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A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF JACOB'S WELL (Chapters 1 - 50)

A Thesis submitted by

WILFRED LISTER

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ABSTRACT

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by Wilfred Lister

The thesis is primarily a stylistic analysis of the first fifty chapters of Jacob's Well as published by the Early English Text Society (OS 115), but the complete manuscript has been consulted and there are references to other chapters of the work.

The study deals first with the relationship of Jacob's Well to the medieval tradition of sermons, moral treatises, manuals of instruction, and exemplaria. Comparison is made in particular with the Speculum Vitae, A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Alphabetum Narrationum.

Then follows a study of the author's main design, including an analysis of the allegorical pattern of the well and of other figurative imagery, much of it conventional in content and application, but often significantly different in style from that of related works.

The rest of the thesis is devoted to an analysis of other stylistic features at syntactical, phonological, and lexical levels under the following headings: (a) the language of legal obligation, (b) the language of story-telling, (c) the language of doctrine: exposition and exhortation.

Comparison is made throughout with stylistic features of related works in order to assess the author's personal contribution. Although his style often seems uninspired, there is considerable evidence that the author was a 'man of craft', capable of varying his style to suit his purpose, whose aim was to transform the common doctrinal matter of treatises into more presentable sermon form, and at the same time to create a 'gret werk'.

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

The following procedure has been adopted in the reproduction of extracts from printed editions of texts and from manuscripts.

1. Spelling

Obsolete ME letters are given their appropriate modern equivalents: 'gh' or 'y' for 'ȝ'; 'th' for 'þ'. In some cases where 'ȝ' in Jacob's Well seems to be used without phonetic value or at the most to reinforce length,[1] and where variant forms without 'ȝ' also occur, often in close proximity (e.g. 'endyȝtynge'/'endytyng', 'ioyȝe'/'ioye', 'fruȝte'/'fruyȝte'/'frute'/'fruyte', 'defawȝte'/'defawte'), the 'ȝ' has been omitted without comment.

2. Punctuation

(a) Edited texts

For ease of reference, it has been considered advisable normally to retain the punctuation of the editions in quoted extracts, whether editorial or not, except that in the case of lengthy extracts from Jacob's Well an initial capital has usually been supplied, if appropriate.

(b) Manuscripts

The punctuation has been modernised, except where stated otherwise.

3. Abbreviations and Contractions

Normal abbreviations and contractions such as 'w^{t}' and 'þ^{t}' have been silently expanded in extracts from both manuscripts and edited texts (if not already expanded by the editor).

[1] See K. Sisam, Fourteenth-Century Verse and Prose (Oxford, 1923), p. 276 (iii).

4. Problematic Scribal Strokes and Flourishes

(a) Brandeis's practice of interpreting the upward flourish on final 'r' as indicating a final '-e' has been followed (without comment) in extracts from both his edition and the manuscript.

(b) Other strokes and flourishes often to be found in fifteenth-century manuscripts (e.g. 'll̄', 'n̄', 'm̃', 'ñ', 'pp̃'), which Brandeis simply reproduces without comment, have been omitted without expansion in extracts from editions and manuscripts, in the interests of legibility and consistency, though they could be interpreted as indicating a final '-e', at least in spelling.[1]

[1] For further comment on this topic, see pp. 131-32 below.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used:

AV	Authorised Version of the Bible
BJRL	Bulletin of John Rylands Library
BL	British Library
EETS, OS	Early English Text Society, Original Series
EETS, ES	Early English Text Society, Extra Series
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MAe	Medium Aevum
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MSS	Medieval Sermon Studies
NS	New Series
Patr. Graeca	Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne
Patr. Lat.	Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
RES	Review of English Studies
SP	Studies in Philology

CHAPTER ONE

Jacob's Well: The Framework of Tradition

In her article on 'A Talking of the Love of God and the Continuity of Stylistic Tradition in Middle English Prose Meditations', M. M. Morgan, writing about the Middle English literature of lyrical prayer addressed to Christ and the Virgin Mary, declares that 'it is manifestly impossible to pursue the study of one piece without regard to the framework of common tradition in which it has its part and by which it is substantially moulded', and suggests that 'there is likely to be little difficulty in distinguishing between the element of personal contribution to subject-matter or style and the influence of prevailing fashions.'[1] On the whole, it would seem that these comments could equally well apply to the study of medieval religious literature in general, though it is not always easy to identify the appropriate framework of common tradition, or even reach agreement about the constituents of that framework, and consequently with some texts it is more difficult than she suggests to establish the nature and extent of the personal contribution of the author.

Problems of this nature are evident in the case of Jacob's Well. In his preface to the EETS edition of Part I of the text, Dr A. Brandeis states that the work 'belongs to that numerous class of manuals, in prose and verse,

[1] RES, NS 3 (1952), 97-116 (p. 97). Cf. Stella Brook, The Language of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1965), p. 36: 'The language of a particular century and, still more, the language of a particular book, cannot be discussed in isolation.'

whose object it was to condense the whole penitential lore of the time into a code for the use of laymen or clerical persons'.[1] Yet elsewhere he refers to it as a collection of 'sermons, which seem to have been delivered day by day' to (he suggests) 'a rustic audience'.[2] Likewise, in an article on 'The Exempla of Jacob's Well', J. Y. Gregg in one and the same paragraph refers to Jacob's Well as 'ninety-four sermons ... delivered day by day ... to a predominantly rural audience', a 'theological tract', a 'treatise' on penitential theology, and one of a 'numerous class of Middle English manuals of religious instruction which includes Remorse of Conscience'.[3] Obviously it is not easy to be precise about the particular framework of tradition to which Jacob's Well belongs. In this respect, it is not unique; Chaucer's Parson's Tale, for example, is sometimes referred to as a 'sermon' (it is hardly a 'tale'), but more often as a 'sermon' on Penitence in which is embodied a 'treatise' on the Seven Deadly Sins, and there is considerable disagreement about sources to which it is indebted and which presumably helped to mould it.[4]

The choice of the appropriate framework is not made easier as a result of the mass of relevant material still to be fully investigated. Although a great deal of attention has been given by scholars in recent years to the medieval sermon tradition, to the art of preaching, and to the proliferation of devotional manuals of all kinds, many

1 Jacob's Well, ed. A. Brandeis, EETS, OS 115 (1900), p. vi.

2 Ibid., p. viii.

3 Traditio, 33 (1977), 359-80 (pp. 359-60). No doubt 'tract', 'treatise', and 'manual' could be regarded as more or less synonymous. There are ninety-five 'sermons', not ninety-four, and the manuscript number is 103 (174 in the old catalogue) and not 172 as she states.

4 For a brief account of suggested sources, etc., see The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1957), p. 239.

manuscripts still remain unpublished and unedited. There is still no complete edition of Jacob's Well,[1] and the edition of Part I published by the Early English Text Society in 1900 appeared long before the findings of modern scholars, and, in any case, contains the text of only the first fifty chapters (with a useful index of Chapter Headings for the whole work) together with a brief preface and rather scanty footnotes. Moreover, much that has been written about Middle English sermon literature has been from a religious or historical point of view, or has been concerned with 'the influence of preaching upon the general development of literature',[2] and until fairly recently there have been fewer approaches to sermon study in the form of rigorous stylistic analysis.[3]

Even in apparently well-trodden paths, there are still problems of classification and terminology. In general modern usage the two terms 'homily' and 'sermon' are regarded as more or less synonymous, but most scholars (though not all) in the field of medieval sermon studies now differentiate between the two, whilst still also retaining (for lack of a better term) the word 'sermon'

[1] Dr Joan Shannon and Dr Lister Matheson of the University of Michigan have been engaged in preparing an edition of the unedited part of Jacob's Well for some time, but date of completion is uncertain.

[2] G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1961), p. 1.

[3] In 1957 we find Elizabeth Zeeman drawing attention to the need for analysis of individual works such as A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins 'if we are ever to be able to speak with any authority on medieval prose', MLR, 52 (1957), 581-82. See also C. Clark, 'Early ME Prose: Three Essays in Stylistics', Essays in Criticism, 18 (1968), 361-82. More recently, the need for a stylistic analysis of sermon prose has been stressed by Father Bataillon (MSS Symposium, 1979) and Professor Batany (MSS Symposium, 1980).

as an inclusive, generic term for all edifying discourses preached or intended to be preached (including homilies). Thus, in the words of Dorothy Bethurum, a 'homily' is 'an elaboration of a text' (which is itself traditionally linked to a particular liturgical day or event), whereas a 'sermon' is 'with or without a text, an elaboration of some subject' (with no obligatory connection to a liturgical event).[1] However, since in the latter part of the Middle Ages a particular variety of 'sermon' developed which was highly structured and complex (the thematic sermon),[2] the term 'homily' is also used to indicate by contrast a simpler, less structured type of edifying discourse.[3] It is debatable to what extent there was recognition of such distinctions between homilia and sermo in the Middle Ages. Heffernan in his recent article on 'Sermon Literature' claims that 'for the Middle Ages sermo and homilia referred to two distinct ministerial functions', but concedes that 'the closing decades of the fourteenth century saw an increasing use of the term sermo to designate those Middle English texts that in earlier times would have been labelled homilia.'[4] On the other hand, Jackson J. Campbell in his article on 'The Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature' claims that at least during the Old English period structural distinctions made in more recent times between homilies and sermons were apparently unnoticed:

[1] The Homilies of Wulfstan (Oxford, 1957; repr. 1971), p. 96. See also Thomas J. Heffernan, 'Sermon Literature', in Middle English Prose, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, N.J., 1984), pp. 177-207.

