

RHETORIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES: A STUDY OF RHETORICAL DEVICES
IN GOWER'S CONFESSIO AMANTIS

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PREFACE

Medieval poetry to the modern reader appears stilted and conventional. Its highly technical form is immediately discernible in what appears to be meaningless repetitions, triteness, and boring cataloging of material. Yet, the faults one would attribute to it by modern critical standards are not errors but the inevitable result of the medieval systematized approach to the teaching of versification. The devices and conventions which are so apparent have a history far older than the period in which they were so widely exercised.

Whenever one finds that patterns are repeatedly used, one assumes that a need must exist to account for their popularity. The medieval poet wrote and published for people who would hear, rather than personally read, his manuscript. The devices which he used had been developed in a period of general illiteracy. They were handed down to the Middle Ages as distinct devices representing specific areas of study, thus forming a part of the curriculum in any medieval university. Consequently, the conventions found in medieval poetry were not the accidents of experiment, nor were they often the innovations of a reciter or minstrel, but were the devices that were established for all medieval learning.

It was the poet's close adherence to these rules and regulations that distinctly marked medieval poetry. The medieval poet's chief concern was, first, to follow a style and

language appropriate to his subject matter. This sense of obligation overshadows his sense of duty to an audience. The medieval poet probably wrote less with his audience in mind than with a knowledge of the carefully defined lessons of his schoolbook or mentor.

The academic discipline of rhetoric was largely to influence the medieval poet. Quite generally considered as the "art of giving effectiveness to truth," Aristotelian rhetoric, originally designed to prepare man for public life, became primarily associated with composition, not only for struggling students but also for aspiring young preachers in devising sermons. At the height of its popularity as a subject, it began to show signs of deterioration. Thus, the "art of effectiveness" became the "art of ornamentation." But that the laymen were surrounded by its use in all of its distortions in the Church, the schools and the minstrels' recitations assured the rhetorical device a lasting popularity.

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CHAPTER I

THE MEDIEVAL AUDIENCE: A REVIEW OF THE CONDITIONS

UNDER WHICH MEDIEVAL POETRY WAS PUBLISHED

Society in the medieval period was predominantly illiterate, leading scholars into much speculation as to what constitutes a medieval reading public. However, the fact that only six thousand volumes were "published" in England before 1577 indicates that, among the general public, the art of reading was not common.¹ Indeed, the output of volumes in the medieval period did not equal the number of works produced by the ancients. Some scholars think that medieval man did not produce many literary works because he lacked a ready supply of writing material, such as papyrus.² Although paper itself was a discovery of the fourteenth century, it remained extremely scarce and expensive for centuries to come.³ For that matter, the manuscripts which did appear in the Middle Ages were usually in the form of scholarly texts or copies of treatises on philosophy, medicine, or theology. Vernacular works were usually commissioned by the very wealthy and,

¹H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, p. 20.

²W. H. T. Jackson, The Literature of the Middle Ages, p. 46.

³Loc. cit.

therefore, limited in their range of influence.⁴ Consequently, the medieval poet became closely associated with a patron.⁵ For example, Gower's Confessio Amantis was the result of a whimsical request to the poet by the young King Richard.⁶ Hence, English medieval libraries were very small, a reflection of which may be observed in the illiteracy of the times.⁷ From Bishop Strafford's Register at Exeter, one learns that what was considered to be an extensive library consisted of a mere fourteen volumes.⁸ Furthermore, the cost of producing manuscripts was prohibitive. Unembellished documents are known to have cost the equivalent of 80 oxen or 280 pigs, and embellished ones would have been doubly expensive.⁹ Slow readers were common, as well. For example, in one monastery, the lending time for a document extended to one year, or from Lent to Lent.¹⁰ Hence, a private reading of manuscripts was not a popular method of acquiring knowledge.¹¹ At best, it

⁴Ibid., p. 47.

⁵Robert Root, "Publication Before Printing," PMLA, XXVIII (1913), 427.

⁶G. C. Macaulay (ed.), The English Works of John Gower, I, xxi.

⁷Jackson, op. cit., p. 47.

⁸George P. Wilson, "Chaucer and Oral Reading," SAQ, XXV (July, 1926), 295.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰H. J. Chaytor, From Script to Print, p. 7.

¹¹Jackson, op. cit., p. 46.

would have provided a kind of painstaking entertainment.

Medieval poetry was written for the "hearing" public. The medieval poet wrote without a concept of printed matter and, thus, produced his art within a tradition of oral literature. The literature of the Middle Ages is filled with constant reminders that it was intended to be heard and presented by a single reader to an audience. So frequent are the allusions to "read" and "hear" that these two words come to suggest a type of formula found, not only in English literature, but also in continental works of the time.¹² The following are typical illustrations:

And ek in other wise also
 Fulofte time it falleth so,
 Min ere with a good pitance
 Is Fedd of redinge of romance
 . . . For whan I of here loves rede
 Min Ere with the tale I fede.
 (Confessio Amantis, Bk. VI, 875-884)

Anon as Demophon it herde,
 And every man it hadde in speche, . . .
 Lo thus, my Sone, miht thou wite
 Ayein this vice how it is write;
 For noman mai the harmes gesse,
 That fallen through foryetelnesse,
 Wherof that I thi schrifte have herd.
 (Confessio Amantis, Bk. IV, 871-872, 879-883)

Storys to rede ar delitabill
 Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill:
 Than suld storys that suthfast wer,
 And thai war said on gud maner,

¹²Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages,"
Speculum, XI (January, 1936), 100.

Hawe doubill plesance in heryng:
 The fyrst plesance is the carpyng.¹³
 (John Barbour, The Bruce, Prologue)

Reading aloud provided more than just popular entertainment. Early Church records establish also that the ability to read was a necessary attribute of those taking holy orders.¹⁴ Reading was declared mandatory by the Archbishop of Mentz in his De Institutione Clericorum in 819 A. D.¹⁵ The Archbishop also stressed the characteristics of a good reader; i.e., extensive knowledge, an understanding of sentence structure, clear "enunciation and pronunciation," natural grace, and attention to "cultivation of the voice."¹⁶ Reading was obviously required for the novices and clerks working in the scriptorium. This area of the monastery could contain as many as twenty monks at work simultaneously copying while one of their members read from a manuscript to be reproduced,¹⁷ a method that was to preserve the classics for the Middle Ages.¹⁸

¹³Kenneth Sisam (ed.), Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, pp. 107-108.

¹⁴Wilson, op. cit., p. 290.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 291.

¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁸Jackson, op. cit., p. 45.

Monks were also permitted to read aloud for their own amusement,¹⁹ but it was part of monastic routine to read during the meals.²⁰ The seventeenth canon issued at the second Council of Rheims states: "Bishops and Abbots shall not allow buffooneries to be acted in their presence, but shall have the poor and needy at their tables, and the sacred readings shall be heard there."²¹ The Council of Pavia, 850 A. D., also orders, ". . . let there be reading at the table."²²

Moreover, family groups relied upon oral reading for amusement, and later in the Middle Ages, most private gatherings of students or friends almost always included the sharings of manuscripts.²³ In Gower's Confessio Amantis, young love finds pleasure in recitation:

And whanne it falleth othergate
 So that hire like nought to daunce
 Bot on the Dees to caste chance
 Or axe of love som demande,
 Or elles that her list comaunde
 To rede and here of Troilus
 Rith as she wote or so or thus

¹⁹George Putnam, Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages, p. 69.

²⁰Wilson, op. cit., p. 291.

²¹Loc. cit.

²²Loc. cit.

²³Crosby, op. cit., p. 95.

I am alredi to consente.
(Bk. IV, 2790-2798)²⁴

In Barbour's Bruce, the King uses reading as a means of diversion during an especially hazardous military campaign.²⁵ King Robert reads aloud to his men as they retreat to ". . . comfortyt thaim that war hem her."²⁶

As there were no orthographic standards, the very act of reading itself must have posed many problems. Texts without standard punctuation, paragraphing, capitalization, and penmanship would have been difficult to read and, thus, easy to misinterpret.²⁷ Handwriting alone had made many drastic changes during the period, since there had been a steady decline in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the skill of English and Latin paleography.²⁸ Now, the exacting hand of former years had been replaced by a newer relaxed mode.²⁹ Furthermore, English was exceptionally difficult to read. It was not popularly used in prose until well into the fourteenth

²⁴ Macaulay, op. cit., I, 376.

²⁵ Crosby, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

²⁶ Loc. cit.

²⁷ Wilson, op. cit., p. 296.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 295.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 296.

century.³⁰ Latin and French remained the "polite" languages.³¹ It is probable that many had a "speaking knowledge" of one language and a "reading knowledge" of another.³² A spoken understanding of English most likely preceded a reading knowledge of the language.³³

Since the art of reading was difficult and restricted to a select few, the traveling reciter provided entertainment for the general populace. The single actor, whose history pre-dates and then outlives the actual theatre, achieved a prominent position in the Middle Ages that he would never again attain. The minstrel is referred to in the oldest English manuscripts. Widsith, the earliest of all English poems, is an autobiographical sketch of a scop or gleoman. The Complaint of Deor and Beowulf also refer to this frequent mead hall visitor.³⁴ The professional oral reciter has had many names and can boast of a varied history. He was first known as a mimus. The mimi existed in Rome before the birth of Christ, and by 500 A. D. had replaced the gladiators as popular entertainers.³⁵ However, the reputation of this early reciter was

³⁰ Ibid., p. 294.

³¹ Loc. cit.

³² Loc. cit.

³³ Loc. cit.

³⁴ Sir E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I, 29-30.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

far better than that of later minstrels. Nevertheless, the mimi appeared with the aurigae (circus-drivers), acrobats, and as a performer in other amusements.³⁶ When Christianity with a "prejudice against disguisings" (Deuteronomy, XXII:5) successfully stifled the activity in the theatres, actors were forced to travel.³⁷ When it became necessary for them to travel, however, is not certain, although it is known that the spectacula theatri consisting of mimes, pantomimes, and acrobats was flourishing as late as 460 A. D.³⁸ Other amusements, listed under the general heading of Histriones, appeared for many years.³⁹

Rome provides a common source for the traveling entertainer in almost every European country. In German, the scop sang his tales accompanied on the harp. The O. H. G. word scopf or scof, meaning "shaper" or "creator," gave these early travelers their name.⁴⁰ The scop's specialty was poetry concerning heroic deeds of the past. He was to survive heathenism and by his adapting to Christianity, was to become the

³⁶Ibid., p. 20.

³⁷Ibid., p. 1.

³⁸Ibid., p. 19.

³⁹Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 33.

entertainer of the early Anglo-Saxons.⁴¹ His Scandinavian counterpart, the skald, received his name from the Old Norse sord for "sing" or "say."⁴² These terms did not appear after the Norman Conquest and were replaced by the general name of minstrel.⁴³

The scop was thought to have been the court poet for the Anglo-Saxons; and the gleoman, the wandering singer. The gleoman borrowed rather than created his material. However, his name was also derived from the language of the country in which he existed. Consequently, the early English word, gleo, meaning "mirth" or "glee," also referred to the instrument which he played. The harp, as referred to in Beowulf is called a "glee-beam" or "glee-wood."⁴⁴

Each early story concerning an oral reciter has stressed one thing--their well rewarded position in early society. The entertainer often received gifts of land or gold. It was primarily for this reason that the clergy opposed the vagabonds. The Church vacillated between "open hostility and ill-restrained contempt."⁴⁵ As the Dominican Bromyard retorts,

⁴¹Ibid., p. 31.

⁴²Ibid., p. 34.

⁴³Ibid., p. 44.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 34.

⁴⁵G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, p. 10.

". . . they, who, like the lap-dog and the prostitute, get food and presents when they ask for them, while the poor go empty away."⁴⁶ The actors were also denounced for their use of ". . . oaths, and shameful words, their indecent stories, and the comments that provoke laughter at the banquet table."⁴⁷ These warnings went unheeded, even after minstrelsy was included as a venial and sometimes a mortal sin.⁴⁸ The clergy did make a distinction between minstrels, and the mimi were by this time, mere court jesters.⁴⁹ It is unusual that the Church did not make better use of the themes from the successful vernacular poets. Only a strong interest in and preference for Biblical characters combined with a trained aversion to the minstrel could account for the scant use of vernacular material.⁵⁰

One section of the Church caused an embarrassing situation to occur. The Goliardic Clerks, a faction of Church-schooled poets, became known as wanderers and the supposed creators of lyric poetry. At no time were they well organized, nor is there any indication that all Goliards were clerks.⁵¹

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 12.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 50.

