.\(^\text{7}\)

Secondly, he does something that stems naturally from his concern in the Cock and Jasp that we "Ga seik the Jasp" (161) and "get science" (154) in his Fabillis. In addition to concerning us with the scientia of self-knowledge which the Country Mouse cultivates, like William of Wheteley, he also intends, in his capacity as schoolmaster, to introduce us piecemeal to the most up-to-date physiology and psychology of his day. The first stanza of the Prologue is an almost direct quotation from Aristotle:

\[
\text{Animals also differ from one another in regard to character in the following respects. Some are good tempered, sluggish, and little prone to ferocity, as the ox, \ldots others are thoroughbred and wild and treacherous, as the wolf; for, by the way, \ldots an animal is thoroughbred if it does not deflect from its racial characteristics. Further, some are crafty and mischievous, as the fox; some are spirited and affectionate and fawning, as the dog.\ldots Many animals have memory and are capable of instruction, but no other creature except man can recall the past at will.}\]

Henryson begins with Aristotle's last-mentioned point in his first stanza:

"Thocht brutall beistis be Irrationall,\nThat is to say, wantand discretioun".\(^\text{(397-98)}\)

However, Aristotle's point that "Many animals have memory" but cannot "recall the past at will" is not completely clear by itself and requires to be understood as a shorthand way of saying what he states more explicitly in the De Memoria et Reminiscentia. While "many animals share in remembering," we are told, only "man shares in recollecting. The explanation is that recollecting is, as it were, a sort of reasoning...a sort of search."\(^\text{9}\) From this it
should be clear that "recalling the past at will" stands for the act of recollection, which, since it involves a search for what one wants among a number of possible choices, involves judgement, or Henryson's "discretioun".  

The rest of the stanza,

Yit ilk ane in thair kynd naturall  
Hes mony divers inclinatioun,  
The Bair busteous, the Wolff, the wylde Lyoun,  
The Fox fenyeit, craftie and cawtelous,  
The Dog to bark on nicht and keip the hows.  

follows Aristotle's own order by developing a general statement on animal character with specific examples. The only animal of Henryson's not present in Aristotle's discussion is the bear. Perhaps Henryson's memory of this passage became confused with another in the Historia Animalium in which we are told that, of the wild animals in the mating season, "The bear, the wolf, and the lion are all...ferocious towards such as come their way."  

The association would have been the more natural for the fact that at the time of composition, he would be likely to have his up-coming hen-debate in mind! Besides, the bear also has a vital part to play in the Sheep and Dog.

The most important of these descriptions, that of the fox, is also the closest to Aristotle's. Such minor difference as exists (Henryson has "craftie and cawtelous", that is, deceitful, where Aristotle has "crafty and mischievous") can probably be accounted for by the need to maintain alliterative balance. The dog's inclination to "bark on nicht and keip the hows", on the other hand, amplifies one and ignores the other aspects of Aristotle's description. Possibly Henryson had in mind Pliny's reference to the
hounds of the Cimbrians defending their masters' houses,\textsuperscript{12} but in any case the detail is relevant to a story in which a fox catches both cock and dogs temporarily napping, and to a Moralitas which treats of hell-hounds. Cocks, too, were symbols of vigilance, as lines 498-99 suggest.

Finally, we should notice that the syntax of the opening lines,

\begin{quote}
"Thocht brutall beistis be Irrationall,  
That is to say, wantand discretioun,  
Yit................................."  \textsuperscript{(397-99)},
\end{quote}

seems quite consciously to recall the beginning of the General Prologue:

\begin{quote}
"Thocht feinyeit fabils of ald poetre  
Be not al grunded upon truth, yit than...."
\end{quote}

Only, in the Prologue to "The Talking of the Tod", it is the fox who is "feinyeit"! To clinch the argument of the General Prologue that fables serve a useful purpose, Henryson now shows how they can become vehicles for rhetorical persuasion-by-proof, not only at a figurative level but on a literal level too. The fox is a "fenyeit, craftie and cawtelous" animal. This truth of natural science can be demonstrated, not just in one, but in three "cases".

But this is to anticipate the argument of the second stanza.

\begin{quote}
Sa different thay ar in properteis,  
Unknawin to man, and sa infinite,  
In kynd havand sa ffell diuersiteis,  
My cunning is excludit ffor to dyte.  
For thy as now I purpose ffor to wryte  
Ane cais I ffand, quhilk ffell this ather yeir,  
Betwix ane Foxe and ane gentill Chantecleir.  \textsuperscript{(404-10)}
\end{quote}

Having made a general philosophical statement about the variety of animals,\textsuperscript{13} Henryson then draws back from the sterile complexities
of scientific research into animal properties with a modest inexpressibility formula perhaps modelled on the Wisdom of Solomon:

"thar is na wyt of man that can ymagyne na dewys
to gyf a resone for al thingis that god has
maid in this erde quharfor thai ware maid." 14

The poet professes a "cunning" unequal to God's or even to Aristotle's comprehensiveness, and this is born out in the way his "Ane cais" (409) is balanced precariously against "sa infinite" properties "Unknawin to man" (405). He thus avoids incurring the sort of rebuke Reason gives Will in Piers Plowman when Will exclaims that he would like to know "Alle the sciences under sonne and alle the sotyle craftes." "For such a luste and lykynge Lucifer fell fram hevene," Reason tartly remarks. 15

However much Henryson may be following William of Wheteley's programme, he is primarily concerned with writing a series of fables, not a treatise de natura rerum; and when he again uses natural scientific lore in the Parliament, he will be careful to preface his Catalogue of Beasts with the traditional fabular excuse "And quhat thay wer, to me as Lowrence leird,/I sall re-heirs" (884-85). The fox is a suitable scapegoat, symbolic of the cunningly self-reliant man who lacks wisdom.

So, then, Henryson proceeds to explicate a particular case:

"For thy as now I purpose ffor to wryte
Ane cais I ffand, quhilk ffell this ather yeur,
Betwix ane Foxe and ane gentill Chantecler." 16 (408-10)

The reasoning behind this shift is not immediately clear on a first reading, but, as Jenkins points out it quickly becomes clear as we meet a particular fox with the same generic "craftie and cawte-
ious" (420) qualities and observe him apply them in action. More than any other fabulist, Henryson pays close attention to the mechanisms of his trickery. And, Jamieson concurs, "Henryson's Fox's techniques of flattery are in many ways deliciously subtler than those of Chaucer's Fox."¹⁷

One further detail in the second stanza that seems possibly significant is that Henryson pretends his fable is a historical event "quhilk ffell this ather yeir" (409). We shall never know exactly what political or other significance may have existed at the allegorical level, and perhaps no-one specific significance was intended.

However, the theme of a "gentill" cock who has "kittocks more than sevin" (young girls were called "kitties", as we learn from Christis Kirk on the Grene¹⁸) and who very nearly meets his death through paying heed to flattery might touch many responsive chords. Given the proclivities of king and nobility and occasionally even clergy in fifteenth century Scotland, the theme's many real-life parallels would make it resonate with rich associations—hard though they are for us to recapture. Few details of local scandals have of course survived, but the Stewarts were notable begetters of bastards. Robert II, for instance, "is known to have had at least twenty-one offspring of whom only four were indisputably born in lawful wedlock."¹⁹ Moreover the Stewarts were constantly either being warned against such flattery,²⁰ or passing proclamations against such "leasing making"²¹ as the Fox is adept in.

Denton Fox has rightly pointed out that "large static set-pieces...are the foundation of the structure of his poems",²² and
in the Cock and Fox these are the Flattery and Debate Scenes, which divide the Tale. Both, despite MacDonald's contention that "the Fox's deception is the central episode", are of equal importance. Both are encomiastic set-speeches that follow Priscian's prescription that "if you wish to expand [a fable]...devise a speech." And both preserve a certain formal parallelism in the way they turn from praise of the Cock to unexpected consideration of his failings. Similarly, the exposure in the Hen Debate of the Cock's sexual inadequacy underscores the folly of his sensitivity to his honour in the Flattery Scene.

Where the Cock and Fox demonstrates the truth of "falset failyeis ay at the latter end" in worldly terms, the Fox's Confession demonstrates it spiritually, through a false confession. Structurally, the Tale is made up of three episodes involving Astral Prognostication, Confession, and Crime and Punishment; rhetorically the poem is a suasoria exercise following Quintilian's advice that

if we attempt to persuade bad men to right conduct... the minds of such an audience are to be influenced... by emphasizing what they may gain by following your advice, or perhaps more effectively, by showing how much is to be dreaded if they do not... for they find it easier to understand what is evil than what is good.

In his Moralitas Henryson does not go quite so far as he does in the Moralitas to the Wolf and the Lamb, where he promises "sic Wolfis" that "hellis fyre sall be thair meid"; such thunder is reserved for later fables. But he does make it clear that

This suddand deith, and unprovysit end Of this fals Tod, without provision, Exempill is exhortand folk to amend, For dreid of sic ane lyke confusioun; (775-78).
Such is his theme, of which the Tale is the "exemplum".

Friedman provides the most extensive commentary on the Fox's Confession, and it would be as well to mention some of his principal assertions since critics have tended to accept his thesis wholesale. Basic not just to his argument but to all criticism of this section is his postulate that

the comedy [and irony] of the confession scene in Henryson's fable develops from the audience's knowledge of these steps as against the way in which the two animals carry them out.  

Such a statement begs the question "What audience?" and, for most of us even, "What steps?". Certainly MacQueen's different estimate of the number of steps involved in confession leads him to different conclusions as to the confession's validity, and definitely the issue needs fuller treatment than either critic has given it.

One of the most glaring mistakes arising from Friedman's preoccupation with commonplace accusations against friars is the assumption that the Wolf's enjoining the Fox not to eat meat until Easter is "surely not a hard penance, for during Lent the Fox should have abstained from meat anyway." If he had read the stars correctly—or even Elliot's footnotes—he would have known that the time of the Tale is not Lent but Midsummer! Thus Watskailth's enjoining Lowrence to "forbeir flesch untill pasche" (723), even allowing for his later twice-weekly exemption (730-31), is not lacking in severity. The Fox has already identified himself as a thief (656), and penance for theft could last anywhere from a half or a full year up to seven. Given this fact, we are justified in assuming that had the Fox kept his penance he might indeed
have been able "To tame this Corps, that cursit Carioun" (724). 29

Moreover, Henryson is very even-handed in his treatment of
Friar Wolf Waitskaith, D.D., and does not exploit his 'learned ignorance' explicitly until the Parliament. There may well be latent, as Jamieson suggests, 30 an ironic contrast in the descriptions of him as "Ane worthie Doctour in Divinitie" (666) and as "in science wonder sle" (667), but the effect is quite muted. We have none of the open satire of friars such as one finds in The Summoner's Tale, The Freiris of Berwick and Jack Upland, and no attempt is made to suggest that Friar Waitskaith takes bribes as so many of his literary confrères do.

Friedman has also complained that Friar Wolf's response is unduly mild 31 when Lowrence fails to repent properly. ("'Weill' ...'in faith, thow art ane schrew'" [704] says Waitskaith.) But then Friedman relies solely on personal response, and does not even take a close look at the text. Though "schrew" is not as forceful an expression as "wykked devyl" (12576) in Henryson's model passage in Handlyng Synne, 32 from what follows in Henryson's next line ("'Sen thow can not forthink thy wickitnes", 705), it obviously is intended to convey extreme disapproval. I can find no evidence here to suggest that the Wolf is being overly lenient with the Fox--other than the fact that he is a friar called Waitskaith! On the contrary, there is good evidence against it. It is appropriate for two reasons that Waitskaith call Lowrence a shrew. According to the OED, "shrew" (sb.1) may mean a "malignant being", since Middle High German shrouwel means a devil; and most
importantly, "schrewednesse", the Fifth Condition of Shrift listed by the Book of Vices and Virtues, is present "whan a man lyth in synne and feleth temynges of the devell and of his flesch that assay leth hym and for schrewednesse ne wole not ones lift up his tail to clepe to God ne repente hym." In the light of this and Lowrence's obvious lack of real repentance, I think we can rule out of court any response that sees Waitskaith's rejoinder to the Fox as "unduly mild".

Waitskaith, it seems to me, is one like Lady Lent, of whom Juan Ruiz in his Libro de Buen Amor says "to the unworthy sinner she assigns a light penance, bending the tough oak with her sweet wood [of the Cross]." He is willing to assign his shrewish petitioner a light penance in order to encourage him gradually towards good. There is nothing particularly reprehensible about such an approach. It was standard procedure, as the manuals make clear.

In taking this position, I am not so much concerned to vindicate Waitskaith as to show that the margin of difference between confessorial laxity and discretion is much finer than has been supposed. Henryson is a sophisticated poet; we cannot just throw a blanket over such issues by extrapolating from stereotyped criticism of friars as Friedman has done. The tightrope we have to walk is as fine as that facing the confessor:

... be-were that the consolacion be nozt to feynyngly spokyn, ne to faire, ne that the correccion be nozt to scharppe or cruel. For zif the consolacion be to faire or to plesyngge, happely the synner wol turne a-yene to his careyne of synne. And zif the correccion be to scharppe and cruel, haply the synner wol be adredde to come eny more in his hondis zif that he trepasse there-in after-ward.
We must remember that Henryson is writing for instructional rather than satirical purposes, and for this reason is unlikely to undermine his own intentions by unduly emphasizing the untrustworthiness of friars as confessors. What he wants is to increase awareness of the consequences of improper confession, not so much of improper confessors. For this reason, criticism of this fable demands close use of penitential manuals, and this has not, so far, been forthcoming.

Unfortunately, I must also omit consideration of Henryson's concluding Crime and Punishment scene. There is no space for it, even though it is important for our understanding both of how a medieval author proceeded when he had to seam together originally discrete material; and of how "the arrow of deception" which flies back upon the Fox's head, deadening his mind to repentance and "causing it to perish by the wounds of frivolity", is a metaphor for and a warning to careless readers of Morall Fabillis. Much of the density of Henryson's effects comes from knowing where to find appropriate illustrations for set themes and how, judiciously, to tame Renardian material with sententiae from Aesopic analogues. In the schoolmasterly practice of stocking student notebooks with exempla and topics he would be "expert".

This skill is most evident in the Parliament of Fourfooted Beasts, a fable that is, as Jamieson shows, an eclectic splicing of details from a number of closely related fables and beast-epic episodes. How the Lion recognizes the skulking Fox (968), why the Mare has respite for a year (1009), why the Fox is described as seeking a syke "Sydelingis abak" (1042), Lowrence's "Lupus" joke
(1025), and the significance of swearing "be Sanct Bryde" (1029)--all these puzzles can be explained with scholarship, and their significant contribution to the fable demonstrated. Henryson's Fabillis demand more serious attention than they have been given.

For instance, MacQueen, the most recent critic of this fable, rather strangely assumes that

"The fox is eventually hanged, not because he murdered the lamb, but because he broke the King's peace proclaimed at the opening of parliament." 39

His interpretation is an extrapolation from Harvey Wood's note to Bannatyne's variant "party tresoun", in which Wood suggests 'petty treason' as the meaning of the phrase. That is, "The act of violence committed on the lamb, in open violation of the Lion's proclamation of peace, is construed as treason in the second degree." 40

And this is fair enough. But MacQueen's enthusiasm for the Bannatyne text causes him to exaggerate the importance of this point and, in effect, he is guilty of reading only half a text and a footnote.

The full text of the charges on which the Fox is found guilty is this:

"... thay ... fand that he wes fals, Off Murther, thift, pyking, and tressoun als." (1088-89)

The Bannatyne variant makes no substantial difference to the point I want to make, though it seems less redundant, since it is identical in the first half of the crucial line: "Off murther, thift and party tressoun als." Obviously MacQueen goes too far. "Father wer" is indeed hanged because he stole and murdered the Lamb, not simply because he broke the King's peace. The ewe catches him
'red-hand'. Whatever reservations we may have about the reliability of the Justiciar, in this instance guilt is so blatantly evident that justice cannot be denied. 41

By way of further example, and in order to complete consideration of Henryson's 'frame' for The Tod, I shall consider the opening stanza of the Moralitas to the Parliament in detail; it represents Henryson's most elaborate statement of figural theory since the General Prologue:

Richt as the Mynour in his Minorall
Fair Gold with fyre may fra the Leid weill wyn,
Richt so under ane Fabill figurall
Sad sentence man may seik, and efter [f]yne,
As daylie dos the Doctouris of Devyne,
That to our leving full weill can apply
And [preve there preching be a poesy]. (1097-1103)

Jamieson is the only critic so far to discuss the stanza but, although he raises some valuable issues, provides no solutions, and indeed concludes that Henryson's theorizing is an inadequate expression of his practice. 42 I hope that what I present will demonstrate the superficiality of that judgement.

First, Henryson's simile is as traditional as we have seen his General Prologue to be. Lydgate gives a garbled version of it in the Moralitas to his "Cock and Stone",

"And who that myneth downe lowe in the grounde,
Of gold and sylver groweth the mynerall" (24-25),

and, to cut a long story short, Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana is its locus classicus:

... pagan learning also includes the liberal arts, which are ... suited to the service of truth, some very useful moral instruction, and even some truths relating to the worship of the One God. Now we may say that these elements are the pagans' gold and silver, which they did not create for themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence, which is everywhere diffused. 43
Obviously Henryson sees his Renardian sources as 'pagan' and chooses this simile to convey the arduousness of his struggle to wrest spiritual truths from already well-known entertainment-oriented material.

Our sense of this is confirmed by Aimericus in his *De Arte Lectori*; he equates the four kinds of literature, *autentica, agiographica, communia* and *apocrifa*, with the four metals: gold, silver, tin, and lead. Thus gold can be equated with authentic and lead with apocryphal literature; and the process of refining gold can be compared to 'digging' authentic Christian values from the "bustious eird" (8) or dross of amoral Renardian tales. Much hard labour is involved in the process. Henryson seems to be saying that creating a *Renart Moralisé* involves "grit diligence" and "labour" (9), and that reading such a work likewise demands concentration and discrimination. For "minerals are generated in hidden ways within the bowels of the earth" as Aquinas tells us. That is, their spiritual significance is not always evident on the surface (as we see in the *Parliament*); the moralization can upset the expectations of those who still cling to the drossy literal meaning of such amoral works.

Henryson wants to involve his readers, to give them the do-it-yourself key that will turn all profane acts to spiritual profit. In this respect, as in all others, he is very much in the encyclopedically didactic mainstream of the fifteenth century. Further confirmation comes from comparing his use of Augustine's simile with a contemporary poet's use of it in the *Book of Pluscarden*.
Quhy ravys thou, and thou man responabile,
Finare of forge, as gold is be the leed,
Off wyt and wysdome, of consale and of reed,
Fra nature bestiall. This is na fabill.
Discrecioune schawys the deferans veritable
Betweix resoune and sensualite,
Sen God has gevyn the wyt and knawlige abille:
Than suld thou shaw quether man or best thou be.

We must apply our wit discreetly to a right understanding of our situation in this world, and once we learn it in principle, must apply it in the way we live by climbing from a life of sensuality to one of reason. In Henryson's allegory, the Mare as man-on-the-highest-rung-of-reason (contemplation) and the Wolf as one-on-the-lowest of sensuality (pride) represent these two levels between which human consciousness and endeavour fluctuate, the Two Ways in which we can go.

Henryson does not do all our thinking for us, as I have said, but gives the necessary terms of the allegory and leaves us to work them out in the action of the Tale. Nevertheless by deliberately stating, just nine lines after he has referred to the Wolf as "that new maid Doctour" (1092), that the "Doctouris of Devyne" (1101) daily go through this process of searching out truth, he does give us a hint to start us off in the right direction. If we think on what happens to the Wolf in the Tale, we realize that his prudence (as revealed in the Moralitas) is to be preferred to the profane prudence of the Fox (as sententialized in the Tale). Even if it is initially painful, the Wolf's 'prudence' can bring lasting benefit, whereas the Fox's temporary gains are swallowed up in everlasting loss. The Wolf is indeed a type of the man who learns, from having been 'kicked' by "the thocht of deid", to rise
above his sensual appetites. His intimacy with the Moralitas advice of the Doctors of Divinity, "'Think on thy end, thow sall not glaidlie sin'", is indeed what makes him, figuratively speaking, one of them and an apt confessor for the Fox, whose cunning remains subordinate to his appetites.

The lesson that the Fox's fate provides is that failure to "brek Sensualiteis heid" (1127) leads to spiritual disaster. The lesson provided by the Wolf's experience is paradoxically more positive: men learn best by painful experience. The Mare's lesson is that man can indeed live a life in which the senses are properly ruled by reason.

This association of the Mare with contemplation, an activity "according to the highest vertue" and "of the best part of man" is highly significant. It places the action of the Tale—and suggests that we see our own actions—in terms of the highest Christian aspirations; moreover it prepares us emotionally for the high theological air of the Prologue to The Preaching of the Swallow, the Summa and centre of the Fabillis. As St. Gregory says in what clearly illustrates the soundness of Henryson's allegorical interpretation of the Mare's Kick incident: "The contemplative life tramples on all cares and longs to see the face of its Creator." In Henryson's Moralitas, too, his last request of the Virgin is that we be helped to heaven, "quhair we may se the face of God" (1144).

Of course, the many spiritual stages between the consistency of the Mare's attitude and the inconsistency of the Wolf's may be
assumed from the fact that even the contemplative continues to be tested by the World. In this respect the proverb "On religious", which John of Garland cites in his Parisiana Poetria, is quite illuminating:

"Frequent boiling down of gold isolates the impurities in the gold, and frequent tribulation separates the life of the just man from the slag of his vices."  

Just this theme of the refining of spiritual worth in the crucible of earthly tribulation will be the one taken up next in the Sheep and Dog and demonstrated in an elaborate reversal of expectations.

As Erasmus says, in what may be taken as an abstract of Henryson's intentions viz à viz the Parliament,

"Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum" (1033)! "Better learne be your neighbour's skaith nor be your awin."  

THE SHEEP AND THE DOG.

As Henryson explicitly announces in his first line, the Tale of the Sheep and Dog is Aesopian. It is, in fact, the first in a triad of Aesopic fables, the most distinguishing characteristic of which is that in them the narrator emerges as a distinct figure. He has of course drawn our attention before in The Tod by withdrawing from the Fox's confession (694-96), and by telling us he has learnt astrology (634) and the names of animals (884) from Lowrence,
but it is in these central fables that he plays his most positive role. I do not think, however, that he is a character in quite the way Denton Fox professes the "morally imbecilic" narrator of the Testament to be one.\(^5\) He is there quite simply to 'put us in the picture', what the fifteenth century Italian painters would call the festaiuvolo or choric figure.\(^4\)

Both Renardian and Aesopic triads are concerned with Justice in all its differing facets. In the Cock and Fox the sinner who repents is mercifully spared punishment by Divine Providence; in the Confession the improperly penitent is justly punished for his sins by an agent of God; and in the Parliament the career of the unregenerate trickster is finally brought to an end by the King in special session; but, in the Sheep and Dog, justice is "overturnit" (1307), and the innocent suffers at the hands of the wicked. However, the Moralitas of this Tale to some extent redresses the balance by assuring us that Justice will prevail in the Next World; and the Lion and Mouse shows Kings what profits accrue from redressing the balance even in this life. The Preaching of the Swallow, on the other hand, paints a much bleaker, not to say horrifying, picture that prepares us to resist emotionally the hedonism of the following 'Lupiad'.

A wide spectrum of issues, both public and private, is traversed, each one enlarging on and qualifying the others so as to engage us intellectually and emotionally in what must have been a major contemporary theme of debate: the urgent need for overhaul of the judicial system.\(^5\)
Henryson begins by telling us how "Esope ane Taill puttis in memorie" (1146). Our first question must be, what was he thinking of, what theme was it for which Aesop suggested the Sheep and Dog as an illustration? It is certainly not stated in the Sheep and Dog, for his very first line tells us he already has this theme, and we must conclude that it is suggested by the Moralitas of the preceding fable—an unusual but effective linking-procedure. Looking for points of similarity between the two fables, we find them at both the literal and moral levels. Sheep are involved in court proceedings in the first Tale as plaintiff and in the second as defendant; and the Moralitases of both are concerned to show how earthly tribulation can refine spiritual worth. Lest we miss this correspondence, the same imagery is used pointedly in both, the "Fair Gold" of the Parliament that "the Mynour.../with fyre may fra the Leid weill wyn" (1097-98) being misused in the Sheep and Dog by one "quha wald change gude gold in leid or tyn" (1308; see also LM 1396).

Such, then, is the theme that Henryson was intent on furthering when Aesop put the Tale of the Sheep and Dog "in memorie". The use of fables to illustrate a set theme was rhetorically commonplace. Lydgate certainly makes no bones about using the fable of the "Hownde and Shepe" as rhetorical proof that "a false iorour and a false witnesse ben/Horrible monstres" (527-28), for he goes on quite explicitly "Whyche thyng to preve by exsamples full notable/Of olde Isopus whylom wrote thys fable" (538-39).

But what Henryson particularly draws his readers' attention
to is the act of **inventio**, or the search for material appropriate to a given topic. "Since it is called selection," John of Garland tells us,

> as it were a drawing aside of a few things from a large number, we should select what we are going to say with the Art of Remembering, which is essential for poets organizing their material. 57

Henryson's school-going contemporaries would immediately have known what he was talking about when he says Aesop put the *Sheep and Dog* "in memorie"; however, because the allusion is largely lost on us today, it will be as well to take a brief look at what is involved.

When wishing to memorize material for convenient future recall, we should, according to John,

> put aside in our minds some vacant spot, in a place which is neither too hazy nor too bright, because these qualities are inimical to memory and selection. This vacant spot is to be imagined as separated into three main sections and columns.... If any word falls from the mouth of the teacher which means anything which pertains to any one of the three...there it will be, ...along with some natural phenomenon that may symbolize the word in question; and by means of its symbol we shall be able to memorize it and later select it for our own use. 58

Aesop, of course, is Henryson's teacher, as we shall see in the Prologue to the *Lion and Mouse*; moreover, since placement in one of the three columns was made according to whether a particular word was stylistically high (e.g., governor, horse, sword), middle (farmer, cow, plow), or low (shepherd, sheep, crook), invention also inevitably involved the use of a particular style. 59

Since Henryson's theme involves a sheep in litigation, it would necessarily involve use of the low style, just as the parli-
ament setting of the previous fable demanded the high style. But this is not to suggest that the stitius humilis was not a serious form, even if Cicero did insist that in legal oratory, with which we are here concerned, "small issues are those in which judgement is to be passed on financial matters; great issues are those relating to a man's safety or life" (as in the Parliament). Augustine makes this point clear when he protests against Cicero:

But in issues of the sort we [Christians] deal with, ...everything we speak of is a great issue.... So much so that, even when the preacher talks about financial matters..., what he says should not seem unimportant.... For justice is never a small matter and certainly should be upheld, even with reference to small sums of money.60

Exactly this spirit animates Henryson's fable. Litigation involves "Ane certaine b Reid, worth fyve schilling or mair" (1183), yet despite the relative meagreness of the amount, his indignation at the injustice done the sheep raises questions of a much grander nature, such as why some evil acts go unpunished. "He has made," as Jamieson says, "a fable of limited import into a discussion of a universal problem."61

But though the spirit of indignation which animates this fable is grand, the style remains low. In telling us

"How that ane Doig, because that he wes pure, Callit ane Scheip to the Consistorie," (1147-48)

Henryson tacitly assumes with St. Augustine that

If we are giving men advice as to how they conduct secular business before church courts, it would be proper for us to advise them to conduct their business in the subdued style of instruction....62

To this end his diction is suitably functional and businesslike.
"Pley, propone, feriate, fulminait, compeir, borch, forsaid"—all are part of the jargon of forensic disputation. Much of the interest in this fable stems from just this attention to legal form.63

A stanza-count also gives us a good indication of how Henryson's attention to the requirements of the low style permeates the very structure of his narrative. Very little is allowed to clutter the brisk businesslike pace. In a total of sixteen stanzas, no single incident takes more than one stanza to relate, except for the Sheep's protest, which is original and takes two, and the Arbitrator's disputation and false decision, which is significantly drawn out for three. In the Moralitas things are different: of its nine stanzas, the last five are taken up by the Sheep's complaint. Henryson contains his indignation right through his Tale and the first three stanzas of his Moralitas only to erupt there in a rapid series of changes, forcefully and brilliantly shifting from lament to protest to consolation.

Just as the Confession and the Parliament turned on confessional and encyclopaedic niceties, so the Sheep and Dog becomes more understandable through resort to Regiam Majestatem and knowledge of the contemporary practice of 'maintenance'. The Sheep's arguments are impeccably syllogistic (1187-1201), yet his pleading fails. Values are upside down:

"... this warld overturnit is,
As quha wald change gude gold in leid or tyn;" (1307-08).

The right process of justice evident in the Parliament is overturned in the Sheep and Dog.
Justice makis riche bath reum and ceteis
Bath King and Knaif, knyght, clergy and common,
Haldis pepil in pece and gude prosperiteis,
Salfis thair saulis, makis thair salvacion;
Quhair lak of law bringis al this upsadon,
as the ballade of the Book of Pluscarden says. 64

Rising through this series of abuses illustrating the sen-
tentia 'gold into tin', the climax is reached not in the Tale but
in the Moralitas as the Sheep 65 asks, "Allace (gude Lord) quhy
thoilis thow it so?" (1313). The ultimate cri de coeur of the
lament-protest does not go unanswered, as indeed it does not in
Psalm 44:20-26, the passage it is modelled on. But it is Aquinas
who provides an example of the even more specific (and, doubtless,
orthodox) argument to which Henryson so neatly adapts the Sheep
and Dog:

Should no human aid whatsoever against a tyrant be
forthcoming, recourse must be had to God. But to
deserve to secure this benefit from God, the people
must desist from sin, for it is by divine permission
that wicked men receive power to rule as a punish-
ment for sin. 66

And so in Henryson's rhetorically complex last stanza:

Thow tholis this evin for our grit offence,
Thow sendis us troubill, and plaigis soir,
As hunger, derth, grit weir, or Pestilence;
Bot few amendis now thair lyfe thairfoir.
We pure pepill as now may do no moir.
Bot pray to the, sen that we ar opprest
In to this eirth, grant us in hevin gude rest. (1314-20)

This Biblical theme of worth assayed through tribulation is
extremely widespread; we find it in satires like "The Simonie",
histories like Pitscottie's and romances like Sir Isumbras--not to
mention didactic pieces like Henryson's own "Prayer for the Pest".
But Henryson alone of fabulists had the penetration and a thorough enough grasp of architectonics to extend a traditional interpretation and, in so doing, actually stand it on its head! Again he redirects us to seeing with the eyes of the spirit rather than of the flesh, and in his closing three lines completes the parallelism between this and the preceding fable by adapting his *Parliament* epilogue to the context of oppression in the *Sheep and Dog*.

One stray thread from his lament remains unsecured to his theme of spiritual refinement. This is the idea that "an afflicted people is a sign and proof of the goutiness of the prince."[^67] In his next fable of the *Lion and Mouse* he picks up on it and moves back into the public world.

[^67]: Footnote reference.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

THE TALKING OF THE TOD AND THE SHEEP AND THE DOG


7 Rhetoric II, 20; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 117-128.

8 Historia Animalium, 488b, 10-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.


10 Cf. OED "discretion".

11 Historia Animalium, 571b, 25-26; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.


14 Lumby, Ratis Raving, p. 12, l. 360.


16 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 75.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V (Cont.)

17 Jamieson, "The Beast Tale", p. 30; Henryson's reference to Chanticleer also suggests his familiarity with Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale.

18 "Christ Kirk on the Grene" in Bannatyne MS., II, p. 262, l. 7.

19 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 185.

20 See the poems of advice addressed to the King and collected in the Bannatyne MS., II, items 147-155.


22 Fox, "The Scottish Chaucerians", p. 177.


25 Institutes of Oratory, III, viii, 37-40; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 225.


27 Ibid., p. 559.


29 See also Schrader, Thesis, p. 111.


31 Friedman, "Confessio Reynardi", p. 558.

32 Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, EETS o.s. 119, 123 (London, 1901), p. 394. (the line reference is actually 12577).
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V (Contd.)

33 Francis, The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 27, ll. 16-20.


36 Ibid., p. 87, ll. 8-14.

37 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 59.

38 Jamieson, Thesis, pp. 94-104.

39 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 149.


42 Jamieson, "Henryson's Poetics", pp. 24, 27.

43 De Doctrina Christiana, ii, 56-61; Howie, Augustine, p. 364.

44 Guthrie, "Ecloga Theoduli", p. 52.

45 ST I, Q. 69, Art. 2, Reply Obj. 3, p. 362, cols. 1-2; Aquinas is discussing the works of the Third Day in the Creation.

46 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 384.

47 Ethics, 1105a, 10-20; Apostle, p. 24.

48 Ethics, 1177a, 1-21; Apostle, p. 193.

49 Hom. ii in Ezechiel, PL 76, 953; quoted in ST II-II, Q. 180, A. 1, Reply Obj. 2, p. 608, col. 2. See also Zeydel, Ecbasis, ll. 1179-80, for currency of the metaphor in another beast fable.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V (Cont.)

50 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 19.

51 De Pueris Instituendis; Woodward, Erasmus, p. 192.

52 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 218, p. 21.


54 Baxandall, Painting and Experience, p. 72; cf. for instance, the three angels in Piero della Francesca's Baptism; and in the drama, the Chester Expositor and Ludus Coventriae Contemplacio figures.

55 The persistency of attempts to codify Scots Law in 1426, 1469 and 1487 is discussed by Lord Normand in Introduction to Scottish Legal History (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 31.

56 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 118, 126-127.

57 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 37.

58 Ibid., pp. 37, 39; Sir William A. Craigie, ed., A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, 5 volumes (London 1937-71), "memory", 3c notes "puttis in memorie" as meaning 'records', however.

59 Cf. "Virgil's Wheel", Lawler, p. 39, fig. 4; also Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 104 f.

60 De Doctrina Christiana, iv, 34-35; Howie, Augustine, p. 384.


62 De Doctrina Christiana, iv, 37-38; Howie, Augustine, p. 387.

63 Jamieson, "Revaluation", p. 23.

64 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 396.

65 Smith, Wood, and Elliot all assume the Sheep's speech ends at "Peillit full bair" (1298), whereas Jamieson (Thesis, p. 104) and Laing assume it extends to the end of the Moralitas. I have no sure
solution; however, I find it hard to believe that, in an age which had very little use for punctuation, Henryson would not have introduced himself verbally if he wanted us to understand that he was taking up the plaint at "and so is mony one" (1298). The parallel cries to God, "Se how" (1297), "Se how" (1300), "Seis thow not" (1307) flow right across this break, if it is a break, and I find it much easier to believe that the concluding reference to "we pure pepill" comes from the Sheep rather than from the narrator. After all, we know that in the Moralitas the former represents "pure commounis".

66 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 6, p. 28.

CHAPTER VI

THE LION AND THE MOUSE.

As I have said, the most distinctive common feature of the Sheep and Dog, Lion and Mouse, and Preaching of the Swallow is the prominence given to the narrator. Only in the Lion and Mouse, however, does the narrator introduce a guest-artist to tell a tale for him. This artist turns out to be none other than the "Poet Lawriate" Aesop, who appears in the narrator's dream-vision to recite the fable of the Lion and Mouse. For all that, 'his' version of the fable is very largely independent of the schoolroom 'Aesop', Gualterus, and combines details from several versions which Henryson "most probably expanded to suit his own argument."

What that argument is, we shall see in a moment, but first some indication from Jamieson of what Henryson's eclecticism involves in the way of source-borrowing, a brief aerial survey of the poem's topography, and a muster of critics.

First the sources. Precedent for Henryson's central dialogue between the Lion and the Mouse can be found only in Neckham, De Vitry, and Bozon, for Gualterus and the Ysopets present the argument as interior monologue on the part of the lion. Neither does Henryson follow tradition in depicting the Mouse's rescue-operation at the end of the Tale. Usually the little rodent rescues the lion unaided, but Henryson's calls for the co-operation of his "brothers". Though the Romulus of Nilant, Marie de France and Nicholas Bozon
also have this detail, all of them involve a pit rather than a net and so are not strictly parallel. Further eclecticism is evident at the verbal level in the similarities Jamieson notes, which I shall refer to in commenting the text.

Now the overview. Of the fable's forty-three stanzas, twelve and twenty-four are distributed between the Prologue and Tale respectively, and seven assigned to the Moralitas.

The Prologue's twelve stanzas are divided evenly between, 1) the narrator's morning walk, sleep, and dream-vision description of Aesop, and 2) his conversation with the old fabulist. The latter is an almost even, stanza-for-stanza exchange that parallels in length the Lion's conversation with the Mouse. The encounter section's swift action, on the other hand, is punctuated by two set-piece ecphrases of two stanzas each, one involving a description of morning, and the other a description of Aesop.

The beginning of Aesop's Tale parallels the opening of the Prologue (the protagonist awakens from a June morning sleep) in animal terms. The first three stanzas swiftly sketch the actions of the Mice's dance over the sleeping Lion (2 stanzas), and the capture and lament of the "Maister Mous" (1). There follows an eleven-stanza dialogue in which the Lion demands an explanation (1), the Mouse presents excuses (2) which the Lion denies with an illustrative example (2), and the Mouse pleads his case (6). The remainder of the Tale takes nine stanzas to relate. The Lion releases the Mouse, hunts and is captured (3), laments (2), and is freed by the "Maister Mous" and his brothers (3). The narrator then asks for a moral, which Aesop agrees to supply (1).
The Moralitas is constructed rather similarly to that of the preceding Sheep and Dog. Explications of the Lion, Forest, and Mice take one stanza each. The remainder consists of an address to "Lordis of Prudence" which balances the Sheep's earlier address to God and rises through veiled hints at the contemporary significance of the unexplicated "rurall men" to a concluding appeal for law and order. Having said all this, Aesop vanishes and the poet awakens to an understanding of "The love that moves the sun and the other stars", and a glimpse of the cosmic vision presented in the Preaching of the Swallow.

The proportions of Henryson's Tale are unremarkable if compared to the versions of Gualterus and Neckham, the two sources he seems most likely to have worked with. Neither of these Latin fabulists begins his tale with a prologue, of course, and they therefore lack the overtones and complex effect Henryson achieves by parallelism, but the ratios between 1) the Mouse's encounter with the Lion, 2) their speeches, and 3) the Lion's capture and release are similar. Henryson's 3-11-9 stanza ration follows much the same curve as Gualterus' 4-10-8 line ratio and Neckham's 7-11-12 line ratio. Nevertheless, because of his greater use of amplificatio, Henryson is able to add original touches at every level, and nowhere more noticeably than in the central dialogue between the Lion and the Mouse. This tour de force is a brilliant example of the last exercise in the Praeexercitamina, the suasoria.

As for the critics, we can divide them into two camps according to whether or not they see allusions to political events in the Tale. Stearns and MacQueen are the principal exponents of
political allegory, and Jamieson and Schrader their principal opponents. The debate has seesawed largely because the initial argument put forward by Stearns was so unconvincingly general. Jamieson, partly because he was concerned to establish Henryson as an international rather than a local figure, reacted to Stearns by denying not only his interpretation but indeed any intention on the poet's part to allegorize current affairs. Since MacQueen, however, the ball has largely remained in the other court and Nicholson especially has followed up MacQueen's lead with new insight. I don't propose to put the ball back over the net since I think Jamieson's primary objection to Stearns's interpretation can be accepted without our also having to accept his denial that the action of the poem "refers to any particular event". (Schrader's criticism of MacQueen I shall consider later.) As we shall see, Jamieson himself unwittingly lends support to the opposite view by pointing out the originality of details which loom large in Nicholson's allegorical treatment—that is, Henryson's introduction of a "Maister Mous" and his merry band of "brother[is]".

So, then, to the fable itself. The Tale begins, not with the recounting of a case "as Esope can declair", but with the dawning of a day in the life of the narrator:

In middis of June, that sweet seasoun,
Quhen that fair Phebus, with his bemis bricht,
Had dryit up the dew ffra daill and doun,
And all the land maid with his bemis licht,
In ane mornynge betwix mid day and nicht,
I rais, and put all sleuth and sleip asyde,
And to ane wod I went allone but gyde. (1321-27)

Henryson's depiction of a mid-June morning may either be due to the fact that the conventional May morning comes a month late in
Scotland or to the fact that he is being unconventional. I think the latter; in the *Preaching of the Swallow* June is the season when

"... seidis that wer sawin off beforne
Wer growin hie, that Hairis mycht thame hyde,
And als the Quailye craikand in the corne;" (1777-79).

MacQueen has solved the crux in the fifth line, "In ane mornynge betwix mid day and nicht" by calling attention to the next line of the passage we have just quoted from the *Preaching*, "I movit furth, betwix midday and morne" (1780). Obviously Henryson is constrained by considerations of rhyme and space. What he means is "between midday and (the end of) night", and what forces him to this ellipsis is the priority he gives to the two other words rhyming with "nicht". He wants to employ a textbook description of dawn in a highly polished manner. As we can see, "with his bemis bricht" in the latter half of line two beautifully balances "with his bemis licht" in the latter half of line four. Moreover, Henryson further constricts his manoeuvrability in the second half of "In ane mornynge betwix mid day and nicht" because he wants to balance the first half of it against the first half of the opening line "In middis of June".

His construction is quite as sophisticated as Chaucer's in the opening lines of his *General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*; and, since we find Lydgate trying disastrously to outdo Chaucer in the forty-five line opening sentence of his *A Defence of Holy Church*, we may assume that the opening of the *General Prologue* was a mark to aim at in the fifteenth century. Compare Chaucer's
"Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,
And bathed every veyne in swich licour....

(1-3)

to Henryson's

"Quhen that fair Phebus, with his bemis bricht,
Had dryit up the dew ffra daill and doun,
And all the land maid with his bemis licht,

(1322-24).

Here there is none of Lydgate's silly attempt to outdo Chaucer numerically. Henryson takes just the form of Chaucer's thought and fleshes it out in his own words and images. Nevertheless, his delayed presentation of the subject "I" six lines into the stanza is a nicely judged adaptation to rhyme-royal requirements of Chaucer's justly famous effect.

Henryson's movement is, moreover, entirely natural; awakened by the sun, the narrator rises, puts "all sleuth and sleip asyde", and goes for a walk. The fact that he puts aside not just sleep but sloth is suggestive. "To sleip at morrow in slummering ydilnes...of all vicis is the cheif portaress" says an anonymous poet in the Bannatyne MS., adapting one of Cato's Distichs. Henryson obviously assumes a knowledge of this tag on the part of his audience, for he illustrates in 'his own' behaviour the difficulties of early and virtuous rising; "in the dawinge for maistrie of blood sleep is swete and holsom" Bartholomaeus says, and the poet has not altogether risen above the call of nature: the season is "sweit", he rises at an hour when the sun has finished drying up the dew (1323), and, when he does, seems to do so not in spite of the pleasures of the senses but because of them.

Thé particular way in which we are told that he goes to "ane wod...allone but gyde" is further suggestive. Schrader has rightly
noted the similarity to Dante's wandering in a "selva oscura" and subsequent meeting with Virgil. Of course, he points out, "Aesop comes not specifically to guide the persona [as Virgil does] but to speak general truths." But this is to split hairs. Aesop's 'general truths' will be quite as useful to guide us on our spiritual journey as Virgil's directions. Besides, for moral as well as textual reasons it seems proper that Henryson should choose Aesop as his guide.

Neither Henryson nor Dante really does more than give personified expression to the realities of medieval classroom practice when they take the pagan poets as guides to Christian Truth. As the Vernon MS. Cato Minor puts it in terms of Cato, the third member of this classroom triumvirate,

Catun was a hethene mon,/Cristned was he nouht:
In word ne in werk ageynes ur fey/No techyng he non tauht.
To holy writ al in his bok/Acordyng was he evere;
Of god of hevene com his wit,/Of other com hit nevere.  

Dante too, we might remember, finds a place for the assumed author of this basic reader in--appropriately--Purgatory! Naturally Henryson does not take Aesop for a guide in the higher reaches of theological truth; the fabulist drops altogether out of sight in the Preaching just as Virgil disappears in Canto 30 of the Purgatorio. All the same, Christian educators did recognize the pagan authors of their school texts as teachers of morality, and thus as guides.  

When we read the first stanzas, however, we know only that the narrator is without a guide. Consequently we might assume that he, like Dante, is wandering in the Wood of Error, seduced
by the fading pleasures of the world. The two-stanza ecphrasis of the wood that follows seems to confirm this view:

Sweit wes the smell off flouris, quhyte and reid,
The noyes off birdis richt delitious,
The bewis braid blomit abone my heid,
The ground growand with gers gratious;
Off all plesance that place wes plenteous,
With sweit odouris, and birdis harmony,
The Morning Myld: my mirth wes mair for thy.

The Rosis reid arrayit on Rone and Ryce,
The Prymeros, and the Purpour violat bla;
To heir it wes ane poynt off Paradice,
Sic Mirth the Mavis and the Merle couth ma.
The blossumis blythe brak up on bank and bra;
The smell off Herbis and off fowlis cry,
Contending wha suld have the victory. (1328-41)

According to one commentator of the Eologa Theoduli, "Ovid treats the story of Phyllis in the De Remedio Amoris in an artificial and ornate manner because nothing is so detestable as voluptas", and the Moralitas confirms that this is indeed the effect Henryson was trying to give. In it, we learn that "The fair Forest...Is bot the warld...As fals plesance" (1580, 1582-83) and that

"Richt as the Rois with froist and wynter weit Faldis, swa dos the warld, and thame desavis Qhilk in thair lustis maist confidence havis."(1584-86)

So in this context I think we are intended to equate the triple, quadruple and quintuple alliteration of lines 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11 and 12 with aureate voluptas.

But Henryson is also aware of the Augustinian point that there is nothing in itself spiritually harmful outside the human mind, and is quite ambiguous in describing the joy 'he' takes in birdsong and blossom. All that we are told is that because the morning is "Myld" his "mirth wes mair for thy" (1334) and that birdsong "To heir it wes ane poynt off Paradice" (1337). Even the season is
ambiguous. Henryson's "In middis of June" is, "as Isidir seith... ende of springeinge tyme and bigynynge of somer."  

The season as Henryson describes it is still "a tyme of merthe, of love, of gladnes and of likynge" in which spring "brid-dis singith and maketh ioye". But pleasure at this season need not only be a "likynge" of the senses. As Avicenna says in his *De Viribus Cordis*, the soul rejoices in light because it is a luminous substance. All things are pure if our intentions are pure. In any case, description of the pleasures of a spring walk would have been an almost obligatory *topos* for a pseudo-autobiographical opening of this sort, its use as a set school-exercise ensuring its currency in literary convention.

What happens next is equally ambiguous in its significance:

Me to conserve than ffra the sonis heit,  
Under the schaddow off ane Hawthorne grene,  
I lenit doun amang the flouris sweit,  
Syne cled my heid, and closit baith my Ene.  
On sleip I fell amang thir bewis bene,  
And in my dreme me thocht come throw the schaw  
The fairest man that ever befoir I saw.  

The narrator's action in lying down to shade himself "ffra the sonis heit" may suggest sloth, but it may also suggest the commendable wish to avoid the "colre" or contentiousness which the summer sun breeds. We see the effect of the sun in the immediately preceding lines of the last stanza, for instance, on the woodbirds which "cry,/Contending wha suld have the victory" (1341). (As Bartholomaeus explains, "In somer tyme fowlis singith and maketh most melodye." The significance of the hawthorn also remains unclear, though Schrader has paid considerable attention to it; it is far too commonplace and lowly a tree to find in a dream-
garden, and indicates at least that Henryson is sturdily independent of such effete conventions. Bannatyne's variant in the fourth line "Syne [maid a corss], and closit baith my Ene" is also unusual, as MacQueen has pointed out, and presumably indicates the conscientiousness of the narrator in warding-off the noonday demon of Sloth, and the fairies of romance literature. It was a commonplace of such literature that "Those who sleep, or even lie down, under a tree place themselves in the power of the fairies." But it is the phantasm the narrator meets in his dream which provides the final indication of the dreamer's good intentions. He is "The fairest man that ever befoir I saw." Though such a tag could be used ironically, the line is more probably meant to convey a sense of wonder at the supernatural holiness of such a visitor. In a fifteenth century record of a Devonshire man's healing by St. Cuthbert, for instance, we are told "He sayd and swayr that in his slepp came to hym a bysshop, the favrest man that ever he saw, and touchyd hym in the places of his body."

What is curious about Henryson's tag, as many critics have noticed, is that it is meant to describe Aesop, who was extraordinarily ugly! 'Great headed, large visaged, long jawed, sharp eyed, short necked, curb-backed, great bellied, long legged, and large footed' is the way Laing synopsizes Caxton's description of him. If we are reading with the eyes of the spirit, however, we will not be surprised. As Richard Smith informs us in the epilogue to his "Englished" version of the Morall Fabillis (London, 1597), "[Aesop was] ... ill shapen of his body,/Yet of his minde none
perfecter than he." Henryson continually tests our perceptivity.

We do not have to ransack dream-psychology manuals like Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* to find out what sort of a dream the narrator's is, for it seems entirely natural that even when he attempts to take a holiday from fable-writing, he cannot keep Aesop out of his mind. The wholesome nature of "The Morning Myld" (1334) may have something to do with the pleasurable of the dream (if we assume Henryson is being as naturalistic here as he has been previously) for

in sanguineous animals, in proportion as the blood becomes calm...the fact that the movement of phantasms in sleep is preserved in its integrity, renders the dreams healthy, and makes the dreamer think that he actually sees.34

But the former reason seems to be the main one:

When we...have already performed certain actions, we often find ourselves concerned with these actions, or performing them, in a vivid dream; the cause whereof is that the dream movement has had a way paved for it from the original movements set up in the daytime,35 as Aristotle says. "Efter mekle besynes folowis mony dremis" is the proverbial fifteenth century encapsulation.36

We have noticed how, in the *Sheep and Dog*, "Esope ane Taill puttis in memorie" (1146) which is thematically grounded in the *Moralitas* of the previous fable, and we should also notice how, in the *Lion and Mouse*, Henryson begins his poem even before he has found his theme. Though he seems to be resting from his poetic labours by taking the air and dozing in a wood, his mind, like Langland's Will's when he falls asleep in church,37 is still hyper-active, wrestling with unresolved problems. It seems that the un-
resolved thread of the Sheep and Dog is nagging for an illustrating tale that will exemplify "the goutiness of the prince" and yet redress the balance of Justice. In this impasse, as he sleeps, the narrator's mind automatically reverts to the author he is imitating for a tale he cannot quite recall.

If memory should fail on some point [says John of Garland], we must then call to mind the time when we learnt it, the place in which, the teacher from whom, his dress, his gestures. 38

And indeed such a search could be assumed in the Middle Ages to take place in sleep, for Aristotle refers to such a contingency in his De Somniis:

There are cases of persons...who believe themselves to be mentally arranging a given list of subjects according to the mnemonic rule...setting a phantasm which they envisage into its mnemonic position. Hence it is plain that not every 'phantasm' is a mere dream-image, and that the further thinking which we perform then is due to an exercise of the faculty of opinion. 39

Aesop too picks up on the Sheep and Dog theme that

"... this warld overturnit is,
As quha wald change gude gold in leid or tyn;" (1307-08),

when he complains

"Sa roustie is the warld with canker blak,
That now my taillis may lytill succour mak." (1396-97),

and his pessimism seems very much to reflect that of the poet of the Sheep and Dog. He is on the one hand a personification of the author's worries, and on the other the solution to them.

So, then, the narrator visualizes Aesop's appearance in a vivid two-stanza ecphrasis:

His gowne wes off ane claiith als quhyte as milk;
His Chemeis wes off Chambelate Purpour Broun;
His hude off Scarlet, bordourit weill with silk,
On hekillit wyis, untill his girdill doun;
His Bonat round, and off the auld fassoun;
His beird wes quhyte; his Ene wes grit and gray,
With lokker hair, quhilk over his schulderis lay.

Ane Roll off paper in his hand he bair;
Ane swannis pen stikand under his eir;
Ane Inkhorne, with ane prettie gilt Pennair,
Ane bag off silk, all at his belt can beir:
Thus wes he gudeie grathit in his geir.
Off stature large, and with ane feirfull face:
Evin quhair I lay he come ane sturdie pace, (1349-62).

The anaphora on "His" in the first stanza and on "Ane" in the second adds formality to the ritual inventory of articles of clothing and accoutrements which define this mysterious figure's corporate character. The fact that the first stanza begins, "His gowne wes off ane claith als quhyte as milk" and ends with description of his white beard and locks, hints at supernatural qualities similar to those displayed by the "oold man, clad in white clothes cleere" in Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale (G201). Such an old man in white also appears to the dreamer in Mum and the Sooth-segger; the details were a conventional way of suggesting sanctity and therefore authority for what was to be expressed.

MacQueen has pointed out how close the description of Aesop is to that of Mercury in the Testament of Cresseid. Mercury too is presented "With pen and Ink to report al reddie" (242) and is similarly dressed:

"His Hude was reid, heklit atouir his Croun,
Lyke to ane Poeit of the auld fassoun." (244-45)

This is natural enough; since Aesop is "Poet Lawriate", we would expect him to carry the same trademarks as his tutelary deity.

What we have is a type-portrait. The mysterious stranger who
appears to the dreamer is identifiably a product of the "Sculis" (1372), one whose "Roll off paper...swannis pen...Inkhorne...Pennaire/Ane bag" (1356-59) all suggest his scribal or clerkly status.

We may be reminded of Dialectic, represented at Chartres as "a man who dips his pen into the inkpot and makes ready to write", or of Quentyn Massys' (1465-1530) "Portrait of a Notary" in the National Gallery of Scotland. The notary stands in the central arch of a gallery overlooking daily activities in a rural village in summer. He wears black "Bonat", "Purpour Broun" shirt, white linen legal necktie, and green half-sleeve overcoat, his ringed left hand enclosing a folded sheet of paper and resting on the table in front of him. On the table lie his open "Inkhorne", pen-knife and "Pennaire" or writing case of colours for manuscript-illumination. His right hand is poised over the paper at chest level and holds the "swannis pen" in writing position, as well as a little red cross and red rosebud, symbols of truth and virtue. The face of the man is serious, but his keen eyes and the quizzical set of his mouth suggest intelligence and a modest sense of humour.

The nice balance between type and individual portraiture that was struck in late fifteenth century painting seems to have rubbed off on Henryson too. He is careful to end each stanza of description with a couplet devoted to physical features. In the first, the venerable age and penetrating "grit" eyes of his mysterious figure are impressed upon us, and in the second, his imposing face, stature, and "sturdie" gait--truly a man to inspire confidence and yet respect. Aesop's first words are as becomingly social as his
manner, and the narrator's eager response encourages our own in no small way (he seems to be, as suggested in Chapter Five, a festaiuvo figure):

And said, 'God speid, my sone'; and I wes fane
Off that couth word, and off his cumpany;
With reverence I salusit him agane:
'Welcome, Father'; and he sat doun me by. (1363-66)

The commendation to God and the older man's address of the younger as "sone" are conventional enough, but adherence to socio-religious proprieties here is especially pleasing, even soothing, after the emotional mauling we and the narrator have been through. Ever since the Country Mouse's ecstatic welcome of the Town Mouse (190-94) and the latter's return of hospitality "Without God speid" (262), such values have been conspicuous by their absence—as we now realize. Moreover, as we shall see, narrator and interlocutor are "Father" and "sone" in more ways than the one we have mentioned.

Once they are seated, the narrator gives ceremonious voice to the questions we are curious to ask:

"'Displeis you not, my gude maister, thocht I Demand your birth, your facultye, and name, Quhy ye come heir, or quhair ye dwell at hame?'" (1367-69)

Remembering that the narrator recalls Aesop to help him "invent" an argument he cannot find himself, we also realize how Henryson has slipped naturally into another stock pedagogical formulation: the "who, what, where, when, and why" questions one was supposed to ask oneself or one's students in inventing arguments for or against a hypothesis or controversia.43 If we check Henryson's questions against the tabulation that Quintilian gives in his Institutes, we can get a good idea of similarities. Quintilian has three sub-
categories under Who; these are Name, Quality, and Training, which correspond to Henryson's "name", "birth", and "facultye" respectively. Of all the remaining Parts of Circumstance, What, When, Where, Why, and In What Manner, only "Where" and "Why" are used by Henryson ("at hame", "Quhy"). A reasonable combination of all or many of these particulars will produce a civil question or controversy.

Rhetoric matches Manners. Balance is provided by anaphora on "With" and "Welcome" in lines three and four and on "Displeis" and "Demand" in lines five and six, and by syntactical repetition in lines two and seven ("Off that... off his...; Quhy ye... quhair ye..."). Nor is it a static balance. The necessarily uneven proportioning-out of five terms between the two last lines, and the oscillations in the narrator's tone see to that. On the one hand the narrator is "fane/Off that couth word" and so eager as to "demand" answers; on the other hand he is deferential ("With reverence I salusit him") and afraid to "Displeis". Such rapid shifts and inconsistencies, vibrant with confused excitement, give us a vivid sense of being in the presence of a pretty big fish; like the narrator, we hang on Aesop's words:

'My sone' (said he), 'I am off gentill blude; My native land is Rome withoutin nay; And in that Towne first to the Sculis I yude, In Civile Law studyit full mony ane day; And now my winning is in Hevin ffor ay; Esope I hecht; my writing and my werk Is couth and kend to mony cunning Clerk.' (1370-76)

Due to the narrator's euphoria, this has the effect of encomium (which also uses the Parts of Circumstance), unusual though it
is. The first line deals with Family ("I am off gentill blude"), the second with Place of Birth ("My native land is Rome"), the third and fourth with Training ("I...Civile Law studyit"), the fifth with Present State ("my winning is in Hevin"), the sixth and seventh with Name and Fame ("Esope I hecht; my writing.../Is couth...to mony..."). Finally, the narrator's foot-hopping response

"O Maister Esope, Poet Lawriate, God wait, ye ar full deir welcum to me." (1377-78), fulfills the demands of the encomiastic epilogue, which urges its readers to emulate the one praised.44

Almost every line of this stanza raises problems of interpretation. Aesop's statement "'I am off gentill blude" has led David Laing to suggest that "His own words in reference to Aesop might ... in some measure be applicable to himself."45 But as he himself firmly states,

no evidence has been adduced to shew, either that the King's Advocate in the reign of James the Fourth [James Henryson] was a son of the poet, or that any portion of the lands of Fordell [the Dunfermline-neighbouring barony occupied by James Henryson's heirs] was possessed by the Hendersons prior to the year 1511.46

No other significant claims have come to light. We might remember, however, John Major's point about the Scots being prone to call themselves of noble birth and his rejoinder that the only true nobility is a virtuous life.47 We might remember too that Aesop was supposed to have been a slave! Henryson's statement, like his description of the fabulist as "The fairest man that ever befoir I saw", takes risks calculated to test how well we are adjusting to
the figurative reading his Fabillis demand. "Gentrice" may be "slane, and pietie...ago" (1312) in the Sheep and Dog, but the ideal still exists in books of "gude Moralitie" (1387), in dreams --and amongst the common people, as Aesop's tale will show.