[2] See pp. 13-18 below.

[3] See, for example, J. J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (Univ. of California, 1974), pp. 299-300, and W. O. Ross, ed., Middle English Sermons (EETS, OS 209, 1940), Introduction.

[4] Middle English Prose, Chap. 10, p. 179.

> Sermo appears in some manuscripts as a rubric before things we might call 'homilies', and collections which modern editions label 'homilies' often contain many works of the sermon type. To Old English preachers, as to the writers of the patristic period, homilia was simply the Greek word used for a sermon, with no reference to special structure or content. (1)

Although, as noted above, the term 'homily' is used by most scholars to indicate a particular kind of edifying discourse or sermon (in the wider sense of the word), the terms 'homiletic literature' and 'homiletic tradition' are used as inclusive terms for all kinds of sermon literature, and sometimes seem to be extended to include all devotional literature. R. K. Stone, for example, in his examination of the devotional works of Margery Kempe and Dame Julian of Norwich, states that 'it was this type of homiletic and devotional writing that kept English prose alive.'[2] R. W. Chambers, in his article on the 'Continuity of English Prose', makes reference to the importance of the preaching tradition in the Middle Ages and its influence on More,[3] but in spite of this and the occasional reference to sermons (including Mirk's Festial, the popularity of which he notes), for Chambers the 'homiletic tradition' in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seems to have signified the continued development and popularity of

1 Medieval Eloquence, ed. J. J. Murphy, p. 179.

2 Middle English Prose Style (The Hague & Paris, 1970), pp. 11-12. Confusion is further illustrated by H. S. Bennett's reference to Margery's autobiography as an outstanding example of secular prose; presumably he was thinking in terms of the secular status of the author. RES, 21 (1945), 257-63 (p. 261).

3 Harpsfield's Life of More, EETS, OS 186 (repr. 1963), p. cxxv: 'More was surrounded by the preaching tradition from which he could hardly have escaped' & 'More had probably caught the rhythm from some preacher.'

devotional treatises composed for private reading matter, such as the works of Rolle, Hilton, and Love, as much as, if not more than, the proliferation of sermons intended for oral presentation in public.[1] He makes no mention of Jacob's Well.

In his valuable Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, G. R. Owst quotes extensively from published and (mainly) unpublished sermons, but also includes extracts from works such as Bromyard's Summa Predicantium which perhaps should be more accurately classified as sermon source-books rather than collections of sermons, though it is very difficult in many cases to distinguish between sermon collections and sermon source-books, of which there were many. The demarcation lines are not always clear, and some saints' lives, for example, could be classified as sermons.

Traditionally, in its wider sense,[2] 'sermon' is the generic term given to that variety of religious literature which is preached or intended to be preached; preached usually for a specific purpose on a specific occasion by an authorised person. The sermon is thus also a variety of oral literature, since it is intended for oral delivery, though it may be recorded only in written form. Although some information is available about the

[1] See, for example, p. clv: 'More brings English eloquence from the cloisters where it had taken refuge, and applies it to the needs of Sixteenth-century England.' At times Chambers appears to use 'homiletic' and 'devotional' as interchangeable terms.

[2] The word is used in this wider sense in this study unless it is stated otherwise.

recommended manner of delivery in the Middle Ages,[1] there is bound to be uncertainty about the relationship between the written text and the spoken version actually delivered. Indeed, it is by no means clear to what extent the written versions of medieval sermons are records of sermons already preached or models for the benefit of other preachers, or both. In at least one case of a vernacular sermon collection, it would appear that the whole collection was at some stage revised in order to make it more suitable for a more learned audience.[2] Unfortunately, with the majority of medieval English sermons, whether in collections or not, there is very little evidence, external or internal, concerning author(s),[3] audience, and place of delivery (if any). Few state as precisely and clearly as does Mirk in a Prologue attached to at least eight of the Festial manuscripts what their aim is:

> But for mony excuson ham by defaute of bokus and sympulnys of letture, therefore in helpe of suche mene clerkus, as I am myselff, I haue drawe this

[1] See, for example, the advice given by Alexander of Ashby (c.1200) and Thomas Waley (c.1349); extracts are to be found in J. J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, pp. 312 ff. & 333 ff..
See also H. Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', Classical Philology, 28, No. 2 (April, 1933), 73-96, where he quotes advice given in the 'Henry' and 'Aquinas' tracts.
The subject is referred to again on p. 129 below.

[2] Mirk's Festial. See A. J. Fletcher & S. Powell, 'The Origins of a Fifteenth-century Sermon Collection', Leeds Studies in English, NS 10 (1978), 74-96.

[3] Sermons in a collection may originate from several authors. See, for example, Middle English Sermons, ed. W. O. Ross, EETS, OS 209 (1940).

> treti sewyng owt of Legenda Aurea with more addyng to. (1)

Those entrusted with the cure of souls were obliged to teach parishioners about all the principal feasts of the Church's year. Mirk's original aim in compiling his Festial was clearly to provide a collection of sermons for other clerics that 'hauen charge of soulus', but are either unlettered or without access to books, or both.[2]

In the absence of any such clear statement by the author, in many cases one can only hazard a guess concerning specific purpose and occasion, even though such matters may affect one's assessment of the author's style. Brandeis expressed the opinion that Jacob's Well was intended for 'a rustic audience', partly because he considered that many of the similes were 'of a taste which could scarcely have pleased even what the fifteenth century might have called good company';[3] J. Y. Gregg, perhaps going slightly higher up in the social scale, suggests 'a predominantly rural audience'.[4] However, although it is true that the main allegorical pattern of the well and the implements used to cleanse it ('skeet', 'skauel', and 'schouyll') may have a rural flavour, much of the material embodied in the allegory seems to be of much wider import.

1 BL MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fol. 3^{v}. See A. J. Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's Festial', Speculum, 55 (1980), 514-22 (p. 514).

2 As already noted, the Festial was later revised and adapted to suit other purposes. A. J. Fletcher (see fn. 1 above) has drawn attention to ten additional MSS (thirty-eight in all) having connections with the Festial, six of which show evidence of abridgement, re-writing, etc..

3 Jacob's Well, pp. viii-ix.

4 Traditio, 33, p. 360.

It is clear that, quite early in the sermon tradition, emphasis was placed on the necessity of adapting style and material to suit the particular audience, in accordance with the pattern set by Christ himself.[1] Pope Gregory's remarks on this aspect of preaching are typical:

> Pro qualitate igitur audientium formari debet sermo doctorum, ut ad sua singulis congruat, et tamen a communis aedificationis arte nunquam recedat....Unde et doctor quisque, ut in una doctrina non eademque exhortatione tangere corda audientium debet. (2)

A later writer, the Benedictine monk Guibert (c.1084), makes the same point. He says that when a preacher addresses a mixed audience of the unlearned and the learned, he should take care that the unlearned hear simple, clear matter, while the learned find in the same sermon some things that they can understand at a more profound level. He uses the analogy of milk, which is by itself a food for infants, but which can also be of use to older men, who dip their bread in it.[3]

The Alphabetum Narrationum, perhaps partly in justification of its own value, has a story illustrating the importance of choosing the right material and style. The English version is as follows:

[1] See, for example, St Mark, 4. 33-34: 'And with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it....and when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.' (AV)

[2] Regulae Pastoralis Liber, Prologue, Tertia Pars: 'Qualiter Rector Bene Vivens Debeat Docere et Admonere Subditos' (Migne, Patr. Lat., LXXVII, col. 49).

[3] Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat. See J. J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, p. 302.

> Saynt Bede tellis in 'Gestis Anglorum' how, when Englond was oute of the belefe, the pope sente in-to it to preche a bisshop that was a passyng sutell clerk, & a well-letterd; and he vsid so mekull soteltie & strange saying in his sermons, that his prechyng owder litle profettid or noght. And than ther was sent a noder that was les of connyng of literatur than he was, & he vsid talis & gude exsample in his sermon; and he with-in a while conuertyd nere-hand all Englond. (1)

Since Jacob's Well contains both 'mekull soteltie' and plenty of 'talis & gude exsample[s]', it may very well be that the author had more than one kind of hearer in mind.