⁵¹Chambers, op. cit., I, 61.

Moreover, it is doubtful that they were even the composers of the verse attributed to them.⁵² But this group with a reputation little better than "tramp-scholars," appeared to have lived more by their "wits" than by their creativity.⁵³ That the Church felt it necessary to sever connections with these clerks is evidenced in the issuing of a canon requiring Goliardic Clerks to be shorn or shaven to obliterate the tonsure.⁵⁴ The term, Goliard, after the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was little more than a synonym for minstrel.⁵⁵

The term, minstrel, loosely came to include eventually every type of wandering singer or reciter. It was the minstrel who entertained at state or local affairs, such as weddings, feasts, baptisms, tournaments, knight-dubbings, and betrothels. For his services, he was rewarded with jewels, land, and costly garments.⁵⁶ The fact that minstrels often dressed as richly as did the nobility caused some concern and was responsible for heated denunciations by the clergy.⁵⁷

Two other types of minstrels are distinct enough in

⁵²L. H. Hornstein, World Literature, p. 190.

⁵³Loc. cit.

⁵⁴Chambers, op. cit., I, 45.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁶Chambers, op. cit., I, 44.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 45.

their functions to be mentioned here: the trouvere, or trobador; and the joglar. The trouvere and the trobador appear to have been used as interchangeable terms in England and Northern France. The trobador was usually of noble birth and of independent wealth.⁵⁸ If he were actually a king or high official, it is thought that he would have given his compositions to the joglar for circulation.⁵⁹ If he were not of royal birth, he, too, would travel, primarily among royalty. Even though the trobador was of noble birth, he often accepted gifts like a common entertainer.⁶⁰ The joglar worked closely with the trobador, as an instrumentalist and reciter for the works of others. However, he did hold a position of importance as a necessary part of the trobador's train, and one should not confuse his position with that belonging to the jangleur.⁶¹ The jangleur was little more than a "poor and humble, uninstruced drummer."

It is not certain how the minstrel obtained his material. Manuscripts of vernacular poetry were probably released to reciters, much as the trobador passed on his poems to the joglars. This transference would occur sometime after a work

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 64.

⁶⁰Loc. cit.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 62-63.

had been officially "published." Since a minstrel's living depended upon his repertoire, surreptitiously acquired material was probably not uncommon. Any new material was released through a patron.

"Publishing" in an oral tradition was complicated and hazardous. The most common method of publishing scholarly texts was that of presenting the work before a group of judges.⁶² Read by the author on three consecutive days, the text was accepted or rejected by a notary or master of a university who would serve in the position of critic.⁶³ Approval of the volume meant its retention at the university for the purpose of reproduction.⁶⁴ The schools added to their libraries in this manner.⁶⁵ Nor was it uncommon for an author to "publish" (to read) before an entire student body.⁶⁶ Most works were presented in their entirety at one sitting. Long treatises on popular subjects probably left many areas to be gathered by allusion and not by an actual reading.⁶⁷ A certain importance was attached to "publishing" in this manner,⁶⁸ and

⁶²Wilson, op. cit., p. 290.

⁶³Loc. cit.

⁶⁴Loc. cit.

⁶⁵Loc. cit.

⁶⁶Lynn Thorndike, "Public Readings of the New Works in Medieval Universities," Speculum, I (1926), 101.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 103.

⁶⁸Loc. cit.

varying types of manuscripts are known to have been presented in this manner, including at least one history text. The "publishing" of an historical volume is unusual because the subject of history was rarely of interest during the Middle Ages.⁶⁹ Yet, Rolandinus, a young man already holding degrees in grammar and rhetoric, presented his History of the Trevisan Mark to 1260 before the university of Padua where it was ". . . applauded, approved, and solemnly authenticated by the magisterial authority."⁷⁰ Records show that the University of Paris and the University of Bologna also accepted new material by means of oral publication. At Paris as early as 1215, Buoncompagni da Signa orally presented his Rhetorica antiqua, or old rhetoric, later publishing in the same manner a Rhethorica novissima, or current rhetoric.⁷¹ At Bologna, the publishing "company" consisted not only of the heads of the university, but also of the clergy.⁷² One "publication" was even held in a cathedral.⁷³

Examples of university publication appear well into the fourteenth century. Records of these events sometimes include

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 102.

⁷⁰Loc. cit.

⁷¹Loc. cit.

⁷²Ibid., p. 101.

⁷³Loc. cit.

descriptions of how an article was read. When the noted work, Ars Dictamen, by Master Lawrence of Aquileia, was presented at the University of Paris, someone took time enough to note that it was "decorated with the glory of solemn recitation."⁷⁴ Thus, reading, either by a "publishing" author, or a professional minstrel, seemed to receive considerable attention during the Middle Ages.

Vernacular works of literature were also first presented before an authority, usually a member of the court. However, if one can rely upon Mandeville's "Epilogue" to the Travels, he concludes that "publication" was, in this instance, first sought through the clergy:⁷⁵

. . . þat at myn hom comunge I cam to Rome, and schewed my lif to oure holy fadir the Pope, and was assouled of all þat lay in my conscience, of many a dyverse greuous poynt, as men mosten nedes þat ben in company And amonges all, I schewed hym this tretys, þat I had made after informacioun of men þat knewen of thinges þat I had not myself seen, and also of merueyles and customes þat I hadde seen myself, as fer as God wolde 3eue me grace: and bewoughte his holy fadiehode þat my boke myghte ben examyned and corrected by avys of his wyse and discreet conseill. And oure holy fader, of his special grace, remytted my boke to ben examyned and preued be the avys of his seyed conseill And so my boke . . . is affermed and preued be oure holy fader
(Mandeville's Travels, Epilogue, 285)

John Gower, having written the Confessio Amantis for King

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 102.

⁷⁵ Sisam, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

Richard, could also rely upon its being "published" at court. Later, in his Balades, his dedication to Henry IV indicates that this work would also be first presented to the court:⁷⁶

O noble Henry, puissant et seignural,
 Si nous de vois joioms, c'est a b(on droit)
 Por desporter vo noble Court roial
 Jeo frai balade, e s'il a vous plerro (it)
 Entre toutz autres joie m'en serroit.

An author's control over his manuscript must have terminated when he released his text to his patron. Any revision after "publication" usually meant the re-printing of the altered work. The letters of Boccaccio and Petrarch seem to indicate that full liberty was granted to the patron even to making minor revisions. Boccaccio, when writing to a patron, states: ". . . correct whatsoever is not fitting . . . share it with your friends and finally send it forth to the public under your name."⁷⁷ The patron, then, would have assumed the cost of having copies made.⁷⁸ This method would seem to have been satisfactory if one trusts the patron to work in behalf of the manuscript; however, Boccaccio was to find that not every

⁷⁶The present author's translation: "O noble Henry lordly and powerful / If we you please it is right / To please the royal court / I (will) make a balade if it pleases you / Among all the others joyfull it be." Crosby, op. cit., p. 96.

⁷⁷Wilson, op. cit., p. 419.

⁷⁸Loc. cit.

was so honest. In 1373 a "friend," who had borrowed a rough manuscript, released it for "publication" without first obtaining the approval of the author. As the "friend" had already assumed the cost and responsibility of having the work reproduced, there was no recalling of the text.⁷⁹

Although manuscripts could not be recalled, authors could revise after "publication," and, if the new work were extensive, they could "re-publish" a revised text. Petrarch added a new verse to his Bucolics after it had been "published," simply by sending copies of his revision to all those known to have texts.⁸⁰ In addition, John Gower seems to have released three slightly varying copies of the Confessio Amantis for publication. Yet, within these three texts, further revision of a minor nature is detected in the extant copies today.⁸¹

Questions concerning actual performances will always accrue answers of pure conjecture. For example, once a minstrel, or reciter, had received a manuscript, did he, then, commit it to memory, read it, or chant it to an accompaniment? Depending upon the manuscript and type of audience, the able reciter would probably combine his techniques. Indeed, it is possible that complete manuscripts could have been committed

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 421.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 422.

⁸¹Macaulay, op. cit., I, cxxviii.

to memory, a practice which seems impossible only by modern standards, because the medieval memory was trained to digest and retain large amounts of material.⁸² Moreover, the professional minstrels were actors, in a fashion.

Most of the longer medieval poems are divided into chapters, books, or fitts. Thus, it is probable that a fitt or book constituted a sitting. That is, longer works were presented in installments, perhaps for better audience retention. This theory is supported by the nature of the summary or transitional sections to be found at the end of each chapter of longer works. Transitio and conclusion are two rhetorical devices advocated by Cicero in the De Inventione and in the Ad Herennium. Since transitio contains not only a summary, but also the suggestion of material to come, it would seem that the "serial style" had its origins in antiquity. The simple conclusion and introductory summary statement can be seen in the following examples taken from Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight. Here, the first period of the last bob states:

Da3 Arþer þe hende kyng at hert hade wonder,
 He let no semblaunt be sene, bot sayde ful hy3e
 To þe comlych quene wyth cortays speche,
 "Dere dame, to-day demay yow neuer;
 Wel bycommes such cragt vpon Cristmasse,
 Laykyng of enterlude3, to la3e and to syng,
 Among þise kynde caroles of kny3te3 and ladye3

⁸²Chaytor, op. cit., p. 10.

Neuer þe lece to my mete I may me wel dres,
 For I haf sen a selly, I may not forsake."
 (I.467-475)

The beginning of Fitt II not only summarizes this statement, but also exactly restates the essence of the material appearing earlier in Fitt I:⁸³

This hanselle hat3 Arthur of aventurus on fyrst
 In 3onge 3er, for he 3erned 3elpyng to here.
 Tha3 hym sorde3 were wane when þay to sete wenten,
 Now ar þay stoken of sturne werk, stafful her hond.
 (II.490-495)

Ðat he þur3 nobleay had nomen, he woulde neuer ete
 Vpon such a dere day, er hym deuised were
 Of sum auenturus þyng an vucouþe tale,
 Of sum mayn aeruayle, þat he my3t trawe,
 Of alderes, of armes, of oper aventurus
 (I.91-95)

Repetition and summary were necessary for an audience depending only upon hearing for understanding. The use of these rhetorical devices may also be seen in Piers Plowman and The Pearl.

With the decline of the feudal courts, and with increased numbers attending universities, reading alone or to small groups began to replace the services of the minstrel.⁸⁴ By the latter fourteenth century, there was an increased interest in preserving the literature of the past. The bourgeois, now,

⁸³J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon (eds.), Sir Gawain and The Grene Knight, pp. 15; 16.

⁸⁴Jackson, op. cit., p. 48.

actually collected manuscripts which were to be read within the circle of the family.⁸⁵ However, for the general populace, the joglar and traveling minstrel still remained a major means of entertainment. What part audience reaction played in the preserving of certain manuscripts is uncertain; perhaps, the medieval audience helped to select and assure for posterity the works available today.⁸⁶

The Middle Ages inherited its love of convention from the Anglo-Saxons. Although rhetorical devices were not evidenced in poetry before the introduction of ancient literature, early un-lettered poets, nevertheless, had devised their own conventions. It is necessary, therefore, for the scholar to distinguish between oral formulas and rhetorical formulas. Both were constructed so as to meet the needs of a listening audience. However, oral devices were not first written down but composed, extempore, before a live audience. The rules and devices of rhetoric were those created for public speakers of ancient Rome and Greece. It was not until the Middle Ages that rhetoric was also to become an integral part of written composition.

The Anglo-Saxons did not record their literature before Roman missionaries had already introduced the arts of reading

⁸⁵Loc. cit.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 55.

and writing.⁸⁷ Prior to this time, the Anglo-Saxons were composing songs and stories orally to entertain their countrymen. Their alliterative two-stress per half-line verse pattern, a convention of the early un-lettered poet, became a staid pattern because of audience appeal and because of the ease with which a poet might use it in extempore composition. The oral formula most frequently used in this convention was that of the compound metaphor. This decorative phrase fulfilled two requirements: it completed the verse pattern, and presented the audience with a descriptive word picture. This kenning, from the Old Norse kenna til, meaning "to name after," worked in the following way: if a particular line needed another stress and the reciter were composing a poem about man, he would merely combine two words that would describe man and yet complete his verse pattern; consequently, a man could become an "eard-stapa" and, similarly, a deer could become a "head-stapa," or a monster could become a "mearcstapan." These imaginative stylistic devices had a definite audience appeal.