The next three lines have received by far the greatest amount of attention. Aesop, as even the title of Henryson's Fabillis states, was supposedly a Phrygian. Of course Henryson's title may have been added later by another hand, but since Conrad of Hirsau refers to Aesop as a Phrygian, we should not immediately assume that Henryson in the fifteenth century did not know what Conrad knew in the twelfth. Both would have had access to well-stocked Benedictine Libraries.

John MacQueen, working on the premise that "The convention of the dream-vision...allowed a poet to project aspects of his own character on to the persons of his dream," restates W. W. Metcalfe's hypothesis that Henryson may be referring to his own studies at the school of civil law in Rome. But since he accepts on the very same page that the poet was indeed the 'Magister Robertus Henrisone in artibus licentiatus et in decretis bachalarius' who on 10 September 1462 was incorporated in Glasgow University, probably to give lectures in law,

it seems rather inconsistent of him to suggest that Henryson studied civil law in Rome. Moreover, by asserting that "Henryson makes Aesop claim to have studied canon and civil law in the schools of Rome," he confuses the issue still further. There is no whisper of canon law studies in the text. All versions, including Bannatyne, read thus:
"And in that Towne first to the Sculis I yude,  
In Civile Law studyit full mony ane day;"    (1372-73).

To extrapolate his study of canon law on the basis of a plural in "Sculis" is surely not very sound. The use of the collective plural more probably indicates a university by the faculties incorporated in it (OED, "school", II, 7.b), as in 'he went to university and studied civil law'; or it may imply that he received all his schooling, elementary as well, in Rome, improbable though this may in fact have been.

Given the greater probability of these readings, the connection between Glasgow canonist and Roman civilist pales into wishful thinking. Nevertheless, R.D.S. Jack quixotically defends W. W. Metcalfe's theory against Sergio Rossi's protest that "the hypothesis is based on weak proofs." The way he does so is by first referring to the lines from Henryson I have just quoted and by then rehashing MacQueen's old argument: "This comment cannot apply to the historical Aesop and it was common for authors to insert autobiographical details when introducing the portrait of a literary creditor." Examples please!

Denton Fox, on the other hand, in a review of MacQueen's book which Jack ignores, has suggested that "the connection between Aesop and Rome ... was traditional." He refers us, quite rightly, to Lydgate's Isopes Fabules, in which we are told that "Isopus the phylosophor of Rome" (Wolf and Lamb, 2) "did hym occupy/whylom in Rome to please the senate" (Cock and Stone, 9-10). Again, two quotations don't necessarily add up to a 'tradition', but at least this is something solid.

I can find no further direct analogues, but a number of poss-
ibilities are open. Perhaps, as Schrader suggests, the notion that Aesop was a Roman "stemmed from confusion with 'Romulus'"$^{53}$ or perhaps Henryson and Lydgate were simply conflating him with his fellow fabulist Avianus, who dedicated his fables of Aesop to Macrobius for including him in the *Saturnalia*$^{54}$ and who was certainly a Roman. (We can check medieval knowledge of this fact from book titles: the *Erfurt Amplon MS. Q.21*, for example, lists "1. Aesopo apologi; 2. Aviani Romani apologi".$^{55}$) To add to the confusion, Macrobius refers in the *Saturnalia* several times to an actor-friend of Cicero's called Aesop, and this information was passed on to the Middle Ages not only through the *Saturnalia* itself (III, xiv, 11), but through Valerius Maximus' great *exemplum* book, *The Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (IX, i, ext. 2). John of Salisbury, for instance, quotes both sources when he tells us in his *Policraticus* that

"Cicero...was on familiar terms with [the actors] Roscius and Aesop; so close was their intimacy that Cicero looked after their property and other interests."$^{56}$

From this, it looks suspiciously as though Lydgate at least, when he speaks of "Isopus" as occupying himself with fable-writing "in Rome to please the Senate", is confusing the fabulist with the tragedian friend of Cicero.

Heaven knows what distortions may have been based on such confusions--or what cross-fertilizations compounded for morally useful ends! In the *Book of Pluscarden* "Balade of Gude Counsel", too, we learn that

Quhen Rome was regit be wisdom cenaturis  
In justice and in public polesy,  
Oure al this erd thai war lordis and victouris, 
And tuk tribut for soverane signify.
Bot quhen the wel of justice was gane dry,
And public prow passit in divisioune,
Thair grete glorie turnit in desolacioune.  

This versification of one of the central ideas of Augustine's De Civitate Dei may lie behind Lydgate's description of "Isopus" as a civil servant churning out government-approved textbooks on moral values for the Senate; it also seems thematically akin to Henryson's portrayal of a Rome-educated "Esope", whose tragic complaint "Sa roustie is the warld with canker blak, /That now my tail-lis may lytill succour mak" (1396-97), and whose appeal for Caritas imply his desire to reform the State in the image of the City of God.

Whatever the reason, Henryson is certainly concerned in his next line ("And now my winning is in Hevin ffor ay") to enhance Aesop's image as a Christian poet. This, as we have already noticed in connection with Cato and Virgil, is entirely consistent with late medieval beliefs. Dante places Aesop's old schoolroom companion Donatus in heaven (Paradiso XII, 137 f.) and in 1497 we find one Matthaeus Lupinus Calidomius, a schoolmaster from Grossenham, designating Aesop's confrères Avianus, Theodulus, and Maximianus "insignificant but divinely inspired poets". What Martin Luther has to say on the subject, we have already seen in Chapter Two.

How well Henryson holds our attention by delaying Aesop's revelation of his identity until he has answered all the narrator's other questions! Only then do we hear that this 'noble' Roman student of Civil Law is none other than "Esope" whose work is—rather euphemistically—"couth and kend to mony cunning Clerk"
In the excitement of this announcement, neither we nor the narrator notice that "Esope" has not answered "Quhy ye come heir" (1369). But perhaps the answer is so obvious as not to need verbalizing; the action clarifies his function, as we shall see.

The narrator is so excited that he bursts out into exclamatory welcome and complimentary rhetorical questioning. No hard facts are added, but the emotional impact of the scene is considerably increased by these rhetorical gestures and their rich sound-patterns. The swift interchange of back and front vowels (O, Esope, Lawriate) and long vowels (Maister, Poet, wait) in the opening lines; the emphatic stress of "f" alliterating words throughout (full, Fabillis, effect, fenyeit, full, Fair); and the combination of mid-line stress on "h" (he, hert) and end-line stress on "m" (moralitie, am the samin man, merie than) in the last three lines--all contribute to the warmth and fullsomeness of the exchange:

'O Maister Esope, Poet Lawriate,  
God wait, ye ar full deir welcum to me;  
Ar ye not he that all thir Fabillis wrate,  
Quhilk in effect, suppois thay fenyeit be,  
Ar full off prudence and moralitie?  
'Fair sone' (said he), 'I am the samin man.'  
God wait, gif that my hert wes merie than.  

The fabulist is a Master of Arts, naturally enough, since he was the schoolmaster to the Middle Ages par excellence, and "Poet Lawriate" since for the vast majority of students one of the few poets they read. But we should not think Henryson regarded him as laureated for his literary qualities--whatever the qualities of his own Scots version or the 'prettiness' (1386) of Aesop's verse. His moral qualities outweigh these. John of Garland puts it this way: "Since in worldly warfare a crown is prized, all the more in
the spiritual battle is the laurel of victory to be desired."

Aesop was the schoolmaster to the Middle Ages precisely because he was a moralist and could be moralized ad infinitum. Each fable was potentially an animated study in the endless battles between the Virtues and Vices, an amusing Psychomachia. He was the ideal drillmaster for generations of young Christian athletes training for the new kind of Roman spectacle that Tertullian trumpets about in De Spectaculis:

"See wantonness overthrown by chastity, perfidy killed by honesty, cruelty thrown down by pity...; these are the games in which we Christians receive our crowns." 61

Poet Laureate indeed! Henryson may have thought of him as Boccaccio conceived of Petrarch, a dream-mentor to rouse him from the sleep of idleness. The Munich Boccaccio illustrates just this scene, the laurel-crowned Petrarch standing by the bed of the dozing author of the De Casibus Virorum Illustrium and rousing him "from idleness, whose charms are represented by the female figure in the doorway inscribed 'Peresse'". 62 This makes sense if we remember that the narrator's morning walk, in which he succumbs to sleep in a delightful wood, started out as an attempt to "put all sleuth and sleip asyde" (1326). The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak; and reading, dreaming, and writing about Aesop is the perfect antidote to such laxity.

The narrator's joy at the old fabulist's grave and sonorous affirmation "'I am the samin man'" is so heartfelt as to be almost comically repetitive. "God wait, ye ar full deir welcum to me" (1378), he has said; "God wait, gif that my hert wes merie than"
(1383) he now says. (We may mentally contrast this with the mirth
he has made over birdsong and blossom, 1334.) This rising tide of
emotion spills over into the next stanza as the narrator begs for
an encouraging tale from his old "maister":

I said, 'Esope, my maister venerabill,
I yow beseik hartlie, ffor cheritie,
Ye wald not disdayne to tell ane prettie Fabill,
Concludand with ane gude Moralitie.' (1384-87)

The narrator's mouth is again full of vowels, warm and coaxing
--like a child wheedling a beloved elder. "Venerabill", "beseik
hartlie", "ffor cheritie", "disdayne", "prettie Fabill" are all
words or phrases contributive to this effect. The relationship
Henryson portrays is constructed along the lines of the ideal
student-teacher one handed down to the Middle Ages from Antiquity.
John of Salisbury, for instance, knows that

In Quintilian's work On the Education of the Orator
(II, 9), love for his teacher is laid down as the
pupil's Seventh Key, and accordingly instructors are
to be loved and respected as parents ... for pupils
are glad to listen to those whom they love.63

The idea was well-enough known in the fifteenth century classroom
to be repeated both by Erasmus64 and the Magdalen College School
Exercise Book:

We scholars are more bound to them that techith us
goode than to them that brought us upe into the world,
for why withoute connynge we ar as rude bestes which
know not gode fro evyll.65

Nor was Quintilian the only source for such widespread ideas.
Augustine too devotes considerable attention to the point in his
De Trinitate66 and De Catechizandis Rudibus:
We often feel it wearisome to go over and over again matters which are thoroughly familiar to us and better suited to little children. If this is the case with us, then we should try to meet our pupils with a brother's, a father's, and a mother's love. Once we are thus united to them in heart, all this subject matter will seem new to us exactly as it will to them.

Aesop, we discover, is suffering from just this sense of *déjà vu*:

Schaik and his heid, he said, 'my sone lat he, For quhat is it worth to tell ane fenyeit taill, Quhen haly preiching may na thing availl? 'Now in this warld, me think, richt few or nane To Goddis word that hes devotioun; The eir is deif, the hart is hard as stane, Now oppin sin without correctioun, The hart Inclynand to the eirth ay doun; Sa roustie is the warld with canker blak, That now my taillis may lytill succour mak.' (1388-97)

In specific terms, Aesop's lament uses the *topos* of the Golden Age, a contrast between the golden past and the "roustie" present, which Henryson employs again in his "Want of Wyse Men" in a specifically Roman context:

That tyme quhen levit the king Saturnus, For gudely gouernance this warld was goldin cald; For untreuth we wate noucht quhare to it turnis; The tyme that Octauiane, the monarch, coud hald, Our all was pes, wele set as hertis wald: Than regnyt reule, & resone held his rynkis; Now lakkis prudence, nobilitie is thralde, Sen want of wyse men makis fulis to sitt on bynkis.(9-16)

Aesop's remarks gather emotional momentum from our having witnessed "oppin sin without correctioun" (1394) in the Sheep and Dog, Parliament, and Confession, through all of which runs the mineral and disease imagery of a world "roustie ... with canker blak" (1396). Especially indicative of his misanthropy is the way he caps the narrator's request that he "not disdayne to tell ane prettie Fabill" (1386) with the ironically parallel retort "quhat is it worth
Aesop's despair (or devil's advocacy) gives his pupil the poet a good opportunity to show what he has learnt from his master's fables. We may recall Dante being quizzed by St. James on the Doctrine of Hope in the *Paradiso*, "like pupil answering teacher eagerly/prompt in those points wherein he is most expert." The narrator too seems eager to prove the worth of "ane fenyet taill" (1389); in response to Aesop's disparaging remark he answers:

'Yit], gentill Schir' (said I), 'for my requiest, Not to displeis your Fatherheid, I pray, Under the figure off ane brutall beist, Ane morall Fabill ye wald denye to say: Quha wait, nor I may leir and beir away Sum thing thairby heirefter may availl?'

The last lines are a well-learnt paraphrase of one of Cato's *distichs*:

"Ensaumple tak of mony men/What werkes the folowe shal; The lyf of othure goode men/Is maistres to us alle." Such evidence of industry and such firm faith in the value of moral fables would be encouraging to any depressed pedagogue; Aesop revives and answers the request of a tale "ffor cheritie" (1385) with one about *Caritas*. Just as his pupil's interest revives his formidable pedagogic instincts, so in his Tale the small help the great.

Aesop is an expert at *inventio* and his illustrating fable is a perfect mirror for the narrator. Just as the narrator has succumbed to "the sonis heit" (1342), so does the Lion:

Ane Lyoun at his Pray [verray] foirrun, To recreat his limmis and to rest, Beikand his breist and belly at the Sun, Under ane tre lay in the fair forest;
Swa come ane trip off Myis out off thair nest,
Richt tait and trig, all dansand in ane gyis,
And over the Lyoun lansit twyis or thryis.  (1405-11)

This *ecphrasis* of action is nicely balanced, the first four lines
being devoted to the inert Lion and the last three introducing the
ring-dancing Mice. The last animal we have seen "Beikand his...
belly at the Sun" was the Fox in the *Confession*, and mention of
the same activity here reinforces our sense of the King of Beasts
as a gouty Prince whose subjects 'run all over him' when he cannot
keep law and order.

The Mice's action also seems the more naturalistic for the
fact that the season is summer, a
tyme of hardinesse and of boldnesse, for that tyme by
strong impression of hete of the sonne colera is tende
and by tendinge thereof about the herte wraththe and
hardinesse is excited in beasts.70

On the animal level the hardiness of the Mice and the subsequent
ire of the Lion achieve animal verisimilitude; on the human level
the action itself points a proverbial moral: "It makes a perte
mowss. ane unhardy catt."71 Another proverb, "A hardy mouse that
breeds in a cat's ear"72 also seems to be the springboard for the
original details of the next stanza:

He lay so still, the Myis wes not effeird,
Bot to and fro out over him tuke thair trace;
Sum tirlit at the Campis off his beird,
Sum spairit not to claw him on the face;
Merie and glaid thus dansit thay ane space,
Till at the last the Nobill Lyoun woke,
And with his pow the maister Mous he tuke.  (1412-18)

No other fabulist is quite so specific as to have the Mice "tirlit...
the Campis off his beird" or "claw him on the face", and ampli-
fication for moral suggestivity seems to be one reason Henryson
adds these details. They suggest a World Upside Down. Such is
the significance of an image in a manuscript margin which depicts
a hare riding a lion! 3

However, even in—or especially in—such a world, Fortune's
Wheel continues to turn; what Henryson emphasizes, in phrases made
familiar by the Two Mice, is the ephemeralty of the exaltation of
the Mice who "Merie and glaid thus dansit...ane space,/Till at the
last the Nobill Lyoun woke." The pleasure the Mice take in the
"sweit sesoun" (1442) parallels the pleasure the narrator has
taken in the forest flowers. Those flowers "with froist and wyn-
ter weit/Faidis, swa dois the warld" (1584-85), we learn in the
Moralitas, and the good fortune of the Mice similarly ends as the
Lion "with his pow the maister Mous he tuke". Henryson's 'bifocal'
vision is remarkably well adjusted.

Like the amplification of details in the second stanza, the
complaint of the "Maister Mous" is something Henryson adds, and
original only in that sense, since couched in the form of the
Widow's lament in the Cock and Fox and Father Wer's in the Parlia-
ment. But in context it is indelibly mousy:

Scho gave ane cry, and all the laif agast
Thair dansing left, and hid thame sone alquhair;
Scho that wes tane cryit and weipit fast,
And said allace oftymes that scho come thair;
'Now am I tane ane wofull presonair,
And ffor my gilt traistis Incontinent
Off lyfe and deith to thoill the Jugement. (1419-25)

We have a vivid image of frantic mice scattering to all points of
the compass. Rhetorically, the first half of the third line "Scho
that wes tane cryit" picks up on the first half of the first line
"Scho gave ane cry", and presents the agonies of the "Maister Mous"
in a further two lines of reported speech. This is followed by three lines of direct speech which again start out by harping on the same terms emphasized in line three: "'Now am I tane". The perilousness of her situation is vividly drummed into our consciousness by synonymy as the poet works us up to his debate.

To schoolboy and ex-schoolboy alike, this debate would have been the highlight of the Tale, since it employs a form only too painfully familiar as one of Priscian's composition exercises: the thesis (suasoria) or hypothesis (controversia). The Mouse must persuade the Lion not to kill but to release her. According to D. L. Clark the thesis or suasoria "sets out to persuade a person or a group of people to do something or not to do it. For the most part the suasoria uses historical or quasi-historical material."74 (This last point is especially interesting in view of the fact that so many critics have assumed Henryson's fable involves political allegory.) As Clark goes on,

the exercise of suasoria, as it was practised in the Schools, required that the student compose prosopopoeia...speeches in which the student supplies the words which someone else, real or fictitious, might, in agreement with the laws of necessity and possibility, have composed and delivered under a given set of circumstances.75

What follows is school-exercise raised to the level of high art:

Than spak the Lyoun to that cairfull Mous:
'Thow Cative wretche, and vile unworthie thing,
Over malapart and eik presumteous
Thow wes, to mak out over me thy tripping.
Knew thow not weill I wes baith Lord and King
Off beistis all? 'Yes' (quod the Mous), 'I knew;
Bot I misknew, because ye lay so law. (1426-32)
As the Lion's indignation rises, so his denigration of the Mouse becomes more scathing; first she is a "wretche", then a "thing", and where the first term is accompanied by only one adjective, "Cative" (which alliterates emphatically with "cairfull Mous"), the second is preceded by two: "vile" and "unworthie". The next two lines brilliantly evoke in concrete terms the Lion's sense of outrage at the little Mouse's presumptuousness. She is "Over malapart", the Lion rages, "to mak out over me thy tripping"!

And where the Mouse is "wretche" and "thing", the Lion is, assertively, "baith Lord and King".

Implicit in the Lion's contrasts is his assumption that the wretched Mouse has usurped the natural or feudal order in dancing over him. The Mouse, however, counters boldly that it was not she who behaved unnaturally but the Lion. Behind the last line of the stanza lies her reasoning that, if the definition of a King is 'one who rules', then the Lion behaves unnaturally, and in fact does not even merit the name of King, when he lies "so law" in slothful sleep. For "The King is only the State's vice-regent in the name of the Lord his God, and unless he governs it well he is not worthy of the name of King." The argument is not original with Henryson, but he has skillfully shaped it to his purpose.

In the following two stanzas, the Mouse falls back on the requisite sub-headings of necessity, accident, and ignorance which she must use in pleading justification (purgatio) for her act:

'Lord! I beseik thy Kinglie Royaltie,
Heir quhat I say, and tak in patience;
Considder first my simple povertie,
And syne thy myochtie hie Magnyfycence;
Se als how thingis done off Neglygence,
Nouther off malice nor of presumptioun,
The rather suld have grace and Remissioun.
'We wer repleit and had grit aboundance
Off alkin thingis, sic as to us effeird;
The sweit sesoun provokit us to dance,
And mak sic mirth as nature to us leird.
Ye lay so still, and law upon the eird
That, be my sawll, we weind ye had bene deid,
Elles wald we not have dancit ouer your held.' (1433-46)

Her first four lines form a brief _exordium_, the aim of which is to moderate the Lion's anger by appeals to his "patience" and his self-esteem. Accordingly, she first admits her "simple povertie" and the Lion's "mychtie hie Magnyfycence", appropriately allowing him two adjectives to her one. Her terms are also cleverly chosen to support her first argument from "Neglygence". How could such a poor, simple beast willfully and knowingly challenge the King of Beasts? In such a light, the Lion's accusation of "malice" and "presumptioun" (1438) appears neurotically preposterous! Moreover, the juxtaposition of "simple povertie" with "hie Magnyfycence" adds cunningly to the proverbial effect of the first stanza via Proverbs (28:15); this Aquinas also refers to when discussing tyrants in his treatise _On Kingship_: "As a roaring lion ... so is a wicked prince over the poor people."??

Her next argument, contained in the first four lines of stanza two, is based on _necessity:

"The sweit sesoun provokit us to dance,
... as nature to us leird."

And her third and last argument on _ignorance:

"... we weind ye had bene deid,
Elles wald we not have dancit ouer your heid.'"

This last argument is repeated twice (cf. ll. 1431-32), not only because it is amusing, but because it is intended to return our attention to the nexus of verbal and visual associations that lie
beneath the surface of, and provide an oblique commentary on, the action. An audience which cut its teeth on proverbs in the schoolroom might well remember these lines from Ecclesiastes:

Better is a quik and an hol hounde  
Than a ded lyon liggyng on ground,  
And better is povert with godnes  
Than richesse with wikkednes.  

Rhetorically the Mouse's pleading is quite 'masterly'. Almost unnoticeably, she shifts responsibility from herself, the "We" of her first statement, on to "The sweit sesoun" of her second, and finally to the Lion, the "Ye" of her third. All these involve "e" sounds which rise to an appropriately emphatic squeak in the presentation of the main argument: "be my sawll, we waind ye had bene deid"! Parallelism also helps to emphasize a point, as in the incremental repetition of the second half of line two "sic as to us effeird" in the latter half of line four "sic mirth as nature to us leird".

The choleric Lion, however, will have none of it. It is a "fals excuse". (We might remind ourselves that parties to a dispute cannot be judges.) The reply is delightfully comic in its indication of the Lion's myopic self-importance, and yet soberingly realistic:

'Thy fals excuse,' the Lyoun said agane,  
'Sall not availl ane myte I undera;  
I put the cace, I had bene deid or slane,  
And syne my skyn bene stoppit full off stra,  
Thocht thow had found my figure lyand swa,  
Because it bare the prent off my persoun,  
Thow suld ffor ffeir on kneis have fallin doun.  

'For thy trespas thow can mak na defence,  
My Nobill persoun thus to vilipend;  
Off thy feiris, nor thy awin negligence,  
For to excuse thow can na cause pretend;
Thairfoir thow suffer sall ane schamefull end,
And deith, sic as to tressoun is decreit,
Upon the Gallous harlit be the feit.' (1447-60)

James III was, like the Lion, "touchy on questions of his dignity and authority" and "at best, only intermittently zealous in the execution of justice." He nevertheless kept a keen watch over government finance "and notably developed the concept of treason", since the penalty for this was forfeiture to the Crown! Moreover, the "cace" which is "put" (1449) has to do with an obscure but seriously taken distinction between the King's Two Bodies, in which *laesa majestas* towards the "Crown" was construed as an even graver crime than an affront to the person of the King.

The Lion too ordains that the Mouse shall suffer "deith, sic as to tressoun is decreit", and in claiming

"'For thy trespas thow can mak na defence,
My Nobill persoun thus to vilipend;"

is obviously sensitive about his dignity, "vilipend" being an ostentatious term for 'dishonour'. Again the scene has proverbial overtones. "The awfallest beast is a bearded [insulted] King" Fergusson tells us, and the full version from Proverbs (16:14) reads "The wrath of a king is as messengers of death: but a wise man will pacify it." The "Maister Mous" does indeed make strenuous efforts to pacify the Lion in the next five stanzas, appealing

"As thow art King off beistis Coronate,
Sober thy wraith, and let it overpas,
And mak thy mynd to mercy Inclynate." (1462-64)

In attempting to win over her liege lord, the Mouse is correctly circumspect, first admitting her guilt and then appealing to the Lion's mercy in the legal procedure known as *amercement*:
"I grant offence is done to thyne estate, 
Quhairfoir I worthie am to suffer deid, 
Bot gif thy Kinglie mercie' reik remeid."  

At the animal level this move is all that is really necessary, for "the lion alone of wild animals shows mercy to suppliants." At the human level however, the Mouse harbours no delusions about regal impartiality, even while she pays it the kind of flattering lip-service that Dunbar employs in this begging letter "To the King": "I grant my service is bot licht/Thairfoir of mercy and not of richt/I ask you ser." She knows that the onus is on her to convince the Lion that mercy is more profitable and more becoming his honour as a Christian Prince than vigorous 'justice'.

To achieve her ends, she falls back on the stock issues of deliberative oratory, considering first the question of justice. The stock issue of the just was divided into 1) confession-and-avoidance, and 2) antithetical countercharges. Since the Mouse's countercharge against the slothful Lion has already been swept aside with her plea of negligence, it is natural that she fall back on confession-and-avoidance. She has already 'amerced' herself in stanza 209; now, in stanza 210, she reminds the Lion that his "Kinglie mercie" (1467) is modelled on God's mercy towards sinful mankind:

"In everie Juge mercy and reuth suld be, 
As Assessouris, and Collaterall; 
Without mercie Justice is crueltie, 
As said is in the Lawis speciall: 
Quhen Rigour sittis in the Tribunall, 
The equitie off Law quha may sustene? 
Richt few or nane, but mercie gang betwene."  (1468-74)

What exactly "the Lawis speciall" are to which the Mouse refers has never been discussed by critics, and Henryson may have had
in mind a legal phrase that I am not aware of. However, the idea that "Without mercie Justice is crueltie" is very widespread. The Debate between the Four Daughters of God, Peace and Mercy on the one side, and Righteousness and Justice on the other, is one source, and the *Secreta Secretorum* is another. In Gilbert Haye's 1456 translation of the latter, one topic of discussion is

"how thai [Princes] suld have in thame justice and equiteit with merci and eschewe ay the cruell condi- tiounis and wayis of the Lyoun and other bestis." And the Biblical *locus classicus* is *The Wisdom of Solomon*; as a Middle Scots translation has it, "a man suld nocht be over Just, bot he suld have pete, and mell Justice and mercy in Jugement." Up to this point the arguments of Lion and Mouse have been strictly Henryson additions. From this point on, the argument picks and weaves its way through Gualterus, Neckham, and the *Scala Caeli*. The Mouse's next stock issue, calculatedly chosen to flat­ ter the Lion's obvious weak spot, is that of the honourable (sub­ section 2), which Hermogenes lists as "what ignominy not in being but expected should be avoided?" Imaginatively adapted to the specifics of her situation, the issue is presented by the Mouse thus:

\textit{\'Aiswa ye knaw the honour Triumphall}
\textit{Off all victour upon the stretht dependis} \hspace{1cm} (1476)
\textit{Off his conquest, quhilk manlie in battell}
\textit{Throw Jeopardie of weir lang defendis.}
\textit{Quhat pryce or loving, quhen the battell endis,} \hspace{1cm} (1479)
\textit{Is said off him that overcummis ane man,}
\textit{Him to defend quhilk nouther may nor can?}

\textit{\'Ane thowsand Myis to kill, and eik devoir,} \hspace{1cm} (1482)
\textit{Is lytill manheid to ane strang Lyoun;}
\textit{Full lytill worship have ye wyn thairfoir,}
\textit{To quhais stretht is na comparisoun;}

It will degraid sum part off your renoun
To sla ane mous, quhilk may mak na defence,
Bot askand mercie at your excellence.

Gualterus has very much the same point to make, though his
greater brevity necessitates greater generality of statement (I
insert the relevant Henryson line-references to aid quick compari-
on):

What praise will you procure/From a slain mouse?(H.1479-80)
It shames the greatest to conquer small things.(H.1482-83)
If a lion deems a mouse worthy in death, is it not disgrace,
To the lion and honour to the mouse he seized?(H.1486)....
Victory weighs according to the value of the vanquished.
(H.1476-77)

Henryson's last three lines, on the other hand, seem to be adapted
from Neckham's version: "Your valour might consider itself in dis-
grace to destroy a mouse .../You should even allow yourself to be
persuaded by kindness alone." But our poet may have been invent-
ing just as Neckham was. The terms of Pliny's anecdote of the woman
of Gaetulia, who pleaded with a lion to be spared, are suggestive.
She "dared to say that she was a female, a fugitive, a weakling, a
suppliant to the most generous of all the animals, lord of all the
rest, a booty unworthy of his glory." Presumably the Mouse's
speech to the Lion was as popular a school exercise as the Two Mice.
So at least a chance remark of Erasmus' suggests: "When the little
fellow has listened with pleasure to Aesop's fable of the lion and
the mouse or of the dove and the ant, and when he has finished his
laugh, then the teacher should point out the new moral."

Two details seem to be original with Henryson in this second
stanza, one of them cleverly in keeping with the Lion's earlier
contrast between vile vermin and noble beasts (1427-31).
"'Ane thowsand Myis to kill, and eik devoir,  
Is lytill manheid to ane strang Lyoun;"  (1482-83), 
the Mouse says, perhaps in some trepidation lest the Lion, weary 
from chasing bigger game (1405), remember the proverb "Better have 
a mouse in the pot as no flesh"! 96 Her sentence is an adaptation 
of conventional material. From the expressions "he mudlet thame 
doun lyk ony myss" 97 and 
"Trestuz sunt maz [his] enemies are all vanquished 
Et priz cum raz and taken like rats 
Enlache and bound," 98 
we can assume that the expression 'like killing mice' was a commonplace way of saying that something was ridiculously easy. His second original detail involves the rhetorical contrast set up between 
the Lion's conquest of "ane man" in the first 'honour' stanza, and 
destruction of "Ane thowsand Myis" in the second. No knight of 
course would risk his honour against a commoner! 

The concluding two stanzas of the Mouse's speech are based on 
the stock-issue of the expedient, specifically, "what will follow 
... any particular thing about which there is deliberation." 99 
The first involves an argument from health: 

'Also it semis not your Celsitude,  
Qwhilk usis daylie meittis delitious,  
To fyle your teith or lippis with my blude,  
Qwhilk to your stomok is contagious;  
Unhailsum meit is of ane sarie Mous,  
And that namelie untill ane strang Lyoun,  
Wont till be fed with gentill vennesoun.  (1489-95) 

Here the Mouse steers the honour-argument of the previous stanzas 
from metaphysical to physical considerations, cleverly playing upon 
the Lion's sensitivity to class-distinctions in contrasting "gentill 
vennesoun" with "sarie Mous"; not only is the latter socially frown-
ed-upon at table, it is "contagious". Jamieson has drawn attention to the correspondence between "Unhailesum meit is of ane sarie Mous" and a line from the Scala Caeli "non decet ut nutriamini tam vili et tam parvo cibo", but again we need not assume Henryson knew this work. In speaking "De Mure", Bartholomaeus tells us that "his bytyng is venemous and is uryne is contagious and also his taile is venemous accounted."101

The Mouse's final stanza involves an argument from benefit:

'My lyfe is lytill worth, my deith is les,
Yit and I leif, I may peradventure
Supple your hienes beand in distres;
For oft is sene ane man off small stature
Reskewit hes ane Lord off hie honour,
Keipit that wes in poynt to be overthrawin
Throw misfortoun: sic cace may be your awin.' (1496-1502)

To us, the thought that "oft is sene [how] ane man off small stature/Reskewit hes ane Lord" may raise a smile, but the argument is serious. Gilbert Haye gives it as a precept in his Buke of the Governaunce of Princes; one William Gold, a condottiere, can employ it in writing to Louis Gonzaga in 1378 about a 'Jeanette'; and the author of The Talis of the Fyve Bestes presents it as the moral of his Unicorn's Tale:

Now be this tale ye salle wele understand
Gif ye be Lord and rewlar of this land
Ye schape yow nocht for till oppress the pure
Ffor and ye do forsuth I yow assure
The tyme may cum that your awentour standis
Perawentur in to sic mennis handis.104

The idea was ubiquitous, as we would expect of one of Cato's Distichs.105

As a result of these arguments,

........, the Lyoun his langage
Paissit, and thocht according to ressoun,
And gart mercie his cruell Ire asswage,
And to the Mous grantit Remissioun;  
Oppinnit his pow, and scho on kneis fell doun,  
And baith hir handis unto the hevin upheild,  
Cryand: 'Almichty God mot yow fforyeild!' (1503-09)

Conjunctions run throughout, giving the breathless 'everything at once' effect of speech leading to thought and thought to action. "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy" is the verse from Matthew 5:7 that Nicholas Bozon quotes in the moralitas of his version; Henryson achieves a similar effect in his last line. His Mouse does not promise help as Gualterus' does ("The mouse went away and returned thanks; if he were able to return it/he promised help"). His "'Almichty God mot yow fforyeild!" is a more proper response that looks beyond the material benefit the Lion may receive from the Mouse. "Do justice in this warlde here and thou sall fynd it before the thare in the warlde of warldis," as Gilbert Haye reminds his Prince.

Nevertheless, for all his momentary "thocht according to res-soun", the Lion soon returns to his old ways once the Mouse has gone:

Quhen Scho wes gone, the Lyoun held to hunt,  
For he had nocht, bot levit on his Pray,  
And slew baith tayme and wyld, as he wes wont,  
And in the cuntrie maid ane grit deray;  
Till at the last the pepill fand the way.  
This cruell Lyoun how that thy mycht tak:  
Off Hempyn cordis strang Nettis couth thay mak. (1510-16)

The image of the Lion making "grit deray" is certainly typical of both lions and Kings. In the romance of Clariodus we find something like it in the simile of a knight who "skaillit" his enemies "full wyde before his face/As the fearse lyoun dois small beistis chase" (319, 1195-6). But Henryson's Lion's slaying of "baith
tayme and wyld" is an original detail, and may be meant to indicate his indiscriminate laziness. Nicholson has even suggested that, allegorically, the tame represent James's Lowlanders and the wild his Highlanders. He then remarks how paradoxical it is the Lion should be so slothful and yet so energetic, and offers the following explanation:

Yet it is true that James could display energy as well as indolence and that some of the nobility had suffered at the hands of a government that in certain respects, particularly in transactions relating to land, was active enough.109

While this seems very likely, Henryson does not neglect his moral level either. The Lion is obviously incontinent, one who knows what is right but whose desires prevent him from doing it. Such a one can only learn by misfortune, as Aristotle points out.110 The Lion's netting can be seen as a moral object-lesson.

When caught, the Lion's

"Welterand about with hideous rummissing,
Quhyle to, quhyle fhra, quhill he mycht succour get."
(1524-25)

suggests how subject his sloth has made him to Fortune's Wheel. (The same "Quhyle to, quhyle fhra" effect, we might remember, was used in the Two Mice to suggest Fortune's rapid shifts and will be used again in the Paddock and Mouse.) Unable to find any succour, the Lion, like Aesop and Mouse before him, indulges in a two-stanza high-style complaint, using the Ubi Sunt motif Henryson also uses in his "The Complaint of Cresseid".111 This theme thoroughly illuminates the flaw in the Lion's hierarchical values: they are static. "Quhair is the mycht off thy Magnyfycence" (1532) he complains,
lamenting his own great fall; but just because he cannot conceive of anyone less powerful than he being able to help him, he cannot imagine the Mouse doing so:

"'Thair is na wy that will my harmis wreik, Nor creature do confort to my Croun."  

Ironically and "Throw aventure", his "pietuous beir" (1544) is heard by the Mouse:

And suddanlie it come in till hir mynd
That it suld be the Lyoun did hir grace,
And said, 'now wer I fals, and richt unkynd,
Bot gif I quit sumpart off thy gentrace
Thow did to me;' and on this way scho gais
To hir fellowis, and on thame fast can cry,
'Cum help, cum help!' and thay come all'in hy. (1545-51)

The terms in which she thinks of her repayment of this debt are those of chivalry and "gentrace" (1548); in this she is as emulative of the Lion as Chaucer's Franklin is of the Knight. But the way she actually sets about repaying it indicates her burgher outlook. ("Thir lytill Myis ar bot the commountie" we learn in the Moralitas, 1587.)

She seeks the co-operation of "hir fellowis", summons them with a "'Cum help, cum help!'", and even delivers a little civic speech:

'Lo,' quod the Mous, 'this is the samin Lyoun
That grantit grace to me quhen I wes tane;
And now is fast heir bundin in Presoun,
Brekand his hart with sair murning and mane;
Bot we him help, off succour wait he nane;
Cum help to quyte ane gude turne for ane uther,
Go, lous him sone:' and thay said, 'ye, gude brother.'

(1552-58)

She recalls the Lion's act of mercy, piteous present condition, and need of succour, and concludes by adapting a proverb: "Cum
help to quyte ane gude turne for ane uther." To all this demagoguery the crowd of Mice respond with a rousing "'ye, gude brother.'"

All the details of these two stanzas are geared to emphasizing the burgher-like qualities of the Mice: their address of the "Maister Mous" as "brother" (he is doubtless the Master of a Guild), and even the proverb with which the Mouse lends conviction to his plea. We appreciate its reinforcement of community values more readily in Fergusson's version: "Giff gaff [mutual help] makes good friends."\textsuperscript{112}

Of course such values are also Christian and Political. In his treatise \textit{On Kingship}, Aquinas tells us that, as "virtuous life is the end for which men gather together..., only those who render mutual assistance to one another in living well form a genuine part of an assembled multitude."\textsuperscript{113} Though it may seem ridiculous to us to think of the commons as being able to help a King, we find it set forth in Ockham's \textit{Dialogus de Potestate Papae et Emperatoris} that "the emperor owes his power to the people";\textsuperscript{114} moreover, we find it proven by the Edinburgh burghers under Provost Walter Bertram, who led the attack on Edinburgh Castle in 1482 that restored the King to complete liberty\textsuperscript{115} after the Lauder Bridge affair. Edinburgh's Golden Charter, "in which the King bestowed generous privileges on the burgh for its action in his behalf,"\textsuperscript{116} stands witness to the rescue.

Nicholson agrees with MacQueen that the captured Lion represents James III languishing as a hostage in Edinburgh Castle; he also agrees that the hunters represent the nobility who captured him at Lauder. But he does go further in seeing the Provost of
Edinburgh in the "Maister Mous", and, since Henryson has improved upon his originals in this designation and in the rescue-scene, I think the interpretation a valid one. A further point that Nicholson hasn't noticed is that Henryson may actually have known Bertram personally. One of the few shreds of surviving evidence we have of Henryson's activities in Dunfermline are a series of three charters granted by Henry [Crichton], Abbot of Dunfermline, to George de Lotherisk, and to Patricke Barone, burgess of Edinburgh, and Margaret his spouse, of the lands of Spetelfield, near to the borough of Inverkeithing in March 1477-8 and July 1478.117

On each of these deeds the signature "Magister Robertus Henrisson notarius publicus" occurs. Since at this time, as Nicholson himself informs us,

the prominent Edinburgh burgesses Walter Bertram and Patrick Barron each founded a chaplainry in St. Giles and each obtained tacks or feus from Henry Crichton, the abbot of Dunfermline,118 there seems a good possibility that the poet and his "Maister Mous" may have met.

In any case, the last stanza of the Tale proper takes care to illustrate the expressed community-spirit of the Mice in action:

Thay tuke na knyfe, thair teith wes sharpe anewch.
To se that sicht, forsuth it wes grit wounder,
How that thay ran amang the raipis tewch;
Befoir, behind, sum yeid about, sum under,
And schuir the raipis off the net in schunder;
Syne bad him ryse; and he start up anone,
And thankit thame; syne on his way is gone. (1559-65)

Nor does Henryson forget his proverbs and encyclopedic lore even in this scene of feverish activity. In his first two lines, either for school use or as the result of it, he seems to be working an
etymological amplificatio upon the fact that "mys ben ycleped sorices also for he freteth and gnaweth thynges as it were a sawe."\textsuperscript{119} Presumably he wants to justify this co-operative effort at the animal level in terms of the short work the Mice make of the net. As the proverb goes, "A mouse in time may bite a cable in two."\textsuperscript{120} But the Lion does not have time, and it is lucky for him the "Maister Mous" has an army of willing 'brothers'. Many teeth make quick cutting!

Aesop's short recapitulation re-emphasizes the two main 'surface-level' moral points of the Tale, that (in Colkelbie's words) "oft of littill cumis mich"\textsuperscript{121} and that (to paraphrase Matthew 5:7) the merciful shall obtain mercy. As Godshalk observes, "What saves the Lion is not his strength but his acts of goodness."\textsuperscript{122} Man is not self-sufficient.

Such a brief summation is very much in the Aesopic style, but it does not satisfy the narrator. His subsequent request for "ane Moralitie" to "conclude" sets in motion a six-stanza allegorization by the old fabulist.

The first stanza designates "this mychtie gay Lyoun" as any Prince, Emperor, Potentate or King who should "be walkrife gyde and Governour/Of his pepill" (1576-77) rather than "lyis still in lustis, sleuth, and sleip" (1579). The second stanza interprets "The fair Forest" as

\begin{center}
...bot the world and his prosperitie,  
As fals plesance myngit with cair repleit.  
.................................  
......................, and thame desavis  
Quhilk in thair lustis maist confidence havis.(1582-83, 1585-86)
\end{center}
While this clarifies the significance of the Lion asleep in the forest at the beginning of the fable, certain details here added are not present in the narrative. We learn for the first time that the Lion is "gay" and that he is not only slothful, but confident in his "lustis" too. We might simply be expected to infer these things from the Lion's sleepiness; certainly they are consistent with Henryson's stress on the dangers of too much concern with worldly pleasures. But they do also seem to poke a finger through the blanket-phrasing at James III, who was far too artistic and far too intent on cutting an international figure for the liking of his lords.

In the next stanza Henryson presents "Thir lytill Myis" as "the commountie" (1587) and, though Jamieson has rightly protested Stearne's assumption that Henryson is here championing the poor, does excuse the commons (as does Pitscottie) for being "Wantoun, unwyse, without correctioun" (1588) and for "misknowing" their sovereigns: "Thair Lordis" have failed to "mak...executioun" (1590). The detail makes explicit and validates the argument of the "Maister Mous" in stanza 206 ("we weirde ye had bene deid").

The next three stanzas are crucial in any interpretation of this fable, and such critics as MacQueen and Schrader have come to widely differing conclusions about them. Formal criticism may help us. Instead of going on to discuss the significance of "Thir rurall men, that stentit hes the Net" (1608), Henryson breaks off to address "ye Lordis of Prudence" in the very terms the "Maister Mous" had used in addressing the Lion (1499-1500):
Be this Fabill ye Lordis of Prudence
May considder the vertew of Pietie;
And to remit sumtyme ane grit offence,
And mitigate with mercy crueltie;
Oftymis is sene ane man of small degre
Hes quit ane kinbute baih of gude and ill,
As Lord hes done Rigour, or grace him till. (1594-1600)

Of course such a move is traditional. Gualterus too uses direct address:

"You who are capable of the greatest things, do not despise the power of the small;
For anyone can be useful, if he is unable to harm." 126

And Neckham's moral is also close in its designation of the addressee:

"That same powerful one who reads this,
May he also learn to spare the least things,
Since the least can often help the great." 127

But since the proverb is couched in terms of the specific local phenomena of "kinbute" and (by implication) feud, I think the Lords Henryson has in mind would be "Lordis of [Juris] Prudence". Barony-court judges come in for criticism from modern historians and medieval chroniclers alike, and it seems natural that Henryson would wish to convince this group in particular of the relevance of Aesop's Tale to their situation.

Nor is Aesop finished with these "Lordis" in one stanza:

Quha wait how sone ane Lord of grit Renoun,
Rolland in warldle lust and vane plesance,
May be overthrawin, destroyit, and put dun
Throw fals fortoun? quhilk of all variance
Is halli malstres, and leidar of the dance
Till Injust men, and blindis thame so soir,
That thay na perrell can provyde befoir. (1601-07)

These lines refer us back specifically to the Tale. The Lion, who is condemned in the Moralitas for his "lustis" (1579) and "fals
plesance" (1583), was described as struggling in the hunter's net "Quhyle to, quhyle ffra" (1525) in terms reminiscent of "fals fortoun". The Mice have been described as "all dansand in ane gyis" (1410), similarly "provokit" by "The sweit sesoun" (1442); and in the Moralitas we have learnt that the flowers of spring and summer "Faidis, swa dois the warld, and thame desavis" (1585). The Mice too are caught up on Fortune's Wheel. Fortune embraces men of all estates.

The stanza reminds the "Lordis of Prudence" that the fate of the Lion may be their own. To contemporary minds it may even have suggested a particular "Lord of grit Renoun", the recently forfeited Earl of Douglas (whose revenues came to a full third of the Crown's). But an even bigger fish may be seen beneath the mirror-like surface of these lines, and the next stanza seems to bring it towards the surface:

Thir rurall men, that stentit hes the Net,
In quhilk the Lyoun suddandlie wes tane,
Waittit alway amendis for to get
(For hurt men wrytis in the Marbill Stane).
Mair till expound as now I lett allane,
Bot King and Lord may weil wit quhat I mene;
Figure heirof of tymis hes bene sene. (1608-14)

Just when Henryson seems to have got the significance of the hunters on the hook, he lets it get away, protesting that the figure is so often realized in real life and so obvious to King, Lords and everyone else as not to need expounding. Like Gavin Douglas conducting a similar attack on the society of his day, he seems to be trying to evade responsibility for his charges "by placing them in the mouth of a disgruntled misanthrope in a dream."
Schrader's challenge to this theory, which originates with Marshall Stearns, \(^{130}\) is not really to the point. He questions "whether they (the Lords) would have been fooled", \(^{131}\) but does not consider the device as a literary convention. We find much the same technique used in "The Simonie", an overtly satirical poem in which criticism of mendicant hypocrisy is expressed with similar indirection:

\[\text{Hit nis noht al for the calf that kou louweth,} \\
\quad \text{Ac hit is for the grene gras that in the medewe grouweth so god.} \\
\quad \text{Alle wite ye what I mene, that kunnen any god.}^{132}\]

But even while Aesop shies away from direct exposition, Henryson has given us a broad hint that allows us to put two and two together. The formal displacement of the explication of the hunters by the address to the "Lordis of Prudence" suggests affinities between the two. Likewise the specification of those involved in the statement "King and Lord may weill wit quhat I mene" (1613) suggests, in the context of the previous stanza's obvious reference to the Tale, that somehow both James III and his nobles are or were involved in events similar to those described in the Tale.

The reference to the action of the hunters as like "For hurt men wrytis in the Marbill Stane" is of course proverbial and general, as Schrader shows by comparing it to a quotation from Thomas More's *History of King Richard III* (c. 1513): "For men use, if they have an evil turne, to write it in marble: and whoso doth use a good tourne, we write it in duste." \(^{133}\) But it can also be taken to narrow the allegorical field of interpretation considerably, especially in the context of Aesop's concluding prayer:
Quhen this wes said (quod Esope): 'my fair child,
[perswaid the Kirkmen ythandly to pray]
That tressoun of this cuntrie be exyld,
And Justice Regne, and Lordis keip thair fay
Unto thair Soverane King, baith nycht and day.'
And with that word he vanist, and I woke;
Syne throw the Schaw my Journey hamewart tuke. (1615-21)

What is specifically prayed for is "That tressoun...be exyld,...
and Lordis keip thair fay/Unto thair Soverane King." The suggestion seems to be that James III's "Lordis" bore him a grudge, rebelled and temporarily captured him. Events of this magnitude took place only twice in the reign, when Alexander Boyd abducted the boy King in 1466, and when the Border Lords hanged the King's 'familiars' at Lauder Bridge in 1482 and warded the King in Edinburgh Castle. Stearns has suggested the former incident, but I think we can fairly quickly rule it out. The Lion is clearly culpable for his sloth whereas a boy could hardly be; moreover, no parallel exists in the events of 1466 for the Lion's rescue by the Mice. On the other hand, parallels clearly do exist, as has been shown, between this part of the Tale and the events of 1482, which took place when the King was in his maturity.

Naturally, Henryson has not fully adapted his Aesopic material to fit all the details of a contemporary political reference, as he makes clear in the last line of the preceding stanza: "Figure heirof oftymis hes bene sene." For, as Rosamund Tuve has stated of medieval 'imposed' allegory in general, "men become images of the dramatis personae and not vice versa." ¹³⁴ Nevertheless, it may well have seemed to a contemporary that the hunters represented the Border Lords who rebelled at Lauder: Archibald 'Bell the Cat' the Earl of Angus, the Homes, and the Hepburns.
If the members of these last two families were understood to be among the hunters who "Waittit alway amendis for to get", Henryson may well have been playing the prophet in the midst of an ongoing struggle. The Homes were certainly the principals in another cause célèbre of James's reign: the causa de Coldingham, as its most recent historian has called it. The Homes and Hepburns, Pitscottie tells us,

"had many steidings of the priorie of Coldinghame in [their] handis for the tyme, beleiving to get the same in, sett or feu afterwardis",\(^{135}\)

and as early as 1472 came into conflict with James over control of this rich 'picking', to which the monasteries of Dunfermline and Durham also laid energetic claim. James III scotched the Dunfermline claim by transferring Henry Crichton from Paisley to Dunfermline, but his move to close Coldingham and turn over its revenues to the Chapel Royal was so unpopular with the Homes that he let the matter drop temporarily. His renewed attempt in 1485 was believed by Pitscottie to have been a direct cause of the second Home rebellion, which began with the seizure of the young James IV and ended with the defeat and ignominious death of James III at Sauchieburn in 1488.\(^{137}\)

Against such a background, Aesop's prayer makes more sense than it would if the Lauder incident alone were referred to.

Finally, "this cuntrie" might indeed be any country as Schrader insists, but Henryson's audience would probably have had more provincial horizons, and "this cuntrie" is just as much Scotland. MacQueen however goes too far I think in claiming that "the
primary reference of the poem is to Scotland."¹³⁹ Henryson strikes a nice balance between moral and political considerations, as I think I have shown. The two, after all, are not unrelated in the Aristotelian ethical schema. To go from consideration of private to consideration of public morality is but a short step.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

THE LION AND THE MOUSE


2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 123.

4 Ibid.


6 Stearns, Robert Henryson, pp. 15-18; MacQueen, Robert Henryson, pp. 172-173.


8 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 133.


10 Nicholson, Scotland, pp. 500, 504n., 509, 520.


12 Ibid., p. 123.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)

16 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 537.

17 Schrader, Thesis, p. 79.

18 Furnivall, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., II, p. 554.


20 Guthrie, "Ecloga Theoduli", p. 140.


22 Ibid., "De Mayo", p. 531, ll. 21-23.


24 Nelson, A Fifteenth Century Schoolbook, pp. 4-5, Items 11, 14, 16.

25 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 525, l. 13 f.

26 Ibid., p. 526, ll. 5-6.


28 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 168.

29 Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth, p. 5.


31 Cf. Bannatyne MS., IV, p. 40, l. 5, in which a poet called Stewart meets Pandarus, whose "fresche effeir maid all the feildis fair."

32 Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 32.

34 De Somniis 461a, 25-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.

35 De Divinatione per Somnum, 463a, 20-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.

36 Lumby, Ratis Raving, p. 18, no. 572.

37 Skeat, Piers Plowman, B text, passus 19, 1-5, p. 344.

38 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 37.

39 De Somniis 458b, 20-26; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.


44 Nadeau, "Aphthonius", p. 273; Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 31; Clark, Greco-Roman Education, pp. 196-197.

45 David Laing, p. xi.

46 Ibid., p. xvii.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)


49 MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*, p. 20.


52 Fox, *Notes and Queries* 212, n.s. 14, p. 347.


56 Pike, *Policraticus*, Bk. VIII, Ch. 12, p. 369.


59 Cf. Chapter Two, n. 126.

60 Lawler, *Parisiana Poetria*, p. 17.


64 *De Pueris Instituendis*; Woodward, *Erasmus*, p. 203.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)

67 De Catechizandis Rudibus, 17-19; Howie, Augustine, p. 280.

68 Paradiso XXV, ll. 64-65; Binyon, The Divine Comedy, p. 498.


70 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 550, ll. 8-10.


72 Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, M735, p. 416.

73 Lillian Randall, Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts (Berkeley, Calif., 1966), fig. 225, xlvi. Hereafter cited as Randall, Images in Gothic MSS.

74 Clark, Greco-Roman Education, p. 213.

75 Ibid., p. 219.

76 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 62.

77 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 17.


79 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 484.

80 Ibid., p. 430.

81 Ibid., p. 498.


83 Ferguson's Proverbs, MS. no. 1386, p. 102.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)

84 Rackham, Pliny's Natural History, p. 37.


87 Ibid., p. 65, col. 1, and note 20.


90 Lumby, Ratis Raving, p. 20.


92 Schrader, Thesis, pp. 176-177, ll. 5-8, 13.

93 Ibid., p. 178, ll. 13, 15.

94 Rackham, Pliny's Natural History, p. 39.


96 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 211, p. 24.


98 Wright, Political Songs, p. 309, ll. 470-472.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)


101 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1226, ll. 24-25.


105 Cato's Distichs, Bk. II, no. 9; Duff, Minor Latin Poets, p. 607: "Strength housed in little frame do not disdain:/In counsel men of slight physique may reign."


110 Ethics, 1147b, 5-10, Apostle p. 121.


112 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 286, p. 34.

113 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 60.


115 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 509.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)

117 Dunfermline Registrum nos. 479, 480, 488; cf. also Webster and Duncan, Dunfermline Court Book, pp. 60-61.

118 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 471.


120 Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences M738, p. 417.

121 Bannatyne MS., IV, p. 296, l. 476.


127 Ibid., p. 178, l. 31.


130 Stearns, Robert Henryson, p. 18.


132 Wright, Political Songs, p. 332.


135 Dobson, Durham Priory, p. 317.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI (Cont.)

136 Pitscottie's Cronicles of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1816), p. 211.


138 Schrader, Thesis, p. 84.

139 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 173.
CHAPTER VII

THE PREACHING OF THE SWALLOW.

The abrupt opening of the Preaching of the Swallow lifts us to a plane of thought where we contemplate 'the love that moves the Sun and the other stars'. We are at the center of the Fabillis, their 'kernel' as Roerecke calls it,¹ echoing the General Prologue. In all his fables to this point, Henryson has concentrated on showing us how "the World" distracts Man from his proper goal, the contemplation of God. Now we are given an understanding of God that approximates the point of view of the Mare in the Parliament. We are brought to appreciate how far God exceeds all natural human understanding, and yet how, with the aid of Grace, He may be known (albeit imperfectly) through contemplation of the order and harmony of the Creation.

The things of this world, then, are double-edged. They may take us away from God or help us towards him, depending on whether we use them for themselves or for the sake of a higher Good. This argument is so basic to our understanding of the function of the Fabillis as a whole and so explicitly expressed in this fable that it is no wonder Bannatyne placed the Preaching first in his anthology of fables. Here, as in no other fable, God's scheme for man's salvation is set out with greatest clarity, the whole of creation "concorddand till our opurtunitie" (1676).
But what has Henryson added to this fable that is new? Jamieson finds that the swallow of most previous versions warns the other birds only twice, whereas Henryson's (no doubt the better to call attention to the passing of the seasons) warns them three times; moreover, where earlier versions have an undifferentiated number of birds reply to the swallow, Henryson has a lark speak for all. However, the Ysopet I, which is idiosyncratic in that the swallow only gives one warning in it, also has the lark represent the other birds:

"Dame Arondelle dit d'Aloe
Il n'est pas mout saiges qui loe
A faire dommage au predomme."  

I shall consider the significance of the lark later.

Henryson's interpretation of the fowler's snares as the nets of the Devil (1911 ff.) finds a parallel only in Bromyard's version of the fable, though it is a common enough Biblical image; and it is probably his desire to enforce this parallel that leads him to differ from most other versions in another detail: he does not have his swallow fly off to live in safety under the eaves of the fowler's house when winter comes. Presumably he does not want to suggest that his swallow-preacher cohabits with the Devil! Henryson's sixteen-stanza cosmic introduction is, as Jamieson points out, completely new in this context; it goes far beyond the Vulgate Romulus, which merely begins "Congregacio magna Avium facta est in campo uno et consederunt universe". All the same, it is elaborated in strictly orthodox fashion, as we shall see. From the old stock, new wood.
Many critics have tried to pin Henryson's borrowing down to a particular text or school, and this I feel is a great mistake, reflecting not so much Henryson's particularity as the partial vision of the individual critic. MacQueen, for instance, has postulated that Henryson's deduction of the Creator's attributes from his Creation "was a particularly Victorine subject of meditation," and hence believes he has found "A fairly specific parallel to Henryson ... in Hugh of St. Victor's De Sacramentis." Because Hugh of St. Victor was a theologian of the twelfth century, Schrader, on the other hand, thinks that MacQueen "delves [too] far back to the Middle Ages" and assumes that

when he dwells at length upon his personal philosophy in the Proem to the Preiching of the Swallow ... Henryson's views are more in line with the later Ockhamists than with the more speculative Victorines.

There is a short answer to such a view: in Scotland Ockhamism fell into decline at the death of its chief exponent, Laurence of Lindores (d. 1437).

However, it is instructive to follow up Schrader's assertion that "his [Henryson's] nominalism has much in common with the theories of Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464)" in order to see how Schrader's sources themselves deny his point. The statement

All our greatest philosophers and theologians unanimously assert that the visible universe is a faithful reflection of the invisible, and that from creatures we can rise to a knowledge of the Creator 'in a mirror and in a dark manner' as it were.
is one passage Schrader excerpts from Nicholas's De Docta Ignorantia that is certainly relevant to Henryson's fable; but not in terms of what Schrader would like to think it tells us about Henryson's "personal philosophy". Nicholas himself is well aware that he is not being original here: "All our greatest philosophers and theologians unanimously assert" what he asserts.