Perhaps partly associated with this emphasis on adapting the sermon to suit the audience was the early Church practice of multiple interpretation of the Scriptures. Biblical passages, or even words, could be interpreted in four different ways: (i) literal/historical, (ii) tropologic (some application to human morals), (iii) anagogic (some reference to heavenly things), and (iv) allegoric (some figurative meaning other than that expressed in (ii) and (iii), though (ii), (iii), and (iv) could all be considered allegorical in the wider sense of the word). In the words of Hugh of St Cher (thirteenth century):

> Historia docet quid factum, tropologia quid faciendum, allegoria quid intelligendum, anagoge quid appetendum. (2)

Robert Rypon of Durham (c.1400), amongst others, quotes a popular mnemonic aid to invention:

> Littera gesta docet; quid credas, allegoria;

[1] An Alphabet of Tales, ed. M. M. Banks, EETS, OS 126,127 (1904-5), p. 217.

[2] See H. Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', Speculum, 4 (1929), 282-90 (p. 286).

Moralis, quid agas; quo tendas, anagogia. (1)

However, it seems that this multiple interpretation was never mechanically or consistently applied to Scripture even in the period of its greatest use except for particular biblical passages.[2] Moreover, in the late Middle Ages there was renewed emphasis on literal and historical exegesis.[3] Since the author of Jacob's Well was not compiling a Festial, he was not concerned with the interpretation, multiple or otherwise, of the Gospel or Epistle for the day, or of some other relevant scriptural passage prescribed for a particular occasion, but the whole work develops from an allegorical interpretation of Jacob's Well, at which Christ met the woman of Samaria (St John 4. 6-30), though, surprisingly, the author makes only passing references to the scriptural passage from which the allegory is derived.[4]

The Church Fathers and the early preachers were also to some extent influenced by the theories and practice of the classical rhetoricians, especially the writings of Cicero and the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium, though in the early centuries before 1200 explicit statements on the ars praedicandi had not yet appeared. Many of the Church Fathers had been trained in the Roman

1 Sometimes 'speres' occurs instead of 'tendas'. See H. Caplan, op. cit., and G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 58 ff., where Rypon's sermon is dealt with in detail.

2 See Morton W. Bloomfield, 'Symbolism in Medieval Literature', MP, 56 (1958), 73-81.

3 See Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1952), pp. 356-73.

4 There is an early reference in Chapter i, p. 3, 11. 24-27; the next reference is in Chapter xxviii, p. 185, 11. 20-25. For fuller treatment of this subject, see pp. 70-72 below. Unless stated otherwise, all page references to Jacob's Well are to the EETS edition.

schools of rhetoric and had taught rhetoric themselves. This classical rhetorical tradition was carried on into the Middle Ages through Augustine, Boethius, Alcuin, Isidore, Rabanus, and others. The practice of preachers such as Aelfric and Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, with its use of rhetorical figures of speech and other rhetorical devices, may have been influenced to some extent by the teaching of the classical rhetoricians, modified by such authorities as Augustine, either directly or through the medium of Latin prose originals, though there are differences between the prose style of Aelfric and that of Wulfstan, especially with respect to rhythm and alliterative patterning.[1] However, it has been pointed out that there is a danger of over-rating the influence of the rhetoricians, and it would be wise to heed the warning given by Jackson J. Campbell[2] and others of the possibility that the use of so-called rhetorical devices might be due, not to the following of the precepts of the rhetoricians or to the imitation of Latin prose works, but to the writer's intuitive use of the native vernacular tradition, though if the writer were rhetorically trained or drawing on a highly rhetorical original, this would seem less likely. Aelfric's prose style in particular has been the subject of much controversy in this respect. There have been three

[1] See A. McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', Proceedings of the British Academy, 35 (1949), 109-42, and D. Bethurum, 'The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose', JEGP, 34 (1935), 553-65.

[2] 'The Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature', Medieval Eloquence, pp. 173-97. See especially p. 190: '... factors of figurative language can usually be found operating in the language in its most natural state; that is, a completely untutored person competent in his own language has the resources for producing all the figurae verborum and figurae sententiarum.'
On the cursus in particular, see Sherman M. Kuhn, 'Cursus in Old English: Rhetorical Ornament or Linguistic Phenomenon?', Speculum, 47 (1972), 188-206.

suggested models for his style: (i) Latin prose,[1] (ii) Old English poetry,[2] (iii) earlier Old English prose.[3] Although Aelfric may have been indebted to Latin prose for some of the rhetorical features of his prose style, it is now generally accepted that for his alliterative and rhythmical framework (including his cadences) he was indebted, not to Latin models, but to either Old English poetry or earlier Old English prose, or both.[4] As Elizabeth Zeeman has so rightly pointed out, the stylistic range of Aelfric's work 'from plain to lavishly ornate writing, should serve as a reminder that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries inherited a complex tradition of English devotional prose'.[5]

It was not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that there appeared a fully developed theory of the art of preaching, strongly influenced by the work of the rhetoricians. According to J. J. Murphy, more than three hundred treatises on the art of preaching still survive from the period extending from the early part of the thirteenth century to the Reformation.[6] Closely related to this development is the emergence of an intricately structured and stylised type of sermon usually referred to by modern scholars as thematic or 'modern'. It is generally assumed that this type had its origin in

1 See G. H. Gerould, 'Abbot Aelfric's Rhythmic Prose', MP, 22 (1924-5), 353-66.

2 See D. Bethurum, 'The Form of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints', SP, 29 (1932), 515-33.

3 See Otto Funke, 'Studien zur alliterierenden und rhythmisierenden Prosa in der älteren altenglischen Homiletik', Anglia, 53 (1962), 9-36.

4 F. R. Lipp gives a summary of the various suggestions in 'Aelfric's Old English Prose Style', SP, 66 (1969), 689-718.

5 'Continuity in Middle English Devotional Prose', JEGP, 55 (1956), fn. 18.

6 Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, p. 299.

the universities.

The development of the ars praedicandi and its influence on sermon content, structure, and style have received a great deal of attention in recent years, but it has not always been appreciated that the tradition was subject to modification and that there was variety within the genre of the more structured sermons thus classified as thematic or 'modern'. Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that throughout the Middle Ages the less structured, simpler type of sermon (though not without effective stylistic features) was still being composed and preached, especially when preaching was in the vernacular. As already stated, the term 'homily' is usually restricted by present-day scholars to this type of traditional sermon.

In spite of the fact that the tradition was being constantly modified,[1] and in spite of the fact that so much relevant material is yet unpublished, it is clear from the preceding paragraphs that attempts have been made to classify sermons and discuss typical structures and style in the light of medieval preaching theory. Findings depend to some extent on the particular ars praedicandi selected as the authority. Robert of Basevorn (Forma Praedicandi, 1322),[2] Ranulf Higden

[1] See Margaret Jennings, 'The Preacher's Rhetoric' in Medieval Eloquence, ed. J. J. Murphy, p. 122: '... a small opening is made wider through the addition of wedges similarly constructed and schematised under the impetus of a certain time and place; the various elements that comprise the traditional matter are, however, never set in a single mould, and so they are available for selection, imitation, or dismissal in other writers.'

[2] See J. J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, p. 276 & pp. 345 ff.. There is a translation of the work by L. Krul in Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts, ed. J. J. Murphy (Univ. of California, 1971), pp. 109-215.

(Ars componendi sermones, c.1340),[1] 'Henry of Hesse' (Tractatulus eximii doctoris Henrici de Hassia de arte praedicandi, fourteenth/early fifteenth century),[2] and 'Aquinas', an unknown Dominican, professing the influence of Thomas Aquinas (Tractatulus solemnis de arte et vero modo predicandi, probably fifteenth century)[3] are but four who have been regarded as typical exponents of the medieval ars praedicandi. Although all four agree about the two broad divisions of 'ancient' (homily) and 'modern' (thematic), the numbers and varieties of sermons recognised vary according to the authority chosen. Robert of Basevorn, for example, distinguishes simply the two types, (i) the ancient, (ii) the modern; a distinction which is echoed by Ranulf Higden, who further sub-divides (ii) into Parisian and Oxfordian. In the 'Aquinas' tract we find the following three divisions: (i) the ancient (also called laical, beautiful, and popular), (ii) the smooth and simple — a variation of the thematic, (iii) the modern or thematic. 'Henry of Hesse' provides us with the following four divisions: (i) the ancient or homily, (ii) the modern or thematic, (iii) the old or mystic, working through poetic fictions, (iv) the substitute (subalternus), a mixture of homily and thematic.[4]

It would be foolish to attempt to categorise rigidly all sermons; it is obvious that in many cases there are

[1] See M. Jennings, op. cit., pp. 112-26.

[2] See H. Caplan, '"Henry of Hesse" on the Art of Preaching', PMLA, 48 (1933), 340-61.

[3] See H. Caplan, ibid., & 'A late Medieval Tractate on Preaching', Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James A. Winans, ed. A. M. Drummond (New York, 1962), pp. 72 ff..