The kenning did not disappear from English poetry until after the rhetorical principles of the ancients had been introduced.⁸⁸ With the appearance of the classics came a study of

⁸⁷ Peter Hunter Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England, p. 311.

⁸⁸ Jackson, op. cit., p. 55.

Cicero, Quintillian, Boethius and, finally, Aristotle. Once formal schooling had been established, the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric entered into the curriculum. The forms and devices to be studied were now employed by poets who could work with their compositions in writing and did not have to rely upon a quick mind for extempore composing. Unlettered poets composed in a tradition of oral devices, using devices which they had heard repeated but had not read in text.⁸⁹ By the time of the Middle Ages, very little, if any, poetry was oral-formulaic.⁹⁰ Rather, through a study of Latin, poetry took on new dimensions and adopted the conventions it had found in writing. A study of medieval rhetoric convinces one that originality of form was not a highlight of the Middle Ages. Unlike the former un-lettered poets who could never be accused of plagiarism for their having borrowed from centuries of tradition, the lettered poets literally copied from the writers whom they had studied in order to produce a conscious rhetorical effect.⁹¹ Form was taught, and it was practiced by every school boy. Even subject matter was suggested. Therefore, what a medieval writer seemed to know about audience

⁸⁹ Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," Speculum, XXVIII (1953), 446.

⁹⁰ Ronald Waldron, "Oral-Formulaic Technique and Middle English Alliterative Poetry," Speculum, XXII (1957), 792.

⁹¹ Magoun, op. cit., p. 461.

psychology was probably the accident of examples which he had studied. What Cicero had found agreeable to an audience, so also did medieval man. Rhetorical devices, developed in a period of general illiteracy, met the same needs centuries later when exposed again to a listening and not reading public. The average schooled or self-educated medieval poet probably wrote less with his audience in mind than with Latin lessons and examples which he had studied. The fact that the medieval audience was illiterate did not noticeably change the attitude of the poets. But close adherence to the form which was popular, which was taught and expected by the universities in "publishing," and which, for the layman, was to be heard in every Church sermon and minstrel's recitation, became for the poet an assured path to success.

CHAPTER II

THE ART OF RHETORIC IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM, IN THE CHURCH, AND IN MEDIEVAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

Rhetoric has never been confined to one field. Usually considered the "art of speaking well," it was, for the Middle Ages, also the "art of writing well."⁹² Rhetoric and poetic both concerned the "management of language."⁹³ Had rhetoric remained only a verbal discipline, as it had been for the ancients, medieval poetry would have been far different. However, as rhetoric was taught during the Middle Ages, it had little or no poetic value and consisted mainly of ornament.⁹⁴ John of Salisbury, a leading educational spokesman of the thirteenth century, explains that rhetoric was the art of ". . . polishing, decorating, and dilating what has been already expressed."⁹⁵ Brunetto Latini (1230-1294) also describes rhetoric as "decorative dilation."⁹⁶ Latini lists eight ways to dilate a tale or to use the "colores of rhetoric."

⁹²Robert O. Payne, A Key to Remembrance, p. 45.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁹⁴Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric to 1400, p. 153.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 181-182.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 180.

The reference, here, to the colores is to the third division of rhetoric according to Cicero: i.e., sententiae, divisio, and colores.⁹⁷ The colores concerned little more than "descriptive amplification" and "dramatic characterization."⁹⁸

The medieval study of rhetoric was based upon five ancient parts: inventio, invention; dispositio, disposition; elocution, diction; memoria, memory; actio, delivery.⁹⁹ The subject matter included three types of eloquence: judicial oratory, deliberative oratory, panegyric or epideictic oratory.¹⁰⁰ The elaborate "delineation" or descriptio was a stylistic technique of the New Sophistic school of thought which placed emphasis upon the description of "people, places, and buildings."¹⁰¹ As early as 46 B. C. the original Sophists had declared that rhetoric should be primarily a technique of "adornment," but it was left to the rhetoricians of the Middle Ages to carry this principle to the extreme.¹⁰²

The medieval study of rhetoric was concerned with the

⁹⁷Payne, op. cit., p. 39.

⁹⁸Loc. cit.

⁹⁹Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 69.

¹⁰⁰Loc. cit.

¹⁰¹Loc. cit.

¹⁰²Payne, op. cit., p. 38.

mechanical application of such devices to poetry.¹⁰³ Hence, elaborate Latin devices readily replaced the former oral formulas. No longer did style have dominance over subject matter, but was merely looked upon as a means of elaborating any topic.¹⁰⁴ Even in Augustine's De doctrina, systems of persuasions were available to be applied to any subject matter containing an argument.¹⁰⁵ This prolonged emphasis upon the technique of the ancients led to a sterilization of any beauty possibly to have been gained from the Latin examples. Since rhetoric was not expanded during the Middle Ages, it was already a dead subject at the beginning of the period.¹⁰⁶

The correllation between poetics and rhetoric is shown by the following quotation from Vincent of Beauvias:¹⁰⁷

Poetica is the lore of ordering meters according to the proportion of words (dictiones) and the times of feet and of their rhythms (numeri It belongs to poetica to make the hearer through its locutions image something as fair or foul which is not so, so that he may believe and shun or desire it. Although certainly it is not so in truth, nevertheless, the minds of the hearers are roused to shun or desire what they image The function of the poet, then, is this, that with a certain beauty he converts actual events into other species by his slanting figures.

¹⁰³J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴Baldwin, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁰⁵Payne, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁰⁶Curtius, op. cit., p. 71.

¹⁰⁷Payne, op. cit., p. 32.

Available to all medieval writers, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were vast collections of examples for composition in "Arts of Poetry" manuals. Although actual "writing texts" in English did not appear until some time later, these same forms and types of writing orally had been taught for centuries.¹⁰⁸

Most available texts of the classics remained in Latin, and since Latin was first taught in the school curriculum, a poet writing in the vernacular was faced with much difficulty, since the peculiarities of English did not fit the patterns of writing established in Latin. Therefore, the vernacular poet was forced to develop his own concepts of style.¹⁰⁹ The distortion of rhetorical principles stemming from this attempt is apparent.¹¹⁰ The medieval poet endeavored to achieve in his English composition the same flow and polish that was to be found in the Latin examples by simply applying the same technique. The "unsettled" condition of the vernacular language caused much concern over the aims and standards of vernacular poetry.¹¹¹

There is evidence that later medieval poets were

¹⁰⁸Jackson, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁰⁹Payne, op. cit., p. 57.

¹¹⁰Atkins, op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹¹Loc. cit.

beginning to realize that close adherence to convention could not always, by itself, establish the poetic idea. Chaucer shows an awareness of the fact that the ". . . narration and description should be more than mere exercises in clever phrasing."¹¹² Again, he warns against the over use of the rhetorical device of repetitio: "And if thou wryte a goodly word al softe / Though it be good, reherce it not to ofte."¹¹³ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, as well, warned against "tam saepe resumtum" in the Poetria nova.¹¹⁴ However, these examples are exceptions, and until well into the fifteenth century there remained much use and misuse of the rhetorical device.

Scholars estimate that approximately 1,500 to 3,000 students a year attended Oxford University during the Middle Ages.¹¹⁵ A slightly higher number of 5,000 to 7,000 attended the University of Paris.¹¹⁶ These figures, although very small by modern standards, do suggest that attendance at medieval universities was sufficient to give them credit as one of the determining influences of the period. It would seem that

¹¹²Marie Padgett Hamilton, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," PMLA, XLVII (1932), 406.

¹¹³Loc. cit.

¹¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹¹⁵S. J. Daly, The Medieval University, p. 209.

¹¹⁶Loc. cit.

education was only offered to a select few. Usually, those hoping to attain clerical positions were aided by the Church. It would appear that John Gower received his education through the Church, because in his later years he was granted a rectory in Essex, and his position was listed as clerk.¹¹⁷

Early in English history, the court aided students in pursuit of an education. Records show that in the reign of Henry III, educational benefits were even extended to servants and relatives of the King's military allies remaining in England after their enlistments had expired.¹¹⁸ Relatives of the king, if they proved deserving, also were aided by the court while they were in school.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the sons and nephews of loyal servants in the king's household were provided with "firewood, venison, wine, and domestic necessities" during the university term.¹²⁰

Since it was customary in even the cathedral schools of England and France to charge a fee of their students, only those with some private means of support could afford an

¹¹⁷Henry Morley (ed.), The Confessio Amantis of John Gower, p. xiii.

¹¹⁸Frank Pegues, "Royal Support of Students in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum, XXXI (1956), 456.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 457.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 458.

education.¹²¹ As a landed countryman whose family owned manors in Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and Aldington, in addition to rent from a manor in Essex, Gower could well have met this expense.¹²²

The original intention of education as founded by the Church was to provide the Church with sufficient numbers of priests schooled in Latin grammar and the Bible.¹²³ However, after the ninth century, the Church could not actually be said to have influenced any of the newer educational developments.¹²⁴ The early relaxing of its ties allowed the universities to include more than just ecclesiastical subject matter into their curriculum, even though it often met with Church disapproval. Salaries for masters teaching theology were also paid by the Church.¹²⁵ In Paris, the Church even subsidized the teaching of non-resident students.¹²⁶ In Spain, however, regardless of what subject was taught, the instructors were paid by the King.¹²⁷ Originally student fees had been

¹²¹Loc. cit.

¹²²Morley, op. cit., p. xiii.

¹²³R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries, p. 183.

¹²⁴Loc. cit.

¹²⁵Gaines Post, "Master's Salaries and Student Fees in Medieval Universities," Speculum, VII (1932), 182.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 183.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 187.

established in order that the schools of England and France could maintain professors of subjects not listed as Church doctrines.¹²⁸

Historical records are not complete as to what type of beginning school was available to medieval man. It is thought that, in France, elementary schools were in existence at the time of Charlemagne.¹²⁹ Anglo-Saxon England had grammar schools sometime before the Norman Conquest.¹³⁰ The Anglo-Saxon schools were reorganized in the time of Bede and were to serve as an example for beginning schools in Europe.¹³¹ Since education was not compulsory, it is doubtful that grammar or elementary schools had a large attendance. However, by 1288 in Milan, one lay teacher reports ". . . seventy teachers of beginning letters, and eight professors of grammar."¹³² Moreover, the very existence of the well developed universities attests to the fact that good elementary and secondary schools were needed to train youth for higher learning. The curriculum of later universities suggests that the first level of the

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 191.

¹²⁹L. Thorndike, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XV (1940), 401.

¹³⁰Loc. cit.

¹³¹Loc. cit.

¹³²Bolgar, op. cit., p. 98.

Trivium had been introduced, first, in these preparatory schools.¹³³

Learning was divided into three distinct levels. Beginning his studies at the age of eight, the child would complete a basic study of grammar, music, and arithmetic. At fourteen, he would add the subjects of rhetoric, logic, and astronomy to his basic course work, and he would continue until approximately the age of twenty, when he would enter the third and final level of learning, or that area which would train him for a profession, for example, theology.¹³⁴ This final level of learning was not to be completed in less than seven years.¹³⁵ The following schedule suggested by Pierre Dubois in 1309 is probably typical of a beginning program on the first level:¹³⁶

First these pupils would read the Psalter, practice singing, and practice studies in Donatus. Later the boy would read the distichs of Cato and other Latin authors, having four lessons a day or as much as his ability can stand, over which he shall not go to sleep. Let him first hear the teacher read, then another pupil repeat, after whom he shall immediately repeat. He is also to learn declensions and rules of voices by repeating these after the teacher. Let the rules be told him in winter only in the evening shall he do Latin composition . . . as

¹³³Thorndike, op. cit., p. 403.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 405.

¹³⁵Loc. cit.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 404.

soon as Latin is learned, it shall be used at all times . . . they shall do the verses of the poets but only the plain ones for a short time. At length when they are about ready to study logic in the three months of summer they shall hear all poetry mainly, on the first day Cato, the second Theodolus, etc. . . . on each day they shall hear six lessons with two teachers, which they could almost see by themselves having acquired the stories and the figures of common words. In such writings, where simply the arrangement and conception of what is figured is sought, any youth as soon as he has begun to make any progress can see and read as if it were a romance.