Henryson is solidly conservative, as well he might be; schoolmasters were not allowed to engage in doctrinal speculation lest they corrupt the minds of the young. So when MacQueen tells us that

in a sense the entire fable is an expansion of two stanzas from that speech of Minerva to the dreamer upon which so much of the [Kingis] Quair depends,

we must beware of that phrase "in a sense". It does not, or should not, mean that Henryson is dependent on these lines of James I:

And quhare a persone has tofore knawing
Of it that is to fall purposely,
Lo, Fortune is bot wayke in suich a thing,
Thou may wele wit, and here ensample quhy:
To God, it is the first cause onely
Of every thing, there may no fortune fall
And quhy? for he foreknauing is of all.

And theryfore thus I say to this sentence:
Fortune is most and strangest evermore
Quhare leste foreknauuing or intelligence
Is in the man; and, sone, of wit or lore
Sen thou art wayke and feble, lo, theryfore,
The more thou art in dangere and commune
With hir that clerkis clepen so fortune.

In a sense these following lines from the Bannatyne MS. are about as equally relevant:
Off god is dredour and intelligence
ane verrye way to lyfe eternallie
quhilk all of nocht hes maid ws marvellouslie
To his ymage and hevinlye portratour
Geving ws reasoun fre will and libertie
To regne abone all carnall creatour.

All thing in erd to mannis nurising
ffyre the water the tre the bestiall
The fische in flude the foull in air fleing
Is ordanit be the Lord celestial
Syne finallie his gloir perpetuall
Off quhilk the man sail haif fruitioun
Clerelie seand be his eyne spirituall
His god / by fructuall contemplatioun

Sen god maid man / and hes him gevin his grace
Hes ordanit all to his felicitie
Quhy suld than man blunderit in warldlynes
Misken his god throw vaine prosperitie
Blyndit be fortoun fuliche felicitie
Men trowis thair lyfe salbe perpetuall
Throw warldlye gloir to god thay haif nane E
Bound in boundage of bailfull bailiall. 15

All three of these fifteenth century poets build upon commonplace
themes that give their arguments an inevitable air of similarity.
They accepted the same premises and wrote the same exercises in
school.

Before considering the Prologue, we should get a rough idea
of its proportional relationship to the rest of the poem. The
Prologue extends for thirteen stanzas, and consists, like the fable
itself, of three main subdivisions (stanzas 232-5; 236-9; 240-4).
The Tale consists of twenty-five stanzas and again--no doubt in
honour "off the Trinitie", (1648)--is divided into three sections
(stanzas 245-53; 254-60; 261-69). The third main section of the
fable, the Moralitas, consists of nine stanzas. The Prologue thus
takes up a third of the Tale.
The first four stanzas of the Prologue to the *Preaching of the Swallow* deal with "the relationship between God and man", as Denton Fox has said, and begin by emphasizing the Boethian point that to God "all thing is ay present":

The hie prudence, and wyrking mervelous,
The profound wit of God omnipotent,
Is sa perfyte, and sa Ingenious,
Excellent for all mannis Jugement;
For quhy to him all thing is ay present,
Ryght as it is, or ony tyme sail be,
Befoir the sicht off his Divinitie. (1622-28)

The stanza reminds us of God's eternal presence. "He is by his presence in all things, since all things are bare and open to his eyes," as Aquinas says, as much at the centre of an Aesopic collection as at the centre of His Universe.

Though the line following Henryson's main point, "Ryght as it is, or ony tyme sail be", is mere intensifying elaboration of that main point, the last line is more theologically specific. "Befoir the sicht off his Divinitie" refers to the manner in which God sees all things in an eternal present: "God, by comprehending His own essence, knows all things." All things are contained in God, as Henryson makes clear three stanzas later (1646). "Therefore God sees all things together and not successively." We, however, are only capable of knowing things successively, our understanding is too "waik and unperfite,/To comprehend him that contenis all." (1645-46)

These are the two poles of the argument in the first three and a half stanzas. By the latter half of the fourth, the conclusion is self-evident: since we cannot comprehend God as He is
"be ressoun naturall" (1647), we must "trow fermeleie and lat all ressoun be" (1649). In the following four stanzas the discussion will shift to consideration of how "we may haif knawlegeing/Off God almychtie, be his Creatouris" (1650-51), how we may infer certain things about Him by considering His Creation.

But let us re-examine the first stanza more closely. First, in relation to the concluding stanza of the Lion and Mouse, which ends with a prayer for better government. Since, as Aquinas observes in his treatise On Kingship "the way to govern may be learned from the divine government of the world", the natural next step after consideration of the foibles of secular government is a reconsideration of it in the light of Divine Government--"l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle".

Second, the three attributes of God that Henryson singles out, His "Hie prudence", "wirking mervelous", and "profound wit" are no doubt used encomiastically to indicate in the author and encourage in his readers an attitude of awe and reverence before the majesty of God "omnipotent". But they also pay silent homage to the truth of the Trinity, whose comprehension "is sa perfyte" and comprehension of whom is so "Excellent ffar all mannis Jugement" as to be a matter of faith rather than reason. A profound truth. Augustine's discussion in De Doctrina Christiana about the relative merits of the different levels of style permissible in treating of the Trinity is worth noticing in this respect:

Should a person who is teaching the Trinity discuss the matter in anything other than the subdued style, so that a subject like this, which is difficult to analyze, should be as clearly understood as possible? ...[No]...
But when God is being praised, whether in Himself or in His works, what an opportunity for fine and glowing language is offered to the man who can exert himself to his fullest capacity in praising Him whom no man can adequately praise ... 23

Henryson rises to just this challenge. His analysis does indeed glow with the ardour of his praise, and his tightly enthymemical argument is even encomiastic in the sheer rigor of its intellectual demonstration that the One praised is perfect beyond human imagination or praise. Nor should this be particularly surprising. "An Introduction can be formed by a third method of argument, syllogism," John of Basevorn says in his Ars Praedicandi 24 and Henryson's enthymemical introduction is entirely appropriate to his theme. Like the author of the Mulamadhyamikakarikas, he employs logic only to demonstrate its ineffectuality in the realm of Absolute (as opposed to Conditional) Reality. 25 To God all things are eternally present, but to Man all things are not so present; therefore we may not understand God as he is.

In his next three stanzas, Henryson unpacks and re-states his argument more simply and concretely, resorting to officially sanctioned metaphors of the prison-house and the bat's eye before restating it yet again in the fourth stanza. Just how orthodox Henryson's general line of argumentation is can be seen by reference to Aquinas's commentary on Boethius's De Trinitate:

In the attempt to arrive at some knowledge of God, the human mind is greatly assisted when its natural light is fortified by (an infusion of) a new illumination: namely, the light of faith and that of the gifts of wisdom and of understanding, by which the mind is elevated above itself in contemplation, in as much as it knows God to be above anything which it naturally comprehends. 26
Indeed, "the first step towards God is knowing that he is beyond change", as Gilson remarks in summarizing the Augustinian approach. Though Henryson's Prologue does not follow the precise order of "Augustinian contemplation" as outlined by Father Cayré, it does contain all the elements of it—contemplation of a mutable, ordered creation leading to assurance of the existence of an immutable, ordering creator. And this we shall see in stanzas 236-39.

But this is to anticipate. Let us take a close look at stanzas two, three, and four, and first at stanza two:

Thairfoir our Saull with Sensualitie
So fetterit is in presoun Corporall,
We may not cleirlie understand nor se
God as he is, nor thingis Celestiall:
Our mirk and deidlie corps Naturall
Blindis the Spirituall operatioun,
Lyke as ane man wer bundin in presoun. (1629-35)

Our understanding of the things of the spirit is "fetterit", "bundin", "mirk" and "blind"—this deeply pessimistic description of man's state has a long history. It goes back ultimately to Plato and the Biblical story of the Fall, but in the form best known to the Middle Ages was transmitted by St. Paul and Origen.

St. Paul sees

another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.

Origen goes even further. In Gilson's words,

According to this Doctor, souls had in heaven an existence anterior to their present life; they sinned in heaven and were sent down into their bodies as into prisons of flesh, acquiring bodies more or less gross in proportion to their sin.
This latently pessimistic view, which saw the sensible universe and the human body as places and instruments of punishment, was vigorously rejected by Augustine. For him (again in Gilson's words)

> everything God made is good. Therefore the body was created for its intrinsic goodness, not as a consequence of or punishment for sin. Finally the soul could not have been sent down into the body as into a prison; [for] the soul is united to the body in love, as an ordering and conserving force animating and moving it from within.  

The Augustinian view triumphed, of course, and Origen's ideas declared heretical, but the metaphor persisted. Juan Ruiz, John of Garland, and the author of a vernacular lament in the Book of Pluscarden all use it; and a short reflection in the Bannatyne MS, entitled "The Lyfe in Man" is almost Origenian in speaking of "lyfe" as "Ordanit of god a prisone for a tyme/To plege and purge the body and sawle frome cryme." Even Augustine uses the metaphor in a context similar to Henryson's:

> It is God who illuminates everything, and I, Reason, am to minds what sight is to the eyes ... The soul's eyes consist of a mind free from every taint of the body, turned away and purified from all desire for temporal things. It is faith alone which first brings about this state.

I have quoted extensively here because the movement from taintedness to illumination-by-Grace through Faith is exactly Henryson's between stanzas two and four. The metaphor of the "Spirituall operatioun" being blinded, moreover, is used by St. Thomas in a context Henryson obviously had in mind when he later
explicates the Fowler as the Devil sowing the chaff of "this
world's vain pleasure" (1917) that "makis wretchis blind" (1922):

the intellect, of its very nature, is moved
by that which enlightens it in the knowledge
of truth, which the devil has no intention
of doing in man's regard; rather does he
darken man's reason so that it may consent
to sin, which darkness is due to the imagination
and sensitive appetite. Consequently the whole
inward operation of the devil seems to be con-
fined to the imagination and sensitive appetite. 37

Henryson's fable, then, aptly personifies and explains this
two-way process in terms of the Larks' appetitive response to the
deception of the Fowler, and in terms of their lack of intellec-
tual response to the Swallow. Their animality is a vivid metaphor
for their enslaved moral state, for St. Thomas explains,

the passion of the sensitive appetite moves
the will ... in two ways. First, so that his
reason is wholly bound, so that he has not
the use of reason,... And of such the same
is to be said of irrational animals, which
follow of necessity the impulse of their pas-
sions; for in them there is no movement of
reason, nor, consequently, of will. Some-
times, however, the reason is not entirely
engrossed by the passion ...; and thus the
movement of will [and free choice] remains
in a certain degree.... Although the will
cannot prevent the movement of concupiscence
from arising ..., yet it is in the power of
the will ... not to consent to concupiscence. 38

These are the theological axioms upon which the drama of the Tale
builds, and certainly the images of stanzas two and three assume
an orthodox Augustinian understanding of concupiscence and ignor-
ance as the two consequences of original sin:

Inasmuch as these two vices had been excluded
by God from human nature as He fashioned it, it
may be said without exaggeration [Gilson explains]
that human nature was changed by the first man's
evil will. Instead of the knowledge Adam enjoyed
without having to acquire it, there is our present ignorance from which we are trying laboriously to emerge... [But] although darkened, the mind is still capable of knowing truth and loving goodness as it gradually and through practice acquires the arts, the sciences, and the virtues. 39

For this historical reason "We may not cleirlie understand nor se/ God as he is, nor thingis Celestiall" (1631-32).

In his third stanza, Henryson develops the illustrative metaphor of blinding with a lengthy reference to Aristotle:

In Metaphisik Aristotell sayis
That mannis Saull is lyke ane Bakkis Ee,
Quhilk lurkis still als lang as licht off day is,
And in the gloming cummis furth to fie;
Hir Ene ar walk, the Sone scho may not se;
Sa is our Saull with fantasie opprest,
To knaw the thingis in nature manifest. (1636-42)

This reference has been faithfully footnoted in all the editions of Henryson's works, but not often has Henryson's use of it been commented upon. This is surprising. For one thing, the image does not appear in all medieval copies of the Metaphysics. In the translation by William of Moerbecke, that St. Thomas uses, for instance, not bats but owls are referred to and the image itself dismissed as "not adequate". 40

Poetically speaking, however, Henryson's choice of illustration is quite apt, and seems to have been prompted by coincidence between the theological argument he is developing and Aristotle's argument about human limitation, from which he takes his illustration. To university minds, reference to the part would very probably have recalled the whole, which is thus worth setting out in its full context. Aquinas was not alone in adapting Aristotle
to serve Christian psychology:

The investigation of truth is in one sense difficult.... Perhaps the cause of this difficulty ... is in us and not in the facts. For as the eyes of bats are to the light of day, so is the intellect of our soul to the objects which in their nature are most evident of all [These are the principles and causes of all things, which are furthest removed from the senses but most known in their nature, as is shown in Metaphysics 71b,33--72a,5; and 184a,16--184b,14].

But what are we to make of Henryson's last couplet,

"Sa is our Saull with fantasie opprest,
To knaw the thingis in nature manifest." (1641-42)?

A clue comes from his use of "fantasie". As St. Thomas explains in commenting Aristotle's De Anima, "phantasms are to the intellectual part of the soul as sense objects to the senses" and "fantasie" itself is the act of imagination. The reason Henryson speaks of the soul as being "with fantasie opprest" (1641) is that, as Aristotle says again, "the soul never understands apart from phantasms". Although man tends towards what Gregory calls "the light without limits", he is at the same time blind towards this light by nature, since he must think by means of images which are necessarily material and consequently limited, whereas God is immaterial and without limits. Such an argument from psychology supports the one from time in the first stanza.

For these reasons, as Henryson's fourth stanza makes clear and the alliteration on "p" and "f" emphasizes:

... God is in his power Infinite,
And mannis Saull is febill and over small,
Off understanding walk and unperfite,
To comprehend him that contenis all. (1643-46)
Similarly,

"Nane suld presume, be ressoun naturall,
To seirche the secreitis off the Trinitie,
Bot trow fermelie, and lat all ressoun be." (1647-49),

for the reason that the truth that God is three and one is altogther a matter of faith and cannot be proven demonstratively, as Aquinas says in his commentary on De Trinitate. 48

The argument in Henryson's next stanza,

"Yit nevertheless we may haif knawlegeing
Off God almychtie, be his Creatouris,
That he is gude, ffair, wyis and bening;" (1650-52),

follows a very traditional curve of thought in turning from consideration of God "as he is" (1632) to contemplation of Him as He is known through His creatures. Aquinas, after considering that the truth of the Trinity is a matter for faith alone, goes on in just this way: "In this life we know God only from his effects.... Thus there are things that designate His causality and His eminence over creatures and that deny in Him any of the imperfections found in effects." 49 But the basic core of Henryson's scholastic synthesis is the Augustinian method of contemplation, as has been said.

Critics like Gerke have been worried at Henryson's 'radical' thrusting of flowers into first position, 50 in order to illustrate that God "is gude, ffair, wyis and bening" (1652). But even this can, I think, be accounted for as a reminiscence of Augustine's contemplative approach. In his Confessions, Augustine tells us,

I asked the ... sun, the moon, and the stars ["What is my God?"]... they answered, 'God is he who made us'. I asked these questions simply by gazing at these things, and their beauty was all the answer they gave,.... Man
is able 'to catch sight of God's invisible
nature through his creatures' (Romans 1:20),
but his love of these material things is too
great. He becomes their slave....

From his paraphrase of Romans ("For the invisible things of Him
from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood
by the things that are made"), it seems that Augustine developed
his proof on the authority of the Apostle, who was himself proba­
ably influenced by Job 12:7-9:

But ask now the beasts, and they shall
 teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they
shall tell thee: Who knoweth not in all these
that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?

Henryson too was probably aware of Job, for this quotation has
relevance not only to a proof of God's nature, but to a fable in
which a swallow gives instruction. However, Augustine was the
historically seminal influence and, as Gilson says, "it is easy to
see how the Augustinian method of reaching God by way of the mind
produced a symbolic mysticism of the sensible world during the
Middle Ages." It is into this tradition that Denton Fox's quo­
tation from Hugh of St. Victor concerning this whole visible world
being "a book written by the finger of God" fits, and for that
reason his suggestion that lines 1650-51 "perhaps hint at the
assumption ... that a study of bestial creatures leads to higher
knowledge" seems unnecessarily cautious.

But what schema is Henryson working with when he attributes
goodness, fairness, wisdom, and benignity to God? In his Quaes­
tiones Disputatae, Aquinas tells us that

the trinity of persons is known in two ways.
In the first, it is known according to the
properties by which the persons are distin­
guished (and this is not known by us in this life but accepted on faith). The second way is through essential notes which are appropriate to the persons, as power to the Father, wisdom to the Son, and goodness to the Holy Spirit. 56

Certainly this second way forms the schema for an anonymous poem in the Bannatyne MS, which runs "In god thre thingis scripture dois declare/His power sapience and hie bonyte". 57 However, Henryson's terms fit this schema much less exactly. True, "gude" may be appropriated to the Holy Spirit, "wyis" to the Son, and "power" to the Father, but what are we to do with "ffair" and "bening"?

The answer to this question is suggested by the stanzas that follow (236-9); they seem to follow a scheme similar to this one from a standard university text, Peter Lombard's Sentences:

from the continuity of creatures the eternal Maker is known, from the large amount of creatures the Omnipotent, from order and arrangement the Wise, from governance the Good. 58

The example of "thir Jolie flouris" (1653) is related explicitly to benignity (OED bening: gratious) since they are "distribute be gift off his Godheid" (1656), and implicitly to fairness, since they are "rycht sweit off smell, and plesant off colouris" (1654). 59 (Flowers also stand for the transience of material things and remind us of our mutability [cf. LM 1584-6, PS 1696]. 60)

Henryson's next two stanzas (237-8) follow exactly the order of creation. Such topics seem to have been favoured by schoolmasters with academic training, for William of Wheteley devotes a whole Questio (56) to the place of man in the order of creation.
So too Bodley MS. Rawlinson 1447, a schoolbook ruled and headed for notes on subjects in natural and moral philosophy, has as first entries "De Tempore" and "De Stellis Fixis" and ends with "De Animae Definitione".

As has been pointed out, the transition from consideration of the beauty of the universe to contemplation of its number, weight and proportion is particularly Augustinian. Further illustration will give us a clearer idea of Henryson's comprehensive orthodoxy. In De Ordine, the movement is from things to their abstract ideas:

Surveying the earth and heavens, it [Reason] saw that the source of all pleasure is found in beauty alone. Further analysis showed that the source of pleasure in beauty lies in form, that form is founded on measurements and measurements on number. Hence, reason found that what the eyes look upon cannot possibly be compared [in excellence] with what the mind perceives.

In De Vera Religione it involves not only this but an ascent from temporal to eternal things:

We should not idly look upon the beauty of the sky, the orderly arrangement of the stars, the brightness of the light, the alternation of days and nights, the monthly courses of the moon, the fourfold division of the year, equal in number to the four elements, the great potency of seeds bringing forth forms and numbers; everything preserves its own limits and characteristic nature according to the class to which it belongs. When we consider these things, we should not indulge in any light-minded and unprofitable curiosity; instead we should take a step towards immortal things, which last forever.

If we check Henryson's development against such passages, we see that, in stanza 237, he moves from the beauty of the sky, to consideration of the elements:
The firmament payntit with sternis cleir,
From eist to west rolland in cirkill round,
And everilk Planet in his proper Spheir,
In moving makand Harmonie and sound;
The fyre, the Air, the watter, and the ground--
Till understand it is aneuch, I wis,
That God in all his werkis wittle is. (1657-63)

Such evidence of order and arrangement, says Peter Lombard in agreement with Henryson's last line, confirms our sense that God is wise.

With consideration of the four elements, Henryson departs slightly from Augustine's order, but not from his schema. In the following stanza, Henryson considers how everything preserves its own limits and characteristic nature according to the class to which it belongs, and sees this as evidence of God's fairness and goodness (Peter Lombard likewise states that the governance of the universe teaches us that God is good):

Luke weill the fische that swimmis in the se;
Luke weill in eirth all kynd off bestiall;
The foulis ffair, sa forcelie thay fle,
Scheddand the air with pennis grit and small;
Syne luke to man, that he maid last off all,
Lyke to his Image and his similitude:
Be thir we knaw, that God is ffair and gude. (1664-70)

Why "ffair" is included with "gude" here becomes clear once we realize that beauty was considered to be "generally attributed to a harmony among ... parts". 64

In the next six stanzas (239-44), Henryson's description of "The difference off tyme, and ilk seasoun" (1675) parallels Augustine's consideration of the fourfold division of the year; and, even in stanzas 245-6, his description of a spring walk made to watch the spring sowing seems to be developed from Augustine's
consideration of the potency of seeds in bringing forth forms and numbers. But before passing on to consideration of Henryson's seasonal ecphrasis, we should cast our eyes back over the schema of stanzas 236-9 to notice three things.

Firstly, Henryson seems to have made an attempt to synthesize Wisdom 11:21 with Genesis I as part of an Augustinian contemplation, and seems to have updated it in terms of Aristotle's discussion of the order of creation in Metaphysics VIII. As Aquinas tells us, Aristotle considered that the completeness of the universe required that there should be no gaps in its order, that in Nature there should everywhere be a gradual development from the less to the more perfect. Further, he likened the nature of things to numbers, which increase by tiny degrees, and made a broad distinction between living things with vegetative, sensitive and intellectual capacities.65 Consider stanza 239:

All Creature he maid ffor the behufe  
Off man, and to his supportatioun  
In to this eirth, baith under and abufe,  
In number, wecht, and dew proportioun;  
The difference off tyme, and ilk seasoun,  
Concorddand till our opurtunitie,  
As daylie by experience we may se. (1671-77)

Here especially, God's granting of dominion over the animals to Adam in Genesis I, 28:30 is expressed in an Augustinian-scholastic synthesis.66

Secondly, Henryson's conclusion that God is a wise and good governor, which he draws from the evidence of harmony amongst the planets, elements and seasons, seems to take cognizance of a schoolbook illustration of a five-part rhetorical syllogism or
enthymeme. It occurs in Cicero’s *De Inventione*, and is elaborated by Alcuin, and resurfaces in the *Summa Theologica*. I quote Alcuin:

A Major Premise may be illustrated as follows: 'All things which are truly well-governed are regulated by a conscious plan rather than by mere accident.' Now comes the Proof of this Major Premise: 'When a household is managed by plan and foresight, it is governed much better in every respect than is a house abandoned to chance and hazard.' Next is the Minor Premise: 'Nothing is as well-governed as the universe.' Then we introduce the Proof of this Minor Premise: 'The rising and setting of the heavenly bodies, the growing and ripening of the fruits of the earth, the alternation of the seasons and days, are arranged in a wondrous order and limited to a fixed cycle of change; [conclusion:] and these are signs that the universe is governed with great wisdom.'

We should note that Alcuin expands imaginatively upon Cicero when he describes the seasons, but that he also omits from Cicero a stock detail which Henryson seems to retain and use.

The changes of the seasons [says Cicero] not only proceed in the same way by a fixed law, but are also adapted to the advantage of all nature.

---"Concorddand till our opurtunitie" (1676).

This brings us on to the third point. Obviously the changes of the seasons are, like the animals, "maid ffor the behufe/Off man, and to his supportatioun" (1671-72), but Henryson is thinking in spiritual as well as physical terms. Not only does "This ordered change nourish and sustain all that lives on earth" says Boethius, it also "snatches away and buries all that was born, hiding it in final death." Seasonal change was a reminder to
man of his own mutability and also "a warning and a guide to his free actions". Just as

the dawinge folowith the kynde of springeinge tyme ... and midday folowith the kynde of somer and the eventide folowith the kynde of harvest tyme, and nyght is iclepid and likened to winter.

so Man's Youth may be compared to Spring, his Manhood to Summer, his Middle Age to Autumn, and his Old Age to Winter.

Moreover, in terms of numerology, which Henryson's audience would surely have taken account of in a passage explicitly referring to "number, wecht and dew proportioun", the number of the Trinity (3) is the number of perfection, and the number of the Elements and Seasons (4) is the number of mutability. His schoolboys and anyone with an education would certainly have been aware of this, for Matthew of Vendome uses the four seasons as the illustration of an argumentum a tempore. But Henryson goes beyond this in dressing up his argument from time as an ecphrasis of the seasons and consciously juxtaposing it against a parallel sequence in the Tale itself. Art becomes Nature as set-piece description of the four seasons in the Prologue gives way, in the Tale, to three pageants set in seasonal landscapes.

Let us turn now to Hermogenes to see how an ecphrasis of the seasons should be written:

Ecphrases of ... seasons ... will draw also from narrative and from the beautiful, the useful or their contraries. The virtues of the ecphrasis are clearness and visibility; for the style must through hearing operate to bring about seeing.
Henryson certainly takes heed of the last point; there is a very marked increase in alliteration in these stanzas, especially in the reference to flowers (1679-80, 1696) and winter (1699-1705). And, as we have already remarked, he also adapts his description to the symbolic demands of his narrative; his careful attention to the wintry fate of the flowers of summer looks back to stanza 236, and the Moralitas of the Lion and Mouse (st. 226) beyond that; his description of the "styll murning" of the birds "neir slane with snaw and sleit" looks forward to the fate of the birds who, in the "Slonkis and slaik maid slidderie with the sleit" (1835), end up in the Fowler's net.

Henryson also draws upon the beautiful and the useful for his descriptions. His aureate description of Phoebus (1682-84), of Flora's mantle of flowers rent by "Austerne Eolus" (1678-81, 1692-95), and of "Columbie up keik[ing] throw the clay" (1708) are all vividly fresh and beautiful (MacQueen has noticed the precision of just these details). Likewise, the references to Ceres, Bacchus and Plenty's Horn all suggest the usefulness to man of the harvest season (st. 241).

We might have expected him to make extensive use of encyclopedic descriptions of the months, especially of references to the labours of the months, but this is not completely the case. His references to Flora, Ceres, Bacchus, Copia Temporis, and Aeolus are, in conjunction "with the first-hand precision of 'tome pypes'" and reference to France and Italy, "unusual ... for the Middle Ages", as MacQueen has said. Certainly one does not find these deified
classical personifications of meadow, harvest, abundance, wine, and wind in Bartholomaeus or the *Secreta*. However, William of Conches in the twelfth century certainly knew that

Ceres is nothing other than earth's natural power of growing crops and multiplying them.... [and] Bacchus is nothing other than earth's natural power of growing into vines.  

Quite conceivably, Henryson gleaned such ideas from a more specialized medieval reference book than the sort listing the labours of the months: Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.  

Nevertheless, Henryson does make use of some of the conventional descriptions of the Labours of the Months. His first stanza could refer to either May or June, though more probably to May, since June was the month of mowing and May of flowers:

```
The Somer with his Jolie mantill off grene,  
With flouris fair furrit on everilk fent,  
Qhilk Flora Goddes, off the flouris Quene,  
Hes to that Lord as ffor his seasoun sent,  
And Phebus with his goldin bemis gent  
Hes purfellit and payntit plesandly,  
With heit and moysture stilland ffrom the sky. (1678-84)
```

His next stanza appears to be a conflation of July, August and September, since these months were represented respectively by a labourer reaping corn "in grete passing hete"; another threshing; and yet another gathering grapes in a vineyard:

```
Syne Harvest hait, quhen Ceres that Goddes  
Hir barnis benit hes with abundance;  
And Bachus, God off wyne, renewit hes  
The tume Pyipis in Italie and France,  
'With wynis wicht, and liquour off plesance;  
And Copia temporis to fill hir horne,  
That never wes full off quheit nor uther corne. (1685-91)
```

The October and November activities of planting winter seed and feeding pigs with acorns are not mentioned, presumably because
Henryson wants, instead, to extend his garment-of-flowers image into a conceit of the autumn wind stripping the leaves. Not so the description of "wynter wan":

Syne wynter wan, quhen Austerne Eolus,
God off the wynd, with blastis boreall,
The grene garment off Somer glorious
Hes all to rent and revin in pecis small;
Than flouris fair faidit with froist man fall,
And birdis blyith changit thair noitis sweit
In styll murning, neir slane with snaw and sleit.

(1692-98)

It obviously refers to December, since

in that moneth for scharpnesse of colde foules
and beestis that beth fedde in house ben quyete
and of lytil movinge, and ther fore they waxe fatte
and ther fore that tyme they beth islawe.

This looks past the immediate reference to the wild birds being "neir slane with snaw and sleit" (1698) to their later being sheltered, fattened and slain by the Fowler (1838, 1844-45, 1874-80).

Rhetorically, the description of winter is unusual in that the alliteration is here most intense, perhaps suggesting intense cold, and in so far as not one but two stanzas are devoted to it. A second stanza increases our consciousness of the deadly qualities of the season:

Thir dalis deep with dubbis drounit is,
Baith hill and holt heillit with frostis hair;
And bewis bene laifit bair off blis,
Be wickit windis off the winter wair.
All wyld beistis than ffom the bentis bair
Drawis ffor dreid unto thair dennis deep,
Coucheand ffor cauld in coifis thame to keip. (1699-1705)

Both stanzas represent a close paraphrase of descriptions of winter to be found in the Secreta Secretorum. From these we can
see where Henryson might have got his image of the autumn wind stripping the leaves, and appreciate the literary constraints at work in his conflation of autumn and winter:

In this tyme the dayes ben wondyr shorte, and the nyghtes longe, for that the sonne lovyth hym fro oure regioun. The colde is moche, the wyndys bene scharpe, the stormys of the eeyre hidous and horribill, the trene bene dispoylid of thare lewis, al the grene is fadid ... Many bestes ham hydyt in caves of montagns, to fle and enchue colde and mostnesse ... bestis that no recepte have, tremblyth, empeyryth, and mournyth for the colde, and moistnesse, wych is perissynge and contrarie to the lyfe.

A second version of this same work adds a detail also relevant to Henryson's "birdis ... neir slane with snaw and sleit" (1697-98): "and the erthe as an oold woman [is] broken with age and neer deed".

MacQueen has suggested the description of winter in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight as a parallel, but, apart from the similarity of an apparently conventional half-line in each ("Ner slyn wyth the slete", SGGK 729; "neir slane with snaw and sleit", PS 1698), the two have little in common. He might more profitably have noticed Gavin Douglas's Prologue to the Eighth Book of the Aeneid as another exercise in alliterative amplification of the Secreta's description "Of Wyntyr":

The tyme and sesson bittir, cald and paill, Tha schort days that clerkis clepe brumaill, Quhen brym blastis of the northyn art ... ... all to schaik the levis of the treis Woddis, forrestis, with nakyt bewis blowt, Stude stripyt of thar weid in every howt. So bustuusly Boreas his bugill blew, The deyr full dern doun in the dalis drew;
Henryson's image of "wyld beistis ... Draw[and] ffor dreed unto thair dennis deip" (1703-04) is one that a reasonably educated medieval reader could be expected to understand symbolically. Douglas refers to such a scene as a "symylitude of Hell" and the author of Sir Gawain relies on the association to help produce pathos in his Deer Hunt when he speaks of "Der drof in the dale, doted for drede". As a figure of the Last Judgement, the image of course looks back to Revelations, that most well-thumbed Book of the Bible:

And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains.

The passage could not only be understood anagogically, but tropologically too, as we can see from this citation under temp-tacio in the thirteenth century Tabula Exemplorum:

unde presenciens [hericius] ventum aquilonarem frigidissimum, qui gravat eum multum propter teneritatem ejus, intrat cavernam, nec inde exit, donec ventus cessaverit. Sic sensiens quis ventum temptacionis debet se includere in foraminibus petre, considerando vulnera Jesu Christi et ita includere se in caverna penitencie et religionis donec transeat iniquitas.

Such an understanding would be relevant in an introduction to a Tale in which, as the Moralitas makes clear, 'Larks' fail to repent lives of gluttony during the winter of their lives.
Finally, we come to the description of Spring:

Syne cummis Ver, quhen winter is away,
The Secretar off Somer with his Sell,
Quhen Columbie up keikis throw the clay,
Quhilk fleit wes befoir with froistes fell.
The Mavis and the Merle beginnis to mell;
The Lark on loft, with uther birdis haill,
Than drawis furth ffra derne, over doun and daill.

(1706-12)

It seems to be loosely based on Bartholomaeus's descriptions of March and April, since Henryson's striking (but somewhat cryptic) image of Ver as "the Secretar off Somer with his Sell" (1707) seems to be an imaginative extrapolation from this:

Therefore springinge tyme hatte Ver, and hath that name of Viror othir of vigor, that is to menyng of greennesse othir of vertue, for thanne herbis and treen biginnith to springe and to wax grene with buriouns and spriggis.

Spring ushers in Summer with its new greenery, and, if sealing wax can be also green, can be imagined thus as a secretary entrusted with Summer's seal. The resurrectional symbolism of

"Columbie up keik[and] throw the clay,
Quhilk fleit wes befoir with froistes fell." (1708-09),
is also vividly descriptive of one of the common properties of Spring, in which

"the poore and holes of therthe beth [opened] and humours biginneth to meve upward in beestis, in treen, and herbis." 100

The reference to the Mavis, Merle, and--significantly--the Lark as coming out of their holes and beginning to sing "over doun and daill" conflates the characteristics of several spring months. "In May drawis deir to doun and daill"101 and in "Marche ... bestis
and foulis ben imeued to serve Venus". Chaucer too develops this point in the Prologue to his *Legend of Good Women*: in spring those birds that have escaped the Fowler's winter net sing songs of defiance and songs for St. Valentine; the Lark especially announces the coming of the God of Love.

Such then is Henryson's set-piece seasonal *ecphrasis*. Having put the finishing touches to his picture, he then steps into it:

That samin seasoun, in to ane soft morning,
Rycht blyth that bitter blastis wer ago,
Unto the wod, to se the flouris spring,
And heir the Mavis sing and birdis mo,
I passit ffurth, syne lukit to and ffro,
To se the Soill that wes richt sessionabill,
Sappie, and to resave all seidis abill.

Even this seemingly autobiographical slice-of-life is a carefully manipulated set-piece. The topic of "the spring walk" was a literary convention deriving from schoolroom exercises, as this passage for translation from the fifteenth century Magdalen College Grammar-School Book shows:

The feldys be refreshede wonderfully with thies showrys and the corne areysith hymself hyer and the heggies cast ote mor larger branches. Moreover, the woodes ar coverde with a thykker leff. O, what a pleasur it is nowes to ryse betyme and walke over the hylles while thei be yete sumwhat moiste with the mornyng dwe, or ellys walke by the woodes syde wher besy byrdes recordeth their swete lays, every on hys owne.

Nevertheless, by maintaining a level of alliteration that is comparable to the description-of-the-seasons passage, the distinction between art and nature is further reduced.

The narrator's object is not just "to se the flouris spring,
And heir the Mavis sing" but also "To se the Soill" and the plant-
ing of the good seed--a figuratively auspicious way to begin a
Moral Tale. The following stanza develops it with economy of
traditional description and richness of symbolic association:

Moving thusgait, grit myrth I tuke in mynd,
Off lauboraris to se the besines,
Sum makand dyke, and sum the pleuch can wynd,
Sum sawand seidis fast ffrome place to place,
The Harrowis hoppand in the saweris trace:
It wes grit Joy to him that luifit corne,
To se thame laubour, baith at evin and morne. (1720-26)

This too is a variation on a theme typical of school exercises,
complementing in the domestic sphere the description of spring in
the wild wood. We might compare to it this translation-piece from
a late medieval schoolroom manuscript (translated from Latin):

"Walking through the open fields, men enjoy watching
the labourers gathering-in the autumn grain so that
the poor as well as the rich will be able to live." 106

The literal level of what Henryson wants to convey is that, just
as the sun, moon and stars co-operate in the work of production
by their movements, so the Husbandman co-operates by his labour. 107
To see man co-operating with the works of creation in harmony with
the Divine Plan is indeed a subject for "grit myrth".

A figurative level seems also to be active here. It was not
uncommon to associate writing or composing with plowing. Thus
Peter the Venerable:

He [the monk] cannot take to the plow?
Then let him take up the pen; it is much
more useful. In the furrows he traces on
the parchment he will sow the seeds of
the divine words. 108

MacQueen has already suggested that the Parables of the Sower 109
and the Good Seed 110 are alluded to here, 111 and from the Ecbasis
Cuiusdam Captivi author's beginning of "an instructive fable as springtime returned" it seems safe to conclude that Henryson intends 'those who have ears to hear' to understand that what follows will be morally profitable. Another schoolmaster, John of Garland, spells out the same connections and applies them specifically to the classroom in a poem entitled "A Homely Example on Beginning as a Teacher". After two quatrains on the turning of the seasons "from springtime" when "the earth is cloaked" to winter "when the North wind wrangles", he states:

The First Cause possesses eternal spring; on this mirror of the Holy one all living things gaze, things which tremble in the grip of time, defective, liable through sin to death and hell.... Therefore, if we wish to be formed again in God, exiles that we are, we must be renewed in virtue. Sin turned wisdom to ignorance; knowledge looks to restoration through virtue.... Stirred by study, knowledge bursts into new life ... it is sown in boys at the proper time for sowing, it blooms in adolescence and returns fruit. The virtue of a mind that gives of all it has with a special grace is the best and most fully alive state of man; it rains dew on the mouth of the ignorant man, that he may flourish with new offshoots of virtue.... In us knowledge is blind and buried; pining in the prison of the body it fades into nothingness; but like a spark it is nourished ... and brought to maturity by long teaching....

The joy the narrator-teacher of the Morall Fabillis takes "Off lauboraris to se the besines, ... sawand seidis fast ffrome place to place (1721-23) surely also echoes the second stanza of Henryson's General Prologue. There the growth of corn, "labourit with grit diligence" (9), is compared to the "Morall sweit sentence" that springs "Oute of the subtell dyte of poetry" (12-13). In the Preaching of the Swallow, Henryson has tilled hard theological
ground, but his careful cultivation has also made it "Sappie, and to resave all seidis abill" (1719). It is now fructive for allegorical interpretation of the Tale that is to follow. In the words of Quintilian, another schoolmaster who looms large behind both Henryson and Garland,

as deep plowing makes the soil more fertile for the production and support of crops, so, if we improve our minds by something more than mere superficial study, we shall produce a richer growth of knowledge and shall retain it with greater accuracy. 115

Cause enough for rejoicing.

Henryson's Prologue to the Preaching of the Swallow demonstrates that his Fabillis is no superficial product of the schoolroom; it sets all of medieval knowledge and endeavour succinctly in its true theocentric perspective. No mean achievement, however traditional the parts and the approach. Truly, the tightly-packed information in the Prologue to the Preaching represents the sweet kernel of Truth at the core of the Fabillis.

In the next stanza the Tale proper begins:

And as I baid under ane bank full bene,
In hart gritlie rejosit off that sicht,
Unto ane hedge, under ane Hawthorne grene,
Off small birdis thair come ane ferlie flicht,
And doun belyif can on the leifis licht,
On everilk syde about me quhair I stude,
Rycht mervellous, ane mekill multitude.  (1727-33)

Henryson presents Aesop's story as something his narrator personally experiences. This is good strategy, for, as a festa iuvol o-figure, the narrator helps us assimilate this Aesopic exemplum to our own life-experience. In general terms, of course, such a literary procedure was commonplace. Fulgentius, probably inspired
by Ovid's *Amores* III, v, 3-7, begins his *Mythologiae* with a similar piece of pseudo-biography: taking a walk through the fields of his farm, he stops to rest under a tree and is inspired by birds to invoke the Muses in verse.116 So too, on a Summer's day, under an oak, Nigel Wireker's "Daun Burnel the Ass" hears chattering and witnesses a Parliament of Birds;117 and Chaucer's *Parliament of Foules* is in the same tradition.

However, the closest parallels to Henryson's treatment are contemporary, didactic, and mainly Scots. In *Sir Isumbras* (really the *Legend of St. Eustace* dressed up as a didactic romance) the hero is depicted as being haughty for so long that Christ "wolde no lengur abyde:/To hym he sent a stevenne". Sir Isumbras, while riding one day

... herde a fowle synge hym by
    Hye upon a tre.
He seyde 'Welcome, syr Isumbras:
    Thou haste forgete what thou was,
    For pryde of gold and fee'.118

The romance was well-known in late medieval Scotland, as we know from references in the *Bannatyne MS*. collection. Even closer parallels can be found in that collection.

An anonymous didactic piece beginning "ffurth throw ane forrest as I fure" treats of an encounter between the poet and a bird called "dame conscience/That oft rememberis manis mynd".119 In another with the *incipit* "Doun by ane rever as I red", the poet "marvellit quhat that bird sowld be" and is admonished with the ultimate insult "Thou may say that a fowle the lerd".120 Yet a third entitled "walking allone amang thir levis grene" is so close
to Henryson's version as to have details and phrases in common with it:

\[ \text{I did me lene untill ane [h]athorne tre} \]
\[ \text{Quhair birdis sang with curage wounder hie} \]
\[ \text{Rehersand ay this vers in to my eir} \]
\[ \text{"Man mend thy lyfe and restoir wrangus geir".} \]

The bird "proceeding furth so in hir sermond seir" goes by the name of "Synderesis" or Prudence and so concludes "Thairfoir in tyme I Reid the ask mercy". The poem ends much like one of Henryson's Swallow's sermons:

"Scho braidit furth with that and twik the flicht and I uprais and hamewart schup to fair." 

Having explored the conventionality of this topic, we may enquire into the attitude of mind that it presupposes. The didactic strategy of the topic is clear from the analogues quoted, but the psychology of perception is not. Thus, while Henryson quite obviously intends his readers to regard the intrusion of "ane ferlie flicht" (1730) of birds upon his narrator's contemplation as "Rycht mervvellous" (1733), it is not immediately obvious how we are meant to respond.

The event may be miraculous, for, says St. Thomas,

"The word miracle is derived from admiration, which arises when an effect is manifest and its cause is hidden.... Therefore those things which God does outside those causes which we know, are called miracles." 

The event may also be an imaginative imposition on natural experience, for two realms that would never naturally combine may be combined in imagination; in this respect talking beasts and chimeraes have something in common. Nor would it have seemed imposs-
ible to the medieval mind that the narrator should 'hear' animals conversing; "some animals perceive each others' speech or understand a mental concept" says Oresme with reference to Aristotle, and, he goes on, some people may imagine and cogitate so strongly on something that they feel they are in the place or with the persons about whom they are thinking. The widespread use of Meditational or Memory techniques would have rendered such an opinion more plausible than it seems today. According to the French philosopher, such an illusion may be caused by a vigorous movement of bad humours ... as when Sortes riding along the road is startled at the flight of a lark and ... begins to think hard about such things.

and it may even be possible for it to appear to Sortes when he is in the fields or in his room that it is said to him 'Go confess' or etc., even though he hears nothing but the wind or a bell.

Thus Oresme's assertion that "a vigorous imagining ... together with a small external appearance ... produces marvelous appearances in healthy as well as sick people" may be helpful in naturalizing Henryson's scenario in some such way as the following: Henryson, 'resting' from fable imitation by meditating on Man's relation to God and Creation, hears birds twittering and thinks of the fable of "the Swallow and the Birds" in those terms. Of course his audience would have been aware of the 'surface structure' of events, that the poet is employing a literary convention, but this does not mean that some of them would
not have filled-in for themselves, and been expected to fill-in, the 'deep structure' that the context provides. Our reading of this scene becomes, I believe, more satisfying and exacting if we try to see it in terms of contemporary categorizations.\textsuperscript{132}

Before discussing the following four-stanza sermon of the Swallow and its one-stanza dismissal by the Larks, it will be as well to consider the symbolic significance usually attached to these birds so that we can better appreciate how Henryson has used tradition.

The lark principally attracted attention by its skyward song-flight, and for this reason was often regarded as a servant of the God of Love, as we have seen. But Love may be either sacred or profane, and this is presumably one reason Henryson chose the lark to represent erring mankind. Neckham derived \textit{alauda} (lark) from \textit{laus} (praise);\textsuperscript{133} St. Francis regarded it as exemplifying by its plain dress and praise of God virtues his friars should emulate, and Tertullian imagined

\begin{quote}
the birds rising out of the nest ... and, instead of hands, extend[ing] the cross of their wings, and say[ing] somewhat to seem like a prayer.\textsuperscript{134}
\end{quote}

We need, then, as an objective correlative for man's free choice, to keep both facets of their ambiguous character in mind; otherwise the willfull blindness of Henryson's birds will seem too harshly predestinarian. At least, one critic, Matthew McDiarmid, has been led astray by ignoring Henryson's symbolic shorthand.\textsuperscript{135}

The swallow has even richer associations that reveal Henryson's nice judgement and encyclopedic knowledge. "His comynge is token
and bodynge of springeinge tyme," as Bartholomaeus says, and for this reason the swallow was symbolic of the incarnation and resurrection. Bartholomaeus adds that the bird's natural garrulity accounted for its name: "The swolowe hatte hirundo as it were 'crienge' ... Isidire seith." And this too was soon interpreted in an edifying manner. "The cry of the swallow is the grief of penitence" the De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus tells us.

John of Salisbury indirectly identifies the swallow as a prophetic bird: "When you sally forth," he says in a chapter on "Omens" in the Policraticus,

birds which are named prophetic will indicate to you the secrets of the future. What are these birds, you ask? Why, those which the poets assert have been changed from human beings into the form of birds [for instance, Procne in the Metamorphoses].

The fact that the swallow "taketh nouzte mete sitting but ... in the ayre, as Isidire seith" is also moralized: "Since he does not choose terrestrial things, being remote from them, he seeks heavenly things" says the De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus. This in turn led to the swallow's association with contemplation. Friar Bernard, one of St. Francis' companions, was said to have a mind so "detached from earthly things, he, like the swallows, soared high by contemplation." Nor is this all; its prophetic qualities account for the attribution of prudent foresight to it. In Jean de Courcy's Le Chemin de Vaillance, for instance, the Pilgrim carries the swallow-banner of diligence in an attack on the Tower of Accadie. The bird was also associated with sermons, and obedience, as in Celano's account of St. Francis' Stilling of the
Swallows. And the ingenious moralizer of the De Bestiis also assures us that the swallow "flies through winding circuits that he, subjected, might bend his mind to diverse obedient precepts". But the finest eulogy of the swallow must be Aristotle's in the Historia Animalium:

In a general way in the lives of animals many resemblances to human life may be observed. Pre-eminent intelligence will be seen more in small creatures than in large ones, as is exemplified in the case of birds by the nest-building of the swallow. It is, he goes on, intelligent, mixing mud and chaff "as men do" to build; social, since "both parents co-operate in the rearing of the young"; cleanly, teaching the young to "let their excrement fall over the side of the nest"; and something of a faith-healer too, for "if you prick out the eyes of swallow-chicks while they are yet young, the birds will get well again and will see by and by." This last point was especially beloved by exemplarists for its moral significance. Lastly, the recommendations of rhetorical handbooks made it not uncommon for the swallow to address a 'sermon' in its own person (conformatio) to the reader, setting forth all its qualities and concluding with the probatio that its life can be a lesson to man and with the peroratio that man must be obedient to his creator.

So then, we find the swallow admirably qualified to figure the good preacher—intelligent, social, possessed of foresight, a loquacious exponent of virtue, penitence, and redemption, a bringer of hope and grace. It is on the basis of this body of information
that Henryson proceeds to build his magnificent amplificatio of a fourteen line Aesopic fable. Nihil ex nihilo fit.

So, then, to the Tale. The first stanza of the Swallow's address comes as soon as the "ferlie flicht ... off small birdis" (1730) has settled on the leaves all about the amazed narrator:

\begin{quote}
Amang the quhilks ane Swallow loud couth cry,
On that Hawthorne hie in the croip sittand:
'0 ye Birdis on bewis, heir me by,
Yeast welle know, and wyislie understand,
Quhair danger is, or perrell appeirand;
It is grit wisedome to provyde befoir,
It to deuoyd, ffor dreed it hurt yow moir.' (1734-40)
\end{quote}

Here animal and human worlds merge. Like Chaucer's Pardoner, who can imitate a clerk in his pulpit by stretching forth his neck east and west and nodding at the people like a dove, the Swallow sits "hie in the croip" of a spiky, 'penitential' hawthorn to deliver her sermon.

Besides suggesting itself as an appropriate pulpit for penitential sermons, the tree may generate other ideas. The reference to the Swallow's seat being "in the croip [among the new shoots]" suggests a verse from Proverbs 11:28: "He that trusteth in his riches shall fall: but the righteous shall flourish as a branch." Moreover, to a Dunfermline audience the scene may well have recalled an anecdote in the Legend of St. Margaret: the miraculous appearance to the Dunfermline Saint of swallows flying in the shape of a cross (a "tre"). Reminders of the incident occur not only on the Dunfermline Regality Seal but in the central boss of that part of the parish church north aisle rebuilt by Abbot Bothwell in 1450.
As for the sermon itself, the Swallow's "loud ... cry" and direct address "O ye Birdis" are traditional devices to catch attention. So is the general nature of her opening; to hold their attention she needs to tell her audience why they should listen, and, to this purpose, begins with a proverb. The lines "Quhair danger is .../It is grit wisedome to provyde befoir" actually conflate two proverbs: "Provision in season makes a rich meason", and "He is wise that is ware in time". The concluding detail "ffor dreid it hurt yow moir" is only a rhyme-tag on the animal level, but, in so far as the Birds are types of people, it reinforces our sense that they are capable of spiritual aspiration and suggests that to consciously ignore a warning is worse than being simply ignorant. In Christian terms only the former state of mind is considered sinful.

The second stanza, in which the Swallow explains her apprehension of harm, is charged with dramatic irony:

'Schir Swallow' (quod the Lark agane), and leuch, 
'Quhat haif ye sene that causis yow to dreid?' 
'Se ye yone Churll' (quod scho) 'beyond yone pleuch, 
Fast sawand hemp, and gude linget seid? 
Yone lint will grow in lytill tyme in deid, 
And thairoff will yone Churll his Nettis mak, 
Under the quhilk he thinkis us to tak. (1741-47)

Rhetorically, the Lark's question leads-in to the Swallow's explanation, but it is redundant, and mockingly indicative of the Lark's contempt for the fearful Swallow. Moreover, in a larger context which the Birds do not appreciate, the Lark's contempt appears to the reader as short-sightedness, and their lack of "dreib" as foolhardiness.
The nature of the danger is succinctly set out by the Swallow in terms of the central fact of sublunary existence: temporality. Not only is the Churl "beyond yone pleuch" coming towards the birds at a fast rate, the seed he is planting behind the plow "will grow in lytell tyme in deid" and will be made into nets to catch the Birds. The Swallow, swift by nature, is appropriately aware of time's swift flight, and of the need to act diligently in the light of that awareness.

Her conclusion is neatly encapsulated in the next stanza:

'Thairfoir I reid we pas quhen he is gone,
At evin, and with our naillis scharp and small
Out off the eirth scraip we yone seid anone,
And eit it up; ffor, giff it growis, we sall
Have cause to weip heirefter ane and all:
Se we remeid thairfoir ffurth with Instante,
Nam leuius laedit quicquid praeventimus ante. (1748-54)

Only proper use of present time can prevent future pain. The first five lines seem to be an elaboration of the proverbial sentence that "It is easier to destroy/before nor till [too] big." On a second reading, after our attention has been more clearly focused tropologically, we may see in the exhortation to scrape the seed out of the earth "with our naillis scharp and small" a reference to penitential self-chastisement, but at first glance it is no more than a vivid descriptive detail. Following the specific suggestion of what positive action to take, the consequences of not acting are also raised to consciousness as a further means of persuasion: "ffor, giff it growis, we sall/Have cause to weip heirefter ane and all:/Se we remeid thairfoir ffurth with Instante".

As concluding support for this argument, another proverb is quoted.
Though its meaning is essentially the same as the one concluding the Swallow's general statement two stanzas earlier ("It is grit wisedome to provyde befoir", 1739), it seems to be left in Latin here not only for variation's sake, but also for greater authoritativeness.

Lest some of the congregation have missed the point of the Latin, yet another appeal to authority takes up the Swallow's concluding stanza:

'For Clerkis sayis it is nocht sufficient
To considder that is befoir thyne Ee;
Bot prudence is ane inwart Argument,
That garris ane man prouyde and foirse
Quhat gude, quhat evill is liklie ffor to be,
Off everilk thing behald the fynall end,
And swa ffra perrell the better him defend.' (1755-61)

Semantically, the proverb "Menis or thay begin/Suld think on the end" seems to be behind Henryson's elaboration of what "Clerkis sayis"; formally, the whole complex sentence is orderly, logical and clearly subordinated.

Balance is achieved throughout by syntactical means and by concordance of sounds. Syntactically, the first two lines balance externals against the internals of the third line which have two effects on man--two complementary verbs in the fourth line and two opposed complements in the fifth all leading up to a result clause. Phonetically, cross-line binding creates a strong impression of balance between "Clerkis sayis" and "considder" in lines one and two, "prudence" and "provyde" in lines three and four, "garris" and "gude" in lines four and five, "behald" and "better" in lines six and seven, and "f" alliteration in every line except
the important third—which is thus accented by omission. The substantial repetition of sound sequences in rhyme lines is also noticeable: "befoir thyne Ee" in the second, "foirse" in the fourth, and "ffor to be" in the fifth all reinforce the theme of foresight. Moreover, "f" sounds occur in stress position in the rhyme-words of lines one ("sufficient"), six ("fynall end"), and seven ("defend"), further increasing by stridency the urgency of the "inwart Argument" they convey. Henryson's art is always most elaborate at moments of greatest intensity.

The Swallow's argument, which has run "almost scholastically through general principles, specific instances and conclusion", is most economically consonant with her dual nature as bird and preacher, rhetorically and psychologically. Her argument both depends upon her perception of time's passing, and argues the need for awareness in time. Such is the nature of prudence. As Aristotle informs us in his De Memoria et Reminiscentia,

> perception is of the present, prediction of the future, and memory of the past. And this is why all memory involves time. So all animals which perceive time remember.  

The Swallow is naturally one of these, for Augustine in De Musica can cite as evidence in favour of the argument that some animals have memory the fact that "Swallows revisit their nests after a year." Further,

> the causes of good memory are a strong impression of the species in the remembering faculty, frequent actual consideration of it, little movement concerning other things, a solid and not too soft organ, and not too much disorder of humours surrounding that faculty,
as we are told in _De Memoria_. Without memory the Lark and the other Birds cannot "foirse" the growth of the lint and its dire consequences, and without "frequent actual consideration" will soon forget what they have been told. Hence the Swallow's repetitiveness throughout her three stanzas and, indeed, throughout her three sermons matches Henryson's throughout the _Fabillis_. Unfortunately, she has no control over Aristotle's other requirements (little movement concerning other things, and not too much disorder of humours); the extreme changes in seasonal temperature and the Birds' own flightiness (cf. 1770-71) are counter-active to the Swallow's cause. The Lark and the other Birds live only in the present:

The Lark, lauchand, the Swallow thus couth scorne,  
And said, scho fischit lang befoir the Net;  
'The barne is eith to busk that is unborne;  
All growis nocht that in the ground is set;  
The nek to stoup, quhen it the straik sail get,  
Is sone aneuch; deith on the fayest fall.'--  
Thus scornit thay the Swallow ane and all. (1762-68)

In contrast to the Swallow's scholastically precise argument, the Lark's reply is no more than a loose, paratactic series of misquoted proverbs. His scornful reaction is traditional in didactic bird-encounters. "Walking allone amang thir levis grene" for instance, which has already been referred to, has its narrator turn on the bird "Synderesis" with the complaint "Quhat kynd of bird art thow/That tareis me all day with tyrsum taill". Such behaviour helps identify such speakers as types of imprudence. They lack _docilitas_, that aspect of prudence which would make them receptive to advice. As John of Basevorn puts it in his preach-
It happens that the things which give mental delight within to those who understand and observe the cleverly hidden elements of art rather burden than delight the ears of those who pay no attention, and as if with a confused and inordinate noise beget a wearied boredom for those unwilling to listen.\textsuperscript{163}

But it is the poverty of their self-expression which most immediately impresses us with their confusion of mind and which most vividly illustrates their flighty inattention. Henryson's stylistic modulation is a clear indication of the extent to which he, like St. Augustine in the \textit{De Magistro}, was aware that the same words are understood by different minds in different ways.\textsuperscript{164} In popular terms, the Lark's response recalls such proverbs as this:

"Be nocht in countenance ane skornar, nor by luke Bot dowt siclyk sail stryk the in the neck",\textsuperscript{165}

and (not insignificantly) the following:

"Of rasche decreitis cums rew and may not mend it As Scottismens wisdome dois behinde the hand."\textsuperscript{166}

The referent of the Lark's first explicit sentential remark about fishing "lang befoir the Net", seems to be to the proverb "They fished before their nets were spunn."\textsuperscript{167} This glib answer to the Swallow's point about eating the seed before it can grow and be made into nets graphically illustrates the Lark's different conception of time. His is Sloth's cry of "cras, cras".\textsuperscript{168} The next two proverbs make the same point differently and thus give the effect of unthinking, off-the-cuff retort. The third, however, "All growis nocht that in the ground is set", suggests an allusion
to the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:1,13) and--dramatic irony
--the fact that here the seeds of the Swallow's words have fallen
on stony ground.

An important misquote follows: "The nek to stoup, quhen it
the straik sall get, / Is sone aneuch". The original, as any medi-
eval audience would have known, runs: "It is na time to stoup
when the head is aff." 169 By implication, one should stoop to
avoid a fatal blow. The Lark's version, like the following tag
"deith on the fayst fall", is indiscriminately fatalistic and as
simple-mindedly literal as McDiarmid's critical point of view.
For, while it is certainly true that we must all die, not to 'bend
the neck' is a mark of pride; 170 moreover, death itself is not the
significant factor. What matters is how we die, whether we are in
a state of grace or not.