[4] M. Jennings, op. cit., gives a useful analysis and summary of the various methods of classification.

no clear demarcation lines.[1] Once again, quite early in the development of the thematic sermon, theorists such as Alexander of Ashby drew attention to the necessity of making allowance for the fact that audiences might consist of a mixture of learned and unlearned. For the benefit of the latter, the preacher must avoid undue multiplication of divisions and the quoting of too many authorities (if the author of Jacob's Well intended his work to be for a 'rustic audience', he certainly failed to heed this kind of advice). The preacher must introduce exempla of such a nature that 'the learned may savor the profundity of the allegory while the humble may profit from the lightness of the story'.[2] Nor must it be assumed that all sermons in the vernacular were for the benefit of the unlearned, and, therefore, of the homily type. In his edition of Middle English Sermons,[3] Ross, after suggesting that the sermons were intended for the laity, analyses their structure and style, and comes to the conclusion that the majority of the sermons in the collection show the influence of the thematic type, and that fourteen of them keep closely to the pattern throughout, though not all the niceties are observed. In contrast, he claims that there is not a single 'modern' sermon in Mirk's Festial, though M. J. Bunn finds that some do approximate to this type.[4]

[1] Th.-M. Charland, Artes Praedicandi (p. 243), quotes Basevorn as follows: 'Diversi diversum modum a principio habuerunt, et etiam adhuc habent, ut fere quot sunt praedicatores valentes, tot sunt modi distincti praedicandi.'

[2] Trans. by J. J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, pp. 312-13.

[3] EETS, OS 209 (1940).

[4] See M. J. Bunn, 'Mirk's Festial: A Study of the Medieval English Sermon' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Leeds University, 1954).

The 'modern', thematic, or university sermon (none of the terms used is entirely satisfactory) was usually considered to have six or seven parts as follows:

(i) Theme
(ii) Protheme or Antetheme
(iii) Introduction of Theme
(iv) Division(s)
(v) Sub-division(s)
(vi) Discussion
(vii) Conclusion (often omitted in later development).

The discussion arose from the divisions and sub-divisions, and it was in this area that most of the expansion and dilation took place, based mainly on rhetorical precepts and the use of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture already referred to. A standardised list of eight modes of amplification with respect to divisions and sub-divisions of the theme was given by Richard of Thetford, probably as early as the first part of the thirteenth century, in his popular Ars dilatandi sermones, of which at least twenty-seven manuscripts have survived. At a later date, the author of the 'Aquinas' tract offered the following nine methods of expanding a sermon: (i) through concordance of authorities, (ii) through discussion of words, (iii) through explanation of the properties of things, (iv) through a multiplication of senses, (v) through analogies and natural truths, (vi) through marking of an opposite, (vii) through comparisons, (viii) through interpretation of a name, (ix) through multiplication of synonyms.[1] It should be noted, however, that amplification was by no means peculiar to thematic sermons; it

[1] See H. Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation', Speculum, 4 (1929), 282-90 (p. 282).

was also a marked feature of the homilies.

It is difficult to classify Jacob's Well as a collection of sermons (if that is what it is) within the framework of the sermon tradition. There is little evidence of the shapelessness apparent in some of the more simple homilies, and the various chapters lack the liturgical links which are considered by scholars to be typical features of homilies. Both the collection as a whole and most of the ninety-five individual chapters or sermons which make up the collection have been carefully structured. Divisions and sub-divisions abound, both in the structure of the whole and in the structure of each section. The first chapter, 'Qualiter de puteo concupiscencie fit fons Jacob', introduces the series, and the ninety-fifth chapter, 'Recapitulacio tocius operis', provides a fitting conclusion. There is an appropriate beginning and ending to each chapter, and the body of material is supported and confirmed by abundant references to biblical and other authority. The author has made full use of the various established modes of dilation and amplification. Yet, although the various chapters of Jacob's Well have some of the features of the thematic sermon, they cannot be classified as such. The theme of the thematic sermon almost invariably originated from a biblical passage;[1] this is not a feature of Jacob's Well. The beginning of each chapter is not in the form of Theme and Protheme, but often serves the purpose of recapitulation, reminding the audience of what they were told 'the other day'.

Another method of classifying sermons, and one which

[1] See W. O. Ross, ed., Middle English Sermons (EETS, OS 209), Introduction.

is particularly relevant to the present study, is the one which Owst finds convenient when dealing with 'Sermon and Drama'. He distinguishes between (i) Sermones super Evangelia and Sermones de Sanctis (comparing them in content with the miracle plays) and (ii) moral discourses devoted to matters of the Faith (which he likens in content to the morality plays).[1] Jacob's Well clearly belongs to the latter category rather than to the former (to which, for example, Mirk's Festial equally clearly belongs).

Closely related to, and sometimes indistinguishable from, these moral discourses referred to by Owst was a much larger body of devotional treatises, manuals, and tracts the main aim of which was to enlighten and exhort the reader in matters concerning the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, the corresponding Virtues, and the like. They are not directly concerned with biblical events, interpretations of the Gospel and Epistle, or the observance of festivals and saints' days. Here is another framework of tradition in which Jacob's Well 'has its part' and by which it seems to have been 'substantially moulded', a tradition to which belong such works as Handlyng Synne (1303),[2] Ayenbite of Inwyt (1340),[3] Speculum Vitae (c.1350?),[4]

1 Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, p. 486.

2 ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, OS 119 (1901) & 123 (1903).

3 ed. R. Morris, EETS, OS 23 (1866). Revised and newly collated by P. Gradon, vols 1 & 2 (1965).

4 See Hope Emily Allen, 'Speculum Vitae — Addendum', PMLA, 32 (1917), 133-62; J. Ullmann, Englische Studien, 7 (1884), 465-72; F. J. Furnivall, Notes & Queries, 4th Series, 3 (1869), 189.

The Lay Folks' Catechism (1357),[1] The Book of Vices and Virtues (c.1375),[2] Speculum Christiani (probably second half of the fourteenth century),[3] A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen (late fourteenth-century),[4] A Litil Tretys on The Seven Deadly Sins (late fourteenth-century),[5] and a host of others.[6]

Such works are primarily manuals of instruction and devotion. They can hardly be classified as sermons, but sometimes sections are shaped in such a way that they could be delivered as sermons. Owst suggests that Nassington's Speculum Vitae might have been one of a number of metrical works read aloud or recited as sermons 'ad populum', and he also points out that even Ayenbite of Inwyt is concluded by a sermon from the author.[7] It has also been noted that the fifth and seventh tabulae (the latter is in rhyming couplets) of the Speculum Christiani — a work apparently influenced, like Jacob's Well, by the Constitutions of Peckham and Thoresby — have the kind of opening, conclusion, and form of address ('My dere frendis ...') usually found in sermons. In contrast to the other tabulae, the main body of these two is entirely in English. It is possible, therefore, that the fifth and seventh tabulae were intended for

1 ed. T. F. Simmons & H. E. Nolloth, EETS, OS 118 (1901).

2 ed. W. Nelson Francis, EETS, OS 217 (1942).

3 ed. G. Holmstedt, EETS, OS 182 (1933).

4 ed. E. Stover from Harl. MS 45 (unpub. dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1951).

5 ed. J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (Rome, 1956).

6 See H. G. Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England & Observations on Chaucer's Parson's Tale', JEGP, 35 (1936), 243-58.

7 Preaching in Medieval England, p. 275, fn. 2, and p. 279, fn. 2.

delivery as sermons.[1]

The tradition can be traced back to the decrees of the first Lateran Council (1215-16), which declared that everyone should make confession to the parish priest once a year. Bishops and other clergy undertook to help the less qualified clergy by composing manuals in which special stress was laid on the Deadly Sins and Penance. As time went on, they were joined by the friars and monks, and authors had various addressees in mind — parish priests, canons, monks, friars, and educated laymen.