All elementary schoolboys studied, and were lectured to, from the "Disticha Catonis, Maximian, Avain, Aesop, the Ilias Latina, and the Ecloga Theoduli."¹³⁷ Certainly, for the brighter student, this list would not represent a stopping point.¹³⁸ Studies of the ancients remained divided into three levels suggested by Aimeric in the Ars Lectoria of 1086. Aimeric classified schooltexts as belonging to the lowest level, with the second level containing "Plautus, Cicero, Boethius, Ennius, Varro, the grammarians and the Latin translation of the Timaeus." The highest and most difficult group contained "Terrence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Persius, and Sallust."¹³⁹ Particular works to be read, according to a thirteenth-century manuscript, include: "Cicero's de Oratore, the Tusculanae Disputationes, the de

¹³⁷ Bolgar, op. cit., p. 197.

¹³⁸ Loc. cit.

¹³⁹ Loc. cit.

Amicitia, the de Senectute, the de Fato, the Paradoxa, the de Officiis, the de Natura Deorum, Ovid's Metamorphoses, and the de Rededio Amoris."¹⁴⁰

Records indicate that all schools followed a two term annual work pattern. The academic year began on October 18 and extended to June 24, the second term beginning in June and ending by October 18.¹⁴¹ The following syllabus from the University of Toulouse indicates what was studied during the morning periods at a four year upper level school:¹⁴²

- 1st period: Prior and Posterior Analytics, 1st year,
Winter term
Topics, Sophistical Refutations, 2nd year,
Winter term
3rd year same as first year
4th year same as second year
- 2nd period: Isagoge of Prophry, Categories, On Interpretation, Priscian Minor, 1st year Winter term
2nd, 3rd, and 4th terms remain the same for the Winter term.
- 1st period: Ethics, first five books, 1st year, Summer term
Ethics, last five books, 2nd year, Summer term
On the Soul, 3rd year, Summer term
Ethics began again by rotation method 4th year Summer term
- 2nd period: Six Principles of Gilbert de la Porree, Divisions of Boethius of first three books of the Topics. Priscian to be finished.

¹⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

¹⁴¹ Louis Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric, p. 95.

¹⁴² Loc. cit.

1st year, Summer term
 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years are the same for
 the Summer term.

After three o'clock, the masters continued with lectures on Aristotle.¹⁴³

It was the twelfth century that gave an unprecedented position to the lecturer and the lecture room.¹⁴⁴ Without an abundance of written material, the lecture system was invaluable. Most of a medieval student's knowledge came from a hearing of material rather than from reading. However, with the lecture system also came the reinterpretation of material. The lecturer would paraphrase the classics to meet specified needs, and it is doubtful that the medieval student ever received first-hand information of the ancients. Most references to the classics were in anthologies of pre-digested mixtures of both Christian and pagan literature.¹⁴⁵

The history of rhetoric in the university during the Middle Ages is a curious subject. Its popularity, at a peak in the twelfth century, gradually waned as rhetoric was enveloped by other fields.¹⁴⁶ Rhetoric was not only a part of

¹⁴³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁴ Daniel McGarry, "Educational Theories of John of Salisbury," Speculum, XXIII (1941), 659.

¹⁴⁵ Jackson, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," Critics and Criticism, ed. R. S. Crane, p. 263.

poetics, but also was combined with Ars Dictamen, or the art of letter writing. As a course of study, Ars Dictamen concerned the instruction of the form letter designed for business or legal use, but it was not always restricted to this formal field.¹⁴⁷ Often student examples were little more than

letters of ". . . skilful appeal to the parental purse."¹⁴⁸

The argument against rhetoric applied to poetics revolved around its use as ornamentation. One area of rhetoric contained a system of themes applicable to various situations which could be "developed or modified to fit every occasion."¹⁴⁹

These topoi or "commonplaces" were listed collectively as Topics.¹⁵⁰ As clichés no longer specifically used in a study

of oratory, these commonplaces now offered ready made units for the struggling writer.¹⁵¹ The prevalence of topoi eventually led to a careful distinction of types of style; i.e., ornatus facilis, easy ornament; and ornatus difficilis, difficult ornament.¹⁵² "Easy ornament" was usually restricted to

¹⁴⁷Atkins, op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁴⁸John C. Lehman, "Some Reflections on the Place of the Medieval Ars Dictaminis within the Rhetorical Tradition," Kansas Speech Journal, XXVI (November, 1964), 43.

¹⁴⁹Curtius, op. cit., p. 70.

¹⁵⁰Loc. cit.

¹⁵¹Loc. cit.

¹⁵²Jackson, op. cit., p. 9.

mere verbal decoration; it was not used or intended to complicate the thought.¹⁵³ "Complicated ornament" included rhetorical devices, such as schemes and tropes, and elaborate thought metaphors.¹⁵⁴

Indeed With the influence of rhetoric, the aims of style were divided into three areas: tenuior, for pleasure; mediocris, to teach; and plenior, to stir emotion.¹⁵⁵ The very existence of such divisions points out the conscious obligation of the medieval poet to "use a style and language appropriate to his work and to impress his audience by his verbal skill."¹⁵⁶

Vernacular poetry was either written simply as trobar plan with little need for expansion by its reciter, or as the more complicated trobar clus, which method necessitated some interpretation.¹⁵⁷ Little distinction was made between poetry and prose, and both were classified together according to style.¹⁵⁸

Since rhetoric had formally been applied to public speaking, the area which concerned the poet was elocutio. The poet's study of rhetoric differed from the former orator's

¹⁵³Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁵⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁸Loc. cit.

study of the same subject only in "degree rather than kind."¹⁵⁹ However, since rhetoric had originally been concerned with a basic intellectual ordering for persuasion, the use of rhetorical technique in medieval poetry would contain the same effect. Indeed, in many medieval works there is an urging for men to act.¹⁶⁰ The Confessio Amantis, based upon the theme of the Seven Deadly Sins, is primarily designed to persuade men to live a better Christian life.

England had inherited from Rome a literary educational system in which the study of literature was assigned to even the youngest of medieval school boys. Consequently, rhetoric, as the art of expression, combined with an interpretation of Latin poetry gave a definite direction to the composition of vernacular and Latin poetry.¹⁶¹ However, France, Spain, Italy, and England had one academic trend in common: a great interest in only the "summaries and epitomes taken directly from the Latin."¹⁶² Because of the early Church domination, Latin literature became, for university teaching, "codified, methodised, and therefore, sterilized."¹⁶³ If the Church did much to

¹⁵⁹J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, p. 449.

¹⁶⁰Baldwin, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁶¹Atkins, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶³Loc. cit.

preserve the classics for the Middle Ages through the scriptoriums, it also, paradoxically, stifled its pagan beauty.¹⁶⁴ Since the Church feared ancient literature as dangerous to its position, the clergy urged that new Latin literature be written to replace profane examples. Much Latin poetry was written, and, following the conventions of the old, its subject matter was changed to meet the demands of the present. This new Latin literature not only became popular, but also replaced the study of the classics in classroom examples.¹⁶⁵

However, by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the university curriculum was beginning to emphasize the studies of medicine, law, and science.¹⁶⁶ With the introduction of the study of Aristotle late in the period, logic became the important subject of study.¹⁶⁷ John of Salisbury was to foreshadow the importance of logica in his Metalogicus. Here, logica is shown, with grammar and rhetoric as only compliments:¹⁶⁸

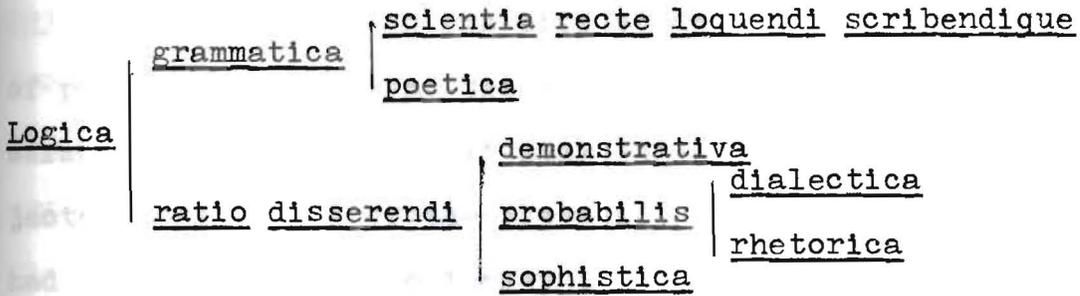
¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ Paetow, op. cit., p. 20.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 25; 26.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁶⁸ Baldwin, op. cit., p. 157.



This suggested outline of course work differs greatly from the usual division of the Trivium: Grammatics, elegance; dialectice, logical coherence; rhetorica, ornament.¹⁶⁹ With the rise in importance of the law school at Bologna, rhetorica and grammatics became decidedly merely a study for boys in preparation for the more important study regarding a profession.¹⁷⁰ By 1366, requirements for the three lesser university degrees consisted of the following:¹⁷¹

Bachelor of Arts: Grammar, Logic and Psychology
 License in Arts: Natural Philosophy
 Master of Arts: Moral Philosophy and completion of the course in Natural Philosophy.

Rhetoric, now, was no longer considered a separate course of study, but was intrinsically fused with the discipline of grammar.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 153.

¹⁷⁰ Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, I, 234.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 437.

The medieval church offered examples of the technique of public speaking, and the art of composition through the sermons of its clergy. If medieval men were not often subjected to the arts of the minstrel, it is certain that they had more than one opportunity to listen to sermons, for preaching revived the almost extinct art of ancient oratory.¹⁷² Rhetoric and grammar were basic subjects taught in cathedral and monastic schools throughout the period. Both areas of study were included as a part of the Artes sermonciales which composed the studium artium of holy order.¹⁷³ By the twelfth century, spiritual oratory concerned with the "affairs of the soul" had replaced political oratory.¹⁷⁴ William of Auvergne states exactly the position of the Church:

Lost and treacherous was your wisdom [ancient orators] which taught only how to move the heart of a human judge. Whereas our lofty art teaches by prayer to mollify Ah, how much better with words to placate the puissant and eternal Father than to dispense the words of human law!¹⁷⁵

The medieval art of prayer employed the exordium, narratio,

¹⁷²Baldwin, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁷³Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians, ed. Raymond Howes, p. 73.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁷⁵Loc. cit.

petitio, confirmatio, and conclusio.¹⁷⁶ Countless numbers of manuals were prepared and studied throughout the period: the Quo ordine sermo fieridebear, by Guibert de Nogent; Summa de arte praedicatoria, by Alain de Lille; De instructione praedicatorum of Humber of Romans; Ars praedicandi, Franciscan manual; and the Artes praedicandi, of which no less than forty-six men between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries contributed treatises bearing this title.¹⁷⁷

Humbert of Romans writing in the twelfth century echoes a convention of vernacular poetry when he emphasizes that the preacher should preach "by word of mouth."¹⁷⁸ In his treatise on preaching, Humbert urges all preachers to be ". . . superior to others in their state of life, in literature, in religion, and all other things."¹⁷⁹ This general knowledge is broadened by Humbert to include the following items:

1. A firm grasp of the Holy Scriptures
2. A study of creatures . . . "Look at the birds of the air . . . See how the lilies of the field." (Matthew, 6: 26-28)
3. A knowledge of history . . . dealing with both the faithful and the infidels
4. A knowledge of the laws of the Church
5. A knowledge of the mysteries of the Church, its figures, its miracles

¹⁷⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁸Walter Conlon (ed.), Treatise on Preaching, p. 38.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 37.