The Lark (qua man) is indeed blind, and his sudden flight
reinforces our sense of this in the next stanza:

Despysing thus hir helthsum document,
The foullis ferlie tuke thair flicht anone;
Sum with ane bir thay braidit over the bent,
And sum agane ar to the grene wod gone.
Upon the land quhair I wes left allone,
I tuke my club, and hamewart couth I carie,
Swa ferliand, as I had sene ane farie. (1769-75)

As Fergusson puts it, "Foolies are fain of flitting", 171 or as
Chaucer has it in Troilus and Criseyde (ii, 1238-9), "impressiouns
lighte/Ful lightly ben ay redy to the flighte". Behind this sen-
tential expression lies Aristotelian wisdom: too much motion in
an organ results in light imprinting in the memory and, hence,
forgetfulness. 172 Birds in general and larks in particular seem
to have symbolized this truth: John Bellenden states that,

As birds swift with mony bissie plume
Perss the air and wait nocht quhair they flee
Siclyk oury lyfe withowt activitie
Giffis na fruct howbelt ane shaddow blwme, 173

and Chaucer speaks of acting "as lightly as I were a larke" (546) in the House of Fame.

At the swift scattering, the narrator takes his "club" and heads home, marvelling at what he has seen. The lines referred to (1774-75) aptly close the encounter on a gently self-depreciatory note that actually increases rather than decreases the narrator's credibility. His "club" suggests his age, and the aged and young are most susceptible to delusion, so Aristotle 174 tells us. Thus his last line "Swa ferliand, as I had sene ane farie" seems like an eye-rubbing reference to the proverb "The langer we live, the mae faerlies we see." 175

On this note the first encounter closes and spring is replaced by a new backdrop:

Thus passit furth quhill June, that Jolie tyde,
   And seidis that wer sawin off beforne
Wer growin hie, that Hairis mycht thame hyde,
   And als the Quailye craikand in the corne;
I movit furth, betwix midday and morne,
   Unto the hedge under the Hawthorne grene,
Qhail I befoir the said birdis had sene. (1776-82)

Summer from the grasshopper point of view is "that Jolie tyde", but from the figural angle is this "vita praesens" in which man should prepare "spiritualem reflectionem" for the coming winter of judgement. 176 Again the details selected to typify the season seem to be as much chosen for their associative power as for their realism. The quail, like the hare, is characteristically slow to
quit its hiding-place at the approach of danger. In this they both resemble the procrastinating Larks. Henryson may even have intended to suggest Avianus' fable of "The Bird and the Reaping of Corn": in Babrius' version it is specifically the lark who puts off leaving the nest until the reapers are upon her brood.

Again the narrator goes for a walk, and again, "be aventure and cace" (1783), meets the same Birds in "thair hanting place" (1785):

"... and, quhen thay lychtit wair,
The Swallow swyth put furth ane pietuous pyme,
Said, 'wo is him can not bewar in tyme.'" (1787-89)

This veiled threat is even more obviously an adaptation of the proverb "He is wise that is war in time" than line 1739 was. Prefaced by the adverb "swyth" and the adjective "pietuous", the Swallow's second sermon is obviously pitched at the heart rather than at the head. Time is not standing still, and, in Thomas Waleys' beautiful phrasing,

When the preacher preaches fruitfully and usefully, as he should when his spirit is ardent, his heart is joined without premeditation to the hearts of his listeners in such a way that he does not observe that he has a tongue or that his listeners have ears, but it seems to him that his word flows and proceeds from his heart to the hearts of his listeners directly.

Gerke has suggested that in this particular episode the Swallow follows the scheme of a penitential sermon—that is, *increpatio* (scolding, rebuke), *admonitio* (exhortation to penance), and *committio* (threat of painful retribution). If we consider stanzas 256-9 within this framework, I think we can see that lines 1790-91 represent the rebuke, 1792-98 the exhortation to penitence, 1799-
1800 a brief return to indirect rebuke, 1801-06 the dramatized presumptuousness against which the exhortation is directed, and 1807-17 the threat of retribution and pain.

The initial rebuke,

"'O, blind birdis! and full off negligence,
Unmyndfull of your awin prosperitie," (1790-91)

is brief, and leads directly into the exhortation to penitence. Nevertheless, it adequately conveys the ardour of its preacher through exclamatio and head-rhyme ('O, blind birdis .../Unmyndfull ...), mouth-filling polysyllabic utterance, and emphatic returning sounds ("full off negligence,/Unmyndfull of"). The Birds are now specifically identified as blind, and the Swallow's awareness of this conditions the form her appeal will take. For the increpatio of a penitential sermon takes cognizance of Aristotle's observation "That the irrational part is in a sense capable of being persuaded by reason [as] is shown by all rebuke, censure and exhortation."¹⁸² Even animals may be so censured to good effect, and a large part of our delight in these lines stems from appreciation of the faithfulness of Henryson's super-imposition. In presenting us with a garrulous Swallow 'scolding' a flock of birds, he reminds us of the ardent preacher rebuking his flock.

The exhortation to penitence follows:

Lift up your sicht, and tak gude advertence;
Luke to the Lint that growis on yone le;
Yone is the thing I bad forsuith that we,
Quhill it wes seid, suld rute furth off the eird;
Now is it Lint, now is it hie on breird.

'Go yit, quhill it is tender and small,
And pull it up; let it na mair Incres;
My flesche growis, my bodie quaikis all,
Thinkand on it I may not sleip in peis.' (1792-1800)
We are impressed again by its repetitious urgency: anaphora, alliteration on "l" and "g" in lines 1792-93, repetition of "yone" in lines 1793-94, of "now" in line 1796, and repetition of idea in lines 1797-98. Reminder that what is "Now ... lint" once "wes said" serves to support the Swallow's earlier inference of danger. Exhortation to pull it up "quhill it is tender and small" also reminds us that "it is esiar to destroy/Before nor till [too] big". For the admonition to "Lift up your sicht" presupposes the same objective as Augustine's in this passage from the De Musica:

if the mind be lifted up to spiritual things and is firm and stays with them, then the pressure of custom—that is, of carnal desires—is broken and gradually done away with.

The Swallow's reference to her own fear effectively concludes the admonitio with indirect rebuke. If her "bodie quaikis all,/Think-and on" the birds' sins, how much more should theirs!

Unfortunately, it is these very carnal desires that reduce the Birds' understanding of the Swallow's warning:

Thay cryit all, and bad the Swallow ceis,
And said, 'yone Lint heirefter will do gude,
For Linget is to lytill birdis fude.

'We think, quhen that yone Lint bollis ar ryip,
To mak us Feist, and fill us off the seid,
Magre yone-Churll, and on it sing and pyip.' (1801-06)

They are content to enjoy as an end what they should be using as a means. Where the Swallow thinks of penitence, they have feasting and piping in mind.

The Swallow's response to this constitutes her comminatory threat of retribution and pain:
'Weill' (quod the Swallow), 'freindes hardilie beid;
Do as ye will, bot certane sair I dreid,
Heirefter ye sall find als sour, as sweit,
Quhen ye ar speldit on yone Carlis speit.

'The awner off yone lint ane fouler is,
Richt cautelous and full off subteltie;
His pray full sendill tymis will he mis,
Bot giff we birdis all the warrer be;
Full mony off our kin he hes gart de,
And thocht it bot ane sport to spill thair blude:
God kelp me ffra him, and the halie Rude.' (1807-17)

Her reference to being "speldit on yone Carlis speit", to the
Fowler's "subteltie", and to the fact that the Fowler thinks it
"bot ane sport to spill thair blude", are all deliberately graphic.

As a preacher the Swallow knows with Thomas Waleys that

similes make greater impress on memory because
the perception of the intellect operates naturally
through mental images, conferring great delight
[or distaste].

And in the Moralitas it is just these graphic details that the
poet develops in human terms: being roasted on the Carl's spit is
transmogrified as "The bodie [going] to the wormis Keitching" and
"The Saull to [Hell] Fyre" (1932-33); the Fowler's subtlety is
unveiled as that of the Devil (1895-1901) who "under plesance
previlie dois hyde" (1912); and the Fowler's bloody sport be­
comes the hell-torture inflicted on those unfortunate souls who
are "put in Luceferis bag,/And brocht to hell, and hangit be the
crag" (1935-36).

The Swallow's warning "Full mony off our kin he hes gart de"
is amply born-out at the figurative level. The Devil has long
since made his choice for evil and is fully confirmed in malice
towards Adam's descendants. Moreover, as a bird, the Swallow
well understands the fowler's art. Bird-catching was widely practised for food in Antiquity and the Middle Ages and still is in Italy today. Hence the Swallow-Preacher's final heartfelt prayer, "God keip me ffra him, and the halie Rude", has dramatic force for both sides of her dual nature.

At the conclusion of the Swallow's second sermon, the "small birdis" fly off heedlessly, and again the narrator turns homeward "ffor it drew neir the none" (1824). If we compare this stanza (260) to the previous stanza describing the Birds' and the narrator's departure (253), we see that what is said in each is substantially the same. But it is said differently each time, giving us an indication of Henryson's easy virtuosity in the handling of rhyme-royal. The detail about it drawing "neir the none" is not immediately clear. Is he removing himself from the influence of the noonday demon (especially to be met with under trees), or does noon indicate a time of decision, a point of no return? I think the latter, for the following stanza describes the swiftness with which the lint ripens, is harvested, prepared, and woven into nets:

The Lint ryipit, the Carll pullit the Lyne,
Rippillit the bollis, and in beitis set,
It steipit in the burne, and dryit syne,
And with ane bittill knokkit it, and bet,
Syne swingillit it weill, and hekkillit in the flet;
His wyfe it span, and twynit it in to threid,
Of quhilk the Fowlar Nettis maid in deid. (1825-31)

Gerke has pointed out that "the quickness and breathlessness" of the stanza is caused "by the complicated and arduous process which is packed into seven lines of description" and by "the large percentage of action verbs". And this celerity of pace is
maintained by asyndeton and increased alliteration into the following description of winter:

The wynter come, the wickit wind can blaw,
The woddis grene were wallowit with the weit,
Balth firth and fell with froistys were maid faw,
Slonkis and slaik maid slidderie with the sleit;
The foulis ffair ffor falt thay ffell off feit;
On bewis bair it wes na bute to byde,
Bot hyit unto housis thame to hyde.

Sum in the barn, sum in the stak off corne
Thair lugeing tuke, and maid thair residence;
The Fowlar saw, and grit althis hes sworne,
Thay suld be tane trewlie ffor thair expence.
His Nettis hes he set with diligence,
And in the snaw he schulit hes ane plane,
And heillit it all ouer with calf agane. (1832-45)

There is no refuge for the Birds against the "wickit wind" that is not equally as dangerous. The house of the Fowler is no refuge; the Birds have collaborated with him to their own detriment in not eating up the lint from which he has made nets, and they must now pay dearly for their lodging. If, as Friar Giles maintains in one of his sayings,

the ant teacheth us that we ought not to be slothful in the summer of this present life, so that we be not found empty and barren in the winter of the last day and judgement, the time for free choice is almost past.

In the next stanza the Birds enact Proverbs 7:23, hastening to the snare and not knowing that it is for their life:

Thir small birdis seand the calff wes glaid;
Trowand it had bene corne, thay lychtit doun;
Bot of the Nettis na presume thay had,
Nor of the Fowlaris fals Intentioun;
To scraip, and seik thair meit thay maid thame boun.
The Swallow on ane lytill branche neir by,
Dreiddand for gyle, thus loud on thame couth cry:

(1846-52).
The point of this famous commonplace image would have been well understood, even before Henryson's *Moralitas* was reached. Gower explains it thus in his *Confessio Amantis*:

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Bot as the bridd which wol alighte
And seth the mete and noght the net,
Which in deceipte of him is set,
This yonge folke no peril sihe.192
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In scholastic terms,

the name 'intellect' arises from the intellect's ability to know the most profound elements of a thing, for to understand (intelleger) means to read what is inside a thing (intus legere). Sense and imagination know only external accidents, but the intellect alone penetrates to the interior and to the essence of a thing.193

The Birds then, in so far as they are representative of animalized men, fail to understand chaff for what it is; they have surrendered to a life of sense-gratification; they do not apply their intellects--that faculty which alone sets them above the beast creation. But what about their behaviour in so far as they are birds? Would birds mistake chaff for corn? According to Aristotle, yes.

Sense perception [he tells us in the *De Anima*] is always truthful in respect to its proper objects [except] ... through some organic defect ... But the senses also have their indirect objects, and with regard to these they can be deceived. What seems to be white is indeed white as the eye reports; but whether the white thing is this or that thing, is snow, for example, or flour, is a question often answered badly by the senses ....194

For the Birds *qua* birds, the Swallow's third and final warning is redundant; their hunger (1867) is stronger than their natural caution. It is winter, "that tyme bestis nedith gret plente of mete for appetite is strong",195 and their hunger (1867) is
greater than their animal caution. Qua humans, however, the Swallow's is an essential speech:

The Swallow on ane lytill branche neir by,
Dreiddand for gyle, thus loud on thame couth cry:

'In to that calf scraip quhill your naillis bleid,
Thair is na corn, ye laubour all in vane;
Trow ye yone Churill for pietie will yow feid?
Na, na, he hes it heir layit for ane trane;
Remove, I reid, or ellis ye will be slane;
His Nettis he hes set full prively,
Reddie to draw; in tyme be war ffor thy.' (1851-59)

The irony of the Birds' scraping for chaff where they would not scrape for lint seed (1749) is grim; their mistake of malice for pity (1855-56) is total. But the Preacher can still uncover the Devil's deception and render their free wills operative, for the only true sin is a conscious one. If these animalized men represented as birds are not made aware of the vanity of temporal goods (the chaff), their attachment to those goods is not consciously sinful and the Devil can have no claim to them. In the words of St. Ambrose, "the devil can harm no-one unless he sent himself to the devil." 

The Swallow's third sermon is, then, the most important of all, for it clearly identifies as chaff what the other birds take to be corn. In terms of the seasons of the life of man, this is also the Birds' last chance to repent. Accordingly, the Swallow's rhetoric rises to the high seriousness of this challenge with all the elaborate formalism of the high style:

Grit fulc is he that puttis in dangeir
His lyfe, his honour, ffor ane thing off nocht;
Grit fulc is he, that will not glaidlie heir
Counsall in tyme, quhill it availl him nocht;
Grit fule is he, that hes na thing in thocht
Bot thing present, and efter quhat may fall,
Nor off the end hes na memoriall. (1860-66)
Not surprisingly, Bannatyne excerpted this stanza, along with others on themes of justice and honour, to a special section of purple passages. So we may be sure its characterization of Folly in three grandly parallel tabulations was readily appreciated. What has not been so readily appreciated is that the stanza also engenders a crucial ambiguity. Are we to assign it to the narrator or to the Swallow?

Gerke, faithfully following his text, assumes that the narrator is speaking, and all editors do likewise—in Wood’s and Elliot’s cases, probably out of inertia. Now, in a similar crux in the Parliament, context makes it quite clear that a moralizing persona is speaking (sts. 139-40). In the Preaching, however, as in the Sheep and the Dog, the crucial passages occur directly after speeches, and are thus ambiguous in the extreme. While the explicit presence of the narrator on the scene lends some support to the argument for narratorial moralizing in the Sheep and the Dog (sts. 186-88), no such argument can be used here. The narrator has "walkit hame" in line 1824 and does not reappear until line 1887. We would therefore have to assume that either the poet’s creative, dramatic faculties have lapsed, or that an authorial as well as a narratorial voice is present in the poem. Both possibilities raise more questions than they answer, and I therefore opt for the most straightforward interpretation, assigning stanza 266 to the Swallow. Its triple repetition, whether intended to honour the Trinity or to echo the Tale’s three seasonal changes and sermons, is, I believe, referred back to by the Swallow at the very end of the Tale: "This grit perrell I tauld thame mair than thryis"
(1885). In any case, it makes a fitting capstone to the Swallow's impressive command of preaching styles. Without it, her third sermon is a poor thing.

Following such an outburst, it is amazing that

Thir small birdis ffor hunger famischit neir,
Full besie scraipand ffor to seik thair fude,
The counsall off the Swallow wald not heir,
Suppois thair labour did thame lytill gude. (1867-70)

That they do is a measure of their hunger and reprobate nature:

A twofold will may be considered in the damned
[Aquinas says].... Their natural will is theirs not of themselves but of the author of nature.
But their deliberate will is theirs of themselves
.... This will in them is always evil, and this because they are completely turned away from the last end of a right will. 200

Both the Swallow and the Churl recognize this complete turning away, for

"Quhen scho [the Swallow] thair fulische hartis understude,
Sa Indurate, up in ane tre scho flew;
With that [this] Churll over thame his Nettis drew."

(1871-73)

The Birds have failed to respond to the repeated warnings and clear demonstrations of the Swallow, as she herself will point out in the final stanza of the Tale (1885). This cannot be her fault, for, as Augustine makes clear in the De Magistro,

in everything we learn we have but one master, namely the inner truth which presides over the soul, that is, Christ. Every rational soul seeks his counsel, but his truth is revealed to souls according as their will is good or evil. The fact is that truth is always within our grasp, thanks to the inner master who teaches it to us, if we but pay attention to his teaching. 201

The Birds do not pay attention and are "indurate" in their refusal to will the good. Because of this refusal, Grace is withdrawn
from them (in the shape of the Swallow) and they are given over to the Devil (in the form of the Fowler). For this they suffer:

Allace! it wes grit hart sair for to se
That bludie Bowcheour beat thay birdis doun,
And ffor till heir, quhen thay wist weill to de,
Thair cairfull sang and lamentation:
Sum with ane staf he straik to eirth on swoun:
Off sum the heid he straik, off sum he brak the crag,
Sum half on lyfe he stoppit in his bag.  

Gerke has made the point that, throughout the fable, the action of the Birds emphasizes the freedom of man's will and his many opportunities for salvation whereas, in the *Moralitas*, the role of the Devil as a ruthless and powerful enemy is given full play because the *Moralitas* reveals the true spiritual reality. While this may be true, the bird's-eye view of events in stanza 268 is as horrific as any Hell-Scene. Henryson is not primarily concerned with the prevention of cruelty to animals; his purpose is first and foremost to create an impression of suffering so intense as to convey vividly through concrete everyday images (ones that his contemporaries might not normally think twice about) a "similitude of hell". Evidently he was satisfied with the effectiveness of his *ecphrasis*, for in the *Moralitas* he is content merely to clarify equivalences:

"Quhat helpis than this calf, thir gudis vane,
Quhen thow art put in Luceferis bag,
And brocht to hell, and hangit be the crag?"  (1934-36)

He might well feel satisfied. The stanza generates a powerful current of feeling: *festaiuvolo* exclamation, horror at both sights and sounds, and suggestion of a wide variety of tortures meted out. Description of "That bludie Bowcheour beat[and] thay
birdis doun" acquires tremendous power from the range of vowels following on the intense, emphatic "b" alliteration. The heavy alliteration on "s", "st", and "h" in the last three lines, coupled with repetition of "sum" in each phrase, rains blow after verbal blow on the ear and evokes, as well, the "cairfull sang" made by the Birds as these blows fall. Moreover, long vowels jar the nerves in "sair" (1), "heir" (3), "Thair cair-" (4), "eirth" (5), "heid" (6); and the velar stops in "straik ... straik ... brak" (5–6) explode on the eardrum like the cracking and splintering of bone. The scene achieves the kind of verbal realism we find in contemporary Flemish paintings of the damned being beaten into hell. 204

In terms of ideas, Henryson's emphasis on the "cairfull sang and lamentatioun" of the Birds aims at evoking a traditional image. As a schoolroom practice-passage puts it,

When the day of the last judgement comes, then sinners will sorrow for the sins they have committed against the laws of the Almighty, since there will be no question of mercy towards those who had no desire of amendment. 205

This sorrow is not pitiable (as Virgil tells Dante in Hell); it is the very mark of their reprobate nature since it occurs only "quhen thay wist weill to de" and while they actually suffer. The details presuppose a scholastic distinction made by St. Thomas, among others:

He repents of a sin directly who hates sin as such; and he repents accidentally who hates it on account of something connected with it, for instance punishment or something of that kind. 206
Again, the emphasis on prolonged pain which Henryson's last line conveys ("Sum half on lyfe he stoppit in his bag") is a graphic reminder that "as Gregory seis, the delite of synne is shorte and litell while abidyng, but the payn dew therfore abideth forever". (The traditional instrument of torture is common to both Devil and Fowler: "ane staf" or club. In Taddeo di Bartolo's San Gimignano depiction of Hell, for example, we see devils with clubs forcing gluttonous souls to eat inedible meat.)

The horrifying scene in which the Birds die is not the total frustration of the Swallow's endeavour, however; the fate of the Birds may serve as a warning to others:

Another way [to win over the audience] is to frighten them by some terrifying tale or example in the way that Jacques de Vitry tells about someone who never willingly wanted to hear the word of God, says John of Basevorn in his preaching manual, adapting Quintilian. This is the function of the Swallow's remarks in the last stanza of the Tale:

And quhen the Swallow saw that thay wer deid, 'Lo' (quod scho), 'thus it happinnis mony syis On thame that will not tak counsall nor reid Off Prudent men, or Clerkis that ar wyis; This grit perrell I tauld thame mair than thrysis; Now ar thay deid, and wo is me thathfoir!' Scho tuke hir flicht, bot I hir saw no moir. (1881-87)

Together with her earlier denouncement of fools in stanza 266 the Swallow's moral commentary hedges the butchering scene in a 'before and after' kind of way. Like the good preacher telling us what he is going to say, saying it, and then telling us what he has said, the Swallow's last speech recapitulates her prudential theme and
underscores its applicability to the fable's audience. The Birds have been disastrously negligent in all three parts of Prudence: they have failed to learn from Memory that all shall pass as all has passed; they have failed to acquire that Understanding which teaches man to know himself for what he is; and, most of all, they have neglected to heed the Swallow's Forethought, by which they have been made aware of what is to come. Thus it happens many times to those of us who will not heed the counsel of "Morall Fabillis".

Leaving us with this spiritual food for thought, the Swallow, as the narrator reports, flies off, and is seen by him "no moir" (the same signature is used at the end of the Testament of Cresseid). But where does the narrator reappear from and how has he witnessed this last scene? The answer, I think, is that, with the approach of winter, there has been no need for him to walk out into the fields to find the Birds; the wicked weather has brought them to him as they "hyit unto housis thame to hyde" (1838). Naturally Henryson would not want to be too specific about his narrator's presence since he does not want him to be associated with the Churl, shortly to be identified with the Devil; for this reason he has omitted Gualterus' reference to the fact that "The swallow appeased the man for himself/And living with man, pleased him with friendly singing".

In any case, the narrator now takes over the Swallow's function as exegete in the Moralitas. And first he introduces a proemium to win over his audience:
Lo, worthie folk, Esope, that Nobill clerk,
An Poet worthie to be Lawreate,
Quhen that he wakit from mair autentik werk,
With uther ma, this foirsaid Fabill wrate,
Quhilk at this tyme may weill be applicate
To guid morall edificatioun,
Haifand ane sentence, according to ressoun. (1888-94)

The term "worthie" that he applies to his audience in the first line is also attached to Aesop in the second, as the epitome of what we should be, and continues to resonate in the "w" alliteration of the remaining lines ("waikit...werk,...wrate,...weill"). Identifying Aesop as a "Nobill clerk" has rhetorical point too, especially after the Swallow's concluding advice that we take counsel "Off Prudent men, or Clerkis that ar wyis" (1884). Henryson is still out to defend the position he took in the first stanza of his General Prologue. His fable of the Swallow "may weill be applicate/To guid morall edificatioun" since it has "ane sentence, according to ressoun". The demonstration follows in the next eight stanzas. It must have been largely through the industry of friars and schoolmasters such as Henryson that telling fables came to be considered synonymous with preaching; as Lyly could say of a character, "he preachest Aesop's fables".212

Henryson's artistry is as evident in his Moralitates as in his tales. In stanza 271 the Carl represents the Fiend, "Sawand poysoun in mony wickit thocht/In mannis Saull" (1900-01). Just as Carls are bondmen, so is the Devil God's villein. But not only is he a churl, he is "of gentrice spoliate" (1895), has lost his status as a gentleman and sunk to the level of a serf. Henryson has a finger in the scale here; he wants to equate the Carl (nothing
of whose fall from gentle state is evident in the Tale) with the Fiend on the basis of the fact that the latter is "fra the Angelike state/Exylit ..., as fals Apostata" (1897-98).

The growth of sin is next taken up and equated with the growth of the seed in stanza 272. "Wickit thocht" leads to "deidlie sin" (1905) or wicked act, thus "carnall lust grouis full grene" (1907) and "Ressoun" (1906) is blinded by unchecked "consuetude" (1908) or habit (lust is aptly equated with the growing lint here, since green was the colour of love²¹³). The Birds' unrestrained liking for "lint bollis" is equated imaginatively with "carnall lust", and their refusal to root out the lint seed (sts. 250, '256-7) with the subjection of their reason to their appetites, and with the consequent growth of sin which this refusal engenders. Thought precedes act.

The correlation was probably suggested to Henryson by his reading of Isaiah, and Biblical exegesis thereon. In Isaiah we find such verses as "in their palaces shall come up the thorn and the nettle", and "I went by the field of the slothful ... and the face thereof was covered with nettles".²¹⁴ Or the correlation could have occurred to him from a reading of the "Parable of the Tares" in Matthew, as has been said. Representation of vices and virtues as growing plants was commonplace.²¹⁵

In the next stanza the process by which the Devil entraps souls is described in terms of the imagery of the Tale:

> Proceeding furth be use and consuetude,
> The sin ryplis, and schame is set on syde;
> The Feynd plettis his Nettis scharp and rude,
> And under plesance previlie dois hyde;
> Syne on the feild he sawis calf full wyde,
> Quhilk is bot tume and verry vanitie
> Of fleschlie lust, and vaine prosperitie.  (1909-15)
The image of the Fowler making a net from the lint which the Birds would not eat is an apt one with which to allegorize the growth of sin; it allows the poet not only to represent the Fowler as the direct agent but the Birds themselves as the indirect agents of their own capture. This too was traditional:

Would he not be foolish who would weave or make a rope with which his enemy would hang him? Such a one is he who commits sin by which he is damned

comments John of Basevorn in illustrating a way to reason with hidden enthymemes. The net is never just of the Fowler's making, of course, since the sinner always has free will to give or to refuse consent. The Devil is not permitted to attack directly the higher faculties of intellect and will, which God reserves as his own sanctuary, but must act on the imagination, memory and passions which reside in the sensitive appetites. The Devil is thus aptly depicted by Henryson as a Fowler who "plettis his Nettis scharp and rude,/And under plesance previlie dois hyde" (1911-12); the correlation may have been suggested by one of Cato's Distichs:

"Approve not men who, wheedling, nothing say:
Fowlers pipe sweetly to delude their prey."

Shame, the mechanism of an incorrupt conscience (cf. General Prologue, 52) which takes its principles from synderesis, is "set on syde" in so far as we have seen the Lark and the other Birds scorn the Swallow's teaching "mair than thryis". When shame is set aside, sin ripens like "Lint bollis" (1804) ready for the harvest of the Last Judgement. The Fowler's chaff, "Quhilk is bot tume and verray vanitie/Of fleschlie lust, and vaine prosperitie"
is also aptly in the next stanza a figure of

\[ \text{gudis temporall,} \]
\[ \text{Quhilk as the calf at tume without substance,} \]
\[ \text{Lytill of availl, and full of variance,} \]
\[ \text{Lyke to the mow befoir the face of wind} \]
\[ \text{Quhiskis away and makis wretchis blind.} \]

(1918-22)

We find the same image so used in the Bannatyne MS.:

"Gude is bot lent ane quhyle quhill thou art heir
It gois away as calf dois with the wind." 220

Obviously both this author and Henryson are using a stock moral image that has been developed on the basis of Psalm 83:14, "Sicum stipulem ante faciem venti" (compare also Job 21:18). The early Church Fathers seem to have been active in developing the image of worldly goods as the Devil-Fowler's bait, for the way Henryson's "hungrie birdis ... scraipand in this warldis vane plesance" are represented as "greddie to gadder" the chaff of "gudis temporall" can be paralleled in Gregory's Moralia in Job:

\[ \text{Abscondita est in terra pedica eius, et decipula illius super semitam: Saepe ergo proponuntur animo cum culpa honores, divitiae, salus, et vita temporalis: quae mens infirma dum quasi escam videt, et decipulam non videt, per escam quam videns appetit, in culpa constringitur quae non videtur.} \]

221

Henryson's minor modification of the tradition is to suggest a further bond on the basis of this: just as whirling chaff gets in one's eyes, so men's inordinate desire for worldly goods blinds them to reasonable behaviour.

Having carefully explicated the edificatory nature of fables (st. 270), the Fowler as the Devil (st. 271), the Seed as Sin
(st. 272), the Grown Plant as the Net of Sin (st. 273), the Chaff as Worldly Goods (st. 273-4), and the Birds as Worldly Wretches (st. 274), the Swallow is easily identified as the "halie Freich-our" in stanza 275. As we have seen from the Tale, she is as un-tiring in "Exhortand folk to walk and ay be wair/Fra Nettis of our wickit enemie" (1925-26) as the Devil is ceaseless in his malice:

"Quha sleipis not, bot ever is reddie,
Quhen wretchis in this warld calf dois scraip,
To draw his Net, that thay may not eschaip." (1927-29)

The equivalence is the more reasonable for the fact that the Fowler -Churl's industry has also been evident throughout the Tale.

Since it too begins "Allace!", stanza 276 calls attention to itself as an allegorical re-write of stanza 268's description of the Bird-butcherering in the Tale. It describes death as the parting of body and spirit, the despatching of the body "to the wormis Keitching" (1932) and the soul "to Fyre, to everlestand pane" (1933). Here, the reference to the Worm's Kitchen and Hell-Fire extends the culinary image of stanza 258, allegorically bearing out the Swallow's prognostication that the unrepentant Birds will be "speldit on yone Carlis speit" (1810). A fifteenth century miniature in a manuscript of De Civitate Dei depicts a devil turning two lovers, face to face, on just such a spit, and the idea of Hell as a kitchen would have been suggested by association with the Hell-Cauldron in which sinners were boiled. Henryson's imagination is well within the parameters of this tradition, though he is more exact in interring the body in the "wormis Keitching" as opposed to Hell-Fire. He seems to have been influenced in this by the late medieval fashion
for depicting tomb-effigies as crawling with toads and worms. 224

Whereas the Swallow concluded the Tale "thus it happinnis mony syis/On thame that will not tak counsall" (1882-83), the narrator concludes his address to the reader even more bluntly:

"Quhat helpis than this calf, thir gudis vane,
Quhen thow art put in Luceferis bag,
And brocht to hell, and hangit be the crag?" (1934-36)

Thus the true emotional climax comes not in the Tale but in the Moralitas. Lucifer's bag is of course the Devil-Fowler's (1880), but the reference to being "hangit be the crag" is probably a culinary image. In the Tabula Exemplorum we are told how

"Item nota de gulosis facit dyabolus ces bacons: ...vinculis spiritualibus eos mutilat et tandem in lardario inferni eos suspendit." 225

Presumably Henryson and the Tabula Exemplorum have in mind the same image of Lucifer, Dante's three-headed giant in the nethermost pit, devouring sinners. The image was an established part of the medieval painter's repertoire. 226

The remedy for this sorry state of affairs, "Thir hid Nettis for to persave and se" (1937), is to "bewar in maist prosperite" (1939) and realize that "in this warld thair is na thing lestand" (1940). We have seen the Birds ignore the Swallow's warning to "bewar in tyme" (1789), and the seasons themselves have paraded twice before our eyes as mute signs of mutability. The concluding argument of this stanza (277) is again a commonplace which follows naturally on the premise of mutability:

"Is na man wait how lang his stait will stand,
His lyfe will lest, nor how that he sall end
Efter his deith, nor quhidder he sall wend." (1941-43)
Standing back from specific explication of the major facets of the Tale, these last two stanzas (276-77) give general advice to the reader that is based on the foregoing exemplum and the prime fact of transience. In this uncertain life man must at all times "be war". Diligence (embodied by the Swallow) is the key to a better life.

The final stanza takes us full circle with a prayer to God, the source and goal of all things. Though a concluding prayer is usual in such other fables as the Fox's Confession, the Parliament, and the Sheep and the Dog, nowhere is it as elaborate as here. And though in all of these the desire to reach the "hevinlie hall" is articulated, only here, with the way to God already clear from both the Prologue and the Swallow's Preaching, is it realized as "maist for oure behufe,...in blis with Angellis to be fallow" (1948-49). This is something the Devil can never achieve, for all his seeming power and malice. We will have need of such fortifying thoughts as we descend into the world of the Fox and the Wolf in the 'Lupiad' of the next four fables.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII

THE PREACHING OF THE SWALLOW

1 Roerecke, Thesis, p. 171.


3 Psalms 9:3 and 124:7, Proverbs 6:5.


6 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 158.

7 Ibid.


9 Ibid., pp. 36 and 40.


12 Leach, Educational Charters, pp. 395, 447.

13 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 154.

14 Skeat, The Kingis Quair, sts. 148-149; MacQueen, Robert Henryson, pp. 154-155.

15 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 221, ll. 3-24.

16 Ibid., p. 350.

17 ST I, Q. 8, A. 3, Answer, p. 37, col. 1.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

18 Brennan, Aquinas: *The Trinity*, p. 179.

19 *ST I, Q. 14, A. 7*, Answer, p. 82, col. 1.

20 *ST I, Q. 14, A. 13*, p. 87, col. 2.


23 *De Doctrina Christiana*, iv, 37-38; Howie, Augustine, p. 386.


26 Brennan, Aquinas: *The Trinity*, p. 31.

27 Gilson, *Augustine*, p. 188.


29 *Confessions*, Bk. X, Ch. vi, 9-10 and Bk. XI, Ch. iv, 6; Gilson, *Augustine*, pp. 187-188.

30 Romans vii, 23.

31 Gilson, *Augustine*, p. 50.

32 Ibid., p. 51.


34 *Bannatyne MS.*, II, p. 36.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


36 Cf. also ST I-II, Q. 109, A. 3, Answer, p. 341, col. 1.


39 Gilson, Augustine, p. 151.


41 Ibid., p. 118: "For since a sense is a power of a bodily organ, it is made inoperative as a result of its sensible object being too intense. But the intellect is not a power of a bodily organ and is not made imperative as a result of its intelligible object being too intelligible."

42 Metaphysics 993b, 8-12; Apostle, p. 35.

43 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 442.

44 Ibid., p. 398.


47 Ibid., p. 41.

48 Brennan, Aquinas: The Trinity, p. 41; also ST I, Q. 12, A. 13, Reply to Obj. 1, p. 62.

49 Brennan, Aquinas: The Trinity, p. 30; Cf. also p. 8: "The natural intuition of the human mind, burdened by the weight of a corruptible body, cannot fix its gaze in the prime light of First Truth, in which all things are easily knowable; whence it must be that, according to the process of its natural manner of cognition, the reason advances from the things that are posterior to those that are prior, and from creatures to God."
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


51 Pine-Coffin, St. Augustine: Confessions, Bk. X, Ch. vi, 9-10, pp. 212-213.


53 Gilson, Augustine, p. 20.

54 PL 176, col. 814; cited in Fox; "Henryson's Fables", p. 349.

55 Ibid., p. 349.


57 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 222, ll. 33-34.

58 Petri Lombardi Libri IV Sententiarum; cited and translated in Schrader, Thesis, p. 40. Gerke (Thesis, pp. 201-202) suggests that Henryson arranges his details around the triad of "number, wecht and dew proportioun", which he paraphrases from Wisdom 11 and 21, and this Augustinian analysis of it: "Measure makes the mode of everything, number gives it its species, and weight gives it rest and stability" (ST I, Q. 5, A. 6, Obj. 1, p. 26, col. 2). According to Gerke, Henryson first treats the "number" (species) of creation, which brings out God's largesse with reference to "thir Jolie flouris" (ll. 1653-56). Next he treats the "wecht" (ordo) of the universe, whereby conflicting elements are held in accord by God who "in all his werkis wittle is" (ll. 1657-63). Lastly, he points out the "dew proportioun" (mensura) by means of which creatures work out their destiny in fixed habitats (ll. 1664-70).

59 Celano endorses this explicitly in an anecdote he tells of St. Francis. The saint used to urge the friars who dug the garden not to till the whole ground for vegetables but to leave some part of it to produce flowers that might call people who saw them to praise God. "In beautiful things he recognized Him who is supremely beautiful" is Celano's comment (A. G. Ferrers Howell, trans., Vita Prima et Vita Secunda: The Lives of St. Francis of Assisi by Thomas of Celano [London, 1908], II, 2, 165; cited in Armstrong, Saint Francis: Nature Mystic, p. 237).

60 Gregory the Great, for instance, comments thus in his Moralia in Job upon the passage concerning man, who "cometh forth like a flower and is cut down": "the world is filled with as many flowers worthy of withering in a short time as men" (Moralia in Job,
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

Bk. XI, 67; PL 75, 983-984; cited in Gerke, Thesis, p. 205, n. 27). As Cresseid complains, "Nocht is your fairnes bot ane faiding flour" (TC. 461).


63 De Vera Religione 52-57; Howie, Augustine, p. 218. Cf. also De Libero Arbitrio ii, 41-42; Howie, Augustine, p. 250.

64 De Ordine ii, 33-44; Howie, Augustine, p. 252. Also Metaphysics 1078a, 32-33; Apostle, p. 218.

65 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 200.

66 De Libero Arbitrio ii, 28-31; Howie, Augustine, p. 212.


69 ST I, Q. 103, A. 1, Answer, p. 528, col. 2; Aquinas also cites Cicero's De Natura Deorum, ii, ch. 5, and refers to Aristotle --possibly to Metaphysics 1075a, 12-25.

70 Howell, The Rhetoric of Alcuin, pp. 119-120.

71 De Inventione I, xxxiv, 59; Hubbell, p. 103.


74 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 537, 11. 15-19.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

75 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 143, ll. 18-19.


78 Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric*, p. 36.

79 Alliteration in seasonal ecphrasis:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
ffff & bbb & gwbb & hhhh & sss \\
ff & bgwh & eeg & bbbb & kkk \\
ss & tp & rr & wwww & fff \\
gg & wwp & ffff & wbbb & mmm \\
ppp & ctp & bb s & dddd & ll \\
ss & wc & ssss & cccc & dffddd \\
\end{array}
\]


81 Ibid., p. 162.

82 Ibid.

83 Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 48; he translates William of Conches' unpublished commentary on Macrobius (13a).

84 *De Natura Deorum*, II, xxiii, 60; Dronke, *Fabula*, p. 176, n. 2.

85 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 532.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid., p. 533.

88 Ibid., p. 534, ll. 21-23.

89 See note 79.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

Hereafter cited as Steele, *Secreta Secretorum*.


94 *Ibid.*, p. 80, l. 44.


96 Revelation 6:15.


99 Cf. Bannatyne MS., II, "Spaire me gud lord and mak me clene", p. 53, l. 6: "And into clay that turn mon we." The symbolism may, however, be more complex than this. According to Elizabeth Bridgeman, Hugo Van Der Goes, The Masters Series 92 (Bristol, 1967), p. 6, "the columbine was always associated with sorrow, and in particular with the seven sorrows of the Virgin."

100 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 530.

101 Bannatyne MS., III, "Of May", p. 68, l. 27.

102 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 530.


105 Alliteration: stanza 245: ss 246: mmm

bbwb 1sb
wss smsp
msm sssffpp
fsf hhs
ssrs hl
srss slbm
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


107 Chrysostom, Homily vi in Genesis, PG 53, 58; quoted in ST I, Q. 70, A. 1, Reply Obj. 4, p. 364, col. 1.


109 Matthew, 13:3-9, 18-23.

110 Ibid., 13:24-30.

111 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 164.

112 Zeydel, Ecasis, pp. 25, 27, ll. 39-41, 73.

113 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 167, ll. 654-56.


115 Institutes of Oratory, X, 3; Ullich, Educational Wisdom, p. 118.

116 Whitbread, Fulgentius, p. 15.


120 Ibid., pp. 122-124, ll. 9, 79.

121 Ibid., pp. 132-136, ll. 4-7; cf. PS 1729.

122 Ibid., l. 22; cf. PS 1924.

123 Ibid., l. 95; cf. PS 1755-61.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


132 Though it is not directly relevant to Henryson’s fable, I should point out the rather interesting way in which the Harleian MS. illustration of this fable depicts the scene (Harleian MS. No. 3865, fol. 43b; cf. Gregory Smith, vol. II, pp. 120-121, inter). In the bottom left corner a face hides—either the fowler or narrator—and from the right margin an arm extends, grasping a dead bird. In the centre is a tree standing in corn with a number of birds perched upon it; to the left and slightly above the fowler’s hiding place stands what looks like a classical column topped by the bust of a man which faces the birds. Who is this figure and what is he doing? He seems, at first glance, to represent the Swallow preaching from his pulpit to the birds, but a closer look at his angular frame shows him to be a piece of statuary. What then? The stele or column with its associated tree is one of the ‘signatures’ of Hellenistic landscape, and possibly this represents one instance of the "schematization and fossilization of classical style" that led to the stele-and-tree being included in the landscape of the *locus amoenus* (cf. Pearsall and Salter, *Landscapes*, pp. 12-20). The statue-on-a-column motif, such as we find it in Piero della Francesca’s *Flagellation* or Mantegna’s *Agony in the Garden*, was a symbol of glory (Marilyn A. Lavin, *Piero della Francesca: The Flagellation*, New York, 1972, p. 76) and was possibly included in an illustration of the Preaching as a mark of respect for the Swallow and what it stands for.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

135 Matthew P. McDiarmid, "Robert Henryson in His Poems", a lecture delivered at the First International Conference of Scottish Literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Edinburgh University, 13 September, 1975; revised and published in Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, eds., Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid and Derek S. Thompson. (Glasgow, 1977), pp. 27-40.


139 PL 177, 42; cited in Gerke, Thesis, p. 230, n. 76.

140 Pike, Policularicus, Bk. I, Ch. 13, p. 45. This idea goes back to Isidore, Etymologies, XII, vii, 70.

141 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 631, 11. 15-16.


146 Historia Animalium, 612b, 15-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.

147 Historia Animalium, 563a, 10-15; Ross, ibid.

148 Curtius, European Literature, p. 159; he summarizes Bishop Radbod of Utrecht's Latin poem on the Swallow as an example.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

149 The Pardoner's Prologue, C 395-397.

150 Stearns tells us that the Dunfermline Abbey pulpit was removed by Sir Walter Scott to decorate the entrance hall at Abbotsford (Stearns, Robert Henryson, p. 11).

151 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 48.

152 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. nos. 324, 698, pp. 40, 86.

153 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 631, ll. 21-22.

154 Bannatyne MS., III, p. 8, ll. 44-45.

155 Ibid., ll. 11-12.


157 De Memoria 449b, 24; Richard Sorabji, p. 48.

158 De Musica, i, 5-12; Howie, Augustine, p. 231.


160 Allusion to Augustine's doctrine of "seminal reasons" may even be allegorically embedded in the Swallow's warning about lint seed; cf. Gilson, Augustine, pp. 206-207 for this doctrine.

161 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 135. See also the Mouse's plea to the Paddock, "Let be thy preiching" in The Paddock and the Mouse, l. 2851.


164 De Magistro, 13-43; PL 32, 1218-19; Gilson, Augustine, p. 68.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)

166 Whiting, "Scottish Proverbs", "Scot (2)", p. 121.

167 Cf. Whiting, "Scottish Proverbs", "Net (6)", p. 104; Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 419, p. 34.


169 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 486, p. 62.

170 There is a curious twist to lark legends in France, where it is said the bird flies aloft uttering praise to God but when she has attained the height to which she aspires, she becomes proud and begins to curse as she descends. One of the poems of Charles d'Orleans so represents the descending lark saying farewell to God (Armstrong, Saint Francis: Nature Mystic, p. 90), and it is possible that the Philosopher's shadow extends here too:

"Arystotill sais that som fowheles ... are of gude flye-ghynge for they flye fra erthe to hevene and rystes thaym thare in thoghte.... Some are that ken noghte flyghe fra this lande bot in the waye late theyre herte ryste and deyltes thaym in sere luves of mene and womene, also thay come and gaa, now are and nowe a-nothire ... that it brynges thaym till na stabylnes" (Carl Horstmann, ed., Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle and his School, Vol. I, London, 1895, p. 194).

171 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 262, p. 32.

172 De Memoria 450a; cited in Hansen, "Oresme", p. 333.

173 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 16.

174 De Somniis 462b; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.

175 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 798, p. 94.


177 The phrases "as still as a quail" in the Pearl, ll. 39 and 1085, and "to couch as doth a quail" in the Canterbury Tales (IV, E, 1206) make explicit what Henryson probably felt no need to clarify.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


179 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 324, p. 40.


182 Ethics, 1102b, 30-1103a, 5; cited in Burnet, Aristotle on Education, Bk. I, p. 43.

183 The image used with this reminder was a traditional one, as we can appreciate from Lydgate's ballade "That now is Hay some-tyme was Grase." (MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 809 ff.)


185 De Musica, II; PL 32, 1181; ST II-II, Q. 142, A. 2; Gerke, Thesis, p. 245.


187 The image of the Devil as a Fowler was an extremely ancient one, as both MacQueen and Jamieson show. MacQueen (Robert Henryson, pp. 156-157) refers to Psalms CXXIII (CXXIV), 6-7; Proverbs VII, 23; and Ecclesiastes IX, 12. Jamieson (Thesis, pp. 163-166) refers to Proverbs I, 10-19 and others.

188 ST I, Q. 64, A. 2, Answer, p. 336, col. 1.


190 Alliteration, stanza 262: www

www

ffff

ssss

ffff

bbbb

hhh
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


194 Foster and Humphries, *De Anima*, p. 397.

195 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 529.

196 Gilson, *Augustine*, p. 163.


198 *Bannatyne MS.*, II, no. cxvii.


201 *De Magistro*, 11, 38 and 12, 40; cited in Gilson, *Augustine*, pp. 74-75. Aquinas also agrees that "we are forbidden to call man a teacher in ... that we attribute to him the pre-eminence of teaching, which belongs to God" (McGlynn, *Aquinas*: "The Teacher", p. 19).


203 Coldwell, *Selections from Gavin Douglas*, p. 80, l. 44.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


209 Murphy, Three Rhetorical Arts, p. 146.

210 Cf. Steele, ed., Secreta Secretorum, pp. 150-155, for the three parts of Prudence.

211 Schrader, Thesis, p. 171, ll. 8-9; cf. also Neckham, ll. 11-12 (Schrader, Thesis, p. 173).

212 Baldwin, Small Latine, p. 593.


216 Murphy, Three Rhetorical Arts, p. 181.


218 Duff, Minor Latin Poets, p. 601, no. 27.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII (Cont.)


221 Moralia in Job, XIV, 5; PL 75, 1047; cited in Gerke, Thesis, p. 255.


223 Ibid., p. 187.


226 Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art, pp. 206-207.


228 Cf. PS 1897-98.
CHAPTER VIII

THE FOX, THE WOLF AND THE CADGER.

Denton Fox has rightly characterized the Fabillis as extraordinarily diverse,¹ and nowhere is this more evident than in the transition from the Preaching of the Swallow to the Fox, Wolf and Cadger. From the high seriousness, formal oratory, and tight integration of levels in the Preaching, we plunge in the Cadger to low comedy, rapid dialogue, and only partial integration of levels of meaning.

In larger terms, the Fox, Wolf and Cadger begins a series of four tragi-comic adventures involving the Wolf. I do not hold with Roerecke's rigid schematization of Aesopian and Reynardian worlds for the reason that, as I have said, Henryson himself blurs the distinction: the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman begins "In elderis dayis, as Esope can declar" (2231), even though it is of Reynardian origin. Nonetheless, from the Preaching of the Swallow on, we do seem to move in a more reprobate world in the second half of the Fabillis.² The Wolf is aptly the unregenerate anti-hero of such a world, for, according to Aristotle, and as we have seen with reference to the Cock and Fox prologue, this rapacious animal "does not deflect from its racial characteristics"; it cannot be trained or domesticated. The Wolf is also notoriously slow-witted in fable literature, and this too is in keeping with
its role as a figure of the unrepentant; in these four fables it is made to appear ridiculous not only by its old arch-enemy the Fox, but also by a silly Wether and even an innocent Lamb. A further feature (and one which distinguishes this from "The Talking of the Tod" series) is that the Wolf is not killed in these narratives: punishment of his misdeeds takes place not on earth but in hell, as the Moralitas of the Wolf and Lamb explicitly warns.

Our first fable of this series, The Fox, Wolf and Cadger, has a number of motifs in common with previous fables: the Neck-herring incident is similar to the motif of the Mare's Kick in the Parliament, while the eye-shutting motif is analogous to that in the Cock and Fox. But the fact that the Cadger immediately follows the Preaching makes the theme of the Wolf's negligence and avariciousness most outstanding, since it is immediately relatable to the negligence and greed of the birds in the preceding fable. In both the trials and sufferings of those blinded by the world are recounted. Henryson seems to want to reinforce the relevance of this temptation at all social levels by writing first of "small birdis" and then of "ane revand wolff".

Such restatement might be tedious, but, by mixing "sad materis" with "sum merines" (26), he manages to avoid "dull[and] on the string" (23). If we have to have a re-run for the good of our souls and to fix the basic message firmly in memory, the theme must be kept fresh by minor variation of narrative detail and stylistic treatment. Conversely, disguising the same theme
in different, comic dress is a good test of how well we are able to 'see through' the enticements of the foxy world to the moral significance.

Some critics have baulked at this point. Jamieson, for instance,\(^5\) believes that

The poem makes the fox so attractive in his guiles and japes, and man (the wolf) so foolish anyhow, that one cannot take the *Moralitas* seriously... we cannot, I would argue, accept the worried tone, the other-worldly posture of the *Moralitas*. This world, to my mind at least, has its way. The final effect is scarcely that which a high-minded moralist might desire.\(^6\)

The source of principal confusion seems to be Jamieson's preconception of what a moralist ought to be. His description and tone suggest that what he has in mind is a John Knox fulminating from his humourless Presbyterian pulpit against the 'monstrous regiment of women'. Hardly late medieval Catholic preacher-friars with "their sermons full of fables"!\(^7\) We might better compare Henryson's to Sir Thomas More's "angel's wit". Both were lawyers, men of the world--and yet deeply religious.

Henryson's source for the *Fox, Wolf and Cadger* is basically Branche X of the *Roman de Renart*, as both Jamieson and Jenkins have independently concluded.\(^8\) In Jenkins' words

The tenth episode in Meon's edition (the sections are not actually numbered) tells of the struggle between Primaut, the brother of Isengrim, and Renart. The two animals meet a priest and exchange some stolen clothes for the cleric's fat goose. Once in the shelter of a wood, Primaut makes it clear that he does not intend to share the prize; and Renart, knowing that he would certainly lose in a battle with his stronger adversary, is forced to give up the goose and has to be content to search for food along the
Primaut is not, however, allowed to enjoy the fruits of his victory, for the goose is promptly seized by Mouflart the vulture. In the meantime Renart has sighted some merchants on their way to the fair... tricks his way onto the cart and eats the herrings. While considering how he will make his escape, it occurs to him that the adventure offers a fine means of revenging himself on Primaut for his theft of the goose. Snatching a fresh, sleek herring, the fox leaps down from the cart, and followed by the threats of the carters, he runs off in search of Primaut. The wolf, having lost the goose, is by now very hungry, and the sight of Renart's herring prompts him to make his peace. Renart seems to accept his friendship, gives the fish to the wolf, and repeats to him the story of how he has tricked the merchants. Primaut is far too ravenous to be satisfied by one fish and is thus anxious to try his luck too. Following Renart's method the wolf plays dead in the road and endures the proddings and beatings of the now-suspicious carters without flinching. At length one of the merchants thinks he sees the wolf breathe and so draws his sword, whereupon Primaut decides to make a hasty retreat, still smarting from his beating and unrewarded for his pains.

However, as Jamieson and Jenkins both show, Henryson has extensively re-shaped his version. He is basically concerned to write a Renart Moralisé about the way in which foolish men (the Wolf) are blinded by worldly goods (the Fox) into unmindfulness of death (the Cadger).

The central motif of the fox's playing dead seems to have reminded him of the allegorization of this same trick in the Physiologus, which compares the fox to the Devil lying in wait to catch souls. The wolf's beating by the cadgers also seems to have caught his imagination as a good way to transform a Reynardian scene (in which the humour is as much at the expense of the
merchants as at the expense of the wolf) into a moral image as forceful as the one he had created of the fowler butchering the birds. In short, his major changes all seem to be in the direction of clarifying the parallelism between tale and didactic concept: the two cadgers of the French version are reduced to one, primarily because, as Jamieson points out, there is only one death; and the initial Renart incident between the fox and the wolf over the goose is replaced by a debate in which the Fox tries unsuccessfully to resist the Wolf's attempt to make him his steward and purveyor of his meat. The hungry wolf of course is an apt example of a greedy and foolish man and the cunning, forager fox also does admirably as the world both serving and betraying the unwary man: "the warld, ye wait, is Stewart to the man" (2210) as we are told in the Moralitas. Moreover, such an interpretation nicely preserves the raison d'être for the episode at the literal level—the Fox's desire for revenge.

In altering his source in this way, Henryson was not content merely to tack-on an initial debate; he takes care to balance the parts of his exposition with what Denton Fox termed "almost mathematical clarity". Eleven stanzas are devoted to the initial debate between the Fox and Wolf; eleven go to the Fox's encounter with the Cadger; and thirteen more are spent on the Wolf's subsequent encounter with the Cadger. The latter two episodes, moreover, are parallel in structure: in the first, the Fox spots the Cadger and explains to the Wolf what he must do (3 stanzas); he then carries out his ruse (1), the Cadger comes up and delivers a
self-congratulatory speech at finding the 'dead' Fox, and tosses him in his cart (3); the Fox is 'revived' by the smell of herring and tosses out herring until discovered (2), escapes, and answers the Cadger's promise of a 'neckherring' (a blow) with rude words from a distance (2). In the second, the Wolf asks about the neckherring and is told how to get it (8), the believing Wolf then repeats the Fox's ruse (1); the Cadger delivers a second self-congratulatory speech at this chance to obtain an emotional revenge (1½); the Wolf is 'revived' by the Cadger's cudgel (1½), and escapes, leaving the Fox to address himself smugly to the audience and the fish (1). As we can see, the action speeds up slightly in the second episode as we move towards the climax, though the second episode's first section is necessarily longer (8 to 3) since in it the Fox has to work-up the Wolf's greed to such a pitch that he doesn't catch-on to the trick.

Compared to the brisk movement of the last two episodes, the opening debate is ponderous. As Jenkins puts it

The debate...is most ineffective as a piece of dramatic argumentation. It does not really move forward; instead, the Wolf overrides the Fox by repeating the same facts. It is precisely this refusal on the Wolf's part to consider the implications of what he says that is Henryson's real concern.\textsuperscript{13}

Part of this effect of ponderousness is conveyed by the unvaryingly mechanical designation of speakers:

'Schir' said the Foxe(1969)...'Na' quod the Wolff(1972)
'Schir' said the Foxe(1976)...'Yis' quod the Wolff(1979)
'Schir' said the Foxe(1981)...'Na' quod the Wolff(1986)
'Schir' said the Foxe(1988)...'Than' said the Wolff(1993)
'Schir' said the Foxe(2000)...'Than' said the Wolff(2007)
'Schir' said the Foxe(2011)...'Weill' quod the Wolff(2020)
'Schir' said the Foxe(2023)....
Partly too it comes from the Wolf's harping on one string like the proverbial ass. Compare the argument of his first speech.

"...lourand law, thow can gar hennis de." (1968),
to that of his second,

".......thow can in covert creip
Upon thy wame, and hint thame be the heid;" (1972-3),

his third,

".......throw buskis and throw brais,
Law can thow lour to cum to thy Intent." (1979-80),

and his fourth,

".......thow can cum on the wind," (1986).

There is a marked paucity of ideas here; only the fourth point is substantially new, two and three being variations on one. Not a very enterprising argument!

Against such elementary verbal skills (they may have served for classroom comment), the Fox does not need to exert his inventive faculties, and replies in kind. Three of his initial four arguments are based on visual recognition. His fourth,

.......that beist ye mycht call blind,
That micht not eschaip than ffra me ane myle.[since]...
My tippit twa eiris, and my twa gray Ene,
Garris me be kend, quhair I wes never sene. (1988-92)

is an insubstantial variation on his second,

".......ye knaw my Roib is reid,
And thairfoir thair will na beist abyde me," (1976-7)

which is a rehash of his first,

".......gif thay me se on far,
...at my figure, beist and bird will skar." (1970-1)

Only his third argument (which precedes, not follows the Wolf's fourth argument!) achieves true variation with an appeal to
olfactory recognition.

"Ane lang space ffra thame thay will feill my sent," (1982).

Even so, the Fox's arguments are not static like the Wolf's; they move from far to near and from abstract to concrete.

In terms of quantity of argument, the two beasts exhale the same amount of hot air, each speaking for sixteen lines; from this point on, however, the Wolf becomes more and more clumsily assertive, suggesting that the physically smaller animal submit or suffer (st. 285). The Fox, slyly—and incongruously, as in the Confession—professes religious scruples (st. 286) and the baited Wolf threatens physical violence (st. 287). Lowrence hastily backtracks, accepting an offer he can't refuse (sts. 287-8), but the Wolf adds insult to injury (incidentally illustrating his own fear of the Fox as he does so) by exacting an oath of fealty (st. 289). Though, on the face of it, the Wolf's arguments appear to win out, the ratio of lines-per-speaker shows that the Fox out-talks his muddle-headed opponent even while he pretends to submit: he speaks twenty-one to the Wolf's fourteen lines. Significantly, the ratio of the third episode (stanzas 301-8) is even more heavily in the Fox's favour. He speaks for forty lines while the Wolf only speaks for ten. By this point Lowrence is clearly master of the situation.

The Tale begins with the conventional attribution to "myne authour" and a type-portrait of the Wolf, his habits and characteristics:
Quhylum thair wynnit in ane wildernes,
(As myne Authour expreslie can declair),
Ane revand Wolff, that levit upon purches,
On bestiall, and maid him weill to ffair;
Wes nane sa big about him he wald spair,
And he war hungrie, outha ff for favour or feid,
Bot in his wraith he weryit thame to deid. (1951-57)

Henryson's reference to his "authour" is not, I think, merely a conventional line-filler. He has a source--but it is not Aesop--and that source specifically locates a hungry wolf in a wilderness. Since

the various readings of Meon II all begin with a bitter winter landscape...and the adventures in Meon X are motivated by Primaut's extreme hunger, I think we may take Henryson at his word and allow Jenkins' assumption that Henryson was working from a version similar to these printed by Meon.