In this country, further impetus was given by the decrees of Archbishop Peckham, embodied in the Constitutions of the Council of Lambeth (1281); decrees which were copied and expanded almost a century later by Archbishop Thoresby of York. Peckham's aim was to remedy the evil of error of belief and behaviour as a result of the ignorance of the clergy. It was decreed that every priest should explain to his people simply and clearly four times a year the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the two precepts of the Gospel, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Cardinal Virtues and the Seven Sacraments of Grace. A brief explanation of these matters was given by the Archbishop. Archbishop Thoresby was responsible for further development. He required more frequent preaching, and produced as a guide the so-called Lay Folks' Catechism (1357), the original Latin of which was translated by John of Taystek, a monk from St Mary's Abbey, York, apparently with the Archbishop's approval. The English version is more than a translation; it is in simple verse form and is a considerable expansion of the original text. No doubt

[1] See EETS edn, pp. clxxxii-iii & cxc-cxci.

it was intended for the less literate clergy, and possibly for the laity.[1]

Three early popular works to which many others were indebted were Pennaforte's Summa Casuum Poenitentiae (before 1243),[2] Perrault's Summa de Viciis (before 1261), and, above all, the Somme le Roi or Somme des Vices et des Vertus (1279) by Friar Lorens, but versions of what appear to be the same work are often so numerous and so varied that it is almost impossible to untangle relationships and identify original sources. This is especially true of versions of the Somme le Roi and its closely related Miroir du Monde.[3] Critics distinguish between the Somme, the old Miroir and the new Miroir with respect to content and arrangement of material, but all three versions contain six basic treatises on the following topics: the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Faith (Creed), the Seven Deadly Sins, the Virtues, beginning with an 'Ars Moriendi', the Pater Noster, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost and the related Virtues. It is in the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins that the main difference between the Somme on the one hand and the two Miroirs on the other lies. In the Somme there is the allegory of John's vision of the seven-headed beast that rose out of the sea, each head representing one of the Seven Sins, though in the discussion that follows, the

1 It is interesting to note that there is also a Wycliffite adaptation and amplification of the Catechism.

2 The author of Jacob's Well apparently cites this author and a gloss on his work by William of Rennes — Apparatus ad Summam Raymundi — as an authority on a number of occasions. See, for example, p. 18, ll. 17-19; p. 40, l. 19; and p. 165, l. 24.

3 The problem is dealt with by W. Nelson Francis in his Introduction to the EETS edn of The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. xxi-xxvii. See also E. Brayer, Romania, 79 (1958), 1-38.

allegory is changed into that of a tree with branches and twigs. In both Miroirs the allegory throughout is of trees and their branches. Moreover, in the Miroirs the 'remedies' are given immediately following the individual sins, as in Chaucer's Parson's Tale.

The Somme, in whatever version, was exceedingly popular in the Middle Ages. There are over one hundred known manuscripts containing all or part of the Somme or the Miroir. At least ten English translations or versions of all or part of the Somme or the Miroir are in existence; these include Ayenbite of Inwyt, The Book of Vices and Virtues, Speculum Vitae (at least thirty-one manuscripts), A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, and Caxton's Royal Book (c.1486). Ayenbite of Inwyt and The Book of Vices and Virtues are fairly close translations of the Somme and can be treated as parallel texts, whereas the Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen have much in common as English versions of the Miroir, though, of course, the Speculum Vitae is in rhyming couplets and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen is in prose.

The Somme le Roi was intended for individual study by a reader and not for presentation as a series of sermons. The translator responsible for The Book of Vices and Virtues is obviously reflecting his original source when he writes:

> Here endeth the seuene dedly synnes and alle here braunches; and who-so wolde wel studie in this boke, it myght profiten hym....Now schal he that redeth in this boke ententifly, loke yif he be gilty of any of thes synnes, and yif he be gilty, repente hym and schryue hym. (1)

[1] EETS edn, p. 68, 11. 8-16. Cf. Ayenbite of Inwyt, EETS edn, p. 70, 11. 15-24. All future references to these texts are to EETS editions.

There is obviously some affinity between the doctrinal matter of Jacob's Well and that of these devotional treatises, especially those derived from the Somme or the Miroir. The author of the work likewise deals with the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Faith, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Virtues, the Pater Noster, and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost,[1] and there are similar, though not always identical, patterns of division and subdivision of material, especially in the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins. The affinity extends beyond general form and content, since Jacob's Well often has similar imagery and even similar phraseology. Whilst the allegory of the pit and the well is peculiar to Jacob's Well, the author does on occasion make use of the allegory of tree and branches,[2] though there is no reference to the seven heads of the beast. In this respect, and in others, Jacob's Well, on the whole, seems to be closer to the Miroir as represented by the Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen than to the Somme as represented by The Book of Vices and Virtues and Ayenbite of Inwyt.

There is an ever-present risk that the author of Jacob's Well may be commended for features which are not of his creation. Hope Emily Allen has drawn attention to what she calls one of the most entertaining descriptions of the familiar life of the times to be found in the description of disreputable crafts under the ninth branch of Avarice in the English Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen.[3] She notes that the

[1] The Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, and some of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost are dealt with in the unpublished section of the text.

[2] See Chapter II of this study for more detailed treatment of the allegory of Jacob's Well.

[3] 'Speculum Vitae - Addendum', PMLA, 32 (1917), 133-62.

subject is treated at length under the following headings: (i) common women, (ii) jugglers, (iii) 'faitours', (iv) 'snecke-drawers' or 'draw-lacches', (v) harlots, (vi) heralds, (vii) champions, (viii) 'tollers', (ix) hangmen. If we turn to the twelfth (not the ninth) branch of Covetousness in Jacob's Well, we find the very same headings and pictorial treatment of these disreputable crafts: (i) 'comoun wommen', (ii) 'jugoulours', (iii) 'faytours', (iv) 'lacchedrawerys', (v) 'harlotrie', (vi) 'herowdys of armys', (vii) 'champyouns', (viii) 'tollerys', and (ix) 'hangemen'.[1]

A comparison of the habits of 'lacchedrawerys' in particular reveals further remarkable similarity. In the Speculum Vitae their habits are described in the following manner:

> Sneke drawers, mene may kenne,
> Some menne calles thaim robert menne;
> Atte many a dore thai drawe the sneke,
> And opene bothe the dore and the heke.
> If thai the husbande ate hame fynde,
> Thai say alle thaire gudes are brynde,
> Ore that thai ware amange thefes stade,
> And are robbede of alle that thai hade;
> Ryche mene, that saye thai ware,
> And nowe that are poure and bare.
> Some als so telles and says
> That thai haue loste hors and herneys,
> And thaire armoure and other gere,
> Thurghe myschefe in lande of were.
> Some says thaire rentes and thaire landes
> Ere alle in other menns handes,
> And ere wedsette tille a daye;
> And alle ere leghes that thai saye.
> Yyte thai saye thai ere of gentylle blode,
> Ffor that mene sulde do thaim mare gude;
> Where thai haue leghede, than thai craue;
> Bote thai ga noght tylle thai haue.
> And if thai fynde the husbande oute,
> Thane thai caste thaire syght aboute,

[1] Jacob's Well, p. 134, ll. 8-34. Further references to this text are normally given after the quotations.

> And sees the wyfe has no socoure,
> Parchaunce thai folowe hire in the boure;
> Alle that thai aske, scho wylle thaim it take,
> ffore drede of thaim, swylke boste thai make.
> (1)

A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen describes them in similar terms:

> The ferthe beth lacche-drawers or robers of men that cometh homliche in to mennes houses & feyneth hem of brente or with some other chaunce com from richesse to pouerte as robbed with theues, lost her catel by see or lost hors or harneys by auenture of werre, as by enprisonynge or other wyse, or seith that her londes beth bynome hem by grete lordes, or elles that thei haue leide hem to wedde a certeyn day for seruice of the kyng and of the rewme; and many suche other lesynges maketh forto gete good of piteous men, or ellis there thei seeth but wommen or symple men, thei maketh so grete bost that that thei holdeth good to yeue hem what thei wole aske for to be delyuered of hem. (2)

The description in Jacob's Well draws attention to the same traits:

> The iiij. inche is lacchedrawerys that vndon mennys dorys. yif thei fynde the good-man at hom, thei say here good is brent, or takyn awey wyth theuys. thei seyn thei were ryche men, & now thei haue ryght nought. summe seyn thei haue lost hors & harneys beyonde the se. summe seyn thei are gentyll-men, & here londys are sett to wedde, & so thei wyll noght go, tyl thei haue sumwhat. And yif the wyif be alone, thei folwyn here in-to the spense, that for dreed sche is fayn to yyuen hem what sche may. (p. 134, ll. 15-23)

In this particular passage, Jacob's Well seems

[1] Extract quoted by F. J. Furnivall in Notes & Queries, 4th Series, III (1869), p. 189.

[2] MS Harl. 45, fols 71^{v}-72^{r}. Further references are to this manuscript of the work and are normally given after the quotations in the text.

closer to the Speculum Vitae than to A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, but all three give a much fuller description than those to be found in the corresponding passages in Ayenbite of Inwyt and The Book of Vices and Virtues, where only the common women, the champions, and the heralds receive special mention:

> The nynthe braunche of couetise is in wikkede craftes, and in that synneth many men and in many maneres, as thes comune wommen, that for a litle wynnynge yyuen here bodies and sellen to worche with synne. And also as the heraudes and champiouns that wole fyght for wynnyng of siluer, and suche othere that for worldes good yyuen hem to suche wikkede craftes & vnsittynge, for thei mowe not be do with-out synne of hem that doth hem and alle that hem susteyneth. (1)

Obviously what we have here in Jacob's Well is a stereotyped picture rather than an original based on observation of contemporary life.