6. A thorough knowledge gained by experience . . . one must talk competently about interesting subjects
7. One must be able to judge souls . . . when to speak and when not to speak
8. One must guard against verbosity, loudness, unbecoming gestures, lack of order in the development of thought, etc.¹⁸⁰

Subject matter would seem to have caused little difficulty for the preacher, since many manuals existed containing suggested sermon topics. Humbert refers preachers to St. Gregory's Pastoral in which a reported thirty-six themes are listed for sermon use.¹⁸¹ The accepted topics for the preacher were divided into ten categories: God, the devil, the heavenly city, hell, the world, the soul, the body, sin, penitence, and virtue.¹⁸² William of Auvergne in the De Faciebus devotes seven chapters to the development of topic.¹⁸³ Humbert insists that, in subject matter, the preacher should exercise ". . . prudence, varying his sermons according to the type of his hearer."¹⁸⁴ The actual sermon itself, Humbert warns, should ". . . be simple, devoid of all empty ornaments of rhetoric . . . guard against multiplying the solemn Divine words lest

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸² Caplan, op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁸³ Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁴ Conlon, op. cit., p. 44.

you thereby overburden your speech."¹⁸⁵ Taking his doctrine from the De Doctrina Christi of St. Augustine, Humbert advises the student to consult the works of the Bishop of Hippo wherein is described in detail ". . . the metre, the length of syllables, and oratorical figures which may be properly used."¹⁸⁶ It appears that there was not a great amount of originality in these vernacular sermons.

Concerning the art of delivery, Humbert advocates that ". . . it should be neither fast nor slow, for one becomes burdensome and difficult to follow, the other occasions weariness."¹⁸⁷ He quotes Seneca, warning that ". . . a genuine philosopher should take as much care of his dictio as of his life."¹⁸⁸ He further states, ". . . nothing is in order where haste prevails . . . if this is demanded of a philosopher, who merely desires the esteem of men, how much more should it be of a preacher who labors for the salvation of souls."¹⁸⁹ He paraphrases Horace in urging brevity: ". . . be brief in your speech so that the docile may understand and the faithful keep

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁸⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁹Loc. cit.

your words."¹⁹⁰ By referring to the Canticle 4: 3, Humbert concludes that the lips of the preacher ". . . are a scarlet ribbon . . . as the gloss holds, are the lips of the Church . . . and as a ribbon binds the hair of the head to prevent it from falling into disorder, so the lips of the preachers should restrain the profusion of words."¹⁹¹

Medieval sermons were closely related to what was taught in university curriculum, and contained, though slightly different in purpose, what was popular in the style of composition for all medieval writers.¹⁹² Medieval sermons were designed for two types of audiences--the laymen, and the Church Brothers.¹⁹³ For the first group, sermons were always in the vernacular, and for the second, always in Latin.¹⁹⁴ Most sermons contained a large amount of exempla or stories and descriptions taken from ". . . contemporary life, from history, from legend, and also from the bestiaries."¹⁹⁵ The bestiaries also provided preachers and vernacular poets with charming stories of animal life. The majority of animal stories current

¹⁹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹⁹¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁹² Baldwin, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁹⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 235.

in the Middle Ages came from Pliny, and when Christianized, provided interesting religious lessons.¹⁹⁶ For example,

The lion was harmless to virgins, from his love of chastity; the pelican symbolized devotion, because she pierced her breast to feed her young; the stork was a great respecter of conjugal virtue, because he killed the unfaithful she-stork; the peacock was the emblem of pride, and the dog was faithful."¹⁹⁷

The Church also attached to the Saints certain animals and their qualities: St. Mark was associated with the Lion, and St. John with the eagle.¹⁹⁸ Mythological animals, such as the phoenix, the unicorn; and the basilisk, also shared in the sermon moral:

The basilisk, they tell us, bears in his eye his poison, vilest of animals, beyond others to be execrated.. Wilt thou know the eye that is empoisoned, eye of evil, eye that has fascination? Then think thou upon envy.
St. Bernard on the Psalm Qui Habitat, xiii. 4: PL 183-237.¹⁹⁹

In the early part of the period when fighting for stability, the Church viewed the classics with mistrust. But whenever it could turn a pagan story into one of Christian virtue, it triumphed. Only the pagan literature that did not

¹⁹⁶J. A. K. Thomson, Classical Influences on English Poetry, p. 83.

¹⁹⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁹Baldwin, op. cit., p. 236.

lend itself to Christian moralizing was denounced.²⁰⁰ As the Church became firmly established, sinful writers, such as Ovid and Vergil, were no longer considered a danger. Medieval man read the classics, giving the characters and authors an environment much as he enjoyed. This treatment of antiquity was the result of an inaccurate knowledge of history. Medieval ideas with their Christian prejudices were simply accepted as being those of the ancients.²⁰¹

Credit must be given Churchmen, such as Jerome and Augustine, who recognized the good to be derived from classical literature. Augustine proclaimed it the "duty of Christians to cherish and study all that was good in antiquity, even as the Israelites of old had spoiled the Egyptians."²⁰² Jerome was also to advocate a kind of literary critical basis for judging the merits of the Bible:

The obscure passages of the Bible are of the same obscurity that was inherent in poetry itself The poets and the prophets business . . . was not to speak plainly, but to speak in such terms as only the initiated could understand . . . this . . . would prevent the poet's truths from becoming cheap and vulgar; it would also render his truths more precious, seeing that they were won only after effort.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Jackson, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁰² Atkins, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 20.

For both Church and vernacular literature, one of the greatest influences to be derived from the ancients was the rhetorical device of personification. The vices, virtues, and the seven deadly sins were given ". . . appropriate costume, attitudes, and gestures of actions."²⁰⁴ Piers Plowman, written late in the fourteenth century, proves the enduring quality and appeal of this device. Throughout the Confessio Amantis, Pride, Envy, Lust, Wrath, Sloth, Avarice, and Gluttony are given character and sometimes dialogue by the rhetorical device of personification.

The art of preaching, therefore, had to include a thorough knowledge of rhetoric and poetic.²⁰⁵ The good medieval sermon was a perfect combination of the two. Obviously, not all sermons met this standard. However, any man hoping to succeed by preaching had read and applied the following texts: Aristotle's Categories, and Topics; Cicero's Topics, De Inventione, and De oratore; the Rhetorica ad Herennium; and the Commentaries of Boethius.²⁰⁶ According to Alain, "Preaching is open and public instruction in faith and morals, devoted to the informing of men, based on divine science, and

²⁰⁴Baldwin, op. cit., p. 245.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p. 248.

²⁰⁶Caplan, op. cit., p. 80.

confirmed by authorities."²⁰⁷ These "authorities" were to include the masters of antiquity.

Long before education was systematized, the Hellenistic rhetoricians had a well developed program of "verbal figures comprised mainly of schemes and tropes." These, inherited by the Latin writers, finally became the rhetorical devices of the medieval poets. The first English translation of a list of verbal devices is, surprisingly enough, the work of the Venerable Bede. Bede lists eighteen schemes and thirteen tropes accompanying each with an example taken from the Bible. By use of Biblical example, Bede, also, shows an early literary interpretation of the Bible. Recognizing rhetoric as ornament, he describes its use in the following way:

Frequently for reasons of beauty, the arrangement of words in writing is found to be different from the ordinary mode of expression. The grammarians employ the Greek term schema in describing this, though we are correct in calling it a "clothing" of "form" or "figure," since language is in a sense clothed and adorned thereby. Again, "transferred" expressions are often seen: this occurs when, out of necessity or for reasons of beauty, language is transferred from its proper meaning to something similar but not literal. The Greek indeed boast that they were the originators of such schemes and tropes. But . . . the Holy Scripture overshadows all other writings, not only in authority . . . but in its antiquity.²⁰⁸

For the Middle Ages, Cicero was the main source of study

²⁰⁷ D'Alton, op. cit., p. 453.

²⁰⁸ J. Richard McNally (trans.), Bede on Schemes and Tropes, p. 1.

for rhetorical devices. The De Inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium provided not only lists and examples of devices, but also aids in presentation. It is from the De Inventione that medieval man learned audience psychology. Cicero (Bk. I, xvii.25) stresses that ". . . just as a loathing and distaste for food is relieved by some morsel with a bit of tang, or appeased by a sweet, so a mind wearied by listening is strengthened by astonishment or refreshed by laughter."²⁰⁹

Just what constituted the humorous seems also to have been taken from the ancients. Cicero's definition of the "laughable" could be applied to many medieval poems that have often been taken seriously. According to Cicero, ". . . the laughable, ridiculum, lies in a certain ugliness, turpitude, and deformity, deformitas; for those sayings are laughed at solely or chiefly which point out and designate something ugly in a manner that is not ugly."²¹⁰ Aristotle's definition is somewhat clearer: "The ridiculous may be defined as a species of the Ugly . . . a mistake, or deformity not productive of pain, or harm to others; the mask, for instance, is something ugly and distorted without causing pain."²¹¹ Comedy might be used in the conclusion of a speech, because it could replace

²⁰⁹H. M. Hubbell (trans.), Cicero, De Inventione, p. 51.

²¹⁰Marvin T. Herrick, "The Theory of the Laughable in the Sixteenth Century," QJS, XXXV (February, 1949), 1.

²¹¹Loc. cit.

the three requirements for an ending: "the reckoning up, the arousing of pity or laughter, and it could substitute good humor for indignation."²¹² With this definition, Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight could be an example of ridiculum. "He ferde as freke were fade / And oueral enker grene."²¹³ Certainly, his color is extraordinary. Moreover, he is described in a "manner that is not ugly":

Der hales in at þe halle dor an aghlich mayster,
 On þe most on þe molde on mesure hyghe;
 Fro þe swyre to þe swange so sware and so þik,
 And his lyndes and his lymes so longe and so grete,
 Half etyn in erde I hope þat he were,
 Bot mon most I algate myn hym to bene.
 (GGK, I.136-141)

To medieval man there were available volumes of material containing examples of how to combine wit and rhetoric. These examples were listed under a variety of headings: adversity, anger, envy, fear, God, honesty, justice, prudence, revenge, and truth.²¹⁴ Much like modern books of famous quotations, these collections contained proverbs, maxims, fables, similes, descriptions, and selected quotations.²¹⁵ These books were

²¹²Marvin T. Herrick, "The Place of Rhetoric in Poetic Theory," QJS, XXIV (February, 1948), 19.

²¹³GGK, I.149-150.

²¹⁴William G. Crane, Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance, p. 32.

²¹⁵Loc. cit.

also available in the vernacular.²¹⁶ Moreover, collections of entire passages appeared in bound volume form. These examples exemplified the formal figures of rhetoric and also contained samples of almost every type of formal literary description; the perfect female beauty, the chaste matron, the noble king, the lovely city, and the delights of spring.²¹⁷ In the De Inventione, Cicero briefly describes the general type of subject best suited to favorable audience response:²¹⁸

. . . we shall make our audience attentive if we show that the matters which we are about to discuss are important, novel, or incredible, or that they concern all humanity or those in the audience or some illustrious men or the immortal gods or the general interest of the states. (Bk. I.xvi.22)

He also points out the necessity of brevity:²¹⁹

. . . also if we promise to prove our own case briefly, and explain the point to be decided or the several points . . . we shall make the auditors receptive if we explain the essence of the case briefly and in plain language, that is, the point on which the controversy turns For when you wish to make an auditor receptive you should also at the same time render him attentive. For he is most receptive who is prepared to listen most attentively. (Bk. I.xcii.23)

²¹⁶Loc. cit.

²¹⁷Jackson, op. cit., p. 8.

²¹⁸Hubbell, op. cit., p. 47.

²¹⁹Loc. cit.

The brevity formula was one of the most widely misinterpreted and misused devices in all of medieval literature. Having its birth in Greek rhetoric, it was counted as a virtue by the ancients. However, by the time of the Middle Ages, it had little, if anything to do with being brief. There are examples showing that the formula was merely used to assure the audience that the poet knew the principles of rhetoric, or it simply provided the lame excuse for ending a poem.²²⁰ In other words, the author would assure the audience that many more incidents occurred, but that there was not time to tell all.²²¹

In the De Inventione, Cicero also lists what narrative should contain if it were to be plausible:²²²

The narrative will be plausible if it seems to embody characteristics which are accustomed to appear in real life; if the proper qualities of the character are maintained, if reasons for their actions are plain, if there seems to have been ability to do the deed, if it can be shown that the time was opportune, the space sufficient and the place suitable for the events about to be narrated; if the story fits in with the nature of the actors, in it, the habits of ordinary people and the beliefs of the audience. (Bk. I.xxi.30)

The narrative, to Cicero, could be divided into two classes:

²²⁰ Curtius, op. cit., p. 487.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 488.