In the second stanza the action begins:

Swa happinnit him in watching, as he went,
To meit ane Foxe in middis off the way;
He him foirsaw, and fenyeit to be schent.
And wth ane bek he bad the Wolff gude day.
'Welcum to me' (quod he), 'thow Russell gray;'
Syne loutit doun, and tuke him be the hand.
'Ryse up, Lowrence, I leif the for to stand.' (1958-64)

Here Henryson's elaboration of the Wolf's behaviour towards the Fox--like his characterization as "ane revand Wolff" in the previous stanza--is predictably governed by encyclopedic physiology.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus tells us that

The wolfe hatte lupus...as it were leopes. For he hath vertu in the feet as the leon hath and so what he treadeth with his foot lyveth nought. And is a raveyn beste.... And certeinliche if he knoweth that he is yseye furst, he leseth his boldnesse.
Henryson's Wolf who is so wrathful that there "wes nane sa big about him he wald spair" thus begins to lose his boldness as soon as the Fox "him foirsaw". Debate is now possible. The Fox, however, is taking no chances and when "with ane bek he bad the Wolff gude-day....and fenyet to be schent", his actions are appropriate at both human and animal levels. According to the Bestiary, the lion "spareth hem that liggen on the grounde"¹⁹--a fact of nature also observable among canines, the vanquished exposing his jugular to the victor as a sign of submission--and thus the Fox's actions bespeak his submission to his 'royal' opponent in a suitably flattering way.

The Wolf too responds like the King of Beasts in graciously giving Lowrence "leif...for to stand" (cf. The Parliament, 928); but he would do well to remember the standard encyclopedic characterization of the fox learned from his school days: the fox is one who

"Feyneth him tame in tyme of nede, but by nighte he awayteth his tyme and doth schrewed tornes."²⁰

In human terms,

"a flatterer is a friend in an inferior position, or a man who pretends to be such a friend",²¹

and the Fox's actions can quite as easily be seen as figuring those of a dissembling man (cf. Cook and Fox, 432-4). In referring metaphorically to flatterers as foxes, Pierce the Plowman's Crede singles out just this action as representative: "Lordes loveth hem well for thei so lowe crouch."²²
Quite possibly, Henryson's comic depiction of the flattered Wolf pompously behaving like the royal Lion was enough to generate the "Stewart" (1966) and "Nekhering" (2089) conceits in his mind, for the Wolf's gesture of giving the Fox "leif...for to stand" carries feudal overtones. (MacQueen believes "there may be a punning reference to the Scots royal line" in the reference to "Stewart" here.23 I prefer to believe that a topical allusion is intended: a prominent leader of the Scottish forces in France, Sir John Stewart of Darnley, had been killed at the "Battle of the Herrings" <sic> in 1429, and the story recorded in the Book 24 of Pluscarden. The Wolf's ulterior motive in making the gesture is no doubt his attempt to interpret the Fox's expedient and temporary submission as an indication of his willingness to enter into a relationship of vassalage. "Thow sall beir office, and my Stewart be" (1966) as he says in the next stanza.25

The Wolf's idea of what a steward should be is again a nicely balanced composite of animal and human abilities:

"Quhair hes thow bene this sesoun ffra my sicht? Thow sall beir office, and my Stewart be, For thow can knap doun Caponis on the nicht, And, lourand law, thow can gar hennis de." (1965-68)

Knocking off hens in the night does not seem to be an activity particularly transferable to human terms only if we have lost touch with contemporary conditions.

The most important and influential of all the prior of Durham's secular counsellors [R. B. Dobson tells us] was his steward, an officer who stood at the head of the lay servants of the monastery. The often frenzied competition for the office on the part of acquisitive magnate and gentry families in the fifteenth and
early sixteenth centuries...leaves no doubt that he often systematically exploited his influence over monastic estate-management, and particularly over short-term leases of conventual land, in the interests of himself, his friends, and his relatives.26

In passing we might note that the Moralitas to the Wolf and Lamb fulminates against just such "Wolfis" who

...settis to the Mailleris ane Village,
And for ane tyme Gressome payit and tane;
Syne vexis him, or half his terme be gane,
With pykit querrellis for to mak him fane
To flit, or pay his Gressome new agane.(2744-48)

However, the main point, which the Wolf grasps like a snake by the tail, is that putting someone as clever and dishonest as the Fox in such a position will certainly lead to increased gross revenue or "Caponis", but not to increased net revenue; the steward will absorb the difference just as, at the end of the Tale, "With all the fische thus Lowrence tuke his leif." (2195)

The double-entendre of these opening stanzas must have been relished by a fifteenth century audience, and particularly by such ruffians as the Magdalen College grammar boys who thought it a noble sport...to hear the fasynge [swaggering] and brallynge of thies boys when they shall be accusede of custos [prefects] and to see howe subtyll every man is in defending hymself.27

We might remember that 'custos' were known as Lupi28 and that the Avianus Commentaries studied by Risse included schoolroom allegory as well as the more traditional four:29

The Fox's mock-modest reply,

"'Schir' (said the Foxe), 'that ganis not for me:
And I am rad, gif thay me se on far,
That at my figure, beist and bird will skar."

(1969-71),
and indeed the whole cumbersome series of stock arguments that proceed from the mouths of the Fox and Wolf in the following eight stanzas parody conventional formulae of social behaviour, the Fox's appeal to honour (1978) especially extending the feudal metaphor. At the animal level, the Fox's defence seems to rest almost solely on a *topos* from the Aristotelian tradition that is also paraphrased by Chaucer's Nun's Priest (3279-81);

"My tippit twa eiris, and my twa gray Ene, 
Garris me be kend, quhair I wes never sene."(1991-2)

Behind this reference lies Avicenna's theory of estimation, by means of which "a living being will naturally avoid that which is harmful, even though he has never perceived it before". 30 Alfarabi states too, by way of illustration, that "when the lamb imagines the form of the wolf through its sense, it has a faculty that apprehends the enmity and evil of the wolf which its senses cannot perceive" 31 and Gersonides declares that, by means of this faculty,

some animals will move towards things that are beneficial to them...as swallows will move towards radish herbs, which restore vision to eyes that have been injured. 32

Ironically, the Wolf, who prides himself on his knowledge of the fact that the Fox "hes ane wyle...for everie wrink" (1987), 33 does not realize the inclusiveness of the proverb he has just reeled off. It includes himself!

The Fox's reply

".......that beist ye mycht call blind, 
That micht not eschaip than ffra me ane myle." (1988-9),
is a worthy retort, denying the validity of his hunting skills on
the surface and, beneath that, suggesting that the Wolf has only
himself to blame if he does coerce the Fox into stewardship.
And this too has moral point once we are aware that the Fox is a
figure for worldly goods. In that light, the passage reads as a
warning that wrong use of such goods to further the desire for
more riches is to court disaster. Like Chaucer's Pardoner's
"hazardours", the Wolf has already found Death in courting the
Fox;\(^{34}\) The latter's specific reference to his "reid....Roib"(1976)
suggests the "silver seik" (2036) Wolf prays to saints Rufinus
and Albinus (gold and silver)!  

The Wolf's reply to the Fox is a dramatic illustration of
his own short-sightedness. It, like the Lark's scornful reply to
the Swallow, is a string of inappropriate proverbs and proverbial
phrases:

'Than' (said the Wolff), 'Lowrence, I heir the le,
And castys ffor perrellis thy ginnes to defend;
Bot all thy senyes sall not availl the,
About the busk with wayis thocht thow wend;
Falset will failye ay at the latter end;
To bow at bidding, and byde not quhill thow brest,
Thairfoir I giff the counsall ffor the best.'\(^{(1993-9)}\)

"Falset will failye ay at the latter end" applies as well to
himself as to the Fox, as is made clear at the end of the Tale
(2189-90); "To bow at bidding" can also point two ways, since
the Fox also gives him advice; and the third, "all thy senyes
sall not availl the,/About the busk with wayis thocht thow wend"
is a glaring non sequitur after his own assertion to the Fox two
stanzas earlier that "throw buskis and throw brais,/Law can thow
lour to cum to thy Intent" (1979-80)!

In the next stanza, the Fox baits the Wolf with pretended religious scruples:

'Schir,' said the Foxe, 'it is Lentring, ye se;
I can nocht fische, ffor weiting off my feit,
To tak ane Banestikill; thoctxt we baith suld de,
I have nane uther craft to win my meit;
Bot wer it Pasche, that men suld pultrrie eit,
As Kiddis, Lambis, or Caponis in to ply,
To beir your office than wald I not set by.' (2000-6)

Jenkins has characterized this reference to the Lenten season, which recurs throughout the Tale (cf. 2000-1, 2032-4, 2120, 2153), as having "no direct connection with the fable's inner meaning", but this is to miss the point. It suggests the intemperance and gluttony of the Wolf during the season of abstinence and Christian mindfulness, and besides, there is a dramatic need for the Fox's utterance: it lends casual but necessary verisimilitude to the appearance of the Cadger with his cartload of herring! Given Lent, his happening by is quite natural, since, as Jusserand remarks,

There were fairs established for herring and other fishing produce..., the riggurs of Lent and the number of fasting days...[giving] particular importance to these articles of consumption.

The Fox's argument itself is a variation on his confession to the Wolf in the Fox's Confession (sts. 101-6) and perhaps a conscious reminder of it. The Wolf's furious rejoinder is another string of unfortunately ambiguous proverbs:

'Than' (said the Wolff), in wraith, 'wenis thow with wylis,
And with thy mony mowis me to mat?
It is ane auld Dog, doubtles, that thow begylis:
Thow wenis to draw the stra befoir the cat!' (2007-2010)
What he means to imply is that he is too experienced to be taken-in and that any more tomfoolery on the part of the Fox will have unfortunate consequences. Such at least is the import of Ferguson's "It is ill to draw a strae before an auld cat" and "An auld hund bytis sore". Unfortunately for him, his remarks are over-generalized and the context in which he parades his proverbial wisdom lends an ironic shading to it: he is obviously an old dog who will learn no new tricks, ("It is too late to lead an old hound in a band") and like a dog, indeed, he will be beaten half to death for his unregeneracy!

When the Wolf puts teeth into his argument, the Fox knows he has gone far enough and drops his argument (though not his mock-religious banter) with a "God wait, I mene not that" (2011) and further protestation that "God wait, my mynd wes on ane uther thing" (2017). Indeed it is. The Wolf's play is the Fox's earnest. A stanza later it is his turn to recoil in anger at the Wolf's demand that he swear "ane aith, /For to be leill" (2021-22). Henryson enlivens the ponderous argument by nicely charting the seesaw of emotions occasioned by it.

By the end of the debate, the Wolf has got what he thinks he wants, and though the Fox confesses

"I sall fulfill in all thing your bidding,  
Quhat ever ye charge, on nichtis or on dayis." (2018-19),

he has clearly seen that "ye [the Wolf] haif me at ane dreid" (2024). His oath is accordingly casuistical:
"Be Juppiter, and on pane off my heid,  
I sail be trew to you, quhill I be deid." (2026-27)

However, his 'death' in front of the Cadger's cart in the next episode and the Cadger's pronouncement of his death (2063) will effectively secure his release from this obligation by a delicious nominalistic quibble. At least twice more the verbal jugglery of this Ockhamist Fox will help him to "blear" the Wolf's eyes.

At this point the Cadger happens by "with capill and with creillis" (2028) creaking under a weight of fish, and the Fox, stimulated by the rich "flewer off the fresche hering" (2030) casts about for "sum wayis/To get sum fische aganis thir fasting dayis" (2033-4). His criminal intent he excuses sophistically, first by 'aristocratic' belittling of the Cadger's tight-fistedness:

Thocht we wald thig, yone verray Churlische chuff,  
He will not giff us ane hering off his Creill,  
Befoir yone Churle on kneis thocht we wald kneill;  
Bot yit I trou alsone that ye sail se,  
Giff I can craft to bleir yone Carllis Be; (2037-41)

and second by overgeneralizing the virtues of industry, no matter whose the capital:

'Schir, ane thing is, and we get off yone pelff,  
Ye man tak travell, and mak us sum supple;  
For he that will not laubour and help him selff,  
In to thir dayis, he is not worth ane fle;  
I think to work als besie as ane Be.  
And ye sail follow ane lytill efterwart,  
And gadder hering, ffor that sail be your part.'  
(2042-8)

Ironically, the shiftless Fox is anything but the social animal his Bee simile suggests; violent begging or "requisitioning" was a common ill of the time41 and the Fox's savage contempt for
"yone Churle" vividly and swiftly impresses us with the criminal mentality of these self-professed upholders of the feudal system. Their values are dangerously "up sa doun". In the light of such remarks, Jamieson's belief that "one cannot take the Moralitas seriously"\textsuperscript{42} seems curiously out of focus.

Before passing on, we might also notice that the Fox assigns a flatteringly easy task to the Wolf; it involves the minimum of "travell" and the maximum of sensory gratification. Such a combination is well calculated to incapacitate the Wolf's meagre reasoning faculties and set him up for the Fox's revenge at the hands of the Cadger. Notice too the Machiavellian way the Fox ingratiates himself with his Lord by suggestion. The thought of having to "kneill.../Befoir yone Churle" (2039) to satisfy his appetite not only diverts the Wolf's easily-aroused wrath from the insolent Fox but also suggests that, after all, the Fox's own behaviour was respectful by comparison. (cf. 1960-4)

Lowrence now puts into operation a trick for which the Physiologus had made him famous:

\begin{quote}
With that he kest ane cumpass ffar about,  
And straucht him doun in middis off the way,  
As he wer deid he fenyet him, but dout,  
And than upon lenth unliklie lay;  
The quhyte he turnit up off his Ene tway;  
His toung out hang ane handbreid off his heid,  
And still he lay, als straucht as he wer deid. (2049-55)
\end{quote}

One of the three remaining illustrations of Reynard in Scotland depicts him thus,\textsuperscript{43} and I think it is safe to say that the Fox's action would have had more than face-value for many readers. In particular, reference to the stuck-out tongue would have been
interpreted as a sign of devilish hypocrisy. As Jacques de Vitry tells it,

Similiter ypocrite et heretici vulpecule sunt diaboli, qui se mortuos mundo fingunt et lingua venenosa et verborum blandiciis in tantos dicipiunt, similis vulpi que simulat mortuam et dum jacet, aperto ore et lingua extracta...

Even the uneducated Cadger is aware of the Fox as a figure for the Devil (2063), and all our impressions of the initial debate become condensed and encapsulated in this one image of a tongue so 'long' in the ways of sin it can "out hang ane handbreid off his heid".

The next three stanzas give us a vivid *ecphrasis* of the Cadger addressing what he takes to be a dead fox:

The Cadgear fand the Foxe, and he wes fane,  
And till him self thus softlie can he say: 
'At the nixt bait, in Faith, ye sail be flane, 
And off your skyn I sail mak mittennis tway.' 
He lap full lichtlie about him quhair he lay,  
And all the trace he trippit on his tais;  
As he had hard ane pyper play, he gais.

'Heir lyis the Devyll' (quod he), 'deid in ane dyke.  
Sic ane selcouth saw I not this sevin yeir;  
I trow ye have bene tussillit with sum tyke,  
That garris you ly sa still withouttin steir:  
Schir Foxe, in Faith, ye ar deir welcum heir;  
It is sum wyfis malisone, I trow,  
For pultrie pyking, that lychtit hes on yow.

'Thair sail na Pedder, for purs, nor yit for gluifis,  
Nor yit ffor poynitis pyke your pellet ffra me;  
I sail off it mak mittennis to my lufis,  
Till hald my handis hait quhair ever I be;  
Till Flanderis sail it never saill the se.'  
With that in hy, he hint him be the heillis,  
And with ane swak he swang him on the creillis.  

(2056-76)

Scarcely anything here is completely Henryson's. The only thing he seems to have invented *ex nihilo* is the Cadger's waggish
speculation on the Fox's manner of death in the second stanza, which seems to cast a backward glance at the Cock and Fox. For the rest, compare Branche XIV of the Roman de Renart. There the merchants plan to skin Renart "a metre en surcot", and sell his skin for. "trois sols ou quatre de deniers", at which thought "li uns a l'autre en fait grant joie".

But to draw parallels is to point up the greater vividness and specificity of Henryson's amplifications. The energetic little dance the Cadger executes around the body of the Fox justly draws praise. Less obviously inventive but just as indicative of the Cadger's temporary forgetfulness in the face of unexpected riches is the proverbial exclamation "Heir lyis the Devyll... deid in ane dyke" which heads his extended, traditional mockery of a dead fox. It is a misquote; "Seldom lyes the devil dead by the dyke side" is the Fergusson rendering. Nor is his reference to "sum wyfis malisone" any more happy: "Curses mak the tod fat" as the saying goes.

As well as preferring his own native wit to the wisdom of the proverb, the Cadger is also elated--and carried away--by the thought that he has beaten the proverbially light-fingered peddler to this prize. The reference to his commercial rival is again a commonplace. In Piers Plowman, Avarice boasts that he has

"... as moche pite of pore men as pedlere hath of cattles, that wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myghte for coveitise of here skynnes";

a statute of the reign of Edward VI also warns that
no...pedler, tynker or pety chapman shall wander
...and sell pynnes, points, laces, gloves, knyves,
glasses, tapes or any such kynde of wares whatsoever, or gather connye skynnnes or such like things
...except those that shall have a licence; 52

and in the first tale of the Thrie Priests of Peblis, the merchant explains on behalf of his peers in Parliament how

"Thar faderis purely can begyn
With hap and half penny and a lam skyn
And purely ran fra towne to towne on fut." 53

A good deal of social and moral satire is packed away in the Cadger's reference to the "Pedder", for, as the Thrie Priests makes clear, only two steps up from being a pack-peddler was to be a cadger:

This bony pedder...
[Quhen] at his pak was worth forty pund...
He bocht full sone a mekle stallwart horss
And at the last sa worthely wp wan
He bocht ane cart............. 54

Despite the Cadger's newly-acquired scorn for his former confrères, he has not lost his old habits and hypocritically revels in his plan to turn the Fox's skin into mittens. (The light-fingeredness of cadgers is interestingly attested by the Dunfermline Burgh Records for 13 July, 1574, which ordain "that nane of the travellouris cadgearis within the said burcht tak upoun hand to tape or sell ony uther menis fische in the mercat bot thair awin." 55) His "lufis" of course are his "handis"--himself. This detail too, which is readily understandable in a cold climate and at the literal level, helps to shade-in the transition to the Moralitas. Avarice-as-a-merchant presents a living image of
Death, one turned away from God and the things of the spirit who works only for himself and the things of the flesh.

The hearty, confident "swak" with which the Cadger swings the Fox on the top of his load is echoed by the Fox with a vengeance in the following stanza:

Syne be the heid the hors in hy hes hint;  
The fraudfull ffox e thairto gude tent hes tane,  
And with his teith the stoppell, or he stint,  
Pullit out, and syne the hering ane and ane  
Out of the creillis he swakkit doun gude wane.  
The Wolff wes war, and gadderit spedilie;  
The Cadgear sang, 'huntis up, up, upon hie.' (2077-83)

The last line also provides comic-ironic illustration of the Cadger's "blind prosperitie" (2228), for it is the poor man who can sing merrily before the thief, and, by the time the Cadger "luikit about", he is indeed a poor man. The Fox's swift, one-stanza despoliation of his cart stands in mute contrast to the three leisurely stanzas the Cadger has spent in premature celebration of a small profit.

The explosion of emotions, fleeing fox, and flying fists is well caught by Henryson in this scene where the Cadger pauses to check his load before attempting to cross the burn:

Yit at ane burne the Cadgear luikit about;  
With that the ffox e lap quyte the creillis ffray;  
The Cadgear wald haif raucht the ffox e ane rout,  
Bot all ffor nocht, he wan his hoill that day.  
Than with ane schout thus can the Cadgear say:  
'Abyde, and thou ane Ne khering sall haif,  
Is worth my Capill, Creillis, and all the laif.'

(2084-90)

Internal rhyme on "raucht" and "nocht" in lines three and four pick up the end rhymes on "about" and "rout" in lines one and three and carry their disturbed reverberations through to "schout"
in the fifth, and the Cadger's point of articulation. In terms of narrative technique the motif of remark-and-rejoinder is identical to the Fox's plea and the Cock's answer in the *Cock and Fox* (572-8), but each is unique in terms of its interweaving of circumstantial details. The Cadger's conceit marks the climax of the stanza's rhetorical firework-display, "nekhering" being a colloquial term for the blow given on the back of the neck in the knighting ceremony, as Denton Fox has shown from the *Catholicon Anglicum*. Not only is the conceit an ingenious piece of casuistry on the part of the Cadger; it is the pivot-word on which the subsequent action is made to turn. From it the Fox, still smarting from the humiliation of the Wolf's own vassalage ceremony (1960-4), will get his idea for a poetic revenge.

Lowrence's reply to the Cadger expands Renart's retort "je vos lez tot le remenant" within the constraints of the chosen narrative motif already referred to, and in terms of the Cadger's reference to mittens. On top of this it can find room for satire on merchant jobbery:

'Now' (quod the ffoxex), 'I schrew me, and we meit: I hard quhat thow hecht to do with my skyn. Thy handis sall never in thay mittinnis tak heit, And thow wer hangit, Carll, and all thy kyn! Do furth thy mercat; at me thou sall nocht wyn; And sell thy hering thow hes thair till hie price, Ellis thow sall wyn nocht on thy merchandice.'

(2091-97)

However, the Fox's remarks are not likely to have been received by a fifteenth century audience in quite the light way we take them. From a note in the Dunfermline Burgh Records for 1494
ordering the "cadgears" to provide six loads of fish weekly for the community (two loads each Wednesday, Friday and Saturday), we can better appreciate the seriousness of the Fox's antisocial behaviour.

Though trembling with anger, the Cadger is still, as Stearns has noted, capable of objective self-reproach and of taking precautionary measures for the future:

'It is weill worthie' (quod he), 'I want yone tyke, That had nocht in my hand sa mekill gude, As staff, or sting, yone truker ffor to stryke.' With that lychtlie he lap out over ane dyke, And hakkit doun ane staff, ffor he wes tene, That hevie wes and off the Holyne grene. (2099-2104)

Forewarned is fore-armed. Only at this point, when he is assured that the Cadger has a weapon, does the Fox return "unto the Wolff...be the hering" (2105-6). His subsequent proverbial boasts to the Wolf,

"Ane wicht man wantit never, and he wer wyis; Ane hardie hart is hard for to suppryis." (2108-09), are cleverly two-pronged. On the one hand they force the reluctant Wolf to acknowledge the Fox as "ane Berne full bald" (2110), and, on the other, they make fun of the Cadger for shutting the gate after the horse has gone: if he were on guard he would have had no need of a weapon (in its full form the first proverb reads "Ane wicht man wanted never a wapone")

The Wolf, however, is more interested in his stomach than in the Fox's demonstration of his cunning, and his subsequent query about the herring, "Kennis thow that hering?", is entirely voluntary. This show of greed gives the Fox all he needs to know
to bait his trap in the next six stanzas. Aware, as Aristotle explains, that

"...in all states of appetite, all men become easily deceived, and more so the more their emotions are excited"\(^64\),

he plans to whip up the Wolf's desire for the "Nekhering" by elaborating its qualities in the most sensuous terms. "If [a person] thinks about certain foods etcetera, he desires to eat and becomes hungry", as Nicholas Oresme puts it.\(^65\) Henryson also knows from Aristotle that

in... cases in which a man is engaged in two things at the same time...the more pleasant activity pushes the other activity back...so that (in extreme cases) the man cannot even attend to the latter activity.\(^66\)

Working from this axiom, his Fox will keep the Wolf's mind "ever upon the Nekhering" he depicts so alluringly, so that the Wolf "quyte forgettis the Foxe and all his wrinkis" (2166-7).

With this end in view, the Fox first suggests how incredibly big the Neckherring is:

...at the creill mouth I had it thryis but doubt; The wecht off it neir tit my tuskis out.

'Now, suithlie, Schir, micht we that hering fang, It wald be fische to us thir fourtie dayis.' (2117-20)

Then, when the Wolf's knightly fantasy is fired by the challenge of lifting something that has eluded 'the clever Fox, and he has exclaimed

".........'Now God nor that I hang, Bot to be thair, I wald gif all my clays, To se gif that my wappinnis mycht it rais.' " (2121-3),
Lowrence sets the trap with a calculated appeal to his visual and tactile imagination:

'It is ane syde off Salmond, as it wair, 
And callour, pypand lyke ane Pertrik Es; 
It is worth all the hering ye have thair, 
Ye, and we had it swa, is it worth sic thre.' 
'Than' (said the Wolff), 'quhat counsell gevis thou me?' 
'Schir' (said the ffoxes), 'wirk efter my devyis, 
And ye sall have it, and tak you na suppryis. (2126-32)

From the OED definition of piping (3) and from Friar John's request to Dame Alisone in the Freiris of Berwick for

"Ane pair of cunyngis fat and het pypand 
The caponis als... 
Twa pair of pertrikes...",

I think we can infer the fish to be so fresh it is still warm and as glossy red as a Partridge's eye. Once the stupid Wolf puts himself in the hands of his counsellor, the trap is sprung.

In the first four lines of the next stanza, the Fox's instructions tally almost exactly with the earlier description of his own feigning of death (2049-55). For a purpose. The one new detail, "Syne se your heid on ane hard place ye lay", (2137), thus becomes more obvious to an alert audience, and less obvious to the one whose mind is on "the more pleasant activity". "The witte that taketh hede to many thingis taketh the lasse hede to everyche thereof", as Bartholomaeus says. Too bad. The blows the Wolf will receive will be even more painful as a result of his stone pillow.

So confident is the Fox of the Wolf's avaricious blindness that he can even afford to 'send-up' his master with a few slyly
Indeed the Wolf, whose "blude" will shortly be "rynnand over his heillis" (2202) will not be able to fish for forty days, and certainly he will not die a sudden death under the Cadger's cudgel. Both these oaths are as nominalistically true as the Fox's initial oath to remain loyal to the Wolf until death—and just as deceptive.

In the following stanza, the Wolf carries out his instructions to the letter. Making sure to lay "his halfheid sicker hard" (2161), he is oblivious to everything but the thought of the fabled herring, a perfect image of the proverb that "men are blind in their own cause". Also a powerful argument for correction. Following this slow verbal build-up in stanzas 302-8, the action itself takes only four stanzas, and the beating just one.

The Cadger now appears:

With that the Cadgear, wavering as the wind, Come ryndand on the laid, for it wes licht, Thinkand ay on the Foxe that wes behind, Upon quhat wyse revengit on him he micht; And at the last of the Wolff gat ane sicht, Quhair he in lenth lay streikit in the gait; Bot giff he lichtit doun, or nocht, God wait! (2168-74)

Just one detail in the second line is all Henryson needs to suggest why the carl is so hopping mad as to be "waverand as the wind".
Before the Fox's pillaging, his cart was so heavily laden he had had to lead "the hors...be the heid" (2077) and check the load at the stream (2084); now so little is left he can sit amongst his remaining herring without straining his horse. Lowrence's was no petty theft and the Cadger's mind is as much bent on revenge as the Wolf's is fixed on the fabulous Herring. Hence--"God wait"--his delight at finding the Wolf in the road:

'Softlie,' he said, 'I wes begylit anis;  
Be I begylit twyis, I schrew us baith,  
That evill bot it sall licht upon thy banis,  
He suld have had that hes done me the skaith.'  
On hicht he hovit the staf, ffor he wes wraith,  
And hit him with sic will upon the heid,  
Quhill neir he swonit and sweit in to that steid.  

(2175-81)

His words are characteristic of such a man in such a situation (one thinks of Rauf Coilyear), but they too are carefully shaped to extend the moral significance of his previous utterance:

" 'It is weill worthie' ... 'I want yone tyke,  
That had nocht in my hand.../As staff, or sting..."  

(2099-2101).

Just at the point at which the Wolf is about to suffer (again) for his stupidity, the Cadger clearly illustrates that it is always possible to learn from experience voluntarily. Of course the Wolf learns (temporarily) from his beating too, as Aristotle points out in the Ethics:

As to how an incontinent man is freed from ignorance and regains knowledge...the argument is the same as that for a man who is drunk or asleep...and we should learn it from the physiologists.72

Punishment is a sort of cure.73 Such a theory of knowledge-acquisition was an accepted part of the medieval learning-process
and only too familiar to those who had 'served time' in the schools. Perhaps schoolroom allegory also accounts for a detail that is difficult to explain any other way—the fact that the Wolf is not actually killed:

Thre battis he bure, or he his feit micht find,
Bot yit the Wolff wes wicht, and wan away.
He mycht not se, he wes sa verray blind,
Nor wit reddilie quhether it wes nicht or day.
The Foxe beheld that service quhair he lay,
And leuch on loft, quhen he the Wolff sa seis,
Baith deif, and dosinnit, fall swonand on his kneis.

(2182-8)

Since the Cadger represents Death allegorically, it would have been more consistent to have the Wolf die. But in any case, the Wolf's offense is less serious than that of the birds in the Preaching; they had ignored the word of God.

As the Wolf escapes, we move slowly back from the scene in two stages. In the first, we see the Fox "quhair he lay" laughing maliciously at this "service" and may, as an antidote to the unthinking allegiance to Reynard that Jamieson swears, be reminded of the proverb "It is na play when ane greits and another laughs". The moral of this scene, as the Fox's departure "with all the fische" (2195) illustrates, is

"He that of ressoun can not be content,
Bot covetis all, is abill all to tyne" (2189-90)

— exactly the type of moral we would expect of such a fable.

In the second scene, we move back from the Fox's view of the Wolf's fate to an overview of the whole situation:

The Foxe in to his den sone drew him than,
That had betraisit his Maister and the man:
The ane wantit the hering off his creillis,
The utheris blude wes rynnand over his heillis.

(2199-2202)
The fox is false to all.

The Moralitas comes as a surprise if we have been reading the Tale only on its Renardian level. However, once we are ready to accept at face-value Henryson's initial statement that

"This Taill is myngit with Moralitie,
As I sall schaw sumquhat, or that I ceis:" (2203-4),

we will not apply the following key indiscriminately to the Tale as a whole:

The Foxe unto the warld may likkinnit be,
The revand Wolf unto ane man but leis,
The Cadgear Deith, quhome under all man preis:
That ever tuke lyfe throw cours of kynd man dee,
As man, and beist, and fische in to the see. (2205-9)

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the last two lines of this stanza are only loosely appropriate to the Cadger as a figure of Death; the Wolf was "neir weill dungin to the deid" (2196)--but not killed. The lines function not allegorically but tropologically; they warn Man (the Wolf) that he had better learn Death's lesson. He can carry no worldly goods (herring) with him into the next life, and if he does try he can be sure of everlasting pain.

The remaining three stanzas are curious in another way; they are repeats of the same point. On the surface it looks as if Henryson had a Lydgateian lapse and could not get into one stanza all he wanted to say, or was not satisfied with the way he had said it:

The warld, ye wait, is Stewart to the man,
Quhilk makis man to haif na mynd of Deid,
Bot settis for winning all the craftis thay can;
The Hering I likkin unto the gold sa reid,
Quhilk gart the Wolf in perrell put his heid:
Richt swa the gold garris Landis and Cieteis
With weir be waistit, daylie as men seis.

And as the Foxe with dissimulance and gyle
Gart the Wolff wene to haif worschip for ever,
Richt swa this warld with vane glore for ane quhyle
Flatteris with folk, as thay suld failye never,
Yit suddandlie men seis it oft disserver;
With thame that trowis oft to fill the sek,
Deith cummis behind and nippis thame be the nek.

The micht of gold makis mony men sa blind,
That settis on Avarice thair felicitie,
That thay forget the cadgear cummis behind
To stryke thame, of quhat stait sa ever thay be.
Quhat is mair dirk than blind prosperitie?
Quhairfoir I counsell mychtie men to haif mynd
Of the Nekhering, Interpreit in this kynd. (2210-30)

The first two lines of stanzas one and two have an identical structure, merely alternating the variables "Warld/Foxe" "Stewart/dissimula[tor]", and "To haif na mynd of Deid/To haif worschip for ever". Moreover the simile in the last four lines of stanza one, which serves to introduce the one allegorical equivalence not introduced in the previous stanza (Herring:gold), is balanced against the simile in the first four lines of stanza two. What stanzas two and three have in common is the image of "Deith/the cadgear" coming up behind either to "nipp...thame be the nek" (2223) or, as in the Tale, "To stryke thame" (2227). This I think is sufficient indication of the large-scale incremental repetition in the Moralitas.

But what are we to make of it? Perhaps there is some point in the triple repetition that is connected to the curiously specific "Thre battis" (2182) that the Wolf bore. I can't say;
however, it is hard to believe that a poet capable of such precision and organization in the Preaching could be so apparently disorganized here without reason. Perhaps the rules of stylistic decorum should be our guide. The stylistic level of the Preaching was high, the level of this is low. Henryson, it seems to me, is writing a kind of 'bastard ballade' suitable to the worldly

"ffoxe, Bastard of generatioun, [who] off verray kinde behuifit to be fals." (Parliament, 807-8)

One final point. It is avaricious "mychtie men" (2229) who are specifically counselled in the last stanza, and what they are asked to consider is only a part of the whole: "the Nekhering, Interpreit in this kynd" (2230). The references to flatterers (2220) and to "Landis and Cieteis/With weir...waistit" (2215-16) seem specifically to point the finger at the aristocracy, who come in for a verbal beating in the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman, Wolf and Wether, and Wolf and Lamb as well. But since Henryson's concluding address to "mychtie men" is preceded by the reminder that "mony men......forget the cadgear cummis behind/To stryke thame, of quhat stait sa ever thay be" (the reminder reworks lines 2207-9), we can appreciate how Henryson wants to balance social criticism with tropological criticism. His fable must be relevant to all his readers; but it also looks forward to the Moralitas of the Wolf and Lamb, in which the social frame of reference of the four Wolf fables is made fully explicit.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII

THE FOX, THE WOLF AND THE CADGER


3. Historia Animalium, 488b, 10-30; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV. Aristotle states that the wolf is "thorough-bred and wild and treacherous...for...an animal is thorough-bred if it does not deflect from its racial characteristics."

4. Cf. De Memoria 450a, 32; Scrabji, p. 50.


14. Wolf 8, Fox 3; W4, F3; W2, F5; W2, F5.

15. W7, F7; W4, F9; W3, F5.

16. F3, W4; F2, W1; F4, W3; F4, W1, F16; W2, F9.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII (Cont.)

17 Jenkins, "The Fox, the Wolf and the Cadger Again", p. 110.


19 Ibid., p. 1214, l. 24.

20 Ibid., p. 1264, ll. 8-10.

21 *Ethics*, 1159a, 10-25; Apostle, p. 150.


25 In the *Fox, Wolf and Husbandman* (2242-51) he will seize at a similar straw and attempt to interpret the Husbandman's curse as a binding oath. Cf. also *The Wolf and Lamb*, ll. 2631-36.


28 White, *Vulgaria*, p. liv (see also Chapter One, n. 177).

29 Risse, "Avianus", p. 45: "The fourth section [scholastice] restricts its figurative meaning to a specific subject, the immediate world of the medieval student."


31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII (Cont.)


37 Ferguson's *Proverbs*, Ed. no. 519, p. 54; cf. also Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences*, S818, p. 559.

38 Ferguson's *Proverbs*, MS. no. 32, p. 7; cf. also Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences*, D316, p. 139.


43 In Aberdeen University MS. 24, fol. 16r (12th century), "A fox lies on its back while six cubs look out of holes in a green hill below. Four birds perch on top of the fox; four more hover in the air above him." (Varty, *Reynard the Fox*, p. 147, no. 211) The other illustration of Reynard in Scotland noticed by Varty is a panel from Abbot Panter's house, Montrose (c. 1516), which now resides in the National Museum of Antiquities. In it, two foxes dressed as friars hold a goose. (Varty, *Reynard the Fox*, p. 140, no. 131; he cites an article on woodcarving in *Scotland's Magazine*, October, 1959 for a photograph.) The third extant manifestation of Reynard, unnoticed by Varty, is the classic one: Reynard and Chantecler. It can be found carved on an exterior corbel at the Rosslyn Chapel (built c. 1446-1486), where it is wrongly described as "a representation of an old nursery rhyme". (Rosslyn: Its Chapel, Castle and Scenic Lore, by the Earl of Rosslyn, Glasgow, n.d., p. 29) The Fox, with the Cock on his back, engages in a tug-of-war with the Widow, who hangs onto the Cock's tail-feathers with her left hand, and--the stone is too worn to be absolutely sure of this detail--seems to brandish a distaff in her right.


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII (Cont.)


49 Ferguson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 744, p. 88; MacQueen was the first to spot the significance of this misquotation (Robert Henryson, p. 183) but quotes from a different and undocumented source.


51 Skeat, Piers Plowman, B text, passus 5, p. 70, ll. 258-259.

52 Jusserand, Wayfaring Life, p. 128.

53 Robb, The Thrie Priests of Peblis, pp. 12-14, ll. 183-185; for representations in the visual arts see Varty, Reynard the Fox, Ill. 100-104, and Breugel's "The Peddler Pillaged by Apes" in Klein, Breugel, plate 33.

54 Robb, The Thrie Priests of Peblis, p. 14, ll. 188 and 190-194.

55 Beveridge, Burgh Records, 13 July 1574, item.

56 Cf. Skeat, Piers Plowman: Three Parallel Texts, C text, passus xiv, p. 353, ll. 33-59 and the references in the Two Mice to the proverb "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator."

57 S.J.H. Herrtage, ed., Catholicon Anglicum, EETS o.s. 75 (London, 1881), p. 251; Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", p. 588, n. 14. The Cadger's remark, following his "Abyde", possibly also conveys the sense that the Fox must abide the consequence of his deed, for this is the meaning of the Flemish proverb "The herring hangs by its own gills". (Seidel and Marijnissen, Breugel, "Netherlandish Proverbs", 4.d., p. 39)


FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VIII (Cont.)


62 Even Homer nods: the Cadger, "that had nocht ... staff, or sting" (2100-01), hacks down a holly bough (2103-04)—but with what?

63 *Fergusson's Proverbs*, MS. no. 10, p. 4.

64 De Somniis 460b, 9-11; Ross, *The Works of Aristotle*, III.


66 *Ethics*, 1175b, 5-10; *Apostle*, p. 189. See also *De Sensu et Sensibili*, 447a, 10-16; Ross, *The Works of Aristotle*, III.


68 As we discover in the *Moralitas*, the Herring is like the "gold sa Reid" (2213).

69 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 100.

70 *Fergusson's Proverbs*, Ed. no. 623, p. 76.


72 *Ethics*, 1147b, 5-10; *Apostle*, p. 121.

73 *Ethics*, 1105a, 10-20; *Apostle*, p. 24.

74 *Fergusson's Proverbs*, Ed. no. 506, p. 62.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOX, THE WOLF AND THE HUSBANDMAN.

The non-appearance of the Fox, Wolf and Cadger and Fox, Wolf and Husbandman in the Bannatyne MS. seems to suggest that these two fables were composed as a distinct unit; a comparison of their main features strengthens such a point of view. In the first fable the Fox betrays both the Wolf and the Cadger, and in the second both the Wolf and the Husbandman. Again, both fables are concerned with Avarice, though each develops a similar study of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil in terms of a different social situation (a lord, his steward, and a merchant in the FWC; and a lord, his barony court judge-steward, and a husbandman in the FWH). In both, the fully human cadger and husbandman learn from experience and increase their diligence whereas the animalized man (the wolf) remains reliant on his power, inveterately greedy, stupid, and blind.

According to Jamieson, who follows Diebler in this, there are only four known possible sources for the Fox, Wolf and Husband. These are the twelfth century Disciplina Clericalis version of Petrus Alphonsus; the thirteenth century Castoiement d'un père à son fils, which is close to Alphonsus; the fifteenth century Steinhowell version, which differs considerably in detail but not in ways important for Henryson; and Caxton's version of Machaut's
version of Steinhowell, which Jamieson believes is the closest to Henryson's. 2

According to him there is no equivalent passage in Steinhowell, Machaut or Alphonsus for the lines the Fox addresses to the Wolf (MF 2418-19), though there is in Caxton: "Thus hit is of the world for when one cometh doune the other goth upward". However, the detail is also in Branche IV of the Roman de Renart, "Si comme Renart fist avaler Ysengrin dedenz le puis"—the story translated into Middle English as The Vox and the Wolf. 3 In this, when asked by the descending Wolf where he is going, Renart replies

Quant li uns va, li autres vient
C'est la costume qui avient.
Ge vois en paradis laisus
Tu vas on puis d'enfer lajus (3607-10).

The detail of the last two lines is of course similar to Henryson's Moralitas explanation of how Avarice leads

".... ilk man to leip in the buttrie
That dounwart drawis unto the pane of hell" (2452-53).

In making his case for Henryson's use of Caxton, Jamieson finds three pieces of supporting evidence: that the reason Caxton's husbandman is angry with his oxen is "because they smote with their feet"; that in no version other than Caxton's is there any hint of a witnessing Fox; and that only Caxton talks of the moon's reflection in the terms Henryson does, as a "shadowe". 4 This is all rather tenuous. The first example cited from Caxton is not particularly close to Henryson's version (cf. 2240-1) and the third is not conclusive either; "shadowe" is probably just a vernacular equivalent of "reflection"—Steinhowell's "lunam in
puteo reflectentem"—for both Englishman and Scot. Neither is the second example proof that Henryson was following Caxton. As Jamieson himself points out later, the Fox seems to accompany the Wolf for allegorical reasons: he represents the Fiend.

In Denton Fox's words, we have "no good proof that Henryson had any knowledge of Caxton's Reynard or Aesop." Referring to the well-bucket quotations Jamieson presents, (though actually criticizing MacQueen, who relies on Jamieson) he goes on:

These are good parallels, but whether they can be used to prove Henryson's dependence on Caxton's Aesop ... or on his Reynard ... seems to me doubtful. The difficulty is that the concept of 'Fortune's buckets' is very common. I suspect that here, as with the proverb 'The greatest clerks are not the wisest men', there was a traditional link between a fable and an apt proverb. [He goes on to cite the above Renart analogue by way of example.]

A parallel noticed by MacQueen may also have been activated in Henryson's mind by just such a traditional link. In Chaucer's Friar's Tale (1537-70), a summoner suggests to a fiend that he take advantage of a carter's bad language to his horses. The fiend refuses on the ground that 'the carl spak oo thing, but he thoughte another'--a point which is relevant, not only to the Fox's allegorical role as the fiend, but also to his change of attitude towards the husbandman. Chaucer's fiend catches the summoner in place of the carter; Henryson's catches the wolf in place of the husbandman.

What MacQueen hasn't pointed out is that the sentential hinge on which the action turns in Chaucer ('The carl spak oo thing" etc.) is the same as the one on which it turns in Henryson:

"'Schir' (quod the husband), 'ane man may say in greif, And syne ganesay, fra he avise and se:" (2273-4).
It is presumably (as I hope to show) because the Devil-Fox realizes the force of this argument that he points out to the Wolf "your self had all the wyte [blame]" (2367).

MacQueen has also noticed how closely, as in the Preaching; Henryson has observed the unity of time in this fable:

The assumed time of the action...is from morning to midnight, with the three principal scenes taking place at dawn, in the evening, and in darkness by the light of the full moon. 10

The acts of this drama, however, are not numerically balanced as they are in the Fox, Wolf and Cadger. The morning scene is the shortest and takes up only three stanzas, the afternoon one is the longest with eighteen stanzas, and the night scene follows with seven; but the long afternoon "quasi-legal debate"11 can again be broken down into a seven-stanza exchange between the Wolf and the Husband, and an eight-stanza arbitration scene in which the Fox first interviews the Husband (three stanzas) and then the Wolf (five)--three exchanges in all.

As rhetorical exercises, what is interesting to notice about these central speeches is that the language they call forth from each of the three debatees is couched in one of the three deliberative modes. The aristocratic Wolf uses epideictic oratory in appealing to honour; the wronged Husbandman employs forensic oratory; and the shuttle-diplomat Fox resorts to deliberative oratory, the language of expediency!12 On one level the debate is an excellent schoolroom illustration of the situational demands and limitations of each type.
The opening scene wastes no time setting up the moot-point in dramatic terms:

In elderis dayis, as Esope can declar,
Thair wes ane Husband, quhilk had ane pleuch to steir.
His use wes ay in morning to ryse air;
Sa happinnit him in streiking tyme off yeir
Airlie in the morning to follow ffurth his feir,
Unto the pleuch, bot his gadman and he;
His stottis he straucht with 'Benedicite.'

The Caller cryit: 'how, haik, upon hicht;
Hald draucht, my dowis;' syne broddit thame ffull sair.
The Oxin wes unusit, young and licht,
And ffor fersnes thay couth the fur fforfair.
The Husband than woxe'angrie as ane hair,
Syne cryit, and caist his Patill and grit stanis:
'The Wolff' (quod he) 'mot have yow all at anis.'

(2231-44)

It is April, "that tyme poores of the erthe beth i-opened and
feldis beth i-ered and i-opened to tylinge and to fonginge of
seed" 13, the time when the husbandman co-operates by his labour
in God's scheme. 14 The scene is presented with careful naturalism, and Gregory Smith's supplementary description of the medieval plow certainly helps increase our imaginative sympathy for the poor Husbandman having to work with such an inefficient instrument; nevertheless, both dialogue and description are also allegorically suggestive. 15 An anonymous didactic poem from the Vernon MS on the same theme as Henryson's own "Abbey Walk" indicates how suggestive:

Me priketh the oxe in the plouh
Whon he is yong, untoun and wylde,
He wol rore and make hit touh,
And of his draught ben unbylde;
The more he torneth out of his tylde
The drivere wolde him boxe and bral;
So god wol the, but thou be mylde.
And evere to thonken him of al. 16
The significant details in Henryson are the Husbandman's beginning of the day's work with "Benedicite"—no doubt a heartfelt expression of relief at getting his "stottis...straucht [in line]"—and his cry "The Wolff.....mot have yow all at anis", uttered when the oxen step out of line. When things are going well this typical mortal is all praise, and when they are not he is all recrimination. The human significance of the scene is further suggested by a detail in the fourth stanza, in which we learn that

"The Oxin waxit mair reullie at the last; 
Syne efter thay lousit, ffra that it worthit weill lait; 
The Husband hamewart with his cattell past." (2252-4)

In the morning these oxen "unusit, young and licht" spoil the furrow with their "fersnes", only to become more ruly as the day wears on.

Surely this is set up to suggest the topos of the Ages of Man, wanton in youth, responsible as his day wears on? If MacQueen is right in assuming that

"allegorically the team has the same meaning as the 'beistis' of Aristaeus, which in Orpheus and Eurydice represent the carnal passions".

then the Husband's difficulty with his oxen foreshadows his difficulty with the Fox at both spiritual and literal levels. An unusual degree of consistent integration. It must, of course, be admitted that there is no mention of oxen in the Moralitas; however, I think Henryson assumed the application would be obvious from context.
A further parallel from Avianus, the schoolroom comparison-piece to Aesop, is relevant, and I also take it to be the basis of the incident MacQueen refers to in the Friar's Tale. Henryson, I feel, if he had read this, would have recognized Chaucer's source and readapted it accordingly. (Both Gower in the Mirour, l. 5811, and Bromyard in his Summa Praedicantium, art. 5, also refer to it.) "The Ploughman and his Oxen" concerns an individual who, when his cart sticks in the mud, prays God for help but does not himself lay hand to it. The moral: "bring the gods to your help by acting yourself." The fable is morally relevant to the scene in which "the Husband than woxe angrie as ane hair", as Henryson's Tale itself bears out when the Husband acts to rule his oxen, resist the Wolf, and bar his door against the Fox.

The Husbandman's derogatory remark about his oxen is, stanza three makes clear, more potentially serious than he realizes:

```
Bot yit the Wolff wes neirar nor he wend,
For in ane busk he lay, and Lowrence baith,
In ane Rouch Rone, wes at the furris end,
And hard the hecht; than Lowrence leuch full raith;
'To tak yone bud' (quod he) 'it wer na skaih.'
'Weill' (quod the Wolff), 'I hecht the be my hand;
Yone Carllis word, as he wer King, sail stand.'
```

The Fox seems, by his reference, to "yone bud [bribe]" to have the whole arbitration scenario already in mind, and it is he who eggs on the slow-witted Wolf. The latter betrays his own lordly, epideictic approach to life by taking both Husband and Fox literally. The proverb "a kingis word shuld stond" was a common one, but the fallacy of the Wolf's application is evident even in his own
choice of terms. The full proverb, as we see it applied in The Talis of the Fyve Bestis states that

"A kingis word in more effect suld be
Than ony of lawar degre...".

Now the Husbandman is a churl, by the Wolf's own admission (2251), and thus all the Wolf's plan shows is a comically desperate ingenuity. Nevertheless the Wolf has two advantages. He is powerful, and he acts at 'the hour of reif', when darkness is on his side. As the Husband heads for home

"Than sone the Wolff come hirpilland in his gait,
Befoir the Oxin, and schupe to mak debait." (2255-6)

The five-stanza debate between Husband and Wolf that follows is beautifully structured. In the opening plea of stanza 323 "the claim that the acts of the dependant were 'wrangous'" are "countered by the claim that he has done 'na wrang'"—in Henryson's words, the Wolf claims the oxen on the basis that "nane off thame ar thyne" and the Husband swears, significantly, "be my Saull", that "thir oxin ar all myne" (2263). Despite the vigor of his asseveration, the "felloun fray" (2261) in which the Husbandman finds himself is well registered in the metrically lame ending he makes:

"Thairfoir I studdie quhy ye suld stop me,
Sen that I faltit never to you, trewlie." (2264-65)

We catch the tremor in his voice.

Following this, Wolf and Man make two exchanges of a stanza each. The sententiae that the Wolf brings forward to establish his case are, unfortunately for him, undercut legally by his ref-
erence to the Husbandman as "Carle", even though his repeated use
of this term forms part of his attempt to intimidate his opponent:

The Wolff said, 'Carle, gaif thou not me this drift
Airlie, quhen thou wes eirrand on yone bank?
And is thair ocht (sayis thou) frear than gift?
This tarying wyll tyne the all thy thank;
Far better is frelie ffor to giff ane plank
Nor be compellit on force to giff ane mart,
Fy on the fredome that cummis not with hart!' (2266-72)

We may recall that in fifteenth century Scotland blackmail, or
"maintenance", was so widespread that "even the greatest burghs
could not ignore local lords". 22 Such scenes as the following
from the Bannatyne MS. must have been only too common:

Peur husband men leivis on thair plwch
Thay think that thay ar riche annewch
Away with it the thelivis dois wend
And leivis thame bair as ony bewch. 23

As has been said in the previous chapter, it was against just
this kind of 'violent begging' that Parliament legislated in
1424. Little wonder that the Husbandman is trembling in his
mud-caked boots!

The Wolf's contentious remark that the Husband meant to make
him a gift is intended to back the Carl into a social corner: it
would be churlish for one who has the true aristocratic spirit of
"fredome" to try to take back a 'gift'. Unfortunately, the haste
with which he turns to veiled threats of force ("tarying....... compellit") mars his credibility and the rhetorical effectiveness
of this point. His illustrating proverb, moreover, is ineptly
chosen. The Husband's ox-team is his main source of livelihood,
not a worthless amount (a "plank" or debased 'black' penny 24);
and even the upper limit of the proverbial comparison is far short
of what the Husbandman is being asked to give up: a "mart", how­
ever much fattened for market is but one ox!

The Carl's reply is very solid, both practically and theo­logically:

'Schir' (quod the husband), 'ane man may say in greif,
And syne ganesay, fra he avise and se:
I hecht to steill, am I thairfoir ane theif?'
'God forbid, Schir, all hechtis suld haldin be!'
'Gaif I my hand or obliissing' (quod he),
'Or have ye witnes, or writ ffor to schaw?
Schir, reif me not, but go and seik the Law!' (2273-9)

As the Devil recognizes in the Friar's Tale when he himself
quotes a version of this sentence and indicates his powerlessness
to act against it,

sometimes when the passions are very intense, man
loses the use of reason...through excess of love
or anger... Accordingly, if we take passion as pre­
ceding the sinful act, it must diminish the sin;
for the act is a sin in so far as it is voluntary,
and...[in so far as] a thing is said to be under
our control through the reason and will. 25

The Husband's "grief" is well attested by Henryson's description
of how he "wox angrie as ane hair"--the reference suggesting the
proverb "As mad as a March hare"--and how he "caist his Patill
and grit stanis" before exclaiming "The Wolff...mot have yow". 26
And the fact that his oxen "waxit mair reullie at the last" would
naturally dispose him to "avise and se", and "ganesay" the Wolf.
(His sentence, as we shall see when he promises to give the Fox
"sex or sevin,/Richt off the fattest hennis off all the floik",
(2326-7), has forward as well as backward application).
Having established a telling legal distinction in his first two lines, illustrated it in his third, and made an emotional aside in the fourth, the "Carll" consolidates with reference to the weakness of the Wolf's legal position. So sure is he of the strength of his case that in his last line he declares his willingness to go to court. Although, in referring to witnesses, he has inadvertently overplayed his hand, the Wolf is too stupid to catch this unemphasized point and pursues his own rather feeble line of reasoning:

'Carll' (quod the Wolff), 'ane Lord, and he be leill,
That schrinkis for schame, or doutis to be repruvit,
His saw is ay als sickker as his Seill.
Fy on the Leid that is not leill and lufit!
Thy argument is fals, and eik contrufit,
For it is said in Proverb: "But lawte
All uthер vertewis ar nocht worth ane fle."' (2280-6)

Again he leads off with a non sequitur, since what is good for "ane Lord" is not necessarily good for a "Carll". Schrader believes his concluding proverb is a 'ghost' and takes it for an unwitting corruption of James II, 17 (or 20): "Faith without works is dead". This may be; "The hennis ar warkis that fra ferme faith proceidis" (2437) and the Husband will bar his door against the Fox in defense of them (2374). But it seems to me there is a more obvious referent in The Bruce, that classic of the Scottish knightly ethic:

"For quhair it [leawte] failzeys, na wertu may be off price, na off valu." 27

The Wolf's argument is not wrong per se--it admirably reflects his own aristocratic values--but it is misapplied; epideictic
arguments will not hold in a court of law, as the Husbandman well knows.

Confident of his own position, the latter reasserts what is by now obvious, "I may say, and ganesay, I am na King" (2289), and counters the Wolf's "lawte" proverb with one of his own:

"Ane leill man is not tane at halff ane taill." (2288)

The only analogue I have found for this is Fergusson's "Hauf a tale is enough for a wise man" (38,316), and I assume Henryson has adapted this to suit his circumstances. What those circumstances are can best be seen in his short didactic piece "Aganis Haisty Credence of Titlaris":

It is no wirschep for ane nobill Lord,
for the fals tailis To put ane trew man doun,
And gevand creddence to the first recoird,
he will not heir his excusatioun. (17-20)

In the light of this, I would suggest that Henryson's Husbandman wants to suggest to the Wolf one or more, or all, of three things: one, that a loyal man (such as the Wolf presumes himself to be) whose "saw is ay als sickker as his Seill" is not "leill" if he resorts to half-truths; two, that an honest man is not taken-in by half-truths; and three, that a loyal man (such as the Husband) should not be apprehended and made to pay for a half-promise.

Like the Lamb before the Wolf or the Mouse before the Lion, the Husbandman is in a difficult position and can be excused a certain ambiguity.

But he is not careful enough, and closes by reiterating what he takes to be a devastating rhetorical question: "Quhair is your witnes that hard I hecht thame haill?" (2290) Unfortun-
ately for him, it is his last point, and something that even an opponent as slow-witted as the Wolf could hardly miss:

Than said the Wolff, 'thairfor it sail nocht fail; Lowrence' (quod he), 'cum hidder of that Schaw, And say na thing bot as thow hard and saw.'

Lowrence come lourand, for he lufit never licht, And sone appeirit befoir thame in that place: The man leuch na thing, quhen he saw that sicht.(2291-6)

At the height of his confidence, the Husbandman's hopes are cruelly dashed as he sees approaching an opponent much more to be feared than the Wolf. Again we are reminded, as we were in the Confession (620), of John 3, 20: "He that does ill hates the light." With all the slow deliberateness of one who knows he is in the saddle, the Wolf repeats and expands to four lines what he had said previously in two (2292-3):

'Lowrence' (quod the Wolff), 'thow man declair this case, Quhairof we sail schaw the suith in schort space; I callit on the leill witnes for to beir: Quhat hard thow that this man hecht me lang eir?' (2297-2300)

He has the Husband where he wants him, however illegal his one witness. It is his turn to savour his moment at the top of the wheel. The Fox speaks, even more slowly:

'Schir' (said the Tod), 'I can not hastelie Swa sone as now gif sentence finall; Bot wald ye baith submit yow heir to me, To stand at my decreit perpetuall, To pleis baith I suld preif, gif it may fall.' 'Weill' (quod the Wolff), 'I am content for me:' The man said, 'swa am I, how ever it be.' (2301-7)

With splendid pretence of impartiality and respect for legal process, the hypocritical Tod intimates that he can please both sides; and, after hearing the pleas of both parties "compleit"
(2309), demands that

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...... 'now I am ane Juge amycabill:
Ye sall be sworne to' stand at my decreit,
Quhether heirefter ye think it soure or sweit.'
The Wolff braid furth his fute, the man his hand,
And on the Toddis Taill sworne thay ar to stand.
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(2310-14)

Two details here are ominous. First, having got submissions by intimating that he will please both parties, the Fox slips in a saving-clause under the guise of a legal formality: his clients must accept his judgement as binding whether they find it to their taste or not. Second, the "Toddis Taill" was proverbial for trickery.

As Bartholomaeus tells us

"His taile is grete and rowz, and whan an hound Weneth to take him by the taile he taketh his mouthe [and teeth] ful of heer and stoppeth it."

Also, just this part of his anatomy is the Fox's secret weapon in Branche VI of the Roman de Renart (Martin) when he and Isengrim engage in a Trial by Arms: blinding his opponent with a sweep of his brush, the malicious Fox urinates in the Wolf's eyes and wins the battle. The proverb "As long as ye serve the tod ye most bear up his teal" suggests a service more "soure" than "sweit", and generally the fox's tail seems to have been a symbol for folly. In the Gesta Romanorum version of "Robert of Sicily",

"The fool Robert also went clothed in loathly garnement, with fox-tails riven all about."