A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham,[2] which, as the title suggests, deals only with the Seven Deadly Sins, has been preserved in fourteen manuscripts. It does not contain this description of disreputable crafts, but there are other remarkable resemblances between sections of this work and the chapters in Jacob's Well dealing with the Sins. Some, though by no means all, of the additional doctrinal matter with which the author of Jacob's Well has expanded that of the Somme/Miroir is common to both works. They also have in common figurative imagery, especially animal symbolism usually attributed by both authors to Bartholomew

[1] The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 41, ll. 10-18. Cf. Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 45, ll. 6-13. Further references to these works are normally given after quotations in the text.

[2] Date of death is usually given as 1383, but there is some indication that he was still alive in 1395.

Anglicus,[1] which is not to be found in the Speculum Vitae or A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, and also common references to, or quotations from, other authorities, especially the Bible. Often both agree in giving the Latin and an English translation, though there are sometimes slight variants in the Latin, and the translations are not identical.[2] Lavynham's treatise is more concise, lacks the pictorial detail of Jacob's Well, and is generally in the form of third-person statements, but sometimes there is close correspondence in both content and language. A good example of this is to be seen in the account of the sixth branch of Pride, where Jacob's Well reads as follows:

> The sexte cornere of pride is indignacyoun; that is, whan thou hast dysdeyn of symple folk, & lust noght to speke to hem but full of scorn & of iapys; in beryng the foule to thi sogettys, & hareiously takyst on wyth hem, & wyth thi peerys, & wyth thi bettyr, & felly & prowdly schamyst & reprouyst hem, more for pride than for charyte, more for thi temperal harme than for here trespas ayens god; in repreuyng othere of here symple kynrede, of pouert, of mysschap, & of suche othere thynges. Indignacyoun is ofte tym cause of myche harm. ij. Regum xxj. c^{o}. In the dayes of kyng dauid was a gret hungyr in the lond of Israel, duryng thre yere. Dauid askyd of god why that hunger fell there in that lond? god seyde: indignacyoun is cause! for saul & his meyne wentyn wyth gret indignacyoun, &, wyth dyspyt, oppressedyn & slowyn the pore seruauntys in that lond, the whiche weryn of the cuntre of gabonye, that com thedyr & yoldyn hym to the iewys, & weryn here laborerys & here seruauntys. & yitt for all that, manye of the iewys haddyn gret indignacyoun of hem, and haddyn hem in gret dyspyt: Josue ix. ffull of mych wo and dyspyt, of nede & of pouert, was here lyif. for the gret indignacyoun of the prowde iewys, thei weryn to hem in dyspyt & in abieccyoun. Ps. 'Obprobrium habundantibus, & despeccio superbis.' for this pride of indigna-

[1] See Chapter III of this study for further reference.

[2] Comparison has been made with the text of MS Harl. 211, as edited by van Zutphen, but notice has also been taken of the large number of variant readings that he gives, pp. 37-82.

> cyoun was that hungyr in israel thre yere, be the wreche of god. (p. 76, l. 12 - p. 77, l. 2)

'Indignacyoun' also appears as the sixth branch of Pride in A Litil Tretys and is described in a similar manner:

> Indignacion is whan a man hath disdayn & despit of simple folk & lest not to speke to his pouer euyncristyn but yif it be skornfullyche. & yet euermor he faryth fowle with his seruawntis & his soietis. & hariowsly takyth on with cristis pore peple. This bronche of pride is ofte cause of gret myschef. as it may be schewid be proces of the bible. & est 2° Regum c° 21. wher it is rehersid that in the days of kyng dauid ther was an hoyge hungur in the lond of israel. the which endurede thre yer to gydere contynueliche. & than went kyng dauid & enquirid of god why this hungur was fallyn in the lond. & god almyghty answerede a yen & seyde that the cause was for that kyng saul & men of his houshold had go of her indignacyon & oppressyd and slayn pore men that wer seruauntis in the land. which that were clepid gabonitis. & whan dauid the kyng herd of. he wente & dede remedye ther a yens. These gabonitis wer folk of a certayn contray that comyn & yeldyn hem self to the iewys. & weryn mad comyn laborerys & seruauntis a mongis hem. & yet many of the iewis hadde of hem gret disdayn & gret dispyt. as the bible rehersith Josue 9 c°. & so these pouer men which that for disdayn were oppressyd myght haue wel seyd the wordis that ben writyn in the sawter bok. Quia multum repleta est anima nostra opprobium habundantibus & despeccio superbis. For our lif is ful of mochil wo. therfor we arn repreef to hem that ben plentewos & despyt to (hem) men that ben prowde. (1)

It is significant that the adverb 'hareiously' — 'cruelly' or 'sternly' — which is of rare occurrence in Middle English, occurs in both versions. These two accounts differ from those dealing with Despite in the English versions of the Somme/Miroir.

1 ed. van Zutphen, p. 4, l. 32 - p. 5, l. 12. I have expanded the contracted forms of 'with' and 'that'. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

However, there are noticeable differences as well as similarities in both arrangement and content between Jacob's Well on the one hand and Lavynham's treatise and the Somme or Miroir on the other. In The Book of Vices and Virtues and Ayenbite of Inwyt the order of material is as follows: the Ten Commandments, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, the Seven Deadly Sins, Learn to Die and Virtues, the Pater Noster, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost and the related Virtues. The Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen expound the Pater Noster at the beginning and use it and its seven 'askings' as the frame to which the other subjects are linked, thus giving the works a structure and continuity which is lacking in the other two. In both the Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen there is an introduction outlining the developmental plan. The author of the latter explains his purpose and plan in the following words:

> Therfore this writyng is thus made for lewed and menliche lettred men and wymmen in suche tonge as thei can best vnderstonde, and may be cleped a myrour to lewde men and wymmen, in whiche they may see god thorgh stedfast byleue and hem self thorgh mekenes, and what is vertu and what is synne. And for this ne none other good dede may be doo wythoute help and grace of almyghti god, that of his endeles gudenes wole sende to a man plentevously thorgh holy desire and devoute prayer.... Therfore this writyng schal begynne with that holy prayer that criste him self made & taghte, that is the pater noster ... and first in this writyng schal be schewed the profyte & fruyt and the dignyte of the holy prayer ... afterward the seuen askynges ... and the seuen yiftes of the holy gost ... and the seuen hede synnes that the seuen yiftes putten away, and the seuen vertues that the seuen yiftes setten in the stede of the seuen synnes, and the seuen blissed hedes that the seuen vertues bringeth vs toward, also the seuen medes that bringeth to the seuen blissed hedis.
>
> (MS Harl. 45, fols 1^{v}-2^{r})

The order of presentation is different again in Jacob's Well. After the initial chapters on the Great Curse and the Articles of Excommunication (for which there is no parallel in the Somme or Miroir), the author presents his doctrinal matter in the following order: the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Virtues, the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Articles of the Faith, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and finally the Pater Noster. As in The Book of Vices and Virtues, Ayenbite of Inwyt, the Speculum Vitae, and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, Repentance, Confession and Satisfaction are dealt with in relation to the gift of Strength and the seven battles that have to be fought,[1] but, in addition, these topics have already received much fuller treatment in six earlier chapters (xxv-xxx) immediately after the discussion of the last of the Deadly Sins, and again, earlier still, in Chapter x, preceding the introduction of the first of the Deadly Sins. Although, as in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir,[2] the ten sins of the tongue are dealt with as part of the sin of Gluttony (Chapters xxii & xxiii), in Jacob's Well there is also repetition of some of this material in the discussion of twenty-two methods of 'mysgouernaunce' of the tongue in a later chapter, 'De malo regimine cordis, oris, & operis'.[3] Lavynham's treatise does not deal with the sins of the tongue at all.

The order in which the Seven Deadly Sins are pre-

[1] Jacob's Well, Chapters xlvii & xlviii.

[2] For example, The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. 54-68.

[3] Chapter xlii. Jacob's Well seems to be in agreement here with the 'new' Miroir, which had Sins of the Tongue as a separate treatise. See W. Nelson Francis, The Book of Vices and Virtues, EETS edn, pp. xxiii-iv.

sented in the other versions of the Somme/Miroir is Pride, Envy, Anger, Sloth, Avarice, Lechery, and Gluttony, but the author of Jacob's Well follows the normal Gregorian pattern by reversing the positions of the last two.[1] Lavynham, agreeing with neither version, presents his Sins in the following order: Pride, Avarice, Anger, Envy, Sloth, Gluttony, Lechery. Sometimes the divisions and sub-divisions in Jacob's Well correspond with those of the Somme/Miroir, as, for example, in Lechery, where all agree that there is Lechery in the heart of four kinds, and Lechery of the body or in deed in fourteen manners or degrees.[2] Lavynham, however, gives only eight branches of Lechery. Likewise, with the exception of Lavynham, all versions agree that the sins of the tongue are tenfold, and deal with them in the same order: Idle Talk, Boasting, Flattery, Backbiting, Lying, Forswearing, Quarrelling, Murmuring, Frowardness, Blasphemy. Moreover, all agree about the following further breakdown of each of these branches of Evil Speech: Idle Talk, Boasting, Flattery, and Backbiting — five branches each; Lying — three branches; Forswearing and Quarrelling — seven branches each; Murmuring — two branches; Frowardness — four branches; Blasphemy — no further subdivision.[3]

[1] Cf. Cesarius, an authority frequently cited in Jacob's Well: 'Primum vitium superbiae ... secundum ira, tertium invidia, quartum accidia ... quintum avaritia, sextum gula ... septimum luxuria'. (Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. J. Strange, repub. Gregg Press, 1966. Vol. I, p. 173).