²²² Hubbell, op. cit., p. 61.

one concerned with events; and the other, concerned with persons. If the narrative were an ". . . exposition of events that have occurred or are supposed to have occurred," it could also be used to ". . . digress, attack, or support someone, make a comparison, or amuse."²²³ The exposition of events, then, contained three areas of development:

Fabula: the term applied to narrative in which the events are not true and have no verisimilitude

Historia: the term applied to an account of actual occurrences remote from the recollection of our own age

Argumentum: the term applied to a fictitious narrative which nevertheless could have occurred.²²⁴

The Rhetorica ad Herennium was the most popular rhetorical text used during the Middle Ages. Falsely thought to have been Cicero's Rhetorica Nova, the Ad Herennium provided definitions and examples of every type of rhetorical device. In addition to a general listing of conventions, it included examples separated into the divisions of thought and diction. These were the rhetorical devices so avidly followed by medieval poets:²²⁵

Epanaphora: one and the same word forms successive beginnings for phrase expressing like and different ideas.

²²³ Ibid., p. 55.

²²⁴ Loc. cit.

²²⁵ The following devices are paraphrased from the Ad Herennium as translated by Harry Caplan in Rhetorica Ad Herennium, pp. 229-411.

- Antistrophe: repeat last word in each phrase.
- Interlacement: union of both of the preceding figures.
- Transplacement: same word frequently introduced within period
. . . inheres in the repetition an elegance which the ear can distinguish more easily than words explain.
- Antithesis: the use of contraries.
- Apostrophe: expresses grief or indignation by means of an address to man, place, etc.
- Maxim: a saying drawn from life.
- Colon or Clause: does not express complete thought.
- Comma or Phrase: single words set apart.
- Period: close-packed, uninterrupted group of words embracing a complete thought.
- Isocolon: figure comprised of colon (see above) which consists of a virtually equal number of syllables.
- Homoeoptoton: two or more words with the same case in a period.
- Homoeoteleuton: word endings are similar.
- Paronomasia: modifications of sound word-plays.
- Climax: passes by steps to important thought.
- Definition: qualities of a thing.
- Transition: recalls what has been said and likewise briefly sets forth what is to follow.
- Paralipsis: we say that we are passing by or do not know, or refuse to say that which precisely now we are saying.
- Disjunction: two or more clauses end with special verb.
- Conjunction: two phrases are linked by verb in middle.
- Adjunction: verb appears at the beginning.

Figures of Thought

- Distribution: specified roles are assigned.
- Frankness of Speech: before those we owe reverence or fear, we speak out . . . by means of palliation: "I appeal to your virtue" remonstrance of hearers: "I fear you will not believe me" one denotes pungency, the other pretence
- Understatement: avoid expression of arrogant display.
- Vivid Description: clear expressive, impressive exposition
. . . arouse indignation or pity
- Division: separates alternatives of a question and resolves each by means of a reason subjoined.
- Accumulation: points scattered throughout whole cause are collected in one place . . . makes speech impressive, sharp or accusatory.
- Refining: dwelling on same topic but seeming to say something ever new.
- Dialogue: language in keeping with character.
- Arousal: speaker speaks under emotion but includes audience, use of "we."

Dwelling on the Point: remains and returns to strongest topic.

Comparison: element of likeness . . . consists of four parts:

- a. Contrast--for elegance and embellishment
- b. Negation--negative compared to positive
- c. Detailed Parallel--vividness in form of detailed parallel
- d. Abridged comparison--for clarity.

Exemplification: citing something done or said in the past along with the naming of the doer or author.

Simile: "like" comparisons . . . for praise or censure.

Portrayal: bodily form of person described

Character delineation: describing character by definite signs or distinctive marks of that type of character.

Personification: representing an absent person as present or a mute object as articulate.

Emphasis: leaves more to be suspected than has already been asserted

Reduplication: repetition of one or more words for purpose Amplification or Appeal to pity.

Synonymy: (Interpretation) replaces word by another of the same meaning.

Surrender: we yield or submit whole matter to another's will.

Indecision: speaker seems undecided as to exactly what words he should use . . . "ought I to say."

Elimination: enumerate several ways that the topic might be presented and then discard all but one.

Asyndeton: presentation in separate parts, conjunctions being suppressed.

Aposiopesis: something is left unsaid.

Conclusion: by brief argument deduce necessary consequences of what has been said.

Figures of Diction

Onomatopoeia: certain words for their innate expressiveness.

Antonomasia: (Pronomination) designates by a kind of adventitious epithet a thing that cannot be called its proper name . . . use of epithet instead of precise name.

Metonymy: figure which draws from an object closely akin or associated an expression suggesting the object named.

Periphrasis: express simple idea by means of circumlocution.

Hyperbaton: upsets word order by means of Anastrophe or Transposition.

Hyperbole: exaggerating the truth to magnify or to minimize.

Synecdoche: whole is known from a small part or part of the whole.

Catachresis: inexact use of a like and kindred word in place of the proper one.

Metaphor: (vivid mental picture) when word applying to one thing is transferred to another because similarity seems to justify this transference . . . there should never be a leap to the unknown thing.

Allegory: one thing by words but another by their meaning.

Emphasis: there are five parts to Emphasis:

- a. Hyperbole--when more is said than the truth warrants, gives force to suspicion.
- b. Ambiguity--word taken in two or more sense.
- c. Logical Consequence--mention of things that follow a given circumstance.
- d. Aposiopesis--begin to say something then stop short.
- e. Analogy--cite some analogue but do not amplify it but intimate what we are thinking.

Conciseness: minimum of essential words to express an idea.

Ocular Demonstration: even is so described that the business seems to be enacted and the subject passes vividly before our eyes.

Geoffrey of Vinsauf's listing of rhetorical devices follows closely the one presented in the Ad Herennium, except for the areas of Amplification and Abbreviation. Under these general headings, Geoffrey lists the means by which one may dilate a story and also curb it. A device listed under Abbreviation is occupatio, showing its medieval acceptance as a part of the brevitas formula.²²⁶ Geoffrey also offers a list of ornatus facilis and a list of ornatus difficilis. The first device which he lists as "easy ornament" is that of repetitio. This device, widely used in medieval poetry, consisted of repeating any number of successive lines or clauses beginning with the same word.

In addition to these complete listings of devices for

²²⁶ Atkins, op. cit., p. 200.

use in writing, the medieval poet could also consult numerous available lists of topics.²²⁷ Among such topoi were topics to draw attention to the modesty of the writer, topics to give reasons for the composition, topics of conclusion, and topics concerning various truths of nature.²²⁸ The medieval poet had a more than ample amount of already catalogued writing aids at his disposal.

²²⁷Curtius, op. cit., p. 79.

²²⁸Loc. cit.

CHAPTER III

THE FUNCTION OF RHETORICAL DEVICE IN

JOHN GOWER'S CONFESSIO AMANTIS

Gower enjoyed unprecedented popularity in his lifetime. The Confessio Amantis was the earliest English work to achieve translation in a contemporary language.²²⁹ A Spanish edition made very early in the fifteenth century also refers to a Portuguese manuscript of the text. The first printed edition was made just six years after the invention of the printing press in 1483.²³⁰ This copy by Caxton was not followed by a second until one appeared in 1532 by the printer to King Thomas, Berthelette, who found the popularity of the Confessio Amantis great enough to warrant another printing in 1544.²³¹ However, from 1544 to 1810, when the Confessio was included in Chalmer's English Poets, II, the books had not been re-printed.²³² The three-volume work of Dr. Reinhold Pauli in 1857 was to remain for years the only notable text.²³³ Scholars today recommend the work of G. C. Macaulay printed in 1900.

²²⁹ Macaulay, op. cit., I, vii.

²³⁰ Morley, op. cit., I, x.

²³¹ Loc. cit.

²³² Loc. cit.

²³³ Loc. cit.

It is Macaulay who presents the more complete and accurate version of the original, since in preparing for his study, he consulted all of the forty known existing texts of the Confessio Amantis.²³⁴ Macaulay's work prints both the original and revised editions of the introduction and conclusion.

Three types of manuscripts exist. The first concerns the manuscripts which contain the praises of King Richard in the conclusion; the second has the additions of the fifth and seventh books and a reordering of the sixth, with the conclusion excluding the praises of the King; the third excludes chapters five and seven, but contains the rewritten material at the beginning and end.²³⁵ The best extant copy is MS. Fairfax 3 thought to have belonged to the "scriptorium" of the poet.²³⁶ It is obvious by the erasures and additions in handwriting that the copy had been carefully reworked to act as a master copy for future "printing."²³⁷ This manuscript saved money for the author as a complete rewriting including added books would have been costly.

One other extant manuscript is worth noting. The Stafford MS. appears to precede the Fairfax copy. It is a

²³⁴ Macaulay, op. cit., I, cxxvii.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. cxxviii.

²³⁶ Loc. cit.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. cxxx.

dedication copy meant for Henry of Lancaster. This could have been the first text to contain the changed preface. It is logical to think that a dedication copy to Henry would have of necessity excluded praises of his wayward brother. Moreover, it is probable that the revised copies were meant for private circulation only, and that the first type of manuscript remained for the general public until after the change in ruling power.²³⁸

The exact date of completion for the first manuscript is still a matter of conjecture. Pauli concludes that the work was begun in and completed about 1386 with a possibly earlier date of 1383 seeming likely.²³⁹ He rests his argument upon Gower's still evident hope expressed for the young king. Pauli maintains that this attitude could have existed only before 1386.²⁴⁰ The earliest known text of the Confessio Amantis bears the date of 1390, and later scholars, including Macaulay declare that this date represents a completion of the first manuscript.²⁴¹ Macaulay's evidence seems more substantial than Pauli's obvious guesswork. For example, to Macaulay, an erasure in the Fairfax copy of the date 1390 seems to indicate

²³⁸ Ibid., p. cxxxviii.

²³⁹ Morley, op. cit., p. xvi.

²⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

²⁴¹ Macaulay, op. cit., I, xxi.

that this year was the publication date and, therefore, inaccurate for a later edition.²⁴² He argues, then, that the date of 1393 of the "sixteenth year of King Richard"²⁴³ would appear to be the poet's dating of his first major revision. However, there is no proof that Gower's rewriting ceased at this time. It is probable that he continued to revise, with the aid of hired copyists, various minor points throughout the poem.²⁴⁴ Gower's method of revision seemed to be that of a complete erasing of the material to be excluded and the insertion of new material over this area.²⁴⁵ Later copies of the Confessio Amantis show revision undertaken to remedy printing errors, to revise thought, and to smooth rough rhyme.²⁴⁶

The matter of the Confessio Amantis is taken largely from the ancients. Gower's sources range from Ovid to the Bible. He has usually merely enlarged these stories, and most do not contain new material. However, the well ordered and interesting arrangement of the tales is Gower's own;²⁴⁷

²⁴² Ibid., p. xxii.

²⁴³ Prologue, p. 25.

²⁴⁴ Macaulay, op. cit., I, cxxxii.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. xxvii.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. cxxxii.

²⁴⁷ Macaulay, op. cit., I, xii.

although he was not original in effecting the general framework of his Confessio Amantis, but followed a popular form of linking together a series of different stories by a sustained narrative.²⁴⁸ This method had already proved popular in Boccaccio's Decameron and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. No doubt he was also influenced by the success of Chaucer's the Legend of Good Women.²⁴⁹ Popular taste had been established by these works, and it would seem that Gower also sought the same kind of recognition accorded Chaucer. In this, his only English work, Gower dispenses with his usually outspoken moralistic attitude and concerns himself with story telling. This aspect of the Confessio Amantis introduces a new Gower--one no longer attempting to single-handedly correct the world's faults.

Gower's theme is that of the Roman de la Rose. Both works concern Genius, the priest of Nature and the confession of a mortal. There is reason to believe that King Richard suggested to Gower the subject of love, having been gravely reprimanded previously by the poet in the Vox Clamantis.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Henry Morley (ed.), The Confessio Amantis of John Gower, p. xv.

²⁴⁹ Macaulay, op. cit., I, x.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. xi.

²⁵¹ Loc. cit.

Nevertheless, by limiting his theme to love, Gower does not restrict his stories to this one area alone. Often by illustration of a vice or virtue, through his semi-religious handling of a story, Gower forgets the plight of his lover until he has the Confessor apply the tale in summary.