Whatever the exact meaning, we can be in no doubt Henryson and his Fox are engaging in an iconographical joke.
The Fox's oratory, as has been said, is Deliberative; we now see him appealing to this expediency:

Than take the Tod the man furth till ane syde,
And said him, 'friend, thow art in blunder brocht;
The Wolff will not forgif the ane Oxe hyde,
Yit wald my sel' fane help the, and I mocht;
Bot I am laith to hurt my conscience ocht.
Tyne nocht thy querrell in thy awin defence;
This will not throw but grit coist and expence.

Addressing the Husbandman not as "Carll" but as "friend", and employing the familiar "the" rather than the formal "ye", Lowrence plays upon the Husband's fear of the Wolf, emphasizing the weakness of the Husband's case, the enmity of the Wolf, and--nice touch--his own powerlessness to overstep the bounds of legality. An out-of-court settlement, he pleads with a wink, will be far less expensive:

'Seis thow not Buddis beiris Bernis throw,
And giftis garris crukit materis hald ffull evin?
Sumtymis ane hen haldis ane man in ane Kow.
All ar not halie that heifis thair handis to hevin.'
'Schir' (said the man), 'ye sall have sex or sevin,
Richt off the fattest hennis off all the floik:
I compt not all the laif, leif me the Coik.'

'I am ane Juge' (quod Lowrence than), and leuch;
'Thair is na Buddis suld beir me by the rycht;
I may tak hennis and Caponis weill aneuch,
For God is gane to sleip; as ffor this nycht,
Sic small thingsis ar not sene in to his sicht;
Thir hennis' (quod he) 'sall mak thy querrell sure,
With emptie hand na man suld Halkis lure.'

Judicial venality was a common theme in poetry, painting and politics. And the Tod's euphemistic reference to bribes as "giftis" is extremely ironic in the light of the Wolf's earlier use of the term (2268). The Husband had stoutly resisted the
Wolf's demand for a 'gift' but now he practically falls over himself in pressing his hens upon the cunning Fox! The secret of the latter's success is that he has what Dunbar calls "discretioun in taking".36 "Ane hen" costs less than "ane Kow". Morally, of course, Lowrence is as worthy a lawyer as his counterpart Laurencius, a lawyer in the Alphabetum Narratum who sells the truth and is depicted as worthy to go to the deepest pit of hell with Judas.37 Lowrence too will visit Hell in a bucket!

The concluding proverb of the Fox's speech is also used in the Friar's Tale (III, D, 1338) and is alluded to by the begging friar in the Summoner's Tale (III, D, 1793 f.):

Glosyinge is a glorious thing, certeyn,  
For lettre sleeth, so as we clerkes seyn.  
Therefore, right as an hauk up at a sour  
Up springeth into th'eir, right so prayeres  
Of charitable and chaste bisy freres  
Maken his sour to Goddes eres two.

The Fox's use of the proverb is very similar to the friar's here, except that for him "God is gane to sleip". Such a statement may be a heretical denial of God's omniscience, but is exactly the defiant gesture we would expect of a representative of the Devil.38

Finally, before passing on, we should point out that the Husbandman does not actually give the Fox his hens; he merely promises them. If we have been morally awake during the debate between the Husband and Wolf, we will appreciate how the former's criteria, "I hecht to steill, am I thairfoir ane theif?" (2275), clarifies Henryson's interpretation of the hens as good works. Too many critics have missed the point.
After three stanzas in camera with the Man, the Fox now spends five with the Wolf, takes him off into a patch of heather and sets about his verbal jujitsu. Preserving a nice balance between familiarity and respect in plucking the Wolf "be the sleiff" (2338) and yet addressing him as "ye", he solemnly asks his client if he is really "in ernist". The Wolf is quite thrown by the unexpectedness of the Tod's volte face. So much so he even forgets to accuse Lowrence of initiating proceedings (2249). All he can do is splutter "Thow hard the hecht thy selff that he couth ma'" (2342), without realizing it is a "hecht" only in his own imagination.

The Fox's powers of dissimulation are well captured in his seemingly incredulous reply:

'The hecht' (quod he) 'yone man maid at the pleuch, Is that the cause quhy ye the cattell craif?' Halff in to heithing (said Lowrence than), and leuch; 'Schir, be the Rude, unroikit now ye raif; The Devill ane stirk taill thairfoir sail ye haif; Wald I tak it upon my conscience To do sa pure ane man as yone offence? (2343-49)

Emphasis in his obtuse opening lines falls naturally on "that". Laughing sinisterly for the third time in the Tale (cf. 2248,2329), he launches into a venomous, scantily respectful rebuttal that is as pungent as his own "stirk taill". The Wolf is being infantile, Lowrence suggests, and anyway he does not want to hurt his conscience by taking on a case he doesn't believe in. Tropologically, the remark points up the Fox's hypocrisy, but allegorically it suggests the Devil's recognition of his inability to hurt the Good Man.

The Fox's brutality is nicely calculated, however; having
told the Wolf in no uncertain fashion he can't have what he wants, Lowrence now tries to sell him what he hadn't dreamed of ever wanting:

'Yit haif I communit with the Carll' (quod he);
'We ar concordit upon this cunnand:
Quyte off all clamis, swa ye will mak him fre,
Ye sall ane Cabok have in to your hand,
That sic ane sall not be in all this land;
For it is Somer Cheis, baith fresche and ffair;
He sayis it weyis ane stane, and sumdeill mair.'(2350-6)

His technique is the same one he has used in the Cadger—to blind the Wolf's feeble powers of reason by appealing to his overdeveloped senses. What is in Caxton merely "a grete chese" becomes in Henryson a mouth-watering prize. The outrageousness of the Fox's offer is a measure of his own contempt for the tractable Wolf. Do wolves eat cheese as well as fish? I have no idea, but in the Siege of Jerusalem we find the Jews sending Vespasian a cheese as an insult and a token of their defiance.41 No doubt the Fox is having his own crack at this most unknightly knight; after all, cheese is meat for carls!

In the next stanza the Wolf is doubly incredulous, both at the idea that he should give up his claim to the oxen and at the thought of accepting—God forbid—"ane Cabok" (2358). Both alliteration and stress conspire to point up his disgust at the thought:

"'Is that thy counsell' (quod the Wolff), 'I do,
That yone Carll ffor ane Cabok suld be fre?'" (2357-8)

The Fox, however, knowing his client's lack of resolution and famous appetite, remains adamant, stresses that going to court will not win him "ane widderit neip [turnip]", and reiterates his
nice concern for his "Saull" (2362-63). Coming from one who believes God has gone to sleep, this last point is again a delicious piece of dramatic irony.

A third time the Wolf resists the quitclaim offer, but more weakly, and this time the Fox accuses him outright of stirring up trouble: "For, be my Saull, your self had all the wyte[blame]" (2367). His body-blow has immediate effect:

"'Than' (said the Wolf) 'I bid na mair to flyte, Bot I wald se yone Cabok off sic pryis.'" (2368-69)

Rather than lose everything, and unwittingly revealing his own conception of legal process as a flyting match, the Wolf capitulates and is led off to inspect his ludicrous prize:

Than hand in hand thay held unto ane hill;  
The Husband till his hors hes tane the way,  
For he wes fane; he schaipit ff from thair ill,  
And on his feit woke the dure quhill day.  

(2371-74)

From the occurrence of the phrase "hand in hand" in another version of this fable which Henryson does not seem to have been otherwise influenced by\textsuperscript{42}, I think a popular image is embedded in the first line--perhaps a hint that the Fox (Devil) is leading the Wolf (Wicked Man) in a Dance of Death across the twilit skyline. In any case, the Husbandman is able to take advantage of this distraction and escape to his "hors" or his "hous" [since his ultimate destination is his house, the textual variation does not affect interpretation] and remains all night alert at the door. The detail is important not only in so far as it shows that the Husbandman has, like the Cadger, learned Diligence, but in so far as it clearly demonstrates his intention not to surrender his Hens
(his Good Works) to the marauding Fox (the Devil). The detail appears to be a conscious echo of Matthew 24, 43:

If the good man of a household knew at what hour the thief would come, he would watch diligently, and not permit his house to be invaded.

At this point we leave the Good Husband and "turne unto the uther tway" to pursue the vicious Wolf and Fox into deepening darkness:

Now will we turne vnto the uther tway.
Throw woddis waist thir Freikis on fute can fair,
Fra busk to busk, quhill neir midnycht and mair.

Lowrence wes ever remembering upon wrinkis
And subtelteis the Wolff for to begyle;
That he had hecht ane Caboik, he forthinkis,
Yit at the last he findis furth ane wyle,
Than at him selff softlie couth he smyle.
The Wolff sayis, 'Lowrence, thow playis bellie blind;
We seik all nycht, bot na thing can we find.'

The fact that Lowrence does not have a definite plan in mind and that he and the Wolf wander aimlessly "Fra busk to busk" suggests to Jamieson the Fox's resourcefulness and cunning. It also suggests to me the natural action of two animals, impulsively sniffing from spore to spore—an action which, by keeping the reader in the dark, creates a psychological mood of uncertainty that is very effective. Caxton's version is too explicit; he gives the game away from the start rather than let it seem to unfold naturally:

"And thenne he ledde hym to and fro here and there unto the tyme that the mone shyned full bryghtly
And that they came to a well."

Here the movement is mere killing of time.
Though both fabulists seem to be aware of the encyclopedic description of the fox as one who
"feyneth him tame in tyme of nede, but by nighte...awayteth his tyme and doth schrewed tornes", their emphases are quite different. Henryson's is on the quiet anxiety of the Fox: "That he had hecht ane Caboik, he forthinkis, Yit ......" (2380-81). The uncertainty adds to the suspense and helps to bring this scene vividly before our eyes in an ecphrasis of action. In fact it takes the Fox so long to come up with an idea that even the Wolf has time to wonder if he hasn't been tricked. His exclamation,
"... 'Lowrence, thow playis bellie blind; We seik all nycht, bot na thing can we find.'" (2383-84), has something of dramatic irony in it too; it is the Wolf's own surrender of reason to appetite-gratification that really leads him blindly towards his doom. 47

After the Fox's rejoinder "we ar at it almaist" (2385), the next stanza presents the scene ("ane Manure") and two stage-properties (Moon and Well), and fills out the stanza with an explanation of the mechanics of the draw-well. With this description, we can better appreciate the upcoming trick. The Moon that sheds its baleful light on the sinister activities of these two "senyeours" (2389) is "pennyfull" (2388). "Senyeours" sounds wry, 48 and "pennyfull" seems to be an ironic reference to the "plank" the Wolf is ready to receive instead of "ane mart [fatted ox]" (2270-71). At any rate it is a striking symbol of the way the Wolf's 'silver sickness' (FWC, 2036) provokes in him a "frantyke
fansye" for even the basest coin. 49

The pair are finally there:

The schadow of the Mone schone in the well. 'Schir' (said Lowrence), 'anis ye sall find me leill; Now se ye not the Caboik weill your seill, Quhyte as ane Neip, and round als as ane seill? He hang it yonder, that na man suld it steill; Schir, traist ye weill, yone Caboik ye se hing Micht be ane present to ony Lord or King.' (2392-98)

Lowrence's description is heavy with sarcasm and in the references to the cheese being 'white as a turnip', 'round as a seal', and 'a present for any Lord or King', we catch wind of a warning.

The last time the Fiend referred to turnips it was to warn the Man that

"...gang ye to the maist extremitie, It will not wyn yow worth ane widderit neip" (2361-62).

Indeed the Wicked Man will find this out when the weight of his greed draws him to the extremity of Hell (the Well).

The last reference to seals was the Wolf's own, when he warned the Husbandman how

"... 'ane Lord, and he be leill,..... His saw is ay als sickker as his Seill." (2280, 2282)

His seal, the Fox intimates in a complex joke with scholastic overtones, is variability, as we shall see.

Aristotle tells us that

"all sensation is the receiving of form without matter, as wax receives a seal without the iron or gold of the signet-ring" 50

and further adds that

"memory does not occur in those who are subject to a lot of movement ... just as if the seal were falling on running water." 51
Not only is the Wolf's "saw" as changeable as his desires for oxen and cheese, this very changeability interferes with his perceptions.

What seems to be white is indeed white as the eye reports; but whether the white thing is this or that thing, is snow, for example, or flour, is a question often answered badly by the senses, especially at a distance, says Aristotle. The Wolf is both "subject to a lot of movement" and "at a distance".

The last reference, "ane present to ony Lord or King", is baited with Pride; underlying it is the inference that Lordship of the Cabbock is a vain thing, never properly attainable (it is "hang...yonder, that na man suld it steill", 2396) and as insubstantial as a seal on water. A very shadow of a shadow. Put another way, the Wolf's memory and intellect are so deceived by the movement of concupiscence that they are unable to fulfill their proper functions and "penetrate to the interior and to the essence of a thing", as Aquinas describes it. What he 'sees' is as much a reflection of his desires—pace Troilus—as his confused and hypocritical attempt to take the Carl's word as though it were as "sickker" as the "Seill" of "ony Lord or King":

Of two [simultaneous] sensory stimuli, the stronger always tends to exclude the weaker [from consciousness] ... [as] persons do not perceive what is brought before their eyes, if they are at the time deep in thought.

The depth of the Wolf's fixation on the Cabbock can be measured by the enthusiasm with which he ignores the Fox's doubles-
entendres and replies:

'Na' (quod the Wolff) 'mycht I yone Caboik haif
On the dry land, as I it yonder se,
I wald quitclame the Carll of all the laif;
His dart Oxin I compt thame not ane fle;
Yone wer mair meit for sic ane man as me.
Lowrence' (quod he), 'leip in the buckket sone,
And I sall hald the ane, quhilk thow have done.'

(2399-2405)

Again there is a strong under-current of dramatic irony running throughout. And again the Wolf inadvertently reveals his inconstancy by exclaiming "I compt thame not ane fie", a phrase which echoes his earlier statement "But lawte/All uther vertewis ar nocht worth ane fie." (2285-86). He cannot even be 'loyal' to his own desire for the Husbandman's Oxen. Nor is he the man he believes himself to be in line 2403: the ridiculous Cabbock is indeed an appropriate prize "for sic ane man", but it is not "meit". Nor, indeed, is "sic ane man" even capable of acting on his own; he must get his steward to do his dirty-work:

Lowrence gird doun baith sone and subtellie;
The uther baid abufe, and held the flaill.
'IT is sa mekill' (quod Lowrence) 'it maisteris me,
On all my tais it hes not left ane naill;
Ye man mak help upwart, and it haill
Leip in the uther buckket haistellie,
And cum sone doun, and make me sum supple.' (2406-12)

In Caxton, the reason the Wolf finally descends is because he "was aferd of that the foxe shold ete hit". Henryson, however, emphasizes the Wolf's greed in a way that more precisely shows his total lack of prudence and inability to learn from experience: his Fox uses the same imagery of enticement as he had used in the Fox, Wolf and Cadger (2118,2122), "On all my tais it hes not left ane naill". It is a foolish man who is caught
the same way twice, as the Cadger has said. Even the Devil (the Fox) issues warnings.

Since all Renart versions of this tale send the fox down the well first, Henryson's narrative structuring may not seem particularly significant here, but the details happily dovetail with his imposed allegorization. As the Wolf must go down the Well for the trick to work, so the Wicked Man can only go to Hell of his own accord, in voluntary pursuit of his desires:

Than lychtlie in the buket lap the loun;
His wecht but weir the uther end gart ryis;
The Tod come hailland up, the Wolf yeid doun;
Than angerlie the Wolff upon him cryis:
'I cummand thus dounwart, quhy thow upwart hyis?'
'Schir' (quod the Foxe), 'thus fairis it off Fortoun:
As ane cummis up, scho quheillis ane uther doun!'  
(2413-19)
The first two lines are paralleled in Steinhowel:

"Lupus intrans, quia gravior erat vulpe, descendendo alium fecit urceolum cum vulpe ascendere" 56

and doubtless both authors knew their De Physica and had observed the mechanism of draw-wells. But there is more to Henryson's version than this. It is also consistent with his allegorical interpretation of the Wolf as a Wicked Man and the Well as the pit of Hell:

just as a body is conveyed at once to its place, by its heaviness or lightness ... so too the soul, the bonds of the flesh being broken ... receives at once its reward or punishment ...; 57

Aquinas tells us. The weight of the Wolf's sins is what draws him down to Hell and leaves him up to the waist in water at the
Very few critics have taken up the challenge that the last couplet throws down. Only MacQueen, so far as I am aware, has admired the unusual complexity of structure and symbolism in the Tale. 58

The first stanza of the Moralitas is straightforward:

This Wolff I likkin to ane wickit man,
Quhilk dois the pure oppres in everie place,
And pykis at thame all querrellis that he can,
Be Rigour, reif, and uther wickitines.
The Foxe the Feind I call in to this cais,
Actand ilk man to ryn unrychteous rinkis,
Thinkand thairthrow to lok him in his linkis. (2427-33)

The Wolf has indeed behaved like a wicked oppressor of the "pure" Husbandman (2349). Likewise the Fox can easily be taken as the deceiving Fiend.

The second stanza, however, has drawn howls of protest from the critics:

The Husband may be callit ane godlie man,
With quhome the Feynd falt findes (as Clerkis reids),
Besie to tempt him with all wayis that he can.
The hennis ar warkis that fra ferme faith proceidis:
Quhair sic sproutis spreidis, the evill spreit thair not speids,
Bot wendir vnto the wickit man agane;
That he hes tint his travell is full unfane. (2434-40)

Edwin Muir, one of the more lenient, thought Henryson quite capable of absurdity and irony within the moralizations themselves,
"especially when he stoops to interpret the hens". Jamieson prefers to believe the *Moralitas* is by another hand. Others have felt it sufficient to tabulate 'inconsistencies': Shallers asks

> What are we to make of the husbandman's bribe; it would seem that he actively buys off the devil by means of his faith (the hens), if we accept Henryson's analysis *in toto*. Surely capitulation to the devil is not the act of a godly man? Indeed not, but who says the Husbandman capitulates? Not Henryson. Such a point of view seems to have been generated by critics reading other critics rather than the text. Here is Schrader:

> The story does not justify all of this reading, particularly in so far as it exalts the mere trading of hens to avoid the loss of oxen and ignores the farmer's acceptance of Lowrence's rationale about the sleeping God.

This is the logic of the Wolf. Does the silence of a coerced man imply consent? God forbid, as Sir Thomas More would have said (he fought the lawyers of the Crown on this very point). Does the Husbandman anywhere actually give the Fox his hens; or, in the way the Wolf actually attempts to reach the 'Cabbock', does he even *attempt* to surrender them? No! For the sake of his soul's livelihood he pleads "leif me the Coik" (2328); for the sake of his hens he "woke the dure quhill day" (2374). Is this the act of a guilty man?

Henryson's designation of him as "ane godlie man" is thoroughly justified by his own terms of reference and, as I have had occasion to point out in commenting the text, by the dictates of
orthodox theology. We are indeed blind if we fail to recognize the special relevance of the Husband's argument that

"... ane man may say in greif,
And syne ganesay, fra he avise and se" (2273-74).

Even the Fox-Devil recognizes it (2349).

If we are to charge Henryson with inconsistency, it must be on other, less crucial grounds. When he metaphorically refers to the hens as "sic sproutis" against which "the evill spreit thair not speids" when they "spreid" or multiply (as chickens, good seed, and good works have a habit of doing) there is no exact parallel in the narrative. No doubt he wished to suggest a connection between the Husband's labour with the oxen of the body and the plow of good works (which the Wolf would have him give up), and the Husband's active vigilance by the door. From the fact that

"...... the evill spreit thair not speids,
Bot wendis vnto the wickit man agane;" (2438-39),

I think we can take it that Henryson is recalling the situation in stanza 339 in which the narrative makes a "turne vnto the uther tway" (2375). In the Husband's door-side watch at that point we may see the sprouting of his good works. (The metaphor seems to be carried over from the Preaching.)

The detail which bothers me but that does not seem to have bothered anyone else is again rather inconsequential:

The wodds waist, quhairin wes the Wolff wyld,
Ar wickit riches, quhilk all men gaipis to get;
Quha traistis in sic Trusterie ar oft begyld;
For Mammon may be callit the Devillis Net,
Quhilk Sathanas for all sinfull hes set.
With proud plesour quha settis his traist thairin,
But speciall grace, lychtlie can not outwin. (2441-47)
It is hard to see "all men" gaping "to get...The wodds waist", for the Wolf himself is not satisfied with them. If he were, there would be no plot. He covets the Husband's oxen. I assume Henryson wants to emphasize in concrete terms how truly worthless "wickit riches" are: they are not the cultivated fields of spiritual riches, but worthless wasteland. The paradox of the Wolf's pursuit of the Husband's spiritual riches can best be explained in terms of Aristotelian psychology:

all men aim at the apparent good but cannot control what appears to them to be good, and the end appears to each man to be of such a kind as to correspond to the kind of man he is.64 ...For a virtuous man judges things rightly, and in each case what appears to him to be the case is what is truly the case; ...for the majority of people, on the other hand, deception seems to arise because of pleasure; for pleasure appears to be a good but is not. Accordingly they choose what is pleasant as being good and avoid pain as being bad.65

Mammon may be called the Devil's Net.

As for the reference to "speciall grace", without which we "can not outwin" from the snare, it seems to suggest, on the one hand, the availability of the oil of mercy, and on the other, the irrevocability of incarceration in Hell. This last point shows the question with which the Tale ends, "Quha haillit him [the Wolf] out, I wait not, off the well", to be rhetorical. The continuation of the Renart and the Vox and the Wolf, in which the Wolf is hauled up by monks and beaten, would be allegorically inappropriate. Besides, Henryson's employers were Black Monks and would not have appreciated such satire!

So we come to a fitting close with Henryson's application of
the Cabbock and the Well in the last stanza:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The Cabok may be callit Covetyce,} \\
\text{Quhilk blomis braid in mony mannis Be;} \\
\text{Wa worth the well of that wickit vyce!} \\
\text{For it is all bot fraud and fantasie,} \\
\text{Dryvand ilk man to leip in the buttrie} \\
\text{That dounwart drawis unto the pane of hell.---} \\
\text{Christ kelp all Christianis from that wickit well!}
\end{align*}
\]

(2448-54)

The allegorical significance that Henryson draws out of reflection on the Cabbock in the Well is an ingeniously effective extension and integration of traditional associations. Like the "sproutis" of good works, evil also "blomis" organically, and Worldly Goods such as the Cabbock are conventionally thought of as allurements to vice when wrongly used. In the Preaching, their vanity was symbolized by the husks for which the hungry scratched. Here the insubstantial nature of the Moon's reflection on water (it is a Cabbock only in "fantasie") extends the psychological base of the metaphor in perceptual terms.

As an image of vice, the Well metaphor is at least as old as St. Augustine. Addressing himself to God in his Confessions Augustine could write

"and it was your power that drained dry the well of corruption in the depths of my heart." 66

Here, if anywhere, is a good example of "speciall grace" applied psychologically to well-imagery. The Well as an image of Hell, however, probably goes back to Isidore's Etymologies, in which

"The Devil in Hebrew is called downward flowing since he disdained to stand at the summit of heaven, but, rushing down with the weight of his pride, fell." 67
Just so does Sir John Rowll's Cursing refer to the devils and the damned descending "to endles pane" as:

"Lyke to ane gaid of yrne or steill
That doun war sinkand in ane weell." \(^{68}\)

At a certain point, this imagery must have become traditionally associated with the fable of "The Fox, the Wolf, and the Buckets", for The Plowman's Tale relates of false priests who "haunten wenches" that they "follow Christe that shed his blood to heaven, as bucket into the wall". \(^{69}\) I assume that the connection was the result of the fact that in the Roman de Renart and versions following it, the Fox tricks the Wolf into believing that at the bottom of the well lies paradise. To reach this garden of earthly delights which, as Aristotle would have observed, he mistakes for good \(^{70}\), the Wolf is ready

"......to leip in the buttrie
That dounwart drawis unto the pane of hell." (2452-53)

Reference to the "buttrie" recalls the Hell-kitchen imagery of the Preaching and the fact that in that place he will not eat the Cabbock, as he thinks, but be eaten! Dante describes the Devil in the nethermost pit as "at each mouth ... tearing with his teeth a sinner". \(^{71}\)

One last point connected with this remains. It concerns the allegorical significance of the Wolf's being left at the bottom of the well "in watter to the waist". Though the Devil in the very last circle of Dante's Inferno (XXXIV) is described this same way,

Lo 'mperador del doloroso regno
da mezzo il petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia\(^{72}\)
Henryson need not have read Dante to use this image; it must have been a commonplace of Hell-scenes, as the author of the Vox and Wolf must have known and expected his audience to realize. "The devel is in the putte" is just the sort of thing monks would cry who knew their encyclopedic characterization of the wolf and the iconography of Hell.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IX

THE FOX, THE WOLF AND THE HUSBANDMAN


2 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 255. The quotations from Caxton and the Renart cited on the same page are also found here.


5 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 257. (This is also Denton Fox's opinion. In "Henryson and Caxton", p. 590, he cites Henryson's use of "schaddow" in the Testament of Cresseid, 348 as supporting evidence.)


7 Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", p. 587. Whether we can use Henryson's first-line attribution of his fable to "Esope" (2231) to support Jamieson's contention, or whether "Henryson was ... following the over-all usage of the Middle Ages in attributing any fable to Aesop," as Schrader (Thesis, p. 114) and Diebler (Thesis, p. 72) think, is uncertain.

8 Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", p. 591.

9 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 174.

10 Ibid., p. 173.

11 Ibid.

12 Nadeau, "Hermogenes on Stock Issues", p. 60.

13 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 531.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IX (Cont.)

14 ST I, Q. 70, A. 1, Reply Obj. 4, p. 364, col. 1; quotation from Chrysostom, Hom. vi in Gen., PG 53, 58.

15 Gregory Smith has also suggested in a note to line 2238 that the phrase "upon hicht" is little more than a tag, but this, I think, depends upon a misreading. I believe the line should read "The Caller cryit 'how, haik' upon hicht."


17 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 175.

18 Duff, Minor Latin Poets, pp. 730 ff.

19 Margaret Gray, ed., Lancelot of the Laik, STS, n.s. 2 (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 50, l. 1671; also Robb, The Thrie Priests of Peblis, p. 43, ll. 953-954.


21 Webster, Scotland, p. 158.


24 Cf. Nicholson, Scotland, p. 436: '"plakkis' ... contained some silver but aroused suspicion: in July 1473 it was ordered that ...'the striking of thame be cessit'."

25 ST I-II, Q. 77, A. 2, Answer and A. 6, Answer, pp. 146-147 and 150.

26 Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, H116, p. 265.


29 Henryson may be keeping "witness" in the singular because he does not want to clutter the narrative with a third animal; he can hardly have been unaware that "in proof by witnesses, two at least were requisite, hence the saying 'one man's tale is but half
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IX (Cont.)

a tale". (Dickinson, Sheriff Court Book, p. 318) This proverb sounds ironically like the Husbandman's.

30 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1263.

31 Ferguson's Proverbs, MS. no. 108, p. 13; significantly, perhaps, Aristotle assures us that "insolence ... is found in all animals with bushy tails." (Physiognomica 808b, 35-40; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, VI)


33 Cf. Wright, Political Songs, "Song on the Venality of Judges", p. 226, in which a messenger offers to help an accused in return for a bribe.

34 Cf. "Avaricia" in Bosch's roundel of The Seven Deadly Sins (Tarangul, Bosch, plate 7), in which a judge listens to one client while taking money from the other.

35 "In May 1474 it was necessary for the Scottish Parliament to legislate against the 'gret derisione and skorne of justice' shown by persons who preferred to pay 'ane litill unlaw of silver', rather than answer charges in the justice ayre." (A.P.S. II, 107, c. 14; Nicholson, Scotland, p. 429)

36 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 155.

37 Mary MacLeod Banks, ed., An Alphabet of Tales: a fifteenth century translation of the Alphabetum Narratum of Etienne de Besançon, EETS o.s. 126 (London, 1904), Tale cccxxxiii, p. 298.

38 Schrader, Thesis, p. 149.

39 Professor M. A. Manzalaoui of the University of British Columbia has pointed out to me that, at Oxford, tradesmen who were owed money by undergraduates would pluck the sleeve of a Proctor's gown if they wanted to complain. To give them a chance to complain at a degree-giving the Proctors would (and still do) walk up and down the Assembly. Whether this procedure would have been customary in Scotland is, however, unclear.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IX (Cont.)


43 Dickinson, Policraticus, Bk. VIII, Ch. 17, p. 343; John of Salisbury changes the parable's past tense to the future tense for greater moral relevance.

44 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 266.


46 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1264, ll. 8-10.


48 Cf. Wyclif, Works (1880), p. 303: "Non drede siche seniours ben fendis that speken lying in ypocrisie" (cited in OED, "senior", B. 1.).

49 Cf. Peter Happe, ed., Tudor Interludes (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 160: at the time of the full moon, according to the water-miller in Heywood's The Play of the Wether, "frantyke fansyes be then most plentiful."

50 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 337.

51 De Memoria 450a, 32; Sorabji, p. 50.

52 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 397.


54 De Sensu et Sensibili, 447a, 10-16; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IX (Cont.)


58 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 173.


60 Jamieson made this remark to me in conversation at the First International Conference on Scottish Literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance; he also believes the Morall Fabillis to be the shards of a vast, unfinished experiment rather like Chaucer's House of Fame.


63 The Cock was a symbol of Christian Hope in the Bestiaries, and Henryson may have intended us to understand it as symbolizing the activation of "special grace" (2447) in time of oppression.

64 Ethics, 1114a, 31-1114b, 1; Apostle, p. 45.

65 Ethics, 1113a, 30-1113b, 1; Apostle, p. 43.

66 Pine-Coffin, St. Augustine: Confessions, Bk. IX, Ch. 1, p. 181.


70 Ethics, 1114a, 31-1114b, 1; Apostle, p. 45.

71 Inferno XXXIV, ll. 55-56; Binyon, The Divine Comedy, p. 184.


CHAPTER X

THE WOLF AND THE WETHER.

From the consideration of the harmful effects of Worldly Goods in the *Fox, Wolf, and Husbandman*, we pass to consideration of the equally harmful effects of Worldly Power (wrongly used) in the *Wolf and Wether*. Trained canon-lawyer as he was, Henryson was much more aware of just how much moralizing could be got out of a fable than Caxton. Where, in his *promethium*, the English printer sees only the "gret folye" of tangling with someone stronger than oneself, Henryson astutely sees the Tale as an example of the need for the second part of Prudence: Self-Knowledge. His insight seems to have governed his sequencing too; it seems natural that having concluded a series of fables in which he has hammered out illustrations of the need to acquire the first and third parts of Prudence (Memory and Foresight), he should choose to amplify a fable capable of depicting the second.

But Henryson is even tidier than that. He also treats Pride. Although this vice is common to those who lack the second part of Prudence, I believe there is yet another reason he chose a fable that could figure this theme: it schematically balances his treatment of "lawte" or honour in his two previous fables. "Lawte" had been perverted by low-mindedness in these, and, just as low-mindedness manifests itself as Avarice, so does excessive high-mindedness manifest itself as Pride.
With regard to honour and dishonour, the mean is high-mindedness, the excess is said to be a sort of vanity, and the deficiency is low-mindedness, says the Philosopher; and where in the *Fox, Wolf and Cadger* and *Fox, Wolf, and Husbandman* Henryson has mined the vein of low-minded behaviour, in the *Wolf and Wether* he proceeds to expose vanity. Although dishonour is a theme of all three fables, here he illustrates that it can just as well be due to excess as to deficiency. Ironically, the aristocratic Wolf is deficient and the low-born Wether excessive in the pursuit of it.

Critics have generally taken Caxton to be the source for Henryson's fable, and although, as Denton Fox has pointed out, "the similarity is not sufficiently marked to prove anything," Jamieson's and MacDonald's comparisons of the two are still useful in helping us to evaluate Henryson's own goals and achievements. Since most of these parallels and divergences can be referred to as they illuminate discussion of Henryson's text, I shall give no overall synopses of these critics' findings here. Instead I shall point out a significant critical split on the question of how the poem should be read.

Jamieson believes that, where Caxton immediately prejudices our attitude to the Wether in his *promethium* by stating:

"Gret folye is to a fool that hath no myght that wylle begylle another stronger than himself," Henryson presents the Wether sympathetically as one who shares his master's grief and tries to help him out of a difficult sit-
uation, only moralizing in his *epimythium* at the end of the fable. In other words, we are as much duped by Henryson's Wether's good intentions as the Shepherd is. Moreover, it is easy to

sympathise with the Wether's efforts to catch the Wolf ... [for] the chase is so dramatised it seems as if the Wether has the Dog's capabilities and we, thinking the Wether to be on God's side, second its vow to [catch the Wolf].

The reader, Jamieson believes, is

purposely involved in sympathy with the fool only to be shown his folly in the *moralitas*; the reader then returns to the tale finding hints of criticism which, because of his initial sympathy, he had not recognised.

MacQueen and MacDonald, on the other hand, criticize the Tale as if the audience were already aware of the moralization. (Some of them may well have been; it is hard to tell.) MacDonald assumes that the "ludicrous belligerance" of the Wether is obvious from the very beginning. MacQueen likewise believes that "the sheep is introduced in uncomplimentary terms" and advances as one piece of evidence the line "With that ane Wedder wrechitlie wan on fute" (2476). Unfortunately, "wrechitlie" does not mean that he is a wretch; Gregory Smith correctly glosses it as "in sadness", indicating his sympathy for the shepherd. MacQueen's concluding argument, "it follows that none of the reader's sympathy should be wasted on the sheep", is all right as a statement of principle, made after a reading of the *Moralitas*, but really begs the question.

Each reader must decide for himself what he feels, and what he feels, as the author of such a fable as the *Fox, Wolf, and*


Husbandman would surely have been aware, will inevitably be a reflection of his own spiritual state. If he is surprised (as Jamieson is), he will go back and examine his conscience in the light of his faulty response to the poem. Even if he is not so caught out (as MacQueen and MacDonald are not), he will still be wise to examine his conscience; the fable then becomes a good example of how blind we can all be to our own failings even while they are obvious to others. In Henryson's words, "Thairfoir I counsell men of everilk stait/To know thame self." (2609-10)

As in the Fox, Wolf, and Husbandman—indeed, as in many of the Fabillis—the Wolf and Wether is a three part narrative involving an eight stanza setting of Scene, a five stanza Chase, and a six stanza Debate. The time it takes to set the stage for the action is lengthy compared to the three stanzas it takes to get the Fox, Wolf, and Husbandman in motion, but Henryson does not waste his time. In this story of a castrated Ram whose foolish pride goes before a fall, the first part is circular in movement and represents a complete revolution of Fortune's Wheel.

Its opening scene presents a forest-neighbouring Shepherd; he is at the height of prosperity because his faithful Dog does him such "grit comfort" in protecting the fold,

"That nouther Wolff nor Wildcat durst appeir, Nor Foxe on feild, nor yit no uther beist, Bot he thame slew, or chaissit at the leist." (2459-61)

In the second stanza the Wheel takes a downward dip when

"Sa happinnit it (as euerilk beist man de), This Hound off suddand seiknes to be deid;" (2462-63).
De profundis the Shepherd laments his loss, "Now is my Darling
deid, allace" (2471), and calculates the consequences in real
terms:

'For now to beg my breid I may be boun,
With pyikstaff and with scrip to fair off toun;
For all the beistis befoir bandonit bene
Will schute upon my beistis with Ire and tene.' (2472-75)

Henryson's depiction of the tragedy is far more intense than
Caxton's: where the latter speaks of the shepherd as "a fader of
a famylle" and master of several hireling "shepherds", Henryson's
solitary Shepherd is at the very bottom of the social heap (just
as his widow in the Cock and Fox is several degrees down in the
economic scale from Chaucer's Nun's Priest's); where Caxton's
hound is "a greete dogge ... wel stronge" of whose "voys all the
wolves were aferd", 10 Henryson's appears more active and chases a
greater variety of beasts; where--and this is the clearest indica-
tion of Henryson's dramatic sense 11 --Caxton's hound dies "of grete
age", Henryson's dies without any warning; and, finally, where
Caxton's shepherds' only concern is that "we shall no more slepe
at oure ese bycause that oure dogge is dede", 12 Henryson's is so
dashed he is even permitted a short, formal, but low-style lament,
built on a series of simple parallel statements. Like Orpheus,
he has lost his Eurydice, but unlike Henryson's King, he is just
a simple shepherd; the level is adjusted accordingly. (I do not
agree with MacQueen 13 that burlesque is intended at this point;
there is no hint of parody of the high-style, and the diction is
low.)
"With that ane Wedder wrec hit lie wan on fute" (2476) to his master's side. Henryson's transition is beautifully managed, contrasting with the Fox's behaviour to his master in the preceding fables and acting, therefore, as the positive pole to our sympathies. The Wether seems to appreciate the proper feudal values of sympathy in loss and support in trial. His daring scheme is a desperate remedy that—surprisingly—succeeds, bringing about an upswing in the Shepherd's fortunes.

After the conventional plea to "mak merie and be blyith" (2477) and to cease lamenting "ane deid Dogge" (2479)\textsuperscript{14}, the Wether presents his plan:

\begin{verbatim}
Ga ffeche him hither, and fla his skyn off swyth;
Syne sew it on me; and luke that it be meit,
Baith heid, and crag, bodie, taill, and feit.

'Than will the Wolff trow that I am he;
For I sall follow him fast quhar ever he fair.
All haill, the cure I tak it upon me,
Your scheip to keip at midday, lait and air.
And he persew, be God, I sall not spair
To follow him as fast as did your Doig,
Swa that, I warrand, ye sall not want ane hoig.'
\end{verbatim}

It is a bold speech. Apparently the Wether is aware of the dangers, if we are to judge by his caution "and luke that it [the disguise] be meit". His "selie" (2470) Shepherd is naturally delighted and exclaims:

\begin{verbatim}
... 'this come of ane gude wit;
Thy counsall is baith sicker, leill, and trew;
Quha sayis ane scheip is daft, thay lieit of it.'
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{(2490-92)}

Indeed, the scheme is ingenious, but we also smile at the blithe credulity of one ready to scorn proverbial wisdom. The
Shepherd who is ready to treat the Wether's suggestion as a permanent rather than a temporary solution ("weill lang thair wantit not ane Hog", 2499) is indeed dafter than his sheep! The Wether, too, is affected by his sudden transformation, "worth ... wantoun off his weid" and boasts: "Now off the Wolff" ... "I have na dreid." (2495-96). Heavy alliteration on "w" calls attention to the first line. The Wether fails to distinguish between his own powers and the powers he has been given and revels proudly in them like Lucifer before his fall in one of the Mystery Plays.¹⁵

His fall is not immediate, however, and the way Henryson draws out the subsequent description of the Wether's prowess tends to obscure his failing. He is, after all, a good guardian of the flock, even if he does exceed the Dog in officiousness:

Swa war he wes and walkryfe thame to keip,
That Lowrence durst not luke upon ane scheip;
For and he did, he followit him sa fast,
That off his lyfe he maid him all agast.

Was nowther Wolff, Wildcat, nor yit Tod
Durst cum within thay boundis all about,
Bot he wald chase thame baith throw rouch and snod.
Thay bailfull beistis had of thair lyvis sic dout,
For he wes mekill and semit to be stout,
That everilk beist thay dred him as the deid,
Within that woid, that nane durst hald thair heid.

All the details present in the earlier description of the Dog's activities are retabulated: first, his pursuit of Lowrence is amplified in three lines; then his chase of Wolf, Wild Cat and Tod--variation being provided by a shift in emphasis from speed ("sa fast") to topography ("within thay boundis...baith throw rouch and snod"). Finally, his pursuit of all "bailfull beistis"
is repeated with a minor variation on an earlier pattern ("within that woid" replacing "within thay boundis") and substantial repetition of the main point ("thay dred him as the deid" repeats "had of thair lyvis sic dout" and "off his lyfe he maid him all agast" two and six lines earlier). Slipped in quietly amongst all this in a subordinate position is the saving clause that the Wether only "semit to be stout"; a by now familiar Henryson technique. The Wheel has now swung full circle and the Shepherd and his Wether are "weill lang" (2499) at the top.

Before following the next inevitable downward swing, it will be as well to draw attention to the possible allegorical significance of the first eight stanzas. MacQueen has remarked that:

The landscape of the Tale—the shepherd with his fold near a forest—carries immediate allegorical conviction—the state or church under a good ruler with the forces of evil lurking in the immediate neighbourhood, and this may be generally true, though I baulk at "good ruler". If Henryson is making a veiled reference to contemporary political conditions, he is quite accurate in presenting James III as slothful (here as in the Lion and Mouse) and is caustically critical of his sovereign's 'wit' in appointing one of his "familiars" to high office. And so he should be if remonstrance is intended here as lead-in to the explicit exhortation of the Wolf and Lamb (2774-76).

Of the triple charges laid upon a king, the first according to Aquinas, was that he

"take care of the appointment of men to succeed or replace others in charge of the various offices."
For, in the more trenchant Scots of the Book of Pluscarden's "Balade of Gude Counsel",

... sic men as thou deputis under the
Quhether thai be fulis, wekit men or wyss,
All men wil traist that sic lyk man thou be
As thou committis to govern thine office.\textsuperscript{19}

We should also notice that the Shepherd's speech in lines 2490-92 are Henryson's addition and very probably intended to suggest just this point.

In the second episode, the Chase, a famished Wolf makes what he takes to be a suicide raid on the Shepherd's flock and manages to snatch a lamb. The scattering of the scared sheep is a naturalistic detail that brings out by contrast the heroism of the Wether's pursuit. Seemingly, he can pursue because he has God on his side:

"The laif start up, ffor thay wer all agast;
Bot (God wait) gif the Wedder followit fast." (2516-17)

Nevertheless, it is a World Upside Down in which "the dog flees from the hare, the fish hunts the beaver, the lamb the wolf".\textsuperscript{20}

The Chase Scene receives no emphasis in Caxton, as MacDonald points out,\textsuperscript{21} and Henryson's treatment seems all the more remarkable for this. His Wether's action is treated in the high style:

Went never Hound mair haistelie fra the hand,
Quhen he wes rynand maist raklie at the Ra,
Nor went this Wedder baith over Mois and strand,
And stoppit nouther at bank, busk, nor bra;
Bot followit ay sa ferslie on his fa,
With sic ane drift, quhill dust and dirt over draif him,
And maid ane Vow to God that he suld have him. (2518-24)

The opening simile describing the slipping of a greyhound after deer is a noble one and adds romantic grandeur to the Wether's
self-delusion. The verse is heavily alliterative to match the romance action and capping it all is the Wether's knightly vow to "have him". (We may recall the Wolf's vow in the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman, 2251.) The vow, however, and the Wether's heroic image both begin to crumble at the last couplet's feminine endings:

"Bot followit ay sa ferslie on his fa,
With sic ane drift, quhill dust and dirt over draif him,
And maid ane Vow to God that he suld have him."

(2522-24)

Like the Wolf in the previous fable, this castrated Ram does not cut quite such a fine figure as he thinks.

The Wolf, however, is taken-in by the Wether's reputation and makes a strenuous effort to escape with his prize:

With that the Woff let out his Taill on lenth,
For he wes hungrie, and it drew neir the ene,
And schupe him for to ryn with all his strenth,
Fra he the Wedder sa neir cummand had sene.
He dred his lyfe, and he overtane had bene;
Thairfoir he spairit nowther busk nor boig,
For weill he kennit the kenenes off the Doig. (2525-31)

But at length, in dread of "the Doig", and afraid for his life,

"To mak him lycht, he kest the Lamb him fra,
Syne lap ouer leis, and draif throw dub and myre."

(2532-33)

The detail is again indicative of Henryson's judiciousness as narrator and moralist, for it is not in Caxton or the others, and appears to be his own. Its intrusion alters irreversibly our view of the entire proceedings. Why bother to put in this detail if the Wether's stupidity were obvious from the first? We clearly cannot sympathize with the intention of one who can reply, as the Wether does,

"'Na' ..., 'in Faith we part not swa:
It is not the Lamb, but the, that I desire;
I sall cum neir, ffor now I se the tyre." (2534-36),
for they are no longer altruistic intentions. The Lamb is recovered. The Wether's doom is sealed on all levels. "Woe to the shepherds that feed themselves", as Ezekiel warns.23

Only "ane strand" now separates the Wether from the Wolf and still he lacks the foresight, the prudence, to consider what will happen when he does 'catch' the Wolf. His understated substitution, "I sall cum neir", suggests just this failure to consider the implications. The last stanza of the chase is truly masterly in its extreme humiliation of both pursuer and pursued.

Sone efter that he followit him sa neir,
Quhill that the Wolff ffor fleidnes fylit the feild;
Syne left the gait, and ran throw busk and breir,
And schupe him ffra the schawis ffor to scheild.
He ran restles, for he wist off na beild;
The wedder followit him baith out and in,
Quhill that ane breir busk raif rudelie off the skyn.
(2539-45)

The Wolf's evacuation is indicative of his having reached the extremity of terror. (Manuscript-margin depictions of defecating wolves24 suggest the detail was dear to popular imagination and may have had something to do with Isengrim's wife being named Eerswinde.25) Even the discovery of the Wether is brought about naturalistically by his exposure to "busk and breir", to which the Wolf takes in the hope of slowing him down. We can see how carefully Henryson has built up to this, for he has twice before used a similar doublet to describe the rough terrain before inserting the fateful "breir" the third time around (cf. lines 2521 "bank, busk, nor bra", and 2530, "busk nor boig"). The Wolf's
defecation is naturally led up to as well; ever since he "let out his Taill on lenth" (2525), his fear and the fact that the 'dog' comes "ay the neirar" (2538) have constantly been emphasized.

Whether the reference of The Tales of the Fyve Bestis to "the way of buskis thorne and brere" being "the way of pennisance and of grace" has any application here, is hard to say. Certainly the Wolf himself parodies the liturgy in exclaiming ironically:

"Blissit be the busk that reft yow your array, Ellis, fleand, bursin had I bene this day." (2572-73)

At any rate, as soon as the Wolf sees "the wedder come thrawand [struggling] throw the breir", with "the Doggis skyn hingand on his lind[loin]" (2547-48), the chase is over.

His first reactions are amazement, horror at ridicule, desire for revenge, rage, incomprehension—all jumbled by the poet to suggest a spontaneous overflow of powerful emotions:

'Na' (quod he), 'is this ye that is sa neir? Richt now ane Hound, and now quhyte as ane Freir: I fled over fer, and I had kennit the cais: To God I vow that ye sall rew this rais.

'Quhat wes the cause ye gaif me sic ane katche?' With that in hy he hint him be the horne. 'For all your mowis ye met anis with your matche, Suppois ye leuch me all this yeir to scorne. For quhat enchessoun this Doggis skyn have ye borne?'

(2549-57)

By contrast, now that the excitement of the chase is over, the Wether's reply is suitably bathetic:

"'Maister' (quod he), 'bot to have playit with yow; I yow requyre that ye nane uther trow.'" (2558-59)
This shift from high-style description to low-style utterance, which MacQueen has called attention to,\textsuperscript{27} clearly illustrates the empty-headed nature of vanity. It has no rational defence. In two stanzas of savagely heavy-handed irony, the Wolf rubs in the point:

'Is this your bourding in ernist than?' (quod he),
'For I am verray effeirit, and on flocht;  
Cum bak agane and I sall let yow se.'
Than quhar the gait wes grimmit he him brocht.
'Quhether call ye this fair play, or nocht?
To set your Maister in sa fell effray,
Qhill he ffor feiritnes hes fylit up the way.

'Thryis (be my Saull) ye gart me schute behind;
Upon my hoichis the senyeis may be sene;
For feiritnes full oft I ffylit the wind.
Now is this ye? na, bot ane Hound, I wene;
Me think your teith over schort to be sa kene.
Blissit be the busk that reft yow your array,
Ellis, fleand, bursin had I bene this day.' (2560-73)

The incontinence of the Wolf is indeed not "fair" to see, and hardly indicates "play".

All this anal humour may seem overdone to the reader,\textsuperscript{28} but it too finds a place within the programme Henryson has set out in the General Prologue. "For late pagan Antiquity the program \textit{ioca serii miscere} remained a valid convention . . . [and could] be exaggerated to the point of burlesque,"\textsuperscript{29} Curtius tells us with reference to the works of Martianus Capella and Fulgentius. As we also know, the convention was a lively one in late fifteenth century Scotland, spawning such works as Colkelbie Sow, Rauf Coil-year, and The Fyve Bestis.

Critics like MacDonald have emphasized the \textit{ioca} in the Wolf and Wether, but we should not forget the \textit{seria}. The point of
the Wolf's asking "Is this your bourding in ernist than?" (2560), and dragging the unfortunate Wether back over the course to view his droppings, is simply this: to refute the Wether's excuse of 'play' with an allusion to a popular proverb -- "It is na play where ane greits and another laugs." His droppings provide clear evidence of how seriously the Wolf took the chase: "ffor feiritnes" he had "fylit up the way". Nor, of course, is it much of a joke to have the "senyeis" of fear still advertised on one's person (the Wolf's "hoichis").

The boot is now on the other foot and the Wolf takes a vicious delight in his cat-and-mouse 'play'. He has lost face--the 'honour' which is all to his class--and, as is suggested by the malevolent humour of his remark, "Me think your teith over schort to be sa kene" (2571), is in no forgiving mood, delaying matters only to let the Wether taste his own fear.

'I have bene oftymis set in grit effray,
Bot (be the Rude) sa rad yit wes I never,
As thow hes maid me with thy prettie play.
I schot behind, quhen thow overtuke me ever,
Bot sickkerlie now sall we not dissever.' (2581-85), is his short answer to the Wether's feeble expostulations of such inept examples as "Ane flear gettis ane follower commounly"(2576) and "Ane full gude servand will crab his Maister anis" (2580). Unlike Caxton, whose Wolf eats the Wether merely to satisfy his hunger, Henryson concludes by emphasizing the revengeful joy his irate Wolf takes in snapping his captive's neck. Like a dog shaking a rat, he "it in schunder schuke" (2587). The magnitude of the Wether's folly is memorably indicated by this display of
real strength.

The difference between the low, brutal comedy of the Debate and the high-style solemnity of the Moralitas could hardly be more marked. Here is the first stanza:

Esope, that poete, first Father of this Fabill,  
Wrait this Parabole, quhilk is convenient.  
Because the sentence wes fructuous and agreabill,  
In Moralitie exemplative prudent;  
Quhais problemes bene verray excellent;  
Throw similitude of figuris, to this day,  
Gevis doctrine to the Redaris of it ay.  

(2588-94)

MacQueen has called it "one of the most Lydgatean stanzas he ever wrote" meaning, presumably, that Henryson uses not only Latinate diction but a good deal of rhetorical 'padding'.

The point of the stylistic shift, I believe, is to signal that the "merines" is over and the "sad matteris" with which the Tale has been "ming [it]" is about to be unveiled for the benefit of those who did not catch it in either half. As for Henryson's 'Lydgatean' jumbling of "Fabill", "Parabole", "exemplative ... Moralitie", and "similitude", it is not really so indiscriminate as it looks. Isidore puts fables in the same category as parables and exempla, Minucian states that exempla can be extracted from history, the parable, and the similitude, and Aristotle tells us they can be developed from history, the parable, and the fable.

All Henryson's terms are equivalent by the standards of the day, and what he has done is embellish his theme with elaborate variation of synonymous terms--a mark of the high style.

Having adjusted his tone, Henryson explicates his text:
Heir may thow se that riches of array
Will cause pure men presumptuous for to be;
Thay think thay hald of nane, be thay als gay,
Bot counterfute ane Lord in all degre.
Out of thair cais in pryde thay clym sa hie,
That thay forbeir thair better in na steid,
Quhill sum man tit thair heillis over thair heid.

(2595-2601)

The theme of the first four lines, which very obviously applies to a Wether who waxes "wantoun off his weid" (2495) and who "In all thingis ... counterfeit the Dog" (2497), is a commonplace. In the Bannatyne MS. we find a similar expression of the idea that partially explains Henryson's vehemence:

Now quhen ane wreche is sett to he estait
Or ane beggar brocht to dignite
Thair is non so proud pompous and elait
Non so vengeble and full of crewelte
Woyd of discretioun mercy and pete. 34

Ultimately the idea goes back to the Ethics and Aristotle's sketch of "vain people" who are fools and ignorant of themselves and conspicuously so; for thinking themselves capable of honourable undertakings, they make the attempt, and then they are exposed. And they adorn themselves in dress and pose for effect . . . thinking that through these they will be honoured. 35

The theme of Henryson's last three lines suggests Fortune's Wheel, which has been in operation throughout the Tale, but could also indicate the Ladder of Virtue referred to in the closing lines of the Moralitas. In any case, the reference to tripping is traditional to images of Pride, whatever Pride falls from. Villard de Honnecourt, for instance, includes the detail in his Album with the caption:

This is how Pride trips ['Orgeuil, si cume il trebuche']—by which should be understood that
when you have to make a figure of pride, this is how it should be done.36

Henryson's theme is Know Thyself (2610), but the image may also suggest the righting of a World Upside Down. Certainly this is a theme pursued by his Usher and successor as Schoolmaster, Sir John Moffat, whose The Wyf of Auchtirmuchty illustrates how one should know one's place and not send the wife out to plough lest she do a better job than you can!37 At any rate, the World Upside Down emerges clearly as the theme of Henryson's next stanza:

Richt swa in service uther sum exceidis,
And thay haif withgang, welth, and cherising,
That thay will lychtie Lordis in thair deidis,
And lukis not to thair blude, nor thair offspring;
Bot yit nane wait how lang that reull will ring;
Bot he was wyse, that bad his Sone considder:
Bewar in welth, for Hall benkis ar rycht slidder. (2602-08)

By attributing his sentence to the persona of a well-known didactic work, the Castoiement d'un Pere à son fils (alias Cato), Henryson invests it with greater authority.38

The final stanza repeats Henryson's theme for the third time by incremental repetition, and in this respect is not unlike the Moralitas to the Fox, Wolf and Cadger:

Thairfoir I counsell men of everilk stait
To know thame self, and quhome thay suld forbeir,
And fall not with thair better in debait;
Suppois thay be als galland in thair geir,
It settis na servand for to uphald weir,
Nor clym so hie, quhill he fall of the ledder;
Bot think upon the Wolf, and on the wedder! (2609-15)

As Aristotle says in his Ethics, "one kind of prudence, then, would be knowing what is good for oneself".39 The last image, as
I have already mentioned, refers to the iconographically commonplace "Ladder of Virtue", off which people are seen to tumble towards the Vices in medieval art. Henryson's use of this image opens up a perspective on the Tale more optimistic than the one suggested by the Wheel of Fortune motif. We are all striving towards God, however mistakenly. The Wether too. The image, I contend, suggests that we are meant to see the Wether as not totally and irreversibly under the spell of Fortune, but redeemable up until that point at which he forsakes the Lamb and pursues the Wolf. "Suppois thay be als galland in thair geir"—this is permissible, but such men should not "uphald weir". Appointed officials should indeed pursue ravishers of the Kingdom, as Henryson's next fable of the Wolf and Lamb will uphold—but not out of self-interest.

As the Moralitas has stylistically intimated, we should not forget the seriis in this exemplum of "sad matteris with sum merines ... ming [it]" (6). The fable invites an allegorical reading, for to ask us vicariously to support the Wolf against the Wether is too incongruous, given Henryson's treatment of the Wolf in surrounding fables, unless the established order is at stake.

Though MacQueen has noticed that the Tale carries conviction as "the State or Church ... with the forces of evil lurking in the immediate neighbourhood" (cf. p. 469), he has attempted no ecclesiastical interpretation, and this prompts me to try. If we interpret the Wether's forsaking of the Lamb for the Wolf as the
heretic's forsaking of Christ for the Devil, one possible candidate for the disastrously elevated, low-born man is Patrick Graham. As bishop of St. Andrews, he

in 1472 had himself elevated to the archiepiscopal dignity, behind the back and against the wishes of Church and State in Scotland, while he obtained [from the Pope] in addition a grant of the wealthy abbeys of Scone and Arbroath. His ambition, however, overshot itself and the end was tragedy. Stripped of all his titles in 1478, he was imprisoned in Dunfermline Abbey and died insane at the priory on Loch Leven.

In postulating a connection between the Tale and the events of Lauder Bridge, critics have also failed to notice a number of possibly significant parallels, though MacQueen's suggestion that the Wether represents Cochrane is a good lead. Cochrane is known to have

schemed on behalf of the Homes and Hepburnes to turn the King's malice against his brother the Duke of Albany and cause him to flee from 'his awin castle in Dunbar ... to Berwick', after the King's other brother, the Earl of Marre, had been murdered and his title given to Cochrane. Just as Cochrane assumed the title Earl of Marre, the Wether assumed the title of Dog; as Cochrane caused the Duke of Albany to flee for his life, so the Wether chased the Wolf, and as Albany was a rightful Duke, so the Wether was manifestly not: he was a castrated, impotent Ram, not even fully a "Duk ... of schiepe" as Bartholomaeus describes the ram.

Trying to see such historical events in terms of the details of the Tale involves some distortion of course, since the plot of
the fable is to a large extent ready-made. One quibble might be that Cochrane was not killed by the Duke of Albany but by supporters who invited Albany back from Berwick after the deed was done (and the King imprisoned). However, in the light of the Moralitas, we might remember that Cochrane "was bot ane maissoun" and "so proud in his awin conceitt", as Pitscottie says, that he "evir clame hier and hier till he thought he had no pier of any subject in Scotland". One of the functions of Henryson's original Debate Scene, in which the Wolf asks ironically "Is this your bourding in ernist than?" (2560), may also have been intended as a reference to the moment when the resplendently decorated Cochrane was apprehended. When his gold chain of office was pulled from his neck, tradition has it he replied: "My lordis is it mowis [jest] or earnest?"

Regarding Stearns' argument that the fable applies to all the favourites of James III who met their death at Lauder Bridge, Jamieson has an interesting proviso to make:

If this is so, Henryson must have wished merely to remind of the lesson of their fall--the poem can hardly have been directed against them for when it was written these favourites had already been overthrown and Cochrane killed at Lauder Bridge in 1482.