[2] Jacob's Well, Chap. xxiv; The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. 43-46; Ayenbite of Inwyt, pp. 46-49; MS Harl. 45, fol. 94^{v}; BL MS Add. 8151 (Speculum Vitae), fols 104^{r}-108^{v}.

[3] Jacob's Well, Chaps xxii-xxiii; The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. 54-68; Ayenbite of Inwyt, pp. 57-70; MS Harl. 45, fols 144^{r} ff.; BL MS Add. 8151, fols 165^{v}-180^{r}.

At other times, however, there are differences between Jacob's Well and the rest of the English versions of the Somme or Miroir. In the presentation of Wrath or Anger, all agree that there are four kinds of Wrath, namely wrath against God, against oneself, against one's household, and against one's neighbour, but the author of Jacob's Well seems to be alone in developing the subject further; he devotes two chapters to Wrath. In the English versions of the Somme/Miroir there is a very brief reference to seven sub-divisions of wrath against one's neighbour, but the author of Jacob's Well deals much more fully and clearly (in spite of some repetition) with these seven aspects: 'hate priue of herte', 'malyce of mowthe', 'dede of wrethe', 'hastynesse or feersnesse', 'mansleyghter', 'vnpacyence', and 'blasphemye'. However, it is not clear whether he regards them as branches of wrath against one's neighbour or branches of Wrath in general. If the latter, he is in agreement with Lavynham, who makes no reference to wrath against one's neighbour, but states that:

> Owt of wraththe springin vij bronchis. which
> ben here entitlid as
> Hate of herte
> Malys of mowth
> Werchyng of wreche
> Hastynesse or fershed
> Manslawhtre
> Vnpacyence
> Blasfemye.

Then, like the author of Jacob's Well, he deals with each of these at some length.[1] Jacob's Well also differs from the other English versions of the Somme/Miroir, but agrees with A Litil Tretys, in both the number and order

[1] A Litil Tretys, pp. 10-13. Cf. Jacob's Well, Chaps xiv & xv; The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. 25-26; Ayenbite of Inwyt, pp. 29-31; MS Harl. 45, fol. 48; MS Add. 8151, fols 54^{v}-55^{r}.

of the branches of Pride. According to Jacob's Well, there are eight branches of Pride in the following order: Presumption, Vainglory, Disobedience, Boldness, Hypocrisy, 'Indignacyoun' (Despite), Impudence, and 'Sturdynesse', with appropriate sub-divisions, whereas A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen is typical of the others in having only seven in this order: Unfaithfulness (Untruth), Despite, Presumption, Coveting of High Estate (Ambition), Vainglory, Hypocrisy, and Foolish Shame (Cowardice).[1]

As already indicated, in the present state of knowledge, with so many works still unpublished and unexplored, it is extremely difficult to establish exact relationships between similar texts. It is clear that there were many medieval texts earlier than Jacob's Well containing similar teaching of penitential lore (though few, if any, so comprehensive), but no original source for the work, with its sustained allegory of the pit and the well, has yet been discovered, though various suggestions have been made concerning possible sources for some of the components of the work. Owst, for example, suggests — though he produces no evidence beyond noting that there is a similarity between some of the realistic pictures that appear in both works — that A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen of MS Harl. 45 is 'a striking link' midway between Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt and Jacob's Well,[2] and in an accompanying footnote seems to imply that Jacob's Well was derived from this version of the Miroir.[3] Edna

[1] Jacob's Well, Chaps xi & xii; MS Harl. 45, fol. 37; A Litil Tretys, pp. 1-5; The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp. 12-22; Ayenbite of Inwyt, pp. 16-26; MS Add. 8151, fol. 40^{r}.

[2] Preaching in Medieval England, p. 290.

[3] Ibid., p. 290, fn. 4: 'Dr Brandeis ... has not realised that its "perfect little pictures" too are derived from the Mirrour of MS Harl. 45.'

Stover, in an unpublished dissertation, has compared the doctrinal material in this same Myrour with that in Jacob's Well and the Speculum Vitae, and has come to the conclusion that the former two are derived from the latter and that the versified treatise Speculum Vitae by William of Nassington is the direct source of the doctrinal matter in Jacob's Well.[1] Others, as a result of the similarity between A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham and the section on the Sins in Jacob's Well (especially the animal imagery), have concluded either that the author of the latter drew on this treatise for some of his material,[2] or that both are derived from an unidentified Latin original.[3] Clearly, in Jacob's Well, whatever the author's actual sources were, we have doctrinal matter from some version of the Somme or Miroir supplemented by, and integrated with, that concerning the Sins in particular which is to be found in A Litil Tretys.

Although the sections of Jacob's Well dealing with such doctrinal material are not, like Ayenbite of Inwyt and The Book of Vices and Virtues, a direct translation of the Somme or the Miroir, and, although, whilst showing some affinity with the common store of doctrine embodied in these other works, it also shows considerable differences, this relationship with, and possible indebtedness to, the Somme/Miroir tradition has to be borne in mind

1 'A Myrour to Lewde Men and Women, ed. from Harley MS 45' (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1951), pp. xlvii-liv.

2 See N. A. Fischer, 'Animal Illustrations in English Religious Prose of the Fourteenth & Fifteenth Centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Leeds, 1967), p. 109. See also van Zutphen, op. cit., pp. xxiii-xxvii.

3 See D. J. Lloyd, 'An Edition of the Prose and Verse in the Bodleian Manuscript Laud Miscellaneous 23'(unpub. Yale dissertation, 1943).

in any study of the author's achievement in general and his use of stylistic features in particular. In the ensuing chapters further comparison will be made, where relevant, between Jacob's Well and related works such as the Speculum Vitae, A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins, and The Book of Vices and Virtues. First, however, there are other frameworks of tradition to be considered.

There were in existence other clerical manuals which, whilst sometimes also including the Peckham-Thoresby outlines of the Faith, gave rules and directions for the whole round of parish duties.[1] These manuals often included the Articles of the Great Sentence in the form of abridgements of the Summa Juris Canonici. Raymund of Pennaforte's influential Summa Casuum Poenitentiae (already mentioned) contains four books dealing with Church Law and kindred subjects. According to Owst, the oldest surviving example of such manuals produced in England is the Oculus Sacerdotis of William de Pagula (probably dating from the first half of the fourteenth century), which, it is claimed, furnished 'the parson with a wonderfully complete vade-mecum based on the appropriate provincial and synodal decrees'.[2] Mirk's vernacular Instructions for Parish Priests (in verse) seems to have been indebted to this work, which deals with the knowledge essential for transmission to the laity concerning, for example, marriage, baptism, payment of tithes, and the bringing up of children. Another such manual,

[1] See W. A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Indiana, 1962), Chapter IX, 'Manuals of Instruction for Parish Priests', pp. 189-218, and Appendix II, pp. 277-80.

[2] Preaching in Medieval England, p. 297. See also Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, ed. G. Kristensson (Lund, 1974), pp. 11-12. The Oculus Sacerdotis is also known as Pars Oculi (the title of Part I of the work).

Regimen Animarum (1343?), partly derived from the Oculus Sacerdotis, but also indebted to the Summa of Pennaforte, has a Prologue, in which some of the contents of the work are summarised in the following words:

> ... Omnia precipua que per canones et constituciones provinciales precipiuntur scire, et parochianis exponere, et inter ipsos in ecclesia predicare, in hac modica summa per ordinem conscribuntur. (1)

Clearly there is some affinity between these Canon Law manuals and Jacob's Well, especially Chapters ii to ix, which are devoted to a compilation of 'the artycles of the grete curs' (including the detailed treatment of tithing and contracts of marriage), collected from Canon Law and from Councils held in England, though not necessarily derived directly from these sources. There is some evidence that the custom of reading out the Great Sentence publicly in the churches fell into neglect and lapsed in the fifteenth century,[2] but the author of Jacob's Well in his third chapter draws attention to the Church's requirement, citing as his authority Councils of 1160 and 1220, though probably making use of some intermediary source:

> Be holy cherche it is ordeynid that curatys of mannys soule owyn to schewyn iiij. tymes in the yere, or do schewe, to here peryschenys the artycles of the sentens of the grete curs whiche that arn most vsed. And thise artycles schulde be schewyd in euery qwartere of the yere onys, or oftere yif it were nede, that is for to say, in the soneday next after the feste of seynt Myghhell, or ellys in the ferst soneday of Aduent, in the ferst soneday or the thredde soneday of lentoun, and in the soneday next aftyr wytsoneday, and in

[1] See Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 298, fn. 5.