It is the dubious position of the Confessor that weakens Gower's framework. As a priest, the Confessor is concerned with morality, but as a spokesman for Venus, his religious role seems absurd. Nor, is his position consistent. That is, as a priest of love, he indiscriminately condones the very immorality that, as a confessor, he must condemn.²⁵² Beginning with the first meeting between the Confessor and the mortal, he states,

O Genius myn oghne Clerk,
 Com forth and hier this mannes schrifte,
 . . . and I up lifte
 Min hefd with that, and gan beholde
 The selve Prest, which as sche would
 Was redy there and sette him down
 To hiere my confession. (Bk. I.196-200)

It is this thread of narration which connects the one-hundred and nineteen stories. Each block of material is summarized by the Priest's conversations with the man. This framework could have included any number of stories. Its flexibility displays an excellent craftsmanship. Unlike Chaucer, Gower

²⁵²Ibid., p. xix.

never tires of a tale, but completes each section. The entire work, including Chapter VII, was published during his lifetime.

Gower's seventh chapter is of especial interest because in it he deviates from his original plan to include only those stories concerned with the Seven Deadly Sins. Conscious of King Richard's mishandling of government policy, Gower devotes 5,430 lines to examples denoting the duties of a king. However well intended, his inclusion of Chapter VII only abruptly interrupts his otherwise well connected narratives. He departs from his theme of love with very little transition, so that it is difficult for one to accept the Confessor's explanation for the digression, as follows:

I Genius the prest of love,
 Mi Sone, as thou hast pried above
 That I the Scole schal declare
 Of Aristotle and ek the fare
 Of Alisandre, hou he was tauht,
 I am somdel therof destrauht:
 For it is nocht to the matiere
 Of love, why we stlien hiere
 To schryve, so as Venus bad.
 Bot natheles, for it is glad,
 So as thou siest, for thin aprise
 To hiere of suche thinges wise,
 Whereof thou myht the time lisse,
 So as I can, I schal the wisse:
 For wisdom is at every throwe
 Above all other thing to knowe
 In loves cause and elleswhere.
 (Bk. VII.1-18)

As Gower states in his opening period and in his Latin gloss accompanying this section, his primary source was

Aristotle. He does not, however, restrict himself to the one source, for his idea for this chapter was taken from the popular Secretum Secretorum, accepted during the Middle Ages as the work of Aristotle. Various texts of this work were readily available, appearing in both Latin and vernacular translations under the general title of De Regimine Principum.²⁵³ Gower closely follows the French version by Jofroi de Watreford; however, scholars have concluded that he also used an unedited edition which has not been preserved.²⁵⁴ He differs from Watreford in that he names five divisions of principles for noble conduct: Truth, Liberality, Justice, Pity, and Chastity. This catalogue could be either a modification or expansion of an unknown source, since there does not appear to be any reason for his choice of five.²⁵⁵

Also in Chapter VII, Gower freely rearranges the material which he has taken from Brunetto Latini. Borrowing Latini's division of philosophy, Gower substitutes rhetoric for logic.²⁵⁶ His obvious emphasis upon rhetoric, here, reveals his concern for the art. Moreover, he states that, in the sciences, rhetoric is ". . . second only to Philosophy":

²⁵³Vernon Hull, "Notes on the Influence of The Secretorum," Speculum, III (1928), 86.

²⁵⁴Ibid., p. 93.

²⁵⁵Ibid., p. 85.

²⁵⁶Ibid., p. 86.

it is the distinguishing feature of man, and with its direct appeal to both the heart and soul, it is an indispensable aid to the ruler.²⁵⁷ In this section as in others, Gower stresses that rhetoric should be "plein withoute frounce."²⁵⁸ More than other writers of the period, Gower seemed to follow closely Aristotle's definition of rhetoric: "the art of giving effectiveness to truth."²⁵⁹

He advises King Richard to "Tak hiede and red whilom the speche of Julius and Cithero."²⁶⁰ He emphasizes that the eloquence of rhetoric should govern every speech:

Ther mai a man the Scolle liere
 Of Rethoriques eloquences,
 Which is the secounde of sciences
 Touchehce to Philosophie;
 Wherof a man schal justifie
 Hise wordes in disputeisoun,
 And knette upon conclusion,
 His Argument in such a forme,
 Which mai the pleine trouthe enforme
 And the soubtil cautele abate,
 Which every trewman schal debate.
 (Bk. VII.1630-1640)

However, Gower does not fail to include that rhetoric ". . . hath Gramaire, [and] . . . Logic" and that the power of words

²⁵⁷ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, I, 276-277.

²⁵⁸ Bk. VII.1594.

²⁵⁹ Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ Bk. VII.1596-1597.

should not be under estimated, as follows:

Word hath beguiled many a man;
 With word the wilde beste is daunted,
 With word the Serpent is enchanted,
 Of word among the men of Armes
 Ben woundes heeled with the charmes,
 Wher lacketh other medicine;
 Word hath under his discipline
 Of Sorcerie the karectes.
 (Bk. VII.1564-1571)

This section on rhetoric constitutes a part of the beginning of Gower's chapter devoted to the studies suited to a king. Here, Gower suggests the following curriculum, including the three divisions of philosophy: Theoric, Theology, Phisics, Mathematics, Creation of the four elements, the four complexions of man, the soul of man, the division of the earth, astronomy, the planets and signs, the fifteen stars, authors of the science of astronomy, Rhetoric, Practic, Truth, Liberality, Discretion in giving, Flattery, Justice, Pity, Cruelty, Mercy, Wisdom, Justice, and Chastity. Under these various headings, many delightful subtitles appear: for example, The Courtiers and the Fool, The Mountain and the Mouse, The King, Wine, Women, and the Truth. Yet, no matter how amusing or revealing, Chapter VII is weak and out of place in Gower's handling of the theme of love.²⁶¹

Gower's other primary sources for various chapters in

²⁶¹ Macaulay, op. cit., I, xix.

the Confessio Amantis include the Roman de Troi. The text that Gower follows, here, is that of the Historia Trojana by Guido delle Colonne.²⁶² However, he may have resorted to two other versions for his background material: Konrad von Wurzburg's Trojanerkrieg and the Middle English Seege of Troye.²⁶³ The material concerning Achilles' youth in the Confessio Amantis is extensive enough to suggest a source in addition to Statius' Achilleis. Some of the material appears to follow Konrad, but there are sections which contain no known version of the story. Again, it is probable that many manuscripts available to Gower have not survived to the present day.²⁶⁴ It is certain that Gower did not have access to the original Achilleis, nor does he show a familiarity with the widely read Thebais. Many of his references to the ancients could have been taken from the anthologies of examples provided for students of composition. This method would seem likely in lieu of the fact that so many of these collections existed.²⁶⁵

Gower's treatment of Hercules in the fifth Book shows originality, because he adheres only to the basis of the

²⁶²George Hamilton, "Gower's Use of the Roman De Troie," PMLA, XX (1905), 179.

²⁶³Loc. cit.

²⁶⁴Ibid., p. 187.

²⁶⁵Ibid., p. 195.

original story found in the romance of Barlaam and Josaphat.²⁶⁶ Two translations of this text were available to him; one by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in Latin; the other by Gui de Cambrai in French.²⁶⁷ The French version is listed in an inventory of the Duke of Gloucester's possessions.²⁶⁸ As a close friend of the court, Gower probably had access to this library. Also listed in the inventory is the Tresor of Brunetto Latini, one of the sources for Gower's seventh chapter.²⁶⁹

Ovid's Metamorphoses provides Gower with source material for approximately twenty of the stories in the Confessio Amantis; and Chaucer was likely the source for at least two. Indeed, it is thought that the two poets often worked together on the same material.²⁷⁰ The Book of Daniel provides Gower with the story of Tarquin and Lucrece.²⁷¹ Bocaccio's Decameron serves not only as general guide for the development of the

²⁶⁶George Hamilton, "Studies in the Sources of Gower," JEGP, XXVI (1941), 491.

²⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 491-492.

²⁶⁸Loc. cit.

²⁶⁹Loc. cit.

²⁷⁰Morley, op. cit., p. xv.

²⁷¹Ibid., p. xxii.

Confessio Amantis, but also contributes material for two stories.²⁷²

The Confessio Amantis was written primarily in the rhetorical style of ornatus facilis, or "easy ornament." This fact can be interpreted to mean two things: first, that Gower's education was limited to the first area of the Trivium; or secondly, that Gower's interest in his subject matter made him choose a style that was subordinate to it. As a learned, tri-lingual poet, he obviously knew more than just the basic requirements for a student of composition. Indeed, many areas of the Confessio Amantis show his exalted plans for his verse form. For example, he was alone in his attempt to combine the French syllabic with the English accentual system of metre. Though not successful, he was obviously interested in the incorporation of new ideas related to form. Gower, in many aspects, was an inventive poet. It is unusual that, in the matter of verse, he did not feel the restrictions of style, while in his use of rhetoric, nothing could be more commonplace and elementary. Obviously, his reason for choosing "easy ornament" reflects a particular plan. However, the evidence of metaphor and use of figurative description, though not extensive, indicate that he could effectively use ornatus difficilis.

²⁷² Ibid., p. xxvi.

In the Ad Herennium, with which Gower was obviously well acquainted, three types of style are listed: the Grand, the Middle, and the Simple. The Grand Style consists of the highly ornate ordering of words; the Middle Style contains a lower but not lowest selection of language; and the Simple Style uses the most current common standard of speech. By choosing the third style, Gower places emphasis upon his content, making a selection of the most basic of rhetorical ornamentations. He wishes the emphasis to be on his stories. However, in the following examples taken from the Prologue and first three books of the Confessio Amantis, one observes also Gower's use of ornatus difficilis:

Epanaphora: one and the same word forms successive beginnings for phrases expressing like or different ideas.

Bot for no lust ne for no rage (Bk. II.910)
 Or be him lief or be him loth (Bk. II.999)
 To some it thoghte for the beste,
 To some it thoghte nothing so (Bk. II.2510-11)

Antistrophe: repetition of last word in successive phrases.

Which I cowthe in myn herte chese,
 And serve hem forth in stede of chese
 (Bk. III.501-502)

Transplacement: the same word may be frequently introduced, often first in one function and then in another.

Of these lovers that loven streyte (Bk. II.237)
 Thus toward hem that wicke men
 My wicked word was evere grene. (Bk. II.495-496)

Antithesis: the style is built upon contraries.

And that was love is thanne hate (Bk. II.810)
 The qwike body with the dede (Bk. II.2779)
 Riht so vertu fordoth the vice (Bk. II.3172)

Apostrophe: a figure which expresses grief or indignation by means of an address to some man or city or place or object.

And seide: "O thou, which hast desesed
The Court of France be thi wrong,
Now schalt thou singe an other song:
Thin enterdit and thi sentence
Ayein thin oghne conscience
Hierafter thou schalt fiele and grope . . .
Bot thou, which hast be deceivable
And tricherous in al thi werk,
Thou Bonefas, thou proude clerk
Misledere of the Papacie (Bk. II.3010-3021)

Maxim: a saying drawn from life, showing concisely either what happens, or ought to happen, in life.

That in a wayt ar alle assaies
Supplant of love in oure daies
The leif fulofte for the levere
Forsakth, and so it hath don evere. (Bk. II.2447-2450)
For if Fa crere come aboute,
Thanne afterward hem stant no doute
To voide with a soubtill hond
The beste goodes of the lond
And bring chaf and take corn. (Bk. II.2123-2127)

Climax: the speaker passes to the following word only after advancing by steps to the preceding one.

Fro point to point I wol declare
And wryten of my woful care,
Mi woful day, my wofull chance,
That men mowe take remembrance
Of that thei schall hierafter rede (Bk. I.73-77)

Transition: a brief recall of what has been said, that, in addition, sets forth what is to follow next.

Confessor: Lo, what profit a man mai finde,
Which hindre wole an other wiht.
Forthi with al thin hole miht,
Mi Sone, eschue thilke vice.

Amans: Mi fader, elles were I nyce:
For ye therof so wel have spoke,
That it is in myn herte loke
And evere schal: Bot of Envie,
If ther be more in his baillie
Towards love, sai me what. (Bk. II.1862-1871)

Paralipsis: when one says that he is passing by, or does not know, or refuses to say that which precisely he is now saying.

I may noght strecche up to the hevене
 Min hand, ne setten al in evēne
 This world, which evere is in balance:
 It stant noght in my sufficance
 So grete thinges to compasse,
 Bot I mot lete it overpasse
 And tretēn upon othre thinges. (Bk. I.1-7)

Disjunction: when two or more clauses or phrases end with a special verb.