He assumes Henryson worked from Caxton and therefore could not have written his fable before 1484, the date Caxton's Aesop was published. However, Denton Fox has since pointed out the lack of evidence to support this assumption--which reopens the possibility that Henryson could have been writing just after, or even before
Lauder. The latter hypothesis would conveniently explain the inexactitudes of the parallels I have pointed out!

Either Henryson wrote to "remind of the lesson of their fall" or he wrote to make James III and his upstart 'familiars' "think upon the Wolf and on the Wedder". Like Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates*, the fable is presented as an *exemplum*. And just so Pitscottie tells his story of Lauder Bridge as "ane exemplum to all meine persons not to climb so hie".
THE WOLF AND THE WETHER

1 Ethics, 1107b, 20-25; Apostle, p. 30.


3 Fox, "Henryson and Caxton", p. 590.


5 Ibid., p. 280.

6 Ibid., p. 278. This theory implies, Jamieson admits, a pretty sophisticated use of narrative double-entendre, and is important, as Roerecke realized when he devoted a whole chapter of his thesis to this "Reversal Tactic", because it raises the question of intentionality in late medieval imposed allegory. Henryson seems to be doing very much what Northrop Frye sees Milton doing in Paradise Regained: "constructing a double argument on the same words". (Northrop Frye, "The Typology of Paradise Regained", Modern Philology, 53 (1956), pp. 227-238. Hereafter cited as Frye, "The Typology of Paradise Regained").

7 MacDonald, "Narrative Art", p. 103.

8 Cf. Frye, "The Typology of Paradise Regained", p. 231: "The point at which the reader loses sympathy with Jesus in Paradise Regained is the point at which he himself would have collapsed under the temptation. All of us are, like Christ, in the World, and, unlike him, partly of it, and whatever in us is of the world is bound to condemn Christ's rejection of the world at some point or other."

9 The OED entry for Wether reads "a ram, esp. a castrated ram."


13 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 185.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER X (Cont.)

14 Cf. the leper woman's advice to a lamenting Cresseid in the Testament of Cresseid, l. 473 ff.


16 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 184.

17 MacQueen, (ibid., p. 185) suggests Cochrane; Stearns (Robert Henryson, pp. 20-22) suggests Rogers, Hommyle or Cochrane.

18 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 66.

19 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 393.

20 Cliges, 3849 f.; Curtius, European Literature, p. 97.

21 MacDonald, "Narrative Art", p. 104.

22 Ibid., p. 105.

23 Ezekiel 34:2.

24 Cf. Randall, Images in Gothic MSS., plates CIX, CX.


27 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 188.


29 Curtius, European Literature, p. 420.

30 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 506, p. 62.

31 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 186.
33 Cf. Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 79.
34 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 187, st. 2.
35 Ethics, 1125a, 25-35; Apostle, p. 69.
37 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 320 ff.
38 Cf. Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 335, p. 40: "hall binkis are sliddrie"; also Robb, The Thrie Priests of Peblis, p. 32, l. 614: "Hal binkis ar ay slidder."
39 Ethics, 1142a, 1-2; Apostle, p. 108.
41 Dunlop, Scots Abroad, p. 9.
42 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 464.
44 Ibid.
45 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 1111-12.
46 Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland, p. 189.
47 Ibid., p. 191.
48 Ibid., p. 184.
49 Ibid., p. 191; also Nicholson, Scotland, p. 505.
51 Cf. ll. 2591, 2595 and 2609-15 in the Wolf and the Wether.
52 Nicholson, Scotland, p. 191.
CHAPTER XI

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB.

From a fable concerning a bad shepherd (the Wether), we pass in the *Wolf and Lamb*, to a fable exemplifying the good shepherd who "lays down his life for his sheep".¹ From "silie" shepherd and impotent ram to Lamb of God; from Pride to Humility. Cruelty is the constant in both, personified by the Wolf. Other links also suggest themselves.

The general situation and the animals involved recall the *Sheep and Dog*. Injustice is seemingly triumphant in both, and this is offset by the righteous witnessing of the narrator in both the *Moralitates*. Further, the *Moralitas* of the *Wolf and Lamb* recognizes two modes of injustice: "Be violence, or craft in facultie" (2713); and while the case of the *Wolf and Lamb* neatly fits the violent injustice of the former, only outside the fable, in the *Sheep and Dog* and *Fox, Wolf and Husbandman*, do we find an example of legal chicanery.

In another respect the fable is complementary to the *Wolf and Wether*, in which the servant who forgets his place and climbs above his Lord is punished. Here it is the Lord who forgets his obligations and oppresses the very poor he should protect. "What is the office of the duly ordained soldier?" John of Salisbury asks rhetorically in his *Policraticus*, "to defend the Church ... to protect the poor from injuries."²
Furthermore, we may remember that the cruelty of the Wolf in the *Sheep and Dog* was mitigated imaginatively by the Lion's example of mercy in the *Lion and Mouse*. In terms of Christian allegory, both these themes come together in the *Wolf and Lamb* as the archetype of Mercy is set against a main type of Cruelty. Also the Lamb is the ultimate symbol of which the Mare in the *Parliament* and the Husband in the *Fox, Wolf and Husbandman* are types: "virtue steadfast and triumphant in a wicked world".³

Two things in Henryson's fable have generally surprised critics: the fact that the Lamb's learning seems beyond his years,⁴ and the fact that the details of the Tale do not seem to correspond with the details of the *Moralitas*.⁵ In context, neither of these things is quite so startling as they appear; I shall attempt to bridge the 'gaps'.

Jamieson, in tabulating the parallels between Henryson's fable and other versions, concludes that indications of what sources he may have been using are few.⁶ Nevertheless, it is fairly clear what Henryson's innovations do and do not consist of. After an initial two stanzas Setting the Scene, he proceeds (as in the *Fox, Wolf and Husbandman*) to a ten-stanza Debate between the Wolf and the Lamb and a one-stanza Resolution. This pattern is common to all versions of the fable and Henryson's originality lies not here, but in his rhetorical expansions and scholastic schematization. Instead of relying on the simple Accusation-Defense-False Decision structure of his predecessors, Henryson makes his Lamb's defence solidly tripartite, basing it, as MacQueen has noticed, on appeal
to natural, eternal and human law—"the three systems on which human society is built".

Some of his stone is pre-hewn. The first argument from nature—that water does not run uphill—is traditional. The citation of Ezekiel (st. 381) and the elaboration of the processes of natural law are all his, however—as is the Wolf's reply to Ezekiel with Exodus. The significance of this expansion and restructuring we shall see in a moment.

Henryson's opening couple of stanzas are quite conventional:

Ane cruell Wolff, richt ravenous and fell,
Upon ane tyme past to ane Reveir,
Descending from ane Rotche unto ane well,
To slaik his thrist, drank of the watter cleir,
Swa upon cage ane selie Lamb come neir,
Bot of his fa, the Wolff, na thing he wist,
And in the streme laipit to cule his thrist. (2616-22)

Thus drank thay baith, bot not of ane Intent;
The Wolfis thocht wes all on wickitnes;
The selie Lamb wes meik and Innocent;
Upon the Rever, in ane uther place,
Beneth the Wolff, he drank ane lytill space,
Quhill he thocht gude, belevand thair nane ill;
The Wolff him saw, and Rampand come him till. (2623-29)

In fact they are even more amplified than other vernacular versions.

The Ysopet de Lyon conveys the same idea thus:

Au dessus boit de la fontaine
Li Lous, de pansee mal sainne;
Li Aigneax de simple coraige
Bevoit au desoz dou rivaige;

and even Lydgate can pack into one rhyme royal stanza what Henryson unpacks into two:

The lambe, the wolf[e], contrary of nature
Ever diverse and nothyng oon they thynke.
Both at onys of soden aventure
To a fresshe ryver they came downe to drynke:
At the hede spryng hy opon the brynke
Stondeth the wolfe, a froward beste of kynde;
The sely lambe stood fer abak behynde.

Moreover, Henryson's opening paratactic constructions cause ambiguity. Is it the river which descends from a rock to a pool, or the Wolf who comes down from his cave to a wellspring? Presumably the latter, if the evidence of other versions is anything to go on. But it is also possible the poet is emphasizing the physical properties of water for simple shepherds!

The reason for Henryson's two-part treatment seems to be his desire to dramatize each point fully. As in Gualterus, the Ysopet and Lydgate, parallelism is important for purposes of contrast. This is especially evident in the first three lines of the second stanza, which present the contrasting intentions of the two animals much as they will be presented in the following Paddock and Mouse (2875-78). Their location in a second stanza helps emphasize the sentential importance of the scene: Cruelty is juxtaposed with Mercy, Pride with Humility, Wickedness with Innocence, Ignorance with Wisdom. Henryson has also built this emphasis into his restructuring of the Tale, the following speeches embodying the intentions of each animal within an ordering framework of moral theology.

As for the last three lines of the second stanza, they clarify an important detail not mentioned in the first stanza—that the Lamb drinks beneath the Wolf—and, in conjunction with the first line of the next stanza, present a moral image of the Wolf as a type of Pride and Anger. "Rampand" suggests the irate Lion of the
Lion and Mouse and the Wolf's sense of his own 'royal' dignity, which will lead him to interpret the Lamb's innocent act as an insult. Both this and his emotional state explain his motivation: "as Cattowne sais in his teching":

"..... Ire distroblis sa the thocht
that suthfastly deyme ma it nocht
thocht he war nevire sa wyse a kyng." 11

This state is significantly illustrated from Scripture by Aquinas in his treatise On Kingship:

If he [the king] is dominated by the passion of anger, he sheds blood for nothing; whence it is said by Ezekiel (22:27): 'Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves ravening the prey to shed its blood.' 12

Henryson, as we shall see, makes further use of Ezekiel.

The Wolf's argument in the next stanza is not contentious, for the issue is not in doubt; it is just plain irrational:

With girnand teith and awfull angrie luke,
Said to the Lamb: 'thow Cative wretchit thing,
How durst thou be sa bald to fyle and bruke,
Quhar I suld drink, with thy foull slavering?
It wer Almous the ffor to draw and hing,
That suld presume, with thy foull lippis wyle,
To glar my drink, and this fair watter fyle.' (2630-36)

But this is not to say that there is no method to the Wolf's madness. His oratory is merely misapplied epideictic--as it was in the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman. Instead of the requisite Judicial oratory, he uses slur tactics, the rhetoric of blame, and casts his argument in the form of a Commonplace, "a speech amplifying the evil things connected with anyone" as Aphthonius puts it. 13

Priscian's instructions on how to proceed with such an
exercise are helpful:

Before proceeding to the deed itself, discuss its contrary ... then the application to the indictment.... Now proceed to the case in hand. 'These things being so, what has this man dared?' and tell what he has done, not as explaining it, but as heightening. 'He has defiled the whole city ... etc.' Next go on to comparison.... You may [next] draw defamation of the rest of his life from his present crime.... Use also the repudiation of pity by the so-called considerations of equity, justice and propriety.... And conclude upon exhortation.14

Not all of these precepts are applied of course. The Wolf cuts through discussion-of-the-contrary and application-to-the-indictment in order to get at and heighten the case itself. All the details of defilement that Jamieson has noted as original ("foull slavering", "stinkand lippis", etc.)15 are directed to "spurring on the listener" throughout.16 Again Henryson dispenses with comparisons--he is not so much concerned to emphasize the Wolf's rhetoric as the Lamb's--though his Wolf does defame the Lamb's past life by a verbal attack on his father. And he does also resort to the repudiation of pity in an ironic perversion of equity and justice when he later complains:

... 'thow wald Intruse ressoun, 
Quhair wrang and reif suld dwell in propertie.
That is ane poiyn, and part of fals tressoun,
For to gar reuth remane with crueltie.  

(2693-96)

The exhortatory conclusion is Henryson's own however, and exactly reverses the Wolf's point:

"Wes not this reuth, wes not this grit pietie, 
To gar this selie Lamb but gilt thus de?"  

(2705-06)

The thing to notice about the Wolf's Commonplace is his use of it in an inappropriate context. The Commonplace is basically
an amplification exercise, "a second speech" which assumes "The matter has [already] been examined" and explained. Thus the Wolf's use of it shows he has gone the way of all angry men in leaping to unsupportable conclusions and using abusive language. Certainly this has something to do with debate form as well, Aristotle coaching the questioner to be aggressive and the answerer to be wary, but the Wolf's accusation goes beyond this and is, even in its very form, a non-sequitur. His familiar proverb "It wer Almous the ffor to draw and hing" may suggest this by unwary echoing of an impossible:

"Mekle almous deid and fals detractioun... It may weill ryme bot it accordis nocht."

Henryson employs quite subtle means to sharpen our response to the text, and, as we shall see, his reference to the Lamb as a "Cative" is possibly even a pointer to the allegorical significance of the Tale.

Having heard the irate Wolf, the Lamb answers with cautious circumspection:

The selie Lamb, quaikand for verryay dreyd, On kneis fell, and said: 'Schir, with your leif, Suppois I dar not say thairoff ye leid; Bot, be my Saull, I wait ye can nocht preif That I did ony thing that suld yow grief; Ye wait alswa that your accusatioun Failyeis ffra treuth, and contrair is to ressoun. (2637-43)

He relies on reason to disprove the accusation, knowing with St. Thomas that every voluntary action that turns aside from the order of reason and of the Eternal Law is evil, and ... every good action is in accord with reason and the Eternal Law.
His defence is clearly designed to make the Wolf conscious of the fundamental error in his thinking. He does not need to dispute the Wolf's ownership of the river (even calling it "your Bruke", 2650), for Aquinas assures us that, while

the first rule of reason is the law of nature
..., if at any point [human law] differs from the law of nature, it is no longer a law but a corruption of law.22

The Lamb begins his pleading, then, with an appeal to natural law:

'Thocht I can nocht, Nature will me defend,
And off the deid perfyte experience;
All hevie thing man off the selff discend;
Bot giff sum thing on force mak resistence,
Than may the streme on na way mak ascence,
Nor ryn bakwart: I drank beneth yow far;
Ergo, ffor me your Bruke wes never the war. (2644-50)

The topos the appeal uses is common to all versions of this fable, as has been said, and we might compare Lydgate's handling of it:

Thys may not be; the preef is seyn full oft:
I stond benethe, and ye stond aloft.
From the hyll the ryver downe dyscendeth:
For to ascende hit were ageym nature.23

But Henryson's argument is syllogistic, and penetrates to the heart of the matter with greater scientific assurance, even incorporating a proviso about "resistence" that may have symbolic overtones applicable to the interfering Wolf!

Not only is Henryson's intelligence evident in his dialectical handling of arguments but in his ordering of parts to a whole. His university training in Arts and Law would have given him the overview necessary to place this argument from nature within a universal schema such as no other fabulist had attempted to present.
Since, as Aquinas says, the validity of human law depends upon a correspondence with natural and eternal law, his Lamb will use all three and wisely apply that argument last which rests upon the other two.

MacQueen's remark that the Lamb's speeches "Seem wholly inappropriate to his age and situation" misses the wood for the trees. Henryson is not aiming at animal naturalism for its own sake. "Ysider seith ... agnus cometh of agnoscoendo, 'knowynge'," and the Lamb's speeches "can be viewed as an indication that they are participating in the spiritual light which a gift of the Holy Ghost gives."

In other words, the Lamb's extraordinarily mature refutation of the Wolf is of the same order of reality as the Christ-child's confounding of the Doctors in the Temple.

The second argument which the Lamb adduces to counter the Wolf's charge of "foull slavering", a defence from the natural properties of his diet, also seems to support this reading:

'Alswa my lippis, sen that I wes ane Lam,
Tuitchit na thing that wes contagious;
Bot sowkit milk ffrom Pappis off my dam,
Richt Naturall, sweit, and als delitious.'  

(2651-54)

For "Have ye not read 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise'?' says Christ in Matthew 21:6. The passage from Psalms that Christ refers to is quite as much to the point:

Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings
hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.
Even the Lamb's modesty formula "Thocht I can nocht, Nature will me defend" (2644) seems to invoke a higher power, for, in the words of St. Augustine, "logical truth exists externally in the rational order of things and has been arranged by God."  

The Wolf's counter-argument is amazingly appropriate and shows great skill in handling character-delineations (ethologiae) on Henryson's part. Lydgate, using the same topic, says merely

"Lyke thy ffadyr, thou art false and double
And hym resemblest of dysposicion,
For he was wont my water here to trouble."  

Henryson, however, penetrates with his trained lawyer's mind beneath such generalities to probe the psychology of the irate:

'Weill' (quod the Wolff), 'thy language Rigorous
Cummis the off kynd swa thy Father before;
Held me at bait, baith with boist and schore.

'He wraithit me, and than I culd him warne
Within ane yeir, and I brukit my heid,
I suld be wrokkin on him, or on his barne,
For his exorbetant and frawart pleid;
Thow sail doules ffor his deidis be deid.' (2655-62)

The Wolf's point of view is impeccably portrayed. He has not understood, or wanted to understand, the irrefutable logic of his 'adversary', and unable to answer in kind, resorts to subterfuge to save his self-esteem. Such arguments, we may imagine him thinking, are traps laid by the proud family of Lamb to humiliate ("bait") their 'rightful' overlord. Ergo, their "exorbetant" answering-back is the cause, rather than the result of his anger! Such "frawart pleid" constitutes a slight to his aristocratic dignity that must "be wrokkin", avenged. As Aquinas says, referring to Aristotle, "All the causes of anger are reduced to slight ...
and whatever ... takes away from our excellence, seems to pertain to slight.\textsuperscript{34}

But while he acts in perfect accord with his nature as wolf, as Lord, and--possibly also--as Devil, the Wolf is only justified at the most literal, animal level. Feud, though rife in fifteenth century Scotland, was never countenanced legally, and special procedures were even devised to prevent sheriffs from exercising their jurisdiction over those whom they held at "deadly enmity and feud".\textsuperscript{35} In such cases, proceedings were transferred to another court--which is what the Lamb requests (st. 384).

Henryson shows remarkable agility in preserving the schema of his Lamb's sequence of speeches and yet maintaining a semblance of spontaneous and urgent debate. One way he achieves this is by having the Lamb's reply cut sharply into the Wolf's stanza, just as the Wolf's had, and will, into his (cf. 2655-57, 2663-64, 2671, 2678). His next appeal is to Eternal Law:

'Schir, it is wrang, that ffor the ffatheris gilt, The saikles sone suld punist be or spilt.

'Haiff ye not hard quhat halie Scripture sayis, Endytit with the mouth of God Almycht? Off his awin deidis ilk man sall beir the prais, As pane ffor sin, reward ffor werkis rycht; For my trespas quhy suld my sone have plycht? Quha did the mis lat him sustene the pane.' (2663-70)

Once again, Henryson's argument is new to this fable and yet is appropriate. The passage of Scripture referred to is Ezekiel (18:20,30):

The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son ... Therefore I will judge you, O House of Israel, everyone according to his ways, saith the Lord God.
This passage, which is of theological importance, also has civil consequence. We find it incorporated, for instance, in Regiam Majestatem:

Where a person has committed homicide, or any other crime, his heir, if not consenting to the crime, should not be disinherited. 37

And it even becomes proverbialized as "What wyt the kid quhat the auld goat did". 38

The Wolf's inadvertently but revealingly vulgar reply, "Yaa ... yit pleyis thow agane?" (2671) again cuts into the Lamb's stanza, echoing in its choice of terms the Wolf's conceit on "play" in the Wolf and Wether. But it does little more than make explicit his previous assumption:

'I let the wit, quhen that the ffather offendis,
I will refuse nane off his Successioun;
And off his barnis I may weill tak amendis,
Unto the twentie degre descending doun.
Thy ffather thocht to mak ane strang poysoun,
And with his mouth into my watter did spew.'
'Schir' (quod the Lamb), 'thay twa ar nouther trew.
(2672-78)

The Wolf's defense is one used by the Devil in attempting to uphold his proprietary 'rights' against Christ's new dispensation of mercy and individual responsibility—a twisted application of Exodus 20:5:

I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.

The Lamb, while quick to cut in with "thay twa ar nouther trew", does not attempt to refute the Wolf's two points. There is nothing to be gained by restatement; he has already refuted
them. In language that reminds us of the Sheep and Dog's suspect assize, the Lamb appeals instead to the *jus positivum*, the public agreement by which members of a community agree to abide by a body of laws. The matter should go, as it so often did in fifteenth century Scotland, to the highest civil authority in the land, the Court of Session; and the Lamb adjures the Wolf to put aside his private conception of justice and submit to this court of higher appeal. The latter, however, reacts as he had earlier, further infuriated by having to maintain an untenable position in order to save face. His words declare his total animality:

"'Na' (quod the Wolff), 'thow wald Intruse ressoun, Qhhair wrang and reif suld dwell in propertie. That is ane poyn, and part of fals tressoun, For to gar reuth remane with crueltie. Be his woundis, fals tratour, thow sail de, For thy trespas, and for thy Fatheris als.' With that anone he hint him be the hals." (2693-99)

Reason is not a property of beasts, so, as an animal, the Wolf is justified; however, the man who denies the rule of reason is, as Henryson points out in the *Moralitas*, "War than ane Wolf" (2736).

We can be sure that the psychology of such inversion was comprehensible to the educated of the time. "The temperate man appears intemperate to the insensible man" Aristotle had said, and Aquinas had observed that, in a world where values have been perverted by sin and ignorance, "tyrants, suspecting their subjects to be as wicked as themselves, fear them." The inversion of values that Henryson invents is a stock one for such situations in the political sphere, and this is indeed the aspect shortly to be treated in the *Moralitas*. As an anonymous counsel to the king
asks rhetorically in the Bannatyne MS:

Quhat is the caus sic truble sic debait
sic rugrie reif ryngis in this regioun[?]
The Lordis in youth to leir folye ar sett
Swa wantis vertew and eruditioun
The pure than tholis grit oppressioun
The lord for vertew takis volupte
No difference puttis betuix reif and reasoun. 44

The ignorance and injustice of the nobility was a live social issue in fifteenth century Scotland. Large landholders themselves administered 'justice' in their own territories; so much so that sheriffs found it difficult to arrest robbers of ecclesiastical and other properties "if the robbers had the backing of powerful nobles". 45 Things had reached such a pass by the middle of the century, and so universal and uniform were the complaints, that a special Court of Higher Appeal (the "lauchfull Court" of the "Lyoun, Lord and leill Justice", 2686-87) was set up in Edinburgh "as a stop-gap". 46 In the view of the Chancellor and Royal Tutor, John Ireland, "it is the lay nobility of Scotland that requires a reformation", 47 and this view was reiterated both by the author of the Book of Pluscarden and by his vernacular satirist, the author of the "Balade of Gude Counsel to the King".

In concluding his discussion of the murder of James I, the former announces that the reason princes appoint ignorant men as justices is because "the nobles of Scotland will not stoop to acquire knowledge." 48 "How can one know letters unless one has first learned them?" he then asks, and concludes

As however, for want of justice many perish with hunger, a certain hungerer and thirster after justice has compiled in our vernacular a lesson for ignorant judges ....
There follows the "Balade of Gude Counsel"—obviously another stop-gap commissioned to fulfil a real need. It too locates the trouble in the same place and comes up with the same solution:

"How suld a man but knowlage keip justice...? Bot ger yung lordis study in the lawis." 49

Such uniformity of faith in an educational solution to the ills of society is typical of men brought up on Aristotle. According to the Stagyrite, "legal matters which are not difficult to learn ... should be known", 50 and, if they are not learned, punishment should result. Just such a programme was implemented, and the rationale behind it explained, in the Education Act of 1496:

It is statute and ordanit throw all the realme that all barronis and frehaldaris that ar of substance put thair eldest sonnis and airis to the sculis fra thay be aucyth or nine yeiris of age and till remane at the grammar sculis quhill thay be competentlie foundit and have perfite latyne and thereftir to remane thre yeris at the sculis of art and jure sua that thair may have knawlege and understanding of the lawis. Throw the quhilkis justice may reigne universali throw all the realme sua that ar schreffis or jugeis ordinaris under the kingis hienes may have knawlege to do justice that the pure pepill sulde have na neid to seik our soverane lordis principale auditouris for ilk small iniure. 51

For those who failed to comply, there was a fine.

Henryson's legal fables were probably also designed as stop-gap "lessons for ignorant judges" and introductions to law for the "sonnis and airis" of "barronis and frehaldaris ... of substance" under the guise of entertainment. The Lamb's knowledge of dialectic, scripture, and civil law are very much what our grammar schoolmaster was trying to inculcate in his students; and, as we have seen in Chapter I, such a programme would not have been too
ambitious for a humble teacher of Latin.

Schoolboy allegory was also a commonplace of fable literature,\textsuperscript{52} and Henryson's \textit{Wolf and Lamb} could quite easily be taken for a demonstration of the good results of an education and the bad results of a lack of it. John of Garland, for instance, could refer to the scholars of Paris as "tender lambs" snatching up "the new food of the elementary course [from] ....the fountain [which] gushes forth Apollonian waters".\textsuperscript{53} Conceivably the fable was read on Holy Innocents's Day by the Boy Bishop, whose sermon was usually prepared by the \textit{magister} anyway;\textsuperscript{54} or, alternatively, it could have been enacted as a dramatic disputation. We hear of schoolboys acting the following: a play of St. Katherine (c.1100); a play of St. Nicholas (12th c. and 1462); a Conversion of St. Paul (12th c.); a Daniel (mid 12th c.); the History of the Old Testament (1387); a \textit{Coram Domino} (1413); a Harrowing of Hell (1487); a comedy of Solomon (before 1500); "the story of Troylous and Pandar" (1515); \textit{De Patientia Griseldis} and \textit{De Melibaeo Chauceriane} (1538); and, "the comede mentionat in Sanct Lucas Evangel of the forlorne sone" (played at St. Andrew's grammar school, 1574).\textsuperscript{55} Similarly, at Dunfermline in 1576, we hear of the Kirk Assembly refusing "to give libertie to the Bailzie of Dunfermling to play upon the Sunday afternoone ane certaine play quhilk is not made upon the canonicall parts of the Scripture".\textsuperscript{56}

In any case, let us return to the conclusion of the Tale:

\textit{The selie Lamb culd do na thing bot bleit;}
\textit{Sone wes he deid: the Wolff wald do na grace,}
\textit{Syne drank his blude, and off his flesche can eit,}
\textit{Quhill he wes full, and went his way on pace.}
Of his murther quhat sall we say, allace?
Wes not this reuth, wes not this grit pietie,
To gar this selie Lamb but gilt thus de?  (2700-06)

There may well be an allusion here to the sacrament of love, the Holy Eucharist, as Gerke has remarked, and this seems all the more likely for the fact that the Wolf in the previous stanza has sworn "Be his woundis" (2697). In the context of the "murther" of the guiltless Lamb, such allusions are likely to have triggered allegorical associations. John of Garland's description of how to dramatize dialogue suggests the direction such association might take:

If the subject is a shepherd, make up a list of nouns like these: pasture, flock, sheep, ram, wolf ... It is possible to invent similarly of the Incarnate Saviour: "From the sheep proceeds the shepherd"....

Such clues may be developed in two contexts: in the Tale, which is capable of sustaining Christological interpretation, and in the Moralitas, where the sufferings of the persecuted poor "Of quhome the lyfe is half ane Purgatorie" (2709) are dignified by association with the patient martyrdom of the Lamb of God. In the face of oppression, "To wyn with lautie leving as efferis" (2710) is, as the Moralitas suggests, to imitate Christ. Blessed are the poor in heart.

The reason why Henryson did not develop the Christological implications of the Tale is not clear. Perhaps he believed with Macrobius that "philosophers have a duty to protect the highest wisdom from distortion" and that "The fable both preserves the secret meaning intact and leaves it inaccessible to those intel-
lectually ill-equipped to comprehend."59 Or, conversely, perhaps he felt it was so obvious as not to need explanation, and chose to develop the less obvious aspects of his symbolism in the Moralitas instead. The second alternative is the less likely, I feel, since Lydgate also likens the Wolf "to folkys ravenous" and the Lamb to "the porayle".60 But let us see how much Christian allegory the Tale is capable of sustaining.

The wrathful Wolf's early reference to the Lamb as a "Cative" wretch (2631) suggests the Devil's assumption of proprietary rights over Mankind after the Fall. The Lamb has all the attributes of Christ--innocence, wisdom, humility--and seems to be fighting a cause larger than his own when he cites Ezekiel (an anticipation of New Testament thinking) against the Pentateuchal morality of Exodus. The Redemption seems to be at stake.61 And, of course, the Wolf's lapping of the Lamb's blood and eating of his flesh suggests the ultimate sacrifice of the Lamb of God by which seeming personal defeat was turned into cosmic victory over the Beast. (Revelation 5:12 and 12:11). It is upon this paradox that the hope of the "pure pepill" rests in the Moralitas:

The pure pepill this Lamb may signifie,  
As Maill men, Merchandis, and all laboureris,  
Of quhome the lyfe is half ane Purgatorie,  
To wyn with lautie leving as efferis.  
The Wolf betakinnis fals extortioneris  
And oppressouris of pure men, as we se,  
Be violence, or craft in facultie.  
(2707-13)

As we have already noticed, Henryson's division of wolves in the last three lines of this stanza into "oppressouris ... Be violence, or craft in facultie" cannot simply refer to the Tale
of the Wolf and Lamb. The Wolf cannot by any stretch of the imagination be credited with "subteltie" (2721); he is merely violent. What, then, was Henryson's purpose in developing his Moralitas in terms of the scholastic two-part division of Avarice? Let us look at his description of "oppressouris/Be craft in facultie":

Thre kynd of Wolfis in this warld now Rings:
The first ar fals perverteris of the Lawis,
Quhilk under Poete termis falset mingis,
Lettand that all wer Gospell that he schawis;
Bot for ane bud the pure man he overthrawis,
Smoirand the richt, garrand the wrang proceid:
Of sic Wolfis hellis fyre sail be thair meid.

O man of Law! let be thy subteltie,
With nice gimpis, and fraudis Intricait,
And think that God in his Divinitie
The wrang, the richt, of all thy werkis wait:
For prayer, price, for hie nor law estait,
Of fals querrellis se thow mak na defence;
Hald with the richt, hurt not thy conscience.  

(2714-27)

Almost every detail is relevant to the activities of the Fox as Judge in the Fox, Wolf and Husbandman—the references to Bible-clutching hypocrisy (compare WL 2717 and FWH 2325), to taking of "ane bud" (WL 2718: FWH 2322 ff.) to thinking "God is gane to sleip" (WL 2723-24: FWH 2332), and to conscience (WL 2727: FWH 2348-49). From these parallels it seems to me that the Moralitas to the Wolf and Lamb is written as a coda for the whole Fox and Wolf series. Certainly its unusual length (10 stanzas as opposed to the Tale's 13) is suggestive of this, as is the telescoping of the Tales themselves (FWC 36 stanzas, FWH 28, WW 19, WL 13).

In any case, why Henryson chose to subdivide the violent and crafty into "Thre kynd of Wolfis" remains a mystery and I can only
point to his penchant for threefold scholastic divisions—perhaps a result of the fact that the Dunfermline Abbey Church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. (Cf. the triple imprecation "Grit fule" in PS 1860-66, the triple references to God in WL 2770-76, the three speeches of the Lamb, the three seasonal transitions of the Preaching, the triple defecation in WW 2567, the "Thre battis" the Wolf bore in FWC 2182.) The first type of Wolf, the "man of Law", is certainly a worthy representative of the crafty oppressor, as "mychtie men" (2729) and "men of heritage" (2742) are appreciable representatives of the violent; but what distinguishes the last two types?

Gerke thinks there is a schematic distinction between "'mychtie men' who violate the Law of need" and "'men of heritage' who violate the social Law of rank", but a close look at the text shows this to be untenable, since the latter also violate the Law of need (cf. 2752). The main difference, it seems to me, is rhetorical, and a matter of decorum. Where the crafty Fox is in only two of the fables of the series, the violent Wolf is in all four. Hence the greater emphasis on violence. Moreover, where the "man of law" and "mychtie men" are allotted two stanzas each, the "men of heritage" are given four. Henryson seems to want to build up to his concluding prayer on a rising tide of social protest, and although the examples of oppression in the last category are not different in kind from the examples in the second category, they are much more concrete, more **ecphrastic**.

If we look at the "Man of Law" stanzas already quoted (2714-27), we can see similar rhetorical considerations accounting for
its subdivision into two stanzas. The first fulminates against the kind of crimes that "fals perverteris of the Lawis" get away with, and promises them hellfire for it. The second takes a more conciliatory, intimate approach with its direct address "O man", and exhorts to good works on the basis that God sees all. Incidentally, the promise of "hellis fyre" to corrupt officials was a standard one. Aquinas in discussing "What Punishments are in store for a Tyrant", the author of Ratis Raving discussing "the wykytynes and injuris that was done be the Jugis and Justiceris", and John of Garland writing an "Ode on Barristers and Lawyers"—all consign their subjects, in John's words, "to be cursed and buried in the howling torture-chamber of Hell". From those to whom much has been given, much will be required, and the official who seeks his own private good at the expense of the common good is certain of damnation.

Henryson's second category of wolvish extortioners is that of Powerful Men:

Ane uther kynd of Wolfis Ravenous,  
Ar mychtie men, haifand full grit plentie,  
Quhilkis ar sa gredie and sa covetous,  
Thay will not thoill the pure in pece to be;  
Suppois he and his houshald baith suld de  
For falt of fude, thairof thay gif na rak,  
Bot over his heid his mailling will thay tak.  

O man! but mercie, quhat is in thy thocht,  
War than ane Wolf, and thow culd understand?  
Thow hes aneuch; the pure husband richt nocht  
Bot croip and caff upon ane clout of land.  
For Goddis aw, how durst thow tak on hand,  
And thow in Barn and Byre sa bene, and big,  
To put him fra his tak and gar him thig?  

(2728-41)
Again their jobbery is described generally and impersonally in the first stanza; again Henryson addresses the jobbers directly in the second stanza, reminding them they are well-off, and exhorting them to act with the Day of Judgement in mind. Gerke has rightly pointed out that just as the Lamb does not dispute the Wolf's ownership of the stream, neither does the Moralitas here dispute the right of "mychtie men" to possessions. The magnitude of their avarice rests in two actions: they take from the poor man the means he has to meet his need, and they do this although they themselves are 'upstream' and have much more than they need. Such men are "war than ane wolf" if they could only understand Aristotelian categories. As the philosopher explains,

we do not speak of the brutes as being temperate or intemperate, except metaphorically and whenever one genus of animals differs in general from another in wantonness or destructiveness or omnivorous greed, for animals have no power of deliberating or judging things, but their nature lies outside of these, like that of madmen. Brutality is less bad than vice, but more fearful; for there is no corruption of the best part of a brute, as it is in a man, since brutes do not have such a part to be corrupted ... a man might do a great many times as much evil as a brute.

The distinction was even preserved in Cato's Distichs, which any schoolboy—(but not, perhaps, any Lord) would have known:

"Sithen thou art so frele of kuynde wilde bestes to doute, Doute wel more wikked men and come not in heore route."

Nor is Henryson here simply mouthing conventions. There was as much of an economic crisis in late fifteenth century Scotland as there was a judicial one. Grant shows in his Social and Economic Development of Scotland that it was a time of rural instabil-
ity, rising population, subdivision of holdings, and "considerable displacement of the lesser folk".70 So Henryson recognizes in his address to Men of Heritage:

The thrid Wolf ar men of heritage,
As Lordis that hes land be Goddis lane,
And settis to the Mailleris ane Village,
And for ane tyme Gressome payit and tane;
Syne vexis him, or half his terme be gane,
With pykit querrellis for to mak him fane
To flit, or pay his Gressome new agane.

His Hors, his Meir, he man len to the Laird,
To drug and draw in Court or in Cariage;
His servand or his self may not be spaird
To swing and sweit, withoutin Meit or wage.
Thus how he standis in labour and bondage,
That scantlie may he purches by his maill,
To leve upon dry breid and watter caill. (2742-55)

Insecurity of tenure was the greatest problem. As Grant tells us, "parliament endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to give the agricultur­alists a certain amount of protection ... [but] in practice, they had no rights or security in the land whatsoever."71 Short term leases and insecurity of tenure were the especial sores of the system. John Major describes the situation thus, before going on to urge longer leases:

They have no permanent holdings, but hired only,
or in lease for three or four years, at the pleasure
of the Lords of the soil; therefore they do not dare
to build good homes, though stone abound; neither do
they plant trees nor hedges for their orchards, nor
do they dung their land; and this is no small loss
and damage to the whole realm.72

Even more significant is that Grant illustrates this chronic insecurity from a source of particular relevance to Henryson. "In the register of Dunfermline," he says, "in the list of tenants and holdings ..., the constant variation in the names is very
striking." [73] (He then goes on to discuss the abuse of the
"Gressome" or deposit made at the beginning of a new lease, which
usually amounted to a year's rent in advance. [74])

Henryson's protest also draws Scriptural strength from
Ezekiel, who likens the princes of Israel to

wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood,
and to destroy souls, to get dishonest
gain ... The people of the land have used
oppression and exercised robbery, and have
vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have
oppressed the stranger wrongfully. [75]

Henryson's diatribe, seen in this light, is hardly Classical
Satire, as MacQueen has suggested, [76] it is more like Prophetic
outburst. The same saeva indignatio at specific social injustices
blisters on Henryson's tongue as in the mouths of the prophet and
the contemporary historian. In the Book of Pluscarden we hear of
the king's counsellors that they too

did not prevent the poor from being ground down,
and, with some whom they envied, they would even
find some trumped-up reason for confiscation,
and appropriate the confiscated lands to them-
selves by the king's 'gift'. [77]

Not without reason ran the proverb "saine you weill fra the devill
and the Laird's bairns". [78]

One detail in particular, which parallels the Lamb's right
to water, incenses the poet so much he devotes an extra stanza to
it--the fact that these "pure men" must labour "withoutin Meit or
wage" (2752):

Hes thow not reuth to gar thy tennentis sweit
In to thy laubour with faynt and hungrie wame,
And syne hes lytill gude to drink or eit,
With his menye at evin quhen he cумmis hame?
Thow suld drieid for rycheous Goddis blame;
For it cryis are vengeance unto the hevinnis hie,
To gar ane pure man wirk but Meit or fe.  

Not only is this an abuse of natural law, which allows all creatures what they need for basic sustenance, it is also an abuse of human law, of feudal rights. The labourer had a right to expect at least meals from his overlord while working at the Manor; hence the reference to "hevinnis ... vengeance". In Catholic teaching, the four sins which cry out for vengeance are willful murder, sodomy, oppression of the poor, and defrauding the labourer of his wages.

Actually, apart from sodomy, all these sins are treated by Henryson. The Wolf's "murther" of the Lamb is obviously willful, for the latter's defence has removed the former's excuse of ignorance. Also, Henryson is much concerned in his next stanza to equate the Lamb's murder with "grit Lord [is]" oppression of the poor and underscore it as a major offence:

The initial lines, again opening with a direct personal appeal, consciously parallel the first two lines of stanza 391 in pleading "Be nocht ane Wolf". Fittingly, this stanza sums up the whole foregoing argument with a reminder of three things, divided according to the three parts of prudence: present understanding of
self ("Be nocht ane Wolf"), memory of the past ("na thing ... May in this warld perpetuallie Indure"), and thought for the future ("For till oppres thow sail haif ... greit pane").

Having concluded his address to Man, the poet last turns to God, shifting from censure and exhortation to supplication—again tripartite, in honour of the Three Persons of the Trinity:

God keip the Lamb, quhilk is the Innocent,  
From Wolfis byit and fell exortionis;  
God grant that wrangous men of fals Intent  
Be manifestit, and punischit as effeiris.  
And God, as thow all rychteous prayer heiris,  
Mot saif our King, and gif him hart and hand  
All sic Wolfis to banes out of the land.  

(2770-76)

His last request, to the Holy Spirit, is that the operative agent of Divine Justice on earth, the King, be inspired with grace to banish vice from the kingdom and re-build the City of God in the hearts of men. As John Ball had protested in reference to "sic Wolfis",

"we are men formed in Christ's likeness,  
and they treat us like beasts!"
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XI

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB

1 John 10:15.

2 Dickinson, Poliorceticus, Bk. VI, Ch. 8, p. 199.


4 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 131.

5 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 113; MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 134.


7 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 132.

8 Bastin II, pp. 87 f., ll. 5-8; quoted from Jamieson, Thesis, p. 109.

9 MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 575, ll. 246-252.


12 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 16.


14 Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, pp. 29-30.


17 Ibid.

18 McGarry, The Metalogicon, pp. 238-239; see also J. J. Murphy,
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XI (Cont.)


19 Cf. Medwall's Fulgens, l. 16: "It were alms to wrynge me one by the eare"; cited in Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, A113, p. 9.

20 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 200, ll. 29 and 43.


22 ST I-II, Q. 95, A. 2, p. 228, col. 1.


25 Cf. Gerke, Thesis, p. 316; I do not agree with him, however, that "in contrast, the moralitas, concerned with these Laws in their relationship to God's will, reverses the order." (Ibid.) Human, Natural, and Eternal Laws are not treated schematically in the three explicit divisions of the Moralitas, and Gerke himself conveniently neglects to cite examples from the text.

26 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 131.


29 Ibid., p. 318.

30 Psalms 8:2.

31 De Doctrina Christiana, ii, 47-50; Howie, Augustine, p. 359.

32 Cf. Chapter One, n. 163 for Quintilian on this school exercise.

33 MacCracken, Lydgate, p. 575, ll. 260-262.


35 Dickinson, Sheriff Court Book, pp. xxvii to xxviii.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XI (Cont.)


37 Lord Cooper, ed. and trans., Regiam Majestatem and Quoniam Attachiamenta (Edinburgh, 1947), Bk. IV, Ch. 12, p. 260.

38 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 1436, p. 105.


40 Cf. also Gerke, Thesis, pp. 327 and 329.

41 ST I, Q. 83, A. 1, p. 437, col. 1.

42 Ethics, 1108b, 15-25; Apostle, p. 32.

43 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 17.

44 Bannatyne MS., II, p. 222, ll. 57-63.


46 Dickinson, A Sourcebook, II, p. 45.


48 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 291.

49 Ibid., p. 393.

50 Ethics, 1114a, 1-15; Apostle, p. 44.

51 A.P.S., ii, 238, c. 3; Dickinson, A Sourcebook, II, p. 116.

52 Risse, "Avianus", p. 45.

53 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 4.

Hereafter cited as Prendergast, "The School Play".


(1462 St. Nicholas) Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, p. 75.

(Daniel) Grace Frank (The Medieval French Drama, Oxford, 1954, p. 56) believes that the schoolboys of Beauvais not only acted in, but also wrote this play as a set of composition exercises.


("Sanct Lucas Play") Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, pp. 74-75.

56 Cf. Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, pp. 175-176; also Webster, Dunfermline, p. 113.


58 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, pp. 23 and 25.
59 Macrobius, I, ii, 17; quoted from Dronke, Fabula, p. 47.


61 The Lamb's three speeches, appealing to Natural, Eternal and Human Law possibly also suggest His triune nature through the integrated tripartite nature of His argument.


64 Phelan, Aquinas: On Kingship, Bk. I, Ch. 11, p. 51.

65 Lumby, Ratis Raving, p. 16, v. 520.

66 Lawler, Parisiana Poetria, p. 213.


68 Ethics, 1149b, 30-1150a, 10; Apostle, p. 127.

69 Cato's Distichs, Bk. IV, no. 12 in Furnivall, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., p. 598, ll. 529-532.


71 Grant, Social and Economic Development, p. 258. See also pp. 256-257 for citations of Acts of Parliament in 1400, 1429, 1449, 1469, and 1481 which were designed to prevent tenants from being victimized by their superiors. The very frequency of such Acts shows their ineffectuality.

72 Constable, John Major's History, p. 31.

73 Grant, Social and Economic Development, p. 255.

74 Ibid., p. 225.

76 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 135.

77 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, p. 59.

78 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 770, p. 90.


81 The form Henryson uses is a common expression. Cf. Temperance and Humility's plea to God to "banyshe this vyce from this cuntre/And restore obedyence to every place" in Peter J. Houle, The English Morality and Related Drama: A Bibliographical Survey (Hamden, Conn., 1972), XLVII.

82 Bennett, Life on the English Manor, p. 137.
CHAPTER XII

THE PADDock AND THE Mouse.

In this tale of deception and violence, the Paddock's sophistry is much more subtle than the Wolf's in the previous tale, and the opposed animals are much more evenly matched. Where the life of the poor man is considered in terms of patient suffering in the Wolf and Lamb, in the Paddock and Mouse it is treated under the aspect of active struggling. The Mouse acts out of that fear of death which is the beginning of wisdom; she is not perfected in wisdom as the Lamb is.

This prudent fear was also the counterweight to her greed in an earlier mouse fable, the Two Mice, and Roerecke cites as evidence that Henryson wanted us to perceive similarities between these the fact that only

"in the moralitates to these two fables--and nowhere else in the poem--Henryson deviates from rhyme royal to write eight-line ballade stanzas."¹

Roerecke and Jamieson also notice the explicit use of the Wheel of Fortune motif in both,² and Roerecke points out as an appropriate progressive contrast between the first and the last fables of the collection the fact that the Cock keeps his eyes fixed firmly on the ground whereas the Mouse does strive upward.³ Indeed, Henryson's allegorization of the struggle between the Body and the Soul in terms of the battle between the Frog and the Mouse nicely
boils down to the quintessential all the themes of the Morall Fabillis: Man's life on Earth is a constant and necessarily testing struggle. As Jenkins has said, Henryson's dramatic style evolves from a very strong sense of moral concern, and in this respect it is fitting that his final statement should be his most ambitious allegorical exercise.

His narrative follows Gualterus in outline and in some detail, especially in the latter half, but ignores his moral entirely. Here is Gualterus' version:

Muris iter rumpente lacu, venit obvia Muri
Rana loquax, et opem pacta nocere cupit.
Omne genus pestis superat mens dissona verbis
Cum sentes animi florida lingua polit.
Rana sibi filo Murem confederat, audet
Nectere fune pedem, rumpere fraude fidem.
Pes coit ergo pedi; sed mens a mente recedit.
Ecce natant; trahitur ille, sed illa trahit.
Mergitur, ut secum Murem demergat; amico
Naufragium faciens, naufragat ipsa fides.
Rana studet mergi; sed Mus emergit, et obstat
Naufragio: vires suggerit ipse timor.
Milvus adest, miserumque truci rapit ungue duellum:
Hic iacet, ambo iacent, viscera rupta fluunt.
Sic pereant, qui se prodesse fatentur, et obsunt.
Discat in auctorem pena redire suum. 5

Henryson's last five stanzas (411-15) closely follows Gualterus' last eight lines. His

"Then fute for fute thay lap baith in the brym;
Bot in thair myndis thay wer rycht different;" (2875-76),

almost directly translates "Pes coit ergo pedi; sed mens a mente recedit" (7), and his "The dreid of deith hir strenthis gart Incres" (2889) is a reminiscence of "vires suggerit ipse timor" (12), as Gregory Smith has pointed out. 6 We might also notice how
"Syne bowellit thame, that Boucheour with his bill,
And belliflaucht full fettillie thame flaid;" (2903-04)
captures, in expanded form, "viscera rupta fluunt" (14); how
"this wretchit battell" (2897) is reminiscent of "miserum . . .
duellum" (13); and how lines 2880-92, which depict the struggle in
the water, amplify "Rana studet mergi; sed Mus emergit, et obstat/
Naufragio" (11-12).

However, many of these nicely balanced antithetical state­
ments of Gualterus' must have been universally admired, for we
find other vernacular fabulists imitating their epigrammatic
qualities and amplifying them in the same way. The Ysopet de Lyon,
for instance, has

"Pié a pié se sunt ajostees
Mais desjointes sont les pansees."7

which translates the "Pes coit" passage almost directly, and also
emphasizes the savagery of the Kite in disembowelling the Frog.
It is not in this direction that Henryson has been most original.

Jamieson has shown him assiduously to avoid traditional
exposition in developing his tropological and allegorical readings.
The standard allegorization of the exemplum tradition, followed by
Bromyard, De Vitry and others, saw the Frog as lax prelates and
the Mouse as their spiritual charges; and sometimes the Frog was
likened to the World: "Mundus simillis est Rana, que blandiendo
Muri promisit."8 The standard tropological interpretation was
that of the Vulgate Romulus (which Gualterus and Lydgate follow):
"He who plans misfortune for another's well-being will not escape
punishment."9 Henryson, however, prefers to pull out for tropol-
ogical exposition an idea embedded in Gualterus' narrative:

Omne genus pestis superat mens dissona verbis
Cum sentes animi florida lingua polit. 10

(A discordant mind prevails over the whole race with
words of ruin; A flowery tongue embellishes the
prickles of the mind.) 11

And for his allegorical exposition he develops a theme hinted at
in the Berne Romulus:

Sic maiores et minores inter se disceptantes. Sic
etiam diabolus animam et corpus dissipat. 12

(Thus the greater and lesser debating among themselves.
Thus too the Devil destroys the soul and body.) 13

But this still leaves virtually the whole first half of
Henryson's fable unparalleled in other versions. A full fourteen
stanzas. (We may discount the first two stanzas as similar to
other versions in outline, but this still leaves the twelve-stanza
debate between the two animals.) Presumably Henryson took a hint
from Gualterus' talkative Frog and set out to "portray the 'Rana
loquax' in action" 14 as an amplification exercise and a justifi-
cation of his new tropological moral. But it is not so simple as
that. He also realized, possibly from some such source as the
Berne Romulus' reference to "disceptantes", how the debate could
be managed as a Debate between the Body and the Soul--and thus
made consistent with his allegorical moralization as well. This
was his stroke of genius.

All four major motifs of the debate are new to the fable and
satisfy both the demands of tropological and allegorical interper-
tation, as I shall show. Most versions give no reason for the
Mouse's wanting to cross the pool or stream (it is a pool in Gualterus), and those that do supply one of two reasons: The LBG Romulus, Marie de France, Berechiah ha-Nakdan, and Lydgate have the Mouse invited to the Frog's home for a meal, and the Ysopet de Lyon has the Mouse find her way home blocked by water. Given Henryson's allegorical interpretation of the animals, neither of these would satisfy his standards of dual consistency. The first could only be interpreted tropologically, and the latter has no value tropologically.

The reason Henryson invents is beautifully ambiguous. His "Jolie flat...off corne" (2791), for which the Mouse would forsake her "hard Nuttis" (2796), may either represent "hevinnis blis" (2961), as his allegorical exposition makes clear; or, tropologically, it may suggest the riches of the world, for which the greedy strive in scorn of the sufficiency of "wydderit peis and nuttis" (TM 222) with which the Country Mouse is content. The other three motifs which I shall take up in discussion are 2) the question of how the Paddock swims, 3) the question of the Paddock's physiognomy, and 4) whether or not the Mouse should be bound.

Before proceeding, I think it would be instructive to review criticism of the fable to date and isolate areas of disagreement. No-one has doubted that, as Jenkins says,

Literally the animals are animals, tropologically they represent a poor man and his deceiver, allegorically the soul in conflict with the body, while the poem ends anagogically with the prayer for freedom from terrestrial death.
Much ink, however, has been spilt on the question of how far the second and third levels can be consistently applied to the Tale. Jamieson is convinced that "the first part of the Paddock is not relevant to allegorization" and believes that an extended reading of every event in the tale in the manner suggested by the moralitas for one event would have us think he believed in the pre-existence of the soul, and total annihilation after death, both very unlikely positions.

However, he does not seem to have considered the possibility that Death's 'killing' of the Soul can stand metaphorically for the Soul's damnation (or relegation to purgatory) on separation from the Body. His first point seems unfair, since even St. Augustine could not make up his mind about the state of the soul before its union with the Body, as we shall see.

Others too have baulked at wholesale allegorization, but against them I have a temporary ally. In refuting those who argue that "the body and soul do not exist separately; therefore it is illogical to have independent characters represent these entities," Shallers has answered that "the two logically exist in different realms: the one, immaterial and spiritual, the other, material and physical." In reply to those who would think "the soul cannot progress through the world without the body (the mouse cannot cross the stream without the frog) and that, consequently, the fable ... implies a nihilistic argument against the possibility of salvation," he has pointed out that "the soul can enter the world without accepting it as his natural environment"—and, we might add, without being dominated by its partner the Body!
Godshalk has expressed the same assumption in slightly different terms:

"the bound mouse also represents the subjection of the soul to the body." \(^{21}\)

This seems odd to me. If the soul's necessary union with the body in this world always implied subjection, all mankind would have been damned since the beginning of the world, regardless of individual virtue! Shallers' own interpretation, though more carefully phrased than Godshalk's, seems no less inaccurate. He thinks

it is natural that the soul which allows itself to be dominated by the body should die (the literal mouse dies when it fails to reach the other shore; the figurative soul, as it fails to attain heaven). \(^{22}\)

I assume his passive verb "dominated" describes the binding rather than the struggle in the water, since in the latter case the Mouse's determination and intention cannot possibly be mistaken: she "Can fecht als lang als breith wes in hir breist" (2894). To suggest that binding per se suggests domination lands him in self-contradiction: "The soul can enter the world without accepting it ...." \(^{23}\) Even MacQueen sees "The central theme of the poem" as

"the hopeless attempt of the individual soul to reach salvation without the assistance of Christ, Church, or conversion", \(^{24}\)

which would make of Henryson's poem either a semi-tautological piece of Papist propaganda, or a tract addressed to heretics of Pelagian and Lollard stripe! Certainly such a reading does not
address itself to the vital problems of very many medieval Christians.

The root of the problem seems to be, on the one hand, the strong magnetic pull towards tropological interpretation that Henryson's vivid characterization exerts in the Debate section; and, on the other hand, the equally strong attraction towards allegorical interpretation that his concentration on action exerts in the Struggle scene. Since Henryson's tropological moralization refers explicitly (though not exclusively) to the first section, and his allegorical one explicitly to the second, critics have tended to mix their metaphors at the point of assumed "crossover"--the Binding. Tropologically, the story is as good as over when the Mouse-as-poor-man puts herself irrevocably in her false companion's power by agreeing to be bound. Allegorically, however, the Soul must of necessity be "bound" to the Body before it can enter the stream of Earthly Life, and this is not what is significant here. Whether she "preissit upon the Taiddis bak to clym" (2888), or whether she is "plungit in to grit pane" (2893) is what decides the fate of the Soul.

Failure to observe this distinction (cf. Shallers' reference to only the literal and "figurative" meaning in his previously quoted opinion) is also part of the reason why critics have assumed the Soul "dies" or is damned, and à propos of this we should notice something that Jamieson has failed to consider in his treatment of sources and analogues: this fable has two variant endings. Either the Kite can devour both Mouse and Frog, or it can devour
the juicier morsel (severing the thread in doing so) as the hunger-wasted little Mouse effects a providential escape. Both Marie, Lydgate and Berechiah follow this second version (which probably suggested his comparisons with the Two Mice to Henryson), so we may assume it was widely known. The existence of this version in itself decides nothing either way. But it does suggest that we come to the Struggle scene with more open minds. Readers who have encountered Toppok should be as well aware as the poet who created that clucking hen of the danger in jumping to uncharitable conclusions!

Of all the critics who have criticized this fable, only MacQueen has, one, attempted to treat the fable seriously as an extended allegory and, two, laid down satisfactory procedural guidelines for allegorical reading that pays adequate attention to the differing characteristics of Debate and Struggle sections. I quote at length:

Two points remain. Before death, soul and body have no separate temporal existence. It follows that the earthly life of man is symbolized only by the attempt to cross the stream—in other words by the four stanzas which begin

'Than fute for fute thy lap baith in the brime.' (99)

Nothing else is to be interpreted in temporal terms. This is the distortion of time so characteristic of allegory. One might compare the Romance of the Rose, where the slow progress of a courtly love affair from first meeting to the eventual recognition by the lady of the lover as worthy of some favour, is symbolized by the shooting of five arrows in quick succession. That the attempted crossing must be interpreted as man’s life is shown by the Moralitas, where the ups and downs of the progress are interpreted in terms which postulate the passage of a considerable length of time:

'Now he, now law, quhyle plungit up and doun,
Ay in to perrell and redy for to drown' (163-4),
in fact from birth or conception ('Tuk threid and band her leg, as scho hir bad', 98) to death.

In the second place, the discussion on the bank is outside time, and should not thus be regarded as occupying time. It is the instantaneous opposition of soul to body at their joint conception.27

A similar discussion which takes place outside of time, and which I personally believe Henryson utilizes, is the Debate Between the Body and the Soul.

In the light of the foregoing, I shall attempt to show that Henryson's fable does make near-perfect allegorical sense throughout. In doing so I am naturally cognizant of the fact that this involves going beyond Henryson's explicit statements and assuming the duties of the friars to whom he refers in his last stanza. But then, here if anywhere, this seems to be what Henryson wants us to do. Given the pitfalls pointed out, I shall keep my tropological and allegorical criticisms discrete, and begin with the literal and tropological.

Henryson rivals Gualterus' epigrammatic concentration in his opening *ecphrasis* of the Mouse:

Upon ane tyme (as Esope culd Report)
Ane lytill Mous come till ane Rever syde;
Scho micht not waid, hir schankis were sa schort,
Scho culd not swym, scho had na hors to ryde:
Of verray force behovit hir to byde,
And to and ffra besyde that Revir deip
Scho ran, cryand with mony pietuous peip. (2777-83)

The balanced phrasing in the third and fourth lines is obvious. Not so obvious, but no less effective, is the alliterative patterning, and the substantial repetition of sound segments ("Report...Rever; lytill...till; hors...force; behovit...byde...besyde;..."
ran, cryand")--all of which lead up to and reinforce the repetitious urgency of the cry of this "silie" Mouse in the next stanza: "Help over, help over,". The Mouse is a "destitute and sorrowful figure" as Jenkins calls her,\(^{28}\) and draws our sympathy as a "victim of circumstance".\(^{29}\) It is a poor man indeed who doesn't have a horse (A poor mouse too! The image of a rodent riding a horse is not so absurd if we consider that one way plague was carried from city to city in the Middle Ages was by infected rats riding under the raised bridges of horsemen's saddles!\(^{30}\)).

Our concern is increased in the next stanza by the appearance of the Paddock "With voce full rauk" (2789). This is a detail characteristic of the frog, which, according to Bartholomaeus,

> "hatte that name of noyse and cryying of his voice for he cryeth grediliche and maketh moche noyse in marreys there he is ybredde."\(^{31}\)

And it is a detail not without moral significance:

> "gret voyce and wel y-harde, like a trompe tokeneth an hardy man and bolde"\(^{32}\)

we learn from the *Secreta Secretorum*. The Frog is intimidating either way. (Perhaps, too, the Tale contains a grain of incidental satire of local people. A Mastir Johne Forog is known to have been a Dunfermline contemporary of Henryson's from his frequent litigations in the Burgh Court in 1489, the Abbey itself was in possession of the proceeds of the Firth of Forth ferry,\(^{33}\) and the Conventual Franciscans milked travellers on the Inverkeithing side.\(^{34}\)
In reply to the Paddock's seemingly courteous question "Gude morne (schir Mous), quhat is your erand heir?" (2790), the Mouse answers:

'Seis thow,' quod scho, 'off corne yone Jolie flat, Off ryip Aitis, off Barlie, Peis, and Quheit? I am hungrie, and fane wald be thair at, Bot I am stoppit be this watter greit; And on this syde I get na thing till eit Bot hard Nuttis, quhilkis with my teith I bore. Wer I beyond, my feist wer fer the more. (2791-97)

As an animal her desires are natural enough. "Aristotle saith that the mous...is a glotonous beste and is therefore biguyled with a litel mete."35 Tropologically, however, the poor man is very much in the position of the Country Mouse who forsakes her penurious security for a dangerous life of luxury in the Cat's mansion. She wants "fer the more", forgetting that "quha hes aneuch, of na mair hes he neid" (Two Mice, 1. 375). She is unwilling "to work to open the 'hard nuttis' she finds on her side of the river",36 and is not content "To...beir the stane barrow" (2915) like the "pure pepill" of the Wolf and Lamb who endure a life that is "half ane Purgatorie" in hope of future bliss (Wolf and Lamb, 2707, 2709). From the point at which we recognize her greediness, our emotions are, as Jenkins says,

"in a continual state of tension, torn between sympathy for the mouse's situation and condemnation of her heedlessness."37

The Paddock, who is naturally a good swimmer, responds to the Mouse's plaint,

"'I have no Boit; heir is no Maryner; And thocht thair war, I have no fraucht to pay.'" (2798-99),
with feigned joviality, even risking a tweak at his sister's moustache:

Quod scho, 'sister, lat be thy heavie cheir;
Do my counsall, and I sall find the way
Without Hors, Brig, Boit, or yit Galay,
To bring the over saiflie,—be not afeird!—
And not wetand the campis off thy beird.'  (2800-04)

His remark about bringing the Mouse over without any of the usual means of transport is well designed to enthrall the Mandevilleian imagination and stimulate the idle curiosity:

'I haif grit wounder,' quod the lytill Mous,
'How can thow fleit without fedder or fyn,
This Rever is sa deip and dangerous,
Me think that thow suld drounit be thairin.
Tell me, thairfoir, quhat facultie or gin
Thow hes to bring the over this watter wan?
That to declair the Paddok thus began.  (2805-99)

The Mouse, though curious, is fairly sceptical of the Frog's ability to do what he claims (not having much experience of the wonders of nature or Aristotle) and prudently asks for an explanation. She cannot make up her mind whether such a claim is due to her companion's "facultie or gin". The Paddock's reply is a proud parade of scientific information calculated to impress and confuse the "silie" Mouse with its technicality. Like the frog of the Ysopet de Lyon who professes to be "very learned in swimming" (13)

40 he delivers a dissertation that smacks of classroom pedagogy. Schrader suggests that "perhaps [we are] being taught something of aquatic life" and indeed the Paddock does remind us somewhat of William of Wheteley, whose schoolroom hobbyhorses were the place of man in the order of creation and the interdependent nature of the body and soul. 41 Henryson may well be taking
the opportunity to exercise as he entertains.

The Frog's description of his respiratory system, "my oppin Gill/Devoidis ay the watter I resaiff" (2816-17), is an accurate condensation of observations by the Philosopher in De Respiratione and the Historia Animalium:

Some aquatic animals take in water and discharge it again for the same reason that leads air-breathing animals to inhale air: in other words, with the object of cooling the blood...all [creatures] with gills produce refrigeration by taking in water.... But of those with feet, one only, so far as observed, has gills. It is called the tadpole.

Henryson too observes the uniqueness of the aquatic Paddock's having "twa feit", and invents a pretty image of him as a boatman (2812-15).

Looking at this puffed up Frog holding forth, the Mouse has misgivings. The stanza is a marvellous little ecphrasis of description:

The Mous beheld unto hir fronsit face,
Hir runkillit cheikis, and hir lippis syde,
Hir hingand browis, and hir voce sa hace,
Hir loggerand leggis, and hir harsky hyde.
Scho ran abak, and on the Paddok cryde:
'Giff I can ony skill of Phisnomy,
Thow hes sumpart off falset and Invy.' (2819-25)

We have a perfect picture of a Frog, traditionally "slymy, with a gret wombe...venemous...and most yhated". From it the Mouse herself draws tropological significance, even as she recoils in horror:

'For Clerkis sayis, the Inclinationoun
Of mannis thocht proceidis commounly
Efter the Corporall complexioun
To gude or evill, as Nature will apply:
Ane thrawart will, ane thrawin Phisnomy.
The auld Proverb is witnes off this LORUM--
Distortum vultum sequitur distortio morum.' (2826-32)
The particular "clerk" she quotes is probably, as Schrader believes, pseudo-Aristotle, who states in his *Physiognomica* that an ill-proportioned body indicates a rogue.... But, if bad proportions mean villainy, a well-proportioned frame must be characteristic of upright men and brave.45

It appears that the Mouse has spent some time scratching around not only in the Dunfermline Abbey Spence but in the Library, which is known to have possessed at least a 1532 edition of Physiognomy and Chiromancy compiled by "one-eyed Bartholomew of Bologna, Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine."46 It probably also possessed copies of the *Secreta Secretorum*. "Kepe the welle...from alle tho that are of yville forme and shappe" one version of this text advises;47 and in Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philosoffres* the Mouse would have found these telltale signs: "Browys large to templys ech streckchyng signe of hym that falseness wyl mayntayne" and "who hath greet feet untrewthe wyl mayntayne";48 and, in the *Governaunce of Prynces*, this: "Ho that hath a grete voice and orible and not ful hey, doen gladly wronges."49 As for her assessment of the Paddock's "fronsit face" and "runkillit cheikis", she would only have had to sit-in on schoolroom exposition of Avianus' fable "The Frog and the Fox" to learn about tadpole trickery and how to expose it. "Is physic...going to be prescribed...by this frog, whose pale face is sicklied o'er with a pale hue?" asks the vixen rhetorically.50 The fable may well have been one of the hooks that caught the eye of Henryson's imagination when he was amplifying his debate.
In any case, the Mouse's scepticism has a double function. It suggests, on the one hand, that the Mouse, like the Wolf of the Fox, Wolf and Cadger, is fully aware of the possibility of treachery and is thus fully responsible for her subsequent capitulation to her own greed; on the other, it helps Henryson to illuminate the truly insidious character of this "wickit marrow" (2917)\(^1\) by calling forth a convincing reply:

'Na' (quod the Taid), 'that Proverb is not trew;
For fair thingis oftymis ar fundin faikin.
The Blaberyis, thocht thay be sad off hew,
Ar gadderit up quhen Primeros is forsakin.
The face may faill to be the hartis takin.
Thairfoir I find this Scripture in all place:
Thow suld not Juge ane man efter his face. (2833-39)

For the Mouse's one, the "Taid", as the Paddock is now called, can cite three proverbs to the opposite effect. The first is commonplace; we also find it in Fergusson as "There is many fair thing full false."\(^2\) The second seems to be Henryson's own invention from natural observation (Brerehill is a location mentioned in Dunfermline records)\(^3\) and from the Frog's need to capture the Mouse's gastronomic imagination. "It is this hunger," as Jenkins points out, "that eventually causes the Mouse to interrupt the maxims."\(^4\)

The Paddock's third and most authoritative proverb is Scriptural, and seems, Jamieson has suggested, to be from John (7:24): "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgement." However, from the way Henryson develops this argument naturally in the next stanza, I think we can assume that John merged with Aristotle in his creative imagination. Let us
look at the next stanza:

'Thocht I unhailsum be to luke upon,
I have na cause quhy I suld lakkit be;
Wer I als fair as Jolie Absolon,
I am no causer off that grit beutie.
This difference in forme and qualitie
Almychtie God hes causit dame Nature
To prent and set in everilk creature.  (2840-46)

His appeal to "Dame Nature" seems to echo Ethics 1114a, 20-25:
"No one censures those who are ugly because of their nature".55

And the reference to Absalom nimbly expands Aristotle's point in terms of the Philosopher's own "language rigorous" (WL 1.2655), managing at the same time to strike fire from attendant associations: Absalom, who was as proud of his "beautie" as the Paddock is of his "silkin toung" (1.2848), came to a sticky end.

But this is not the end of the Frog's verbal virtuosity. His speech comes to a climax in a deliciously audacious and arrogantly self-confident warning against deceivers such as himself:

'Off sum the face may be full flurischand,
Off silkin toung and cheir rycht amorous,
With mynd Inconstant, fals, and wariand,
Full off desait and menis Cautelous.'  (2847-50)

His heavily "f" alliterated lines scream "fraud", but even his significant shift from "face" to "cheir" goes unnoticed by the Mouse, whose hunger is driving her to distraction:

"'Let be thy preiching' (quod the hungrie Mous),
'And be quhat craft thow gar me understand
That thow wald gyde me to yone yonder land?"  (2851-53)

As Juan Ruiz remarks with a twinkle in describing how a beautiful young nun bows to concupiscence:

"Fish and frogs all wish to swim and the hungry man is not choosy about his bread." 56
But, though the Mouse does have more excuse than, say, the Larks of the *Preaching*, she has been warned of deception from the very mouth of her "deceiver" and is thus fully responsible, tropologically speaking.

Again the Paddock warns her in the very act of deception:

'Thow wait' (quod scho), 'ane bodie that hes neid
To help thame self suld mony wayis cast;
Thairfoir ga tak ane doubill twynit threid,
And bind thy leg to myne with knottis fast.
I sall the leir to swym--be not agast!--
Als weill as I.' 'As thow?' (than quod the Mous),
'To preif that play it war richt perrillous. (2854-60)

The first two lines recall the need to deliberate seriously before acting. In Aristotle's words

The object of deliberation is the same as that of intention, but the object of intention is distinguished from the other objects of deliberation by being judged, after deliberation, to be the one to act on. 57

This time the Mouse does not miss the non sequitur in her companion's jump from deliberation to intention: "mony....Thairfoir... ane....". She is prudently aghast at the proposal, as her following speech indicates. Unfortunately it is only temporary; she herself smooths the way to her own deception:

'Suld I be bund and fast quhar I am fre,
In hoip off help, na than I schrew us baith,
For I mycht loos baith lyfe and libertie.
Gif it wer swa, quha suld amend the skaith?
Bot gif thow sweir to me the murthour aith,
But fraud, or gyle, to bring me over this flude,
But hurt or harme.' 'In faith' (quod scho), 'I dude.'
(2861-67)

Her "over sone credence" (1.2920) evinces "grit nekligence" as the *Moralitas* points out (1.2926).
The Paddock is ready to take oath, but, like the Tod in the Fox, Wolf and Cadger, swears by a casuistical formula:

Scho goikit up, and to the hevin can cry:
'O Juppiter, off Nature God and King,
I mak ane aith trewlie to the, that I
This lytill Mous sall over this watter bring.'
This aith wes maid. The Mous, but persaving
The fals Ingyme of this foull carpard Pad,
Tuke threid and band hir leg, as scho hir bad. (2868-74)

Much has been made of the fact that the Frog swears by Jupiter, a pagan God. But this kind of evidence is—deliberately perhaps—ambiguous. In the twelfth century, Bernard of Chartres, a commentator on the Ecloga Theoduli can state that Saturn represents the time of Law and Jupiter of Grace, adding "Mistice we can understand...Jupiter [as] Christ"; similarly, in the fourteenth century "Roman des fables d' Ovid le Grand", Jupiter's transformation into a bull and rape of Europa is seen as a type of Christ, the sacrificial ox, bearing the burden of the sins of the world; and in 1533 Heywood's Play of the Wether also makes Jupiter a surrogate for God. As Dom Leclercq has said, the men of the Middle Ages "did not scruple to use pagan works of art in the service of Christianity." But how they used them is not always predictable. Rosamund Tuve has pointed out that in the Roman de la Rose Moralisée Jupiter is benign on one page and malevolent on another, and for the saint, the thought of Jupiter was likely to evoke nightmare: St. Martin, for instance, was much tormented by the devil, who appeared now as Mercury, now as Jupiter. So much for easy solutions. The evocation of Jupiter could mean different things to different people.
Probably this is the dramatic point. Recall that the Tod also swore casuistically by Jupiter in the *Fox, Wolf, and Cadger* (2026). Notice that the Mouse's cry is "Tratour to God" (2883), and that the full formula of the Paddock's oath is "O Juppiter, off Nature God and King, /I mak ane aith trewlie to the" (2869-70). Remember also the argument the slippery Frog had used earlier to excuse his physiognomical "wickedness":

I am no causer....
This difference in forme and qualitie
Almychtie God hes causit dame Nature
To prent and set in everilk creature. (2843-46)

Obviously the Paddock's understanding of his oath differs from the Mouse's: the fatalist swears by his animal nature—which follows its own laws. To cap it all, the oath contains a dramatically ironic allusion that readers of fables would not be likely to miss: reference to Jupiter recalls the fable of "The Frogs who asked Jupiter for a King". Unsatisfied with a Log which did nothing, they were finally granted a Stork who gobbled them all up.

The ambiguity of the oath is made clear in the narrator's commentary upon the ensuing action:

Then fute for fute thay lap baith in the brym;
Bot in thair myndis thay wer rycht different:
The Mous thocht off na thing bot ffor to swym,
The Paddok ffor to droun set hir Intent.
Quhen thay in midwart off the streme wer went,
With all hir force the Paddok preissit doun,
And thocht the Mous without mercie to droun. (2875-81)

Their intentions—which finally reveal good or bad character, as Aristotle says—are "rycht different". The passage perfectly
illustrates the proverb "A mirk mirrour is ane other manis mynd". 67

Whether or not the Paddock is a "Tratour to God" in the next stanza and the extent of the Mouse's culpability are matters for minds more subtle and better trained than mine—perhaps Henryson's friars. "Holcot upon Sapience" tells us, on the one hand, that "Whan a fals iurror/Forswerith hym-self, he is to God a tratour". 68 On the other, God is not explicitly mentioned in the original oath. But the Mouse's greed is clear, whether she arrives safely on the other side or not. The intention is all. 69

For this reason she must try to live to confess another day. Tropologically speaking, death in her unconfessed state would be disastrous:

And quhen scho saw thair wes bot do or de,
With all hir mycht scho forsit hir to swym,
And preissit upon the Taiddis bak to clym.

The dред of deith hir strenthis gart Incres,
And forcit hir defend with mycht and mane.
The Mous upwart, the Paddok doun can pres;
Qhyle to, quhyle ffra, quhyle doukit up agane.
The selie Mous, plunget in to grit pane,
Gan fecht als lang als breith wes in hir breist,
Till at the last scho cryit ffor ane Preist. (2886-95)

The reference to climbing on the Frog's back is an ominous image in the context of earlier remarks about horses. It suggests the iconography of the sinner as a horseman galloping to hell from stage to stage of the journey of life on the steeds of the Vices. (The image occurs not only in Bromyard's Summa Praedicantium? but in the Debate Between the Body and Soul, in which the Soul, in its hellward race, is "cast doun as a tode" and attacked by hell hounds "As he to heliward was fret".) 71 The Mouse's bondage
to her greed places her at the mercy of Fortune: "Quhyle to, quhyle fhra, quhyle doukit up agane".

Realizing, as she grapples with her wicked companion, that she is about to die and is in a state of unconfessed sin, the Mouse cries for a priest. Too late, "al to late, wanne the bere is ate gate"\(^2\):

\begin{quote}
Fechtand thusgait, the Gled sat on ane twist,
And to this wretchit battell tuke gude heid;
And with ane wisk, or ony off thame wist,
He claucht his cluke betuix thame in the threid;
Syne to the land he flew with thame gude speid,
Fane off that fang, pyipand with mony pew;
Syne lowsit thame, and baith but pietie slew.

Syne bowellit thame, that Boucheour with his bill,
And belliflaucht full fettillie thame flaid;
Bot all thair flesche wald scant be half ane fill,
And guttis als, unto that gredie gled.
Off thair debait, thus quhen I hard outred,
He tuke his flicht, and over the feildis flaw:
Giff this be trew, speir ye at thame that saw.
\end{quote}

The passage is a brilliant dramatization of a moral point that Henryson has made many times before in his Moralitates (cf. FC 789-92, PFB 1125-31, PS 1939-43, FWC 2219-23) and which I shall illustrate from the Fox, Wolf and Cadger:

\begin{quote}
Richt swa this warld with vane glore' for ane quhyle
Flatteris with folk, as thay suld failye never,
Yit suddandlie men seis it oft dissever;
With thame that trowis oft to fill the sek,
Deith cummis behind and nippis thame be the nek.
\end{quote}

The "wretchit battell" for Fortune's riches is terminated with terrible swiftness ("Syne to the land...Syne lowsit thame...Syne bowellit thame...[than] tuke his flicht"), fierce alliterative energy and impersonal, professional detachment ("bowellit thame,
that Boucheour with his bill:/And belliabellauch full falling thame flaid

We may recall the professional pride in flaying shown in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and, in the light of the Thrie Priests of Peblis' commentary on wicked men, "Thus thay all the puirmen bellyflaucht", of the fact that Death strips Man of all his worldly possessions. Other associations coalesce, of Atropos cutting the thread of life (presented as a thief cutting a purse in the Moralitas, 2963), and of big fish eating little fish (the greedy Kite eating the greedy Frog eating the greedy Mouse).

Since, at the tropological level, Henryson's emphasis has been on the greed and "grit folie" (2920) of the Mouse rather than on her ill-rewarded hospitality, as in Lydgate, it is less unjust that his Mouse be slain where Lydgate's is saved. The horrifying thought of death in unconfessed sin will be the stick he wields in the first half of the Moralitas. As for the poet's conclusion, I hesitate at Jenkins' interpretation: "the poet includes himself as witness to the battle". Whether "outrèd" means "brought to an end" or "read out", "hard" does mean "heard" and not "saw", and, besides, it would be inconsistent for the narrator to pretend to witness what he has announced as a Tale that "Esope culd Report" (2777). "Hard" is consciously juxtaposed with "saw" in the last line, and it is this that provides the bridge to moral interpretation: the immediate relevance of what has been depicted will be clear to "thame that saw" the tropological and allegorical "trewth" of these events and that can apply
it to their own lives.

More critical ink has been spilt on the question of why Henryson switches to the ballade form in the first three stanzas of his *Moralitas*. Primarily he seems to use it to recall the *Two Mice* to our attention, as Roerecke suggests, and of course it also "rubricates" the change from tropological to allegorical levels of interpretation, as MacQueen observes. Jamieson also claims that this "Monk's Tale stanza form is used ... in many of the overtly didactic poems of the fifteenth century." Roerecke has countered this in pointing out that by the fifteenth century "the ballade was used to express a variety of sentiments". He refers to Chaucer as one who runs the gamut of love, appeal for money, and philosophical discourse, as well as moral exhortation, in his ballades "To Rosemund", "Complaint to his Purse", "Balades de Visage sans Peinture", and "Balade de Bon Conseyl". But Jamieson is more likely to be right quite simply because Henryson himself used the ballade form elsewhere only in his short didactic poems. All the same, we do wonder why he didn't use ballade for his other intimate addresses.

In any case Henryson's three stanzas are a powerful summing-up of the tropological significance of the Tale. His style is not accusatory, nor does he explicitly condemn greed, though the bondage metaphor he uses may suggest it in lines 2926-29. In the *Moralitas* of the previous fable, the *Wolf and Lamb*, we may remember he began with censure and ended with exhortation. Here his censure is muted and exhortation is emphasized. What he is deal-
ing with is, after all, private greed, not the public greed of "sic Wolfis".

His central theme is reached, as in the Moralitas of the Two Mice, by a series of comparatives, reinforced by a refrain. Two sets of comparisons in the first stanza

My Brother, gif thow will tak advertence
Be this Fabill, thow may persave and se,
It passis far all kynd of Pestilence,
Ane wickit mynd with wordis fair and sle.
Be war thairfore, with quhome thow fallowis thae;
To the wer better beir the stane barrow,
For all thy dayis to delf quhill thow may dre,
Than to be machit with ane wickit marrow.  

(2910-17),

lead to three in the second stanza:

Ane fals Intent under ane fair pretence
Hes causit mony Innocent for to de,
Grit folie is to gif over sone credence
To all that speikis fairlie unto the,
Ane silkin toung, ane hart of crueltie,
Smytis more sore than ony schot of arrow.
Brother, gif thow be wyse, I reid the fle,
To matche the with ane thrawart, fenyeit marrow.  

(2918-25)

The first statement of the theme in the first stanza,

"It passis far all kynd of Pestilence,
Ane wickit mynd with wordis fair and sle,"  (2912-13)

is re-introduced at the beginning of the second stanza,

"Ane fals Intent under ane fair pretence
Hes causit mony Innocent for to de,"  (2918-19)

and again at the end of the second stanza:

"Ane silkin toung, ane hart of crueltie,
Smytis more sore than ony schot of arrow."  (2922-23)

All these say essentially the same thing, the second being the most abstract but also the clearest. If we compare the first and the last we see how Henryson has gone about his variation. The
clause order is reversed, "arrow" replaces "Pestilence" as an image of pain, "hart" replaces "mynd", and "toung" replaces "wordis". Filtered through the abstract realization that such deceitful behaviour "Hes causit mony Innocent [unsuspecting] for to de", the last re-statement is most vividly concrete, personal, and emotional in its appeal.

The three comparative clauses leading into the refrains also extend our sense of the wickedness of such "ane...marrow". Better a life of drudgery bearing "the stane barrow" (2915), better instantly to "fle" (2924) from riches, better a solitary life (2932). Hard conditions; but better than false companionship and spiritual bondage. The central image, which is reached in the third stanza, is carefully prepared for in the interstices of the second stanza's comparisons.

Here exclamatory Censure is used for the first time:

"Grit folie is to gif over sone credence
To all that speikis fairlie unto the." (2920-21)

Hasty credence is, as we have seen in stanza 409, the core of the Mouse's folly; its seed, as it were. Intention precedes act, and in the Moralitas the act also is censured:

"I warne the als, it is grit nekligence
To bind the fast quhair thow wes frank and fre." (2926-27)

The consequence of the act is exactly that expressed in the Tale (2861-64) by the Mouse:

"Fra thow be bund, thow may mak na defence
To saif thy lyfe, nor yit thy libertie." (2928-29)
Acquiescence in concupiscence leads not only to physical suffering (death in the form of pestilence and the arrow), but--even worse--to loss of "libertie" (free will) and consequent spiritual "pane".

The argument rises naturally from the "simpill counsall" (2930) the preacher offers, to the "figurate" (2935) instruction of the doctors:

The Paddok, usand in the flude to duell,
Is mannis bodie, swymand air and lait
In to this warld, with cairis Implicate,
Now hie, now law, quhylis plungeit up, quhylis doun,
Ay in perrell, and reddie for to droun. (2936-40)

The following rhetorical amplification does little to explain the equation "Frog equals Man's Body" in terms of the action of the Tale; however, its heavy freight of contrasts bring to a climax the comparatives built up in the tropological section and also confirm our realization that the struggle in the water can be seen in terms of Fortune's oscillation between two extremes:

Now dolorus, now blyth as bird on breir;
Now in fredome, now wrappit in distres;
Now haiill and sound, now deid and brocht on beir;
Now pure as Job, now rowand in riches;
Now gouins gay, now brats laid in pres;
Now full as fitche, now hungrig as ane Hound;
Now on the quheill, now wrappit to the ground. (2941-47)

Stanza 421 considers the central image of binding (discussed tropologically in stanza 418) in terms of the Soul. Significantly, it calls attention to a fact most critics have failed to notice, that bondage on the allegorical level has an ontological rather than a moral connotation:
This lytill Mous, heir knit thus be the schyn,
The Saull of man betakin may in deid;
Bundin, and fra the bodie may not wyn,
Quhill cruell deith cum brek of lyfe the threid;
The quhilk to droun suld ever stand in dreid,
Of carnall lust be the Suggestioun
Quhilk drawis ay the Saull, and druggis doun. (2948-54)

We must recognize such distinctiones. Another important fact too-
often overlooked is made explicit in the next stanza:

The watter is the warld, ay welterand,
With mony wall of tribulatioun:
In quhilk the saull and body wer steirrand,
Standand rycht different in thair opinioun:
The Saull upwart, the body precis doun:
The Saull rycht fanewald be brocht over I wis,
Out of this warld, into the hevinnis blis. (2955-61)

The "Jolie flat...off corne" (2791) to which the Mouse (Soul)
wishes to be helped over is the bliss of heaven. Thus the Mouse's
hunger at the allegorical level is quite as commendable as it is
reprehensible at the tropological level!

And the allegorization of the Gled, which is perfectly appro­
priate to its behaviour in the Tale, allows Henryson to close
with one of his most constant themes, the need for vigilance:

The Gled is Deith, that cummis suddandlie,
As dois ane theif, and cuttis sone the battall.
Be vigilant, thairfoir, and ay reddie,
For mannis lyfe is brukill, and ay mortall:
My freind, thairfoir, mak the ane strang Castell
Of Faith in Christ; for deith will the assay,
Thow wait not quhen--evin, morrow or midday. (2962-68)

All that is left is for Henryson to take his leave, and this he
does in a stanza that has a local as well as a general referent:

Adew, my freind; and gif that ony speiris
Of this Fabill, sa schortlie I conclude,
Say thow, I left the laif unto the Freiris,
To mak exempill and ane similitude.
Now Christ for us that deit on the Rude,
Of saull and lyfe as thow art Salviour,
Grant us till pas in till ane blissit hour. (2969-75)
From the fact that this is his last fable, we might assume he refers to the conclusion of his collection and leaves any further fabling to those often accused of filling "their sermons full of fables", the friars. (Apparently the mendicants even included Reynardian material, for Jack Upland accuses Friar Daw of this in the fable of that name: "Daw, thou fablest of foxes and appliest them to a puple." But Henryson specifically excuses his short conclusion "Of this Fabill" on the ground that the rest of it is "left to the freiris".

This requires some explanation, and while I disagree with MacQueen's suggestion that only the anagogical level is understood in Henryson's term "the Laif", I think he has provided the right data upon which to base an interpretation. The tropological level, MacQueen points out in summarizing St. Bonaventure's *Reductio Artium ad Theologian*, is particularly suitable for preachers, the level of allegory proper is suitable for doctors, and the anagogical for contemplatives. Now, since

the authorization of a theological faculty in university foundations was ... comparatively rare ... and, when authorized, was usually in the care of mendicants,

we may take it that doctors—those authorized like Wolf Waitskaith to expound allegory proper—were almost synonymous with friars. (Friars are depicted in medallions expounding the meaning of the text in the *Bible Moralisée* for instance.) At least, that is how I interpret Henryson's statement. He lays the foundations for successful allegorization and then with a scholarly etcetera.
refers us to the masters of allegory for a full explanation of the allegorical level, and—perhaps—of the anagogical level too.

Since Henryson seems to be claiming that his fable is capable of sustaining full allegorization, we should test its capability. Like Schrader, I do not see that his reference "reflects a preacher's distrust of such 'wandering stars'" as MacQueen thinks. Schoolmasters were not authorized to expound allegory proper in their classrooms lest they lead their students into the way of religious error. I assume it is Henryson's respect for this rule that leads him to follow the letter of the Law even while he structures his Tale so that it can be interpreted in an orthodox way. Fable, which is resorted to by the Philosopher only in speaking of the Soul,

"both preserves the secret meaning intact and leaves it inaccessible to those intellectually ill-equipped to comprehend."

Bearing in mind, then, that this fable's dramatic debate is imagined to take place outside of time and before the juncture of Body and Soul (rather than after disjunction, as in the Debate Between the Body and the Soul), let us re-consider the Mouse at the river sub specie allegoriae. St. Augustine will provide us with an overview:

Suppose, then, that we were strangers in a foreign land and could not live happily away from our homeland. Because we were miserable in our exile and wished to put an end to our wretchedness, we would want to return home, but we would find that we had to use some means of transportation to carry us over land and water to our native country, which is the proper object of our enjoyment. But all the attractions of the journey and the very movement of the conveyances give us such delight that we convert the things which ought merely to
be used as a means to some other end into objects of enjoyment.... So in this mortal life we wander far from God. 92

The main point of the initial scene, in which the Mouse runs back and forth on the bank, peeping piteously for some means of transportation, is that the Soul cannot enter the World (through which it must pass in order to reach its heavenly home) without its vehicle the Body. Peeping may also denote the desire of the Soul to be joined to the Body. 93 Jamieson, as we have noticed, claims it is absurd to assume the Soul pre-exists the Body, but his objection can be met in one of two ways.

Firstly, as Gilson tells us,

Augustine has not left us a definite answer to the question [of how God creates souls]. It can be said, however, that he was always tempted to concede that in creating the first human soul, viz. that of Adam, God created in it once and for all the souls of all men to come...a traducianism of this sort makes it much easier to explain the transmission of sin from Adam to the rest of man. This is undoubtedly the reason why St. Augustine was always inclined towards this solution. Nevertheless, he did consider three other hypotheses as possible: God creates each individual's soul expressly for him; or all souls exist first in God and are then sent by Him into the bodies they are to animate; or finally, souls exist first in God and then descend voluntarily into bodies to animate them. Augustine never wished to choose between these four hypotheses. None of them is condemned by faith and none is imposed as certain by reason. 94

Secondly, we can turn to Aquinas, who tells us in his commentary on Aristotle's De Anima

"Granted that there are two principles of our being and activity, one [the form] will be prior to the other [the matter]." 95
The Soul in other words is "the primary act of a physical body capable of life" and can therefore reasonably be considered first on hierarchical as well as temporal grounds. She (the Mouse) is "silie" (2784) because the soul is simple in itself, not becoming active until brought into conjunction with the bodily senses. This explains the reference to her inability to swim.

In the words of the *Debate Between the Body and the Soul*,

"Abouten, bodi, thou me bar
Thou mostist nede, I was withoute
Hand and fote, I was wel war." 97

The Soul's (Mouse's) exclamation "For Goddis lufe" (2785) seems to suggest her noble aspirations; and, as MacQueen has noticed, her cry "Help over,...sum bodie over the brym" (2784-85) puns on body; up pops the Paddock (the Body). The Frog's answer to the call is a surprise to a simple soul expecting the more theologically conventional boat or horse. But with a little reflection we realize that its amphibious nature makes it a convenient vehicle. The Body's Sensitive Soul mediates between the Rational Soul (the Mouse) and the material World. Moreover, in terms of the Will (the "doubill twynit threid" with which the Mouse and Paddock are bound, l. 2856), the Sensitive Soul (the Body) can be controlled for good or bad. As for the address "Gude morne (schir Mous)," (2790) it may signify two things, that it is the morning of life for Body and Soul, and that the Soul is noble (the term "schir" being used for an ordained priest as well as for the gentry). The Soul's hunger, naturally, is for God.
The Body's "voce full rauk" (2789) may also suggest its corruption following the Fall. Frogs, after all, were associated in Revelation (16:13) with "unclean spirits", and Dante's reference to the fable of the Frog and the Mouse in Inferno 22 and 23 clearly starts from this association:

And as, fringing the water of a ditch,  
The frogs stand with their muzzles out,  
And all the rest of them is out of reach,  
In such wise stood the sinners all about,  
But soon as Beardabristle hastened near  
Beneath the boiling slid in panic rout.  
I saw, and my heart shakes yet with its fear,  
One linger, as twill chance that in his nook  
One frog remains while the others disappear.  
And Houndscratcher up-caught him with his hook...  
'0 Scarlet fury, see that he be rent  
And opened by thy talons' all the band  
Of those accursed cried with one assent...  
My thought, that lingered on the present fray,  
Was turned to Aesop and his fable, where  
The Frog would the inveigled Mouse betray. 101

Grim stuff. The atmosphere of Henryson's fable is similarly oppressive.

What nourishes the Soul before it enters the troubled waters of the World is indeed a hard nut to crack (cf. 2796), and even Augustine couldn't answer the question! The river, however, is undoubtedly "like that in Pearl which issues from the throne of God (Rev. 22:1)", as MacQueen has pointed out, 102 and the "jolie flat...off corne" behind it is "the vision of peace, the New Jerusalem". Henryson makes this clear in his Moralitas:

"The Saull rycht fane wald be brocht over I wis,  
Out of this warld, into the hevinnis blis." (2960-61)

As for the Soul's lack of "Boit...Maryner...Hors, Brig...  
or yit Galay" (2798, 2802), these are all--with the exception of
the bridge and the sinister slave-galley introduced by the Body—
traditional images used in the attempt to explain the Body's rel-
relationship to the Soul. Aristotle had quoted Plato as saying that
"the soul is the act of the body as a sailor of a ship", 103 Alber-
tus Magnus held the same point of view, 104 and Bartholomaeus
Anglicus passed it on to posterity. 105 (Aristotle, however, found
the comparison misleading, as did Aquinas after him, since the
sailor is not simultaneously in every part of the Ship as the Soul
informs the Body. 106) The horse and rider metaphor is discussed
by St. Augustine, among others, 107 and Will as Mariner or Steers-
man by Langland. Just as the Soul, in denying the presence of a
"Maryner" (2798), fails to recognize her own function as steers-
man, so the Body's presumptuous advice "Do my counsall" (2801)
reverses the order of nature.

"Theisz thi body bowe as bot doth in the watir,
Ay is thi soule sauf but thou thiself wilt
Folewe thi fleshis will...for thiself hast the maistrie"
108

explain Langland's friars to Will, or as Pseudo-Hermes Trismegis-
tus puts it negatively in De Castigatione Animae:

"Si equus equitem regat, necesse est ambo in perniciem
incurrant; si denique corpus animam regat, necesse
est ambo in perniciem incurrant." 109

(If the horse rules the horseman, inevitably both
rush to destruction. So with the body and soul.)

MacQueen's suggestion for the "brig" is that it would have recalled
"the work of the organized Church (pontifex, 'bridge-maker',
'priest')", 110 and in this context we might remember it is "ffor
ane Preist" (2895) the Soul cries out while struggling with the
Body.
The Soul's "grit wounder" at how the Body can "fleit without fedder or fyn" (2806) probably represents "the reaction of incorruptibility to the corruptible"; in it are mixed curiosity at a mode of operation of another order (the Soul being immaterial and eternal, the Body material and subject to time), and fear at the visible corruption of the body. (The Body's statement that he moves "at my awin will", 2815, is further proof of his "falset" for, Aquinas decides, "the sensitive soul has no per se operatioun of its own". Just as he has a "thrawin Phisnomy" he has "ane thrawart will", 2830, that is subject to external and changing objects, when not subject to the Rational Will.)

But the Soul is not correct, either, in assuming that as

... Clerkis sayis, the Inclinatioun
Of mannis thocht proceidis commonly
Efter the Corporall complexioun
To gude or evill, as Nature will apply: (2826-29).

In the Debate Between the Body and the Soul, the Soul attempts to shift responsibility onto the Body, and here too the Soul wrongly assumes that the inclination of the Will proceeds after the dictates of the physical nature, and is no more independent than appetite. Her theoretical knowledge, which is admirably suited to her rational mode of operation, has, as Aristotle shows, one defect. Without experience, it is liable to come to grief in a world of particulars:

The reason why young men become geometricians and mathematicians and wise in such, but do not seem to become prudent ... is the fact that prudence is concerned with particulars; which become familiar by experience; but a young man is not experienced, for experience requires much time. And ... the objects of mathematicians exist by abstraction, while the principles of philosophy and of physics are acquired from experience.
Against the Soul's "Clerkis" lore is balanced the Body's experience that "fair thingis oftymis ar fundin faikin" (2834), as he says in refutation of her argument.

The Body is well aware that "it is not by nature that we become good or bad". "Were it not for you," the Body says in the Debate Between the Body and the Soul,

I scholde have been dumb as a shep...
Ne wyster wat was water ne wyn,
No leyn in helle that is so depe

Zwat wist I wat was wrong or riht...
Bot that thou thottest in me sight
That al the wisdom scholdest cone? (153-59, 217-20)

Henryson's Body too points out that to blame nature is blasphemous:

"This difference in forme and qualitie
Almychtie God hes causit dame Nature
To prent and set in everilk creature." (2844-46)

However, the Soul's fear of the Body is not totally without foundation. In discussing "Whether the Will is moved by the Sensitive Appetite", Aquinas finds that

according as man is affected by a passion, something seems to him fitting which does not seem so when he is not so affected.... And in this way the sensitive appetite moves the will on the part of the object. (115)

Ultimate responsibility, nevertheless, rests with the Soul, for "a man's will is directly the cause of his sin". These arguments for and against union are a dramatic expedient--as is the discussion in the Debate Between the Body and the Soul--to make a schoolroom point: they help clarify and fix vividly in memory the relationship of Body to Soul and the hierarchy of their responsibilities.
Though she may find him repulsive, the Soul needs the Body to pass through Life and reach the Other Shore. The "hungrie" Soul (2851) realizes this and will, of necessity, accept the "doubill twynit threid" (2856) of her new composite nature.

(According to Sister Vogel, Allan of Lille was one who "represented the human soul as an independent substance associated to the body through a sort of connubium or copula maritales which was wrought by the agency of a spiritus physicus." His argument seems to derive from Aristotle, who tells us in the De Anima that "some had supposed a sort of medium connecting the two together by a sort of bond". But she will bow only under protest:

"Suld I be bund and fast quhar I am fre, In hoip off help, na than I schrew us baith, For I mycht lois baith lyfe and libertie." (2861-63)

MacQueen's allegorical transposition clarifies the issue nicely:

"Should I be infused into a body and so made subject to time, when at the moment time has no authority over me?"

The Soul's "agast" tone (2858), moreover, can be explained emotionally by St. Bernard:

"What hast thou [O Soule] to do with the fleische by the whiche thou suffres moche?"

and rationally by St. Augustine:

"When the soul accommodates itself to the body, it is reduced in its own estimation, because the body is always something less than the soul."

The conditions of existence in a Fallen World necessarily involve the Christian Soul in a purgative struggle with the corruptible body which must be kept up as long as life lasts.
Its outcome cannot be certain, and it is this the Soul laments in exclaiming "I mycht lois baith lyfe and libertie" (2863). But what is certain is that the outcome depends ultimately on the relative rectitude of the Will.\^{122} The Soul's attempt to control the Body by contract is fatuous. Her companion can only react according to his variable nature, and it is by this he swears. Her mistaken assumption is soon manifested to the Soul by the Body's plunge down towards his natural objective "of carnall lust" (\textit{Moralitas}, l. 2953). With no choice but to "do or de" (2886)—that is, assume control or suffer death and damnation—the Soul reseizes the reigns of Will and "preissit upon the Taiddis bak to clym" (2888). Her action echoes St. Basil's warning to discipline the flesh and hold it under, as a fierce animal is controlled, and to quiet, by the lash of reason, the unrest which it engenders in the soul, and not, by giving full rein to pleasure, to disregard the mind, as a charioteer is run away with by unmanageable and frenzied horses.\^{123}

and suggests she is aware that

if one quenches the light [of reason], casts out the holder of the reins [the will], and chases the helmsman away, then he must charge the tossing to oneself.\^{124}

Of course the Soul has no "dreib of deith" (2889) properly speaking, for she is immortal; but, as her cry "ffor ane Preist" (2895) indicates, she does have a prudent dread of the instantaneous judgement that comes with death. Far from indicating the hopelessness of her efforts to escape the toils of sin, the allegorical level suggests her Christian Fortitude in adversity and Good Hope. When we are told that
"The dreid of deith hir strenthis gart Incres,  
And forcit hir defend with mycht and mane." (2889-90),

we should remember Augustine's explanation of spiritual strength:

What we call 'strength' is made up of an impulse of the soul ... [and] it is the will which supplies the impulse. This impulse is sharpened under the influence of hope or courage but it is blunted by fear and much more by despair. Yet fear can cause an apparent upsurge of strength, provided there is still some hope left.

We can infer that Henryson had such an interpretation in mind from the way he later exhorts his reader to

"... mak the ane strang Castell  
Of Faith in Christ; for deith will the assay," (2966-67).

The image of death weighing the soul to test its coin refers, of course, to scholastic opinion that

just as a body is conveyed at once to its place by its heaviness or lightness, unless there is an obstacle, the soul, the bonds of the flesh being broken, by which it was detained in the state of the wayfarer, receives at once its reward or punishment, unless [through venial sin] there is an obstacle ... [in which case] the reward is delayed [until purgatorial penance is complete].

Moreover, the "grit pane" (2893) the Mouse suffers is natural to her since sensation belongs entirely to the Soul: sentire non est corporis sed animae per corpus. According to Augustine, the soul, rather than suffering anything by the action of the body, does what it wills with the body and in the body, which by divine decree is subjected to the soul.... Therefore, when the soul ... finds it difficult to make the body, which is subjected to it, persevere with the action laid down for the body by the soul, this very difficulty causes the soul to give closer attention to its function. When this difficulty does not escape the notice of the soul, it is called feeling (sentire), or more exactly 'grief' • • • •
The continual insistence upon variations of the formula "the Paddok preissit doun...the Mous...preissit up..." (2880, 2888, 2891-93) and the fact that the Soul "Gan fecht als lang als breith wes in hir breist" (2894) serve, again, but to emphasize her rectitude of will up until the very moment when Death "cuttis...the battall" (2963).

The Gled, "Fane off that fang, pyipand with mony pew" (2901) is allegorically appropriate as Death since both have reputations for gluttony. The Kite

\[
\text{hath a voys of pleynyng and of mone as it were a messenger of hungir, for when he hungrith he sechith his mete pewlynge with voys of pleynyng and of mone} \quad 129
\]

as Bartholomaeus says. Death too is never satisfied, however many victims it claims, and Henryson takes care to emphasize this:

"Bot all thair flesche wald scant be half ane fill, And guttis als, unto that gredie gled." (2905-06)

He is also careful to make the way Death comes allegorically meaningful--the following detail has no significance at the moral level:

"He claucht his cluke betuix thame in the threid; ... Syne lowsit thame, and baith but pietie slew." (2899, 2902)

Why bother to loose them, if slaying both is the only thing we are meant to appreciate? Aristotle formulates the problem and its solution thus:

No soul can be separated from its body--at least certain parts of the soul cannot be separated, if the soul can be said to have parts. For obviously some 'parts' of the soul are nothing but actualities of parts of the body; as we have seen in the case of
sight, that it is the eyes' actuality. On the other hand, certain parts of the soul may well be separable from the body, since they are not the actuality of any corporeal part, as will be proved when we come to treat of the intellect. 130

Henryson's reference to Death's breaking the thread makes it quite clear that by Soul he means, not the Sensitive Soul which dies with the body, but the "paitre intelletyfe/Off manis saule, ... seperat fra sensualitie" as he calls it in Orpheus and Eurydice (428-30). Death is thus not to be taken as surety of the Soul's death or damnation, but simply (at this level), of its separation from the Body, its passing over. Whether or not its struggles in the waters of life have been sufficient to merit her salvation is best left to Divine Justice—or, as MacQueen thinks, the friars.

All the same, since so many critics have assumed the worst, it may be helpful to cite two views of such a situation, the first local and contemporary, the second theological. Relating the accidental death of King Alexander, the Book of Pluscarden concludes with these words:

But let no good catholic despair of the salvation of the King's soul because of the suddenness of his death ... for it is the opinion of the wise and has often been shown and revealed to many most holy men that, after a sudden and unforeseen death, as it outwardly seemeth to men, eternal salvation of the soul was attained. 131

Aquinas also tells us how

"God permits some to fall into sin, that by acknowledging their sin, they may be humbled and converted, as St. Augustine states." 132

A final point. I have talked of the Soul as if it were a specific soul and hence have reached no definite conclusion about its fate.
If we take Henryson to be talking about "The Soul" however, we must conclude that it is, like Everyman, saved of necessity. Only if we take him to be referring to an individual soul is the salvation of that soul uncertain. In such a case its salvation will depend not only on the general "Pardon" of the Redemption, but on its individual deeds of merit and demerit: "et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam; qui vero mala, in ignem eternum."133

We may now return to Henryson's farewell:

My freind, thairfoir, mak the ane strang Castell Of Faith in Christ; for deith will the assay, Thow wait not quhen--evin, morrow or midday.

Adew, my freind; and gif that ony speiris Of this Fabill, sa schortlie I conclude, Say thaw, I left the laif unto the Freiris, To mak exempill and ane similitude. Now Christ for us that deit on the Rude, Of saull and lyfe as thow art Salviour, Grant us till pas in till ane blissit hour. (2966-75)

The poet's friendliness in inviting us to found our lives on the sure rock is as genuine as his Paddock's is feigned. (As an associate of a Benedictine monastery, he would have been expected to live in the spirit of monastic amicitia.)134 We should live like the Country Mouse and not the Town Mouse. As for the fortress we are asked to build, it is of course the interior castle of contemplation, guarded by Faith, Hope (it is a "strang" castle), and Charity (Christ); and the exhortation to guard it makes a fitting conclusion to a collection of poems moralizing the behaviour and tricks of Virtues and Vices in animal form.
Henryson is everywhere concerned for the spiritual welfare of others, and it seems clear that he intended his *Morall-Fabillis* to be read primarily as a series of spiritual exercises (though of course they are also rhetorical schoolroom exercises and godly entertainment). Knowing with St. Gregory that

"Those who wish to hold the fortress of contemplation must first of all train in the camp of action," 135

he maps out and brings before our eyes many of the campaigns his students and general readers will have to wage and the ambushes they will have to watch out for in their own Pilgrimage to God. By acting in the spirit of his Age, his Faith and his professional responsibilities, this fifteenth century schoolmaster became a fully-realized human being and great poet. It shows a special grace that when the Grim Sergeant came to arrest the poet he was imagined by Dunbar as reduced to a respectful whisper:

"In Dunfermlyne he [Death] hes done roune
With Maister Robert Henrisoun." 136

"That scorpion fell" had lost his sting.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII

THE PADDOCK AND THE MOUSE


4 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 32.


6 Gregory Smith, p. xxxv.


9 Schrader, Thesis, p. 182; he cites seven other examples.


14 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 35.


16 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 64.

20 Ibid., p. 330.
23 Ibid., p. 330.
24 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 116.
25 Jenkins' observations about these narrative qualities on pp. 26 and 35 of his Thesis are the basis for my own deduction.
27 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 118.
29 Ibid., p. 25.
30 T. C. Smout, "Scotland's Experience with the Plague", a lecture delivered at the University of British Columbia, 10 March, 1975.
31 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1242, ll. 10-12.
32 Steele, Secreta Secretorum, p. 221.
33 Webster, Dunfermline, p. 27.
34 Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, Vol. I, p. 250: "The passage of the ferry doubtless brought a considerable number of casual gifts into the friary coffers; and the Treasurer's Accounts disclose as many as thirty-seven gifts of fourteen shillings and upwards from James IV between the years 1501 and 1513."
35 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1226, ll. 21-23.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII (Cont.)


37 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 29.

38 Though Henryson refers to the Paddock as "Scho", I have made her masculine to distinguish her in discussion from the Mouse, who is also female.


40 Ibid., p. 86.

41 William of Wheteley's Commentary on De Consolatione, Quaestio 86, in Sebastian, "William of Wheteley", p. 305.

42 Historia Animalium, 589b, 10-15; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, IV.

43 De Respiratione, 476a, 1-6; Ross, The Works of Aristotle, III.

44 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1243, ll. 9-12.


47 Steele, Secreta Secretorum, pp. 38-39.


49 Steele, Secrees, p. 231; cf. Jamieson, Thesis, p. 65 for all the following physiognomical quotations.

50 Avianus 6, in Duff, Minor Latin Poets, pp. 692-693.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII (Cont.)

52 Fergusson's Proverbs, Ed. no. 801, p. 96.

53 Webster and Duncan, Regality of Dunfermline Court Book, Map of Sixteenth Century Dunfermline.


55 Ethics, 1114a, 20-25; Apostle, p. 45.


57 Ethics, 1112b, 5-10; Apostle, p. 41.


59 Ibid., p. 116.


61 Happe, Tudor Interludes, p. 180.

62 Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 159.


64 Curtius, European Literature, p. 428.


66 Ethics, 1112a, 1-15; Apostle, p. 39.

67 Fergusson's Proverbs, MS. no. 67, p. 11; this was a proverb known to Henryson since he deliberately misquotes it in concluding Sum Practysis of Medecyne.


69 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, Quodlibetal Questions 3, 12, 17, c; cited in Bourke, Aquinas, p. 203;
The human act is judged virtuous or vicious according to the apprehended good towards which the will is essentially attracted and not according to the material object of the action. For instance, if a man kills a stag, believing that he is killing his father, he commits the sin of patricide. On the other hand, if the same hunter, thinking to kill a stag and having taken due care, kills his father by chance, he is quite free from the crime of patricide.


73 Robb, *The Thrie Priests of Peblis*, p. 33, l. 627.

74 Cf. Breugel's "Big Fish Eat Little Fish", in Klein, *Breugel*, plate 29, pp. 137-139.

75 Jenkins, Thesis, p. 29.


77 MacQueen, *Robert Henryson*, p. 111.

78 Jamieson, Thesis, p. 64.


80 He addresses his readers as "Freindis" in the *Two Mice* (365), as "worthie folk" in the *Cock and Fox* (586), as "gude folke" in the Fox's Confession (789), and again as "worthie folk" in the Preaching (1888); but only in the *Two Mice* does he use an eight-stanza refrain form.

81 Though we are on the tropological level in stanza 417, I do not think we are meant to understand that the Mouse is morally "Innocent" (2919). For this reason I have glossed "Innocent" as meaning "unsuspecting" (cf. *OED*, "innocent", 3). In my opinion,
the Mouse is innocent only of the Frog's intention:

"The Mous thoht off na thing bot ffor to swym,
The Paddok ffor to drown set hir Intent" (2877-78).

After all, the Mouse is admonished in the very next line of stanza 417 for giving "over sone credence" (2920) to the flattering Paddock.

82 Council of Salzburg, 1386; quoted in Jusserand, Wayfaring Life, p. 171 (cf. FWC, n. 7).


84 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, pp. 111-112.


86 Brieger, English Art 1216-1307, p. 162.

87 Compare the conclusion of one of Nicholas Oresme's quodlibetal arguments: "Aristotle in De Memoria and De Somno treats them beautifully and thoroughly; look there if you want." (Hansen, "Oresme", p. 335)


89 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 62.

90 Leach, Educational Charters, pp. 211, 395, 447.

91 Macrobius, I, ii, 17; Dronke, Fabula, p. 47.

92 De Doctrina Christiana, i, 2-5; Howie, Augustine, p. 343.

93 Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 55.

94 Gilson, Augustine, p. 51.

95 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 193.

96 Ibid., p. 164.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII (Cont.)

97 Debate Between the Body and Soul, ll. 161-164; cited in Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 42.

98 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 119.

99 Cf. Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 34 ff.

100 Ibid., p. 58.

101 Inferno XXII, ll. 25-34, 40-43 and XXIII, ll. 4-6; Binyon, The Divine Comedy, pp. 116, 121.

102 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 117.

103 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 178.

104 Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 34.


106 De Anima, 406a, 5-10, and 413a, 5-10; cited in Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 34.

107 Cf. Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 44.


109 Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 31.

110 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 115.

111 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 119.


113 Ethics, 1142a, 10-30; Apostle, p. 109.

114 Ethics, 1106a, 5-10; Apostle, pp. 26-27.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII (Cont.)


117 Vogel, "The Debate Between the Body and Soul", p. 39.

118 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 172.

119 MacQueen, Robert Henryson, p. 119.

120 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 93.

121 De Musica, vi, 8-13; Howie, Augustine, p. 156.

122 According to St. Augustine, as interpreted by Gilson, "The effect of grace is not ... to destroy concupiscence; both before and after grace, it is still there to tempt us. Even though it is not set down against us as a sin, it remains ever present and active, like an adversary with whom we must always struggle and to whom it is a sin to yield (Contra Duas Epis. Pelag. I, xiii, 27; PL 44, 563). Nevertheless, there is an important difference between the reign of the law and the reign of grace: under grace, concupiscence is not extinguished in us, but we are not handed over to it without recourse (De Div. Quaest. 83, 66; PL 40, 62). This is the reason why the Christian life is a constant struggle which knows no peace but prepares the way for it (De Agone Christ. 1-12; PL 40, 289-299). To go beyond this stage ... we must pass beyond the boundaries of this life." (Gilson, Augustine, p. 169)

123 St. Basil, Address to Young Men, 9; quoted in Ullich, Educational Wisdom, p. 159.


125 The Greatness of the Soul, 31-40; Howie, Augustine, p. 145.


127 Gilson, Augustine, p. 58.

128 De Musica, vi, 8-13; Howie, Augustine, p. 153.

129 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 635, ll. 11-13.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER XII (Cont.)

130 Foster and Humphries, De Anima, p. 178.

131 Skene, Book of Pluscarden, pp. 80-81.


136 MacKenzie, Dunbar, p. 22, ll. 81-82. The following is from the same poem, l. 57.
CONCLUSION

Both the poet's moralitates and the increase in violence throughout the Fabillis indicate, I think, that the core of Henryson's world-view is this orthodox Christian sentiment: life is a necessary, purgative struggle in which worldly temptations become more violent the more one progresses in virtue. The fact that Henryson should have given the greater part of his creative energies to the writing of moral fables also shows, I think, that he saw Christian education as the key to unlock both Public Justice and Private Salvation. Certainly, in his collection, all the parts of the medieval educational programme—training in rhetoric and dialectic, natural science and allegorical exegesis—are set in their proper theocentric context. This much I think I have shown in my detailed, sequential treatment of the Fabillis.

Though the bold and simple strokes of his Prologue suggest that Henryson had a clear idea of how effectively animal fables could be used as vehicles for pleasurable Christian instruction, the Morall Fabillis were probably written over a number of years and may even have been left unfinished (most of Henryson's fables are drawn from Gualterus' first twenty). But this latter possibility hardly matters, given that he keeps the guiding concepts of his Prologue steadily in view throughout. His art remains always at the service of Christian education.

Nevertheless, we do have a convincing beginning and ending to the collection, as Denton Fox has said, and even, I think, a clear
middle. Henryson's Prologue is explicitly linked to his first fable of the Cock and Jasp, and his last fable of the Paddock and Mouse seems to contain the poet's farewell to the reader. Now, in Gualterus, Marie de France, Caxton and other fabulists, the first three fables are traditionally the Cock and Jewel, the Wolf and Lamb, and the Frog and Mouse—the first and last two fables in the Bassandyne-Harleian-Charteris versions of Henryson. Further, Henryson's explicitly linked series on "The Talking of the Tod" seems to be balanced against the 'Lupiad' series and set apart from it by three central fables in which the narrator is most prominent: the Sheep and Dog; Lion and Mouse, and Preaching of the Swallow. Occurring at the mathematical centre of the collection as we have it, the last two mentioned fables are also dignified with prologues of their own in honour of Aesop (the Lion and Mouse) and God (the Preaching). To my mind, this bespeaks a satisfying order, if not a final one. God is as much at the centre of Henryson's creation as at the centre of His Creation.

If there are tensions in the Fabillis between the pleasurability of the Tale and the didactic levelling of such "shameful" pleasures in the Moralitas, this too is proper. Art reflects Life, and the Christian life is one of constant trial—often as surprising as the reversals Henryson works in such fables as the Cock and Jasp, the Parliament of Fourfooted Beasts, the Wolf and Wether, and the Paddock and Mouse. Ultimately, how we read the Fabillis is a reflection of our spiritual state and a measure of our progress through the waters of life. This, I think, is one part of Henryson's conscious design of which he wanted his readers to be particularly aware.
If we can feel shame at our overly materialistic attention to worldly things (the attractiveness of which Henryson does full justice to artistically), we may progress in the life of the spirit. If we, like the Wolf of the 'Lupiad', persist in our worldliness, however, disaster is sure to strike. This theme is suggested or referred to fable after fable, no matter what order we take them in. The Cock of the Cock and Jasp seems knowledgeable from a worldly point of view but is shown to be spiritually stupid; the Country Mouse of the Two Mice learns from her mistakes whereas her sister doesn't; the Cock of the Cock and Fox learns by his; the Fox of the Fox's Confession seems to learn but backslides; the Fox of the Parliament has a better knowledge of the world than the Wolf, but less spiritual understanding, and so on.

Such an ordering of experience may seem curious to us today, but to the late medieval Christian the Morall Fabillis would have provided an attractive answer to the problem of how to square with robust entertainment the circle of moral instruction. In Henryson's hands, if not in Lydgate's, the one is never sacrificed to the other. Henryson does not make up our minds for us, but allows materialistic and spiritual points of view to remain in a state of creative tension that perpetually challenges his reader's perceptiveness.

In this, his aesthetics remain at the service of his Catholicism. If aesthetics is the science which treats of sensuous perception, then Henryson's aesthetics is essentially that of Aristotle as interpreted by the schoolmen. For him as for them, the realized Christian is one whose senses are at all times under the control of his reason. To be rational is to be human; to succumb to the allure-
ments of the senses is to revert to the status of a beast (which has no reason and lives only by the senses and instinct). Hence the viability of animal fables for Christian instruction and the justness of Henryson's emphasis on shame as the key to Christian regeneration. No-one wants to think of himself as no better than a beast.

The Beautiful, for Henryson, is also The Good. God's Creation can be beautiful or fatally attractive, depending on whether it is seen or used selflessly or selfishly. What is most beautiful is most abstract but also for the medieval Catholic most real, and, like Yeats in "The Circus Animals' Desertion", we should give our love not to "players and painted stage" but to "those things that they were emblems of."
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