Wher lawe lacketh, errour groweth,
 He is noght wys who that ne troweth
 (Prologue, 511-512)

Reduplication: the repetition of one or more words for the purpose of amplification or appeal to pity.

What leste is worth of alle thinges,
 And costeth most, I telle it, Pride:
 . . . Bar Pride with him into helle.
 There was Pride of to gret a cost,
 Whan he for Pride hath hevēne lost;
 . . . Adam for Pride loste his pris:
 . . . Pride is the cause of alle wo,
 . . . To stanche of Pride the reprise:
Pride is the hevēd of all Sinne,
 . . . Pride is of every mis the pricke,
Pride is the werste of all wicke
 (Bk. I.3295-3312)

Reciprocal Change: two discrepant thoughts are expressed by transposition so that the latter follows from the former, although they may be contradictory.

With cheste thogh I me travaile:
 Bot Oule on Stock and Stock on Oule
 (Bk. III.585)

Surrender: when one indicates in speaking that he yields and submits the whole matter to another's will; this figure is especially suited to provoking pity.

O mihti god, that al hast wrought
 And al myht bringe ayēin to noght,
 . . . O mihti lord, toward my vice

Thi merci medle with justice;
 And I woll make a covenant
 That of my lif the remenant
 I shall it be thi grace amende
 . . . And bowe unto thin heste and suie
 Humilite, and that I vowe. (Bk. I.3005-3021)

Figures of Diction

Metonymy: the figure which draws from an object (closely akin or associated) an expression suggesting the object or person intended, but not called by its name.

Bot he that made ferst the mone . . . (Prologue, 484)
 And with that word I sawh anon
 The kyng of love and qweene bothe
 (Bk. I.138-139)

Synecdoche: when the whole is known from a small part, or a part from the whole . . . the quantity is often minimized for the sake of elegance or exaggerated for the sake of impressiveness.

Lo, thus tobroke is Cristes folde,
 Whereof the flock withoute guide
 Devoured is on every side (Prologue, 390-392)

Catachresis: the inexact use of a similar and kindred word in place of a precise and proper one.

Bot for my wittes ben to smale (Prologue, 81)

Metaphor: when a word applying to one thing is transferred to another, because the similarity seems to justify this transference. Metaphor is used for the sake of creating a vivid mental picture. The following is a comparison of sheep to man:

Into the breres thei forcacche
 . . . for that thei wolden lacche
 With such duresce, and so bereve
 That schal upon the thornes leve
 Of wulle, which the brere hath tore
 (Prologue, 407-413)

Allegory: a manner of speech denoting one thing by the letter of the words, but another by their meaning. This device can operate through a comparison when a number of metaphors, originating in a similarity in the mode of expression are

set together.

Thin entre lich the fox was slyh,
 Thi regne also with pride on hih
 Was lich the Leon in his rage;
 Bot are laste of thi passage
 Thi deth was to the houndes like. (Bk. II.3033-3034)

Vivid Description: a figure which contains a clear, lucid, and impressive exposition of the consequences of an act.

This worthi Maiden which was there
 Stod thanne, as who seith ded for feere,
 To se the feste how that it stod,
 Which al was torned into blod:
 The Dissh forthwith the Coppe and al
 Bebled thei weren overal (Bk. II.696-700)

Comparison: a manner of speech that carries over an element of likeness from one thing to a different thing. It is used to embellish or prove or to clarify or vivify. It has four forms of presentation: Contrast, Negation, Detailed Parallel, Abridged Comparison.

Contrast: That is nowher bot in o place;
 For who that lese or finde grace. . . .
 (Bk. II.31-32)
 This Angel . . . Opposeth hem in sondri wise,
 Now lowde wordes and now softe
 (Bk. II.307-309)

Parallelism: He seide how that betokne scholde
 A worthi world, a noble, a riche,
 To which non after schal be liche.
 (Prologue, 632-634)

Simile: a comparison of one figure with another implying that there is a certain resemblance between them.

For as the Nettle which up renneth
 The freisshe rede Roses brenneth
 And makth hem fade and pale of hewe,
 Riht so this fals Envious hewe
 In every place wher he duelleth,
 With false words whiche he telleth
 (Bk. II.401-406)

Portrayal: representing and depicting, in words clearly enough for recognition, the bodily form of some person.

Me thoughte I syh upon a Stage
 Wher stod a wonder strange ymage.
 His hed with al the necke also
 Thei were of fin gold both tuo;
 His brest, his schuldres and his armes
 Were al so selver, bot the tharmes,
 The wombe and aldoun to the kne,
 Of bras thei were upon to se (Prologue, 603-610)

Dialogue: assigning to some person a kind of language which, as set forth, conforms with his character.

To hire, and in this wise he seide:
 "O Hermyngeld, which Cristes feith,
 Enformed as Constance seith,
 Received hast, yif me my sihte." (Bk. II.762-765)

Personification: representing an absent person as present, or making a mute thing or one lacking form, articulate; attributing to it a definite form and a language or a certain behavior appropriate to its character.

Behold the people of Israel:
 For evere whil thei deden wel,
 Fortune was hem debonaire,
 And whan thei deden the contraire,
 Fortune was contrariende. (Prologue, 551-555)

At least one area of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's figurae verborum receives a marked use by Gower. The first rhetorical device listed under ornatus facilis is that of repetitio. This convention consists of repeating the opening word in any number of successive lines, as follows:

And this Geant also glad is,
 And tok this ladi up alofte
 And set hire on his schuldre softe,
 And in the flod began to wade,
 (Bk. II.2218-2221)

And cometh where as thei bothe stode
 And makth hem al the chiere he can,
 And seith that as here oghne man
 (Bk. II.2180-2182)

It is Gower's use of this simple ornament that often makes the style tedious to the modern reader. Repetition of this type is usually thought to be the mark of an inferior writer. Since, today, there is no need to rely upon the hearing of literature, the art of repetitio is lost. Yet, repetitio is a necessary device for an illiterate audience. This one device appears 726 times in the Eight Books of the Confessio Amantis. Although listed as ornatus facilis, it has many uses, as Gower so aptly demonstrates; i.e., repetition of the opening word of successive lines may emphatically build to a climax. For example:

This king unto this maide opposeth,
 And axeth ferst what was hire name,
 And wher sche lerned al this game,
 And of what ken that sche was come.
 And she, that hath hise wordes nome,
 Answerth and seith, "My name is Thaise."
 (Bk. VIII.1712-1717)

Or, repetitio may simply be used for emphasis:

Thurgh Sorcerie his lust he wan,
 Thurgh Sorcerie his wo began,
 Thurgh Sorcerie his love he ches,
 Thurgh Sorcerie his life he les.
 (Bk. VI.1769-1772)

It may also be used to point up a humorous situation:

With guile he hath his love sped,
 With guile he cam into the bed,
 With guile he goth him out ayein. (Bk. VI.2095-2097)

It is able to place special emphasis upon description:

He seth hire yhen lich an hevене,
 He seth hire nase stauht and evене,
 He seth hir rode upon the cheke,
 He seth hire redelippes eke. (Bk. VI.771-774)

Repetition may effectively point out contrasting elements:

No mor the hete than the chele,
 No mor the wete than the dreie,
 No mor to live than to deie,
 (Bk. VI.1270-1273)

It enables the poet to retain the parallel listing of attributes:

He makth ymafe, he makth sculpture,
 He makth writinge, he makth figure,
 He makth his calculacions,
 He makth his demonstraciouns. (Bk. VI.1343-1346)

Repetitio may be used in a lengthy comparison:

He was a worthi knyght and king
 And clerk knowende of every thing:
 He was a gret rethorien,
 He was a gret magicien;
 Of Tullius the rethorique,
 Of king Zorastes the magique,
 Of Tholome thastronomie,
 Of Plato the Philosophie,
 Of Daniel the slepi dremes,
 Of Neptune ek the water stremes,
 Of Salomon and the proverbs,
 Of Macer al the strengthe of herbes,
 And the Phisique of Ypocras,
 And lich unto Pictaforas
 Of surgerie he knew the cures. (Bk. VI.1396-1411)

Gower uses repetition to keep his definitions parallel:

The livere makth him forto love,
 The lunge yifth him weie of speche,
 The galle servth to do wreche,
 The Splen doth him to lawhe and pleie.
 (Bk. VII. 469-472)

This device appeals more to the ear than eye. Repetition of this type is difficult to read, but it could be delightful to hear. Gower's repeated use of this basic rhetorical device shows his interest in subject matter; that is, he wants his

listeners to understand his stories. His reliance upon mechanics appears forced to the reader, today. It is quite evident that this device answered the needs of a particular type of audience.

The use of rhetorical devices is certainly not limited to Gower's work. Every writer of the Middle Ages wishing to reach his audience relied upon these conventions. If the writer were unsure of exactly what device to use, he might have consulted one of the many extant volumes of examples. Here, he was also instructed through example as to what introductory approach to make. For example, Gower uses the topoi of "unworthiness." In his Prologue, he stresses that his position is nothing but that of a "burel clerk." (Prologue, 52) Little was left to the ingenuity of the poet. He wrote using a specific method of development, one he had learned in school and had heard repeated in church sermons. Upon its completion, the manuscript contained primarily devices which were designed to retain audience attention. These same devices used by orators in the time of Cicero were evident in all of the early works until the age of printed matter. Gower's text reflects the influence of a tradition of formal training in composition. However stilted and commonplace the rhetorical devices might appear today, they simply point out, once more, that the literature of the period was meant to be heard.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The following line numbers trace Gower's use of the rhetorical device of repetitio throughout the eight books of the Confessio Amantis. This "easy ornament" was one of the most popular conventions in the writing of the period. Since repetitio would be necessary to an illiterate audience, Gower's heavy reliance upon this one device (726 references) shows that he wished his stories to be retained:

Prologue	172-173	2442-2443
	306-307	2501-2502
45-46	316-317	2515-2518
51-52	368-369	2540-2542
63-64	776-777	2568-2569
70-71	788-789	2571-2572
76-77	806-807	2607-2611
94-95	888-889	2613-2615
96-99	964-965	2755-2757
106-107	992-993	2800-2801
115-116	995-997	2811-2812
117-118	1089-1090	2836-2837
373-374	1093-1094	2843-2844
397-398	1164-1166	2891-2892
451-452	1175-1176	2993-2995
530-531	1184-1185	3022-3023
658-659	1445-1447	3025-3026
684-685	1559-1560	3095-3096
689-690	1573-1574	3123-3124
731-732	1678-1680	3149-3150
839-840	1708-1709	3209-3210
900-901	1785-1786	3241-3242
932-933	1935-1936	3256-3257
934-938	2035-2037	3261-3262
951-952	2052-2053	3311-3312
958-959	2058-2059	
1059-1060	2085-2086	
	2101-2102	
	2005-2006	Book II
Book I	2109-2110	72-73
	2148-2149	224-225
12-15	2248-2249	262-263
156-157	2333-2337	311-312

318-319	3374-3375	2268-2269
333-335	3393-3396	2274-2276
420-421		2356-2357
455-456		2457-2458
463-464		2459-2460
472-473	Book III	2648-2649
515-516	51-52	2667-2668
613-614	146-147	2671-2672
617-618	179-180	2709-2710
644-645	215-216	2712-2713
844-845	232-233	2766-2767
858-860	249-250	2263-2264
989-990	279-285	2268-2269
1061-1062	319-320	2275-2277
1099-1100	386-387	2356-2357
1109-1110	456-457	2457-2458
1121-1122	489-490	2459-2560
1132-1133	494-495	2648-2649
1145-1146	528-529	2667-2668
1153-1154	536-537	2671-2672
1175-1176	568-569	2709-2710
1235-1236	662-664	2712-2713
1286-1287	676-678	2766-2767
1292-1293	694-695	
1335-1336	750-751	
1396-1397	946-947	
1421-1422	995-998	Book IV
1426-1427	1012-1013	9-11
1436-1437	1014-1015	29-30
1785-1786	1040-1041	144-145
2019-2020	1078-1079	179-180
2180-2182	1146-1147	192-194
2207-2208	1444-1445	289-290
2218-2221	1483-1484	331-332
2271-2273	1604-1605	368-369
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