[2] See Owst, ibid., p. 296, fn. 5.

the soneday next aftyr lammesse day.
Ex consiliis oxon primo & ij. celebratis.
(p. 13, 11. 11-20)

Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests includes similar material, but in his case the work is clearly intended, like his Festial, for the unlettered priest:

Wharefore thou preste curatoure,
[That wolt] plese thy sauyoure,
Yef thow be not grete clerk,
Loke thow moste on thys werk;
For here thow myghte fynde & rede
That the be-houeth to conne nede:
How thow schalt thy paresche preche,
And what the nedeth hem to teche,
And whyche thou moste thy-self be,
Here also thow myghte hyt se. (1)

He proceeds to deal with the duties of parents, god-parents, and midwives, the procedure for baptism and marriage, behaviour in church, payment of tithes, the Pater Noster, the Creed, the Articles of Faith, the Seven Sacraments, Confession and Penance, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Deadly Sins. The treatise is much more clearly a handbook for priests than is Jacob's Well, and it generally lacks the vivid descriptions, figurative imagery, references to the Bible and other authorities, and the illustrative stories that are features of Jacob's Well. Mirk presents the priest with the actual questions to put to the sinner, each one consisting of a rhyming couplet:

Hast thou spared, for hete or colde,
To go to chyrche when thou were holde? (2)

Also in some of the manuscripts, either accompanying or

[1] ed. G. Kristensson (Lund, 1974), p. 68, 11. 11-20.
[2] Ibid., p. 131, 11. 1105-6.

forming part of the Instructions, there are (as in Jacob's Well) details of the Great Curse and how it must be pronounced, preceded by a few introductory rhyming couplets addressed to the priest:

> The gret sentence y write here,
> That twies or thries in the yere
> Thou shalt pronounce withoute lette,
> Whan thi parisshe is togider mette. (1)

MSS Douce 60 and 103 then give the formula and rite for the pronouncing of the Magna sentencia excommunicationis, but without any reference to Constitutions or Canons. MS Cotton Claudius A II, however, has first of all what appears to be a model address for the priest to deliver to his audience:

> Gode men, theis poyntus and arti[c]les that I wille schewe yow of cursynge, bene stabullud & ordeynud & confermed of popus & byschoppus & prelatus of holy chirche.... (2)

Then the Articles are dealt with in much more detail than in the other manuscripts, with citation of the relevant Canons and Constitutions in the manner of Jacob's Well. It is generally assumed that the version in the Douce MSS represents the original, whilst the one in MS Cotton Claudius A II has been partly re-written, but the matter has not been conclusively settled.[3] Although all the manuscripts date from the fifteenth century, Mirk may, of course, have written his Instructions in the latter part

[1] Ibid., p. 104, ll. 1-4. Cotton MS Claudius A II has 'foure tymes in the yere', and, like Jacob's Well, gives the precise times. See EETS edn, p. 60.

[2] EETS edn, p. 61.

[3] See G. Kristensson, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

of the fourteenth.[1] Such works represent one aspect of the framework of common tradition to which Jacob's Well belongs, but no evidence has been produced to show that the author of Jacob's Well knew of, or made use of, either Mirk's Instructions or Pagula's Oculus Sacerdotis, though it seems likely that he would know of the latter.

Thus the author of Jacob's Well had behind him a long tradition, not only of sermons, but also of manuals and tractates dealing with the essentials of the Faith, Confession, Virtues and Vices, and Canon Law, written for the benefit of those who had the cure of souls, or for the educated layman, or possibly sometimes for both. Indeed, so numerous were these manuals that one contemporary writer was led to comment as follows:

> Ther beth so manye bokes & tretees of vyces and vertues & of dyverse doctrynes, that this schort lyfe schalle rathere have an ende of anye manne thanne he maye owthere studye or rede hem. (2)

Long before Jacob's Well was compiled, there had also developed a mass of supplementary material of which the writer or preacher could make use, though he would probably need to have access to a library. This material included the works of the Fathers, glosses and commentaries on the Bible, the most famous being the Glossa Ordinaria (supplemented from time to time), and biblical histories such as Peter Comestor's Historica Scholastica. Also available were alphabetically-arranged encyclopedias (culminating in the fourteenth-century Summa Predicantium

[1] Mirk also produced a more learned and elaborate work in Latin, entitled Manuale Sacerdotis.

[2] Quoted by Brandeis (p. vi) and others from the English translation of Horologium Sapientiae.

by Bromyard, a Dominican),[1] comprehensive handbooks of medieval science such as De Proprietatibus Rerum by the Franciscan, Bartholomew Anglicus,[2] and a host of exemplaria, collections of exemplary moral stories such as the Alphabetum Narrationum, compiled by Arnold of Liège, a French Dominican.[3] Writers and preachers took a pride in referring to, and quoting from, authority upon authority, but such references and quotations are frequently misleading, since the author may not have consulted the original, but acquired the information indirectly from one of the many collections or commentaries.

The author of Jacob's Well is no exception. He makes reference to, or quotes from, many authorities; some of these quotations and references are also to be found in other Somme/Miroir versions or in A Litil Tretys, but many seem to be the author's own additions. As might be expected, the Bible is the most common authority, though texts from the Epistle or Gospel are never used as introductions to chapters. There are well over three hundred references to biblical texts.[4] His practice varies; sometimes only a reference is given with no quotation, sometimes just the Latin or the English text, sometimes both, and sometimes no reference to book or chapter is given. Frequency of biblical quotation

[1] See H. G. Pfander, 'Medieval Friars and some alphabetical reference-books for sermons', Medium Aevum, III (1934), 19-29.

[2] Written in England in the mid-thirteenth century; translated by John of Trevisa in the fourteenth. The author of Jacob's Well refers to it on several occasions, but he seems to be indebted to other source-material for at least some of these references.

[3] c.1307. There is an English translation dating from the early part of the fifteenth century.

[4] Here, as elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, references are to Part I as published by EETS, ed. A. Brandeis.

and reference varies considerably; Chapter xliii has as many as twenty-nine, whereas Chapters xxxi and xxxiii have none, and Chapter xxxii only one, though these three (all dealing with Restitution) have a number of references to Canon Law and to the Summa of Pennaforte or a gloss of that work by William of Rennes. Texts from the Psalter are by far the most common; next in popularity come those from St Matthew, Proverbs, Isaiah, and Ecclesiasticus. Apart from the Bible and references to various Decrees and Constitutions (widespread in Chapters ii to ix), in the body of the sermons, excluding the exemplary stories, there are at least one hundred and fifty references to some twenty-five different authorities. Sometimes the reference is given simply as 'Glossa' or 'secundum doctores/doctorem'. The early Fathers figure prominently, but also included are writers such as Raymund of Pennaforte, Isidore of Seville, and Bartholomew Anglicus. St John Chrysostom and St Augustine are the most frequently cited authorities; next in line are St Gregory, Abuile (Abbeville), and St Bernard. References to these authorities, like the biblical references, sometimes appear in clusters. St John Chrysostom, for example, is cited by name seven times in Chapter xxix for his comments on St Matthew's Gospel,[1] and in Chapter xxxiv Abouile is referred to five times.[2] For his exemplary stories the author does not always give a source, but

[1] The references are to the so-called Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum. The genuine series of his sermons consisting of eighty homilies was not as popular in the Middle Ages as this unauthentic series. The Opus Imperfectum is published among the works of Chrysostom in Migne, Patr. Graeca, Vol. LVI, cols 601 ff..

[2] Abouile (Cardinal John Algrinus) was the author of sermons and annotator of a commentary on the Song of Songs. See Migne, Patr. Lat., Vol. CCVI.

when he does, he acknowledges a debt to about fifteen different sources, the most frequent of which is Cesarius (Caesarius Heisterbacensis); also cited on a number of occasions are Jacobus de Vitriaco (Jacques de Vitry) and the Vitae Patrum. Sometimes the cited references are erroneous and the quotations inaccurate; errors which may be due to the intermediary sources used by the author, faulty copying by the scribe, or quoting from memory by the author. The last seems to be the likely explanation of a number of biblical quotations which differ slightly from the Vulgate, though it has also to be borne in mind that there was more than one version of the Latin Psalter in existence in the Middle Ages.

It seems unlikely that the author of Jacob's Well had first-hand knowledge of, or access to, all the works to which he refers, or from which he quotes. As already indicated, some of the references and quotations were already part of the Somme and Miroir tradition, and in at least one case we find him making use of a quotation which also appears in another sermon collection. In Chapter xxxvi he gives us the following vivid description of the terrors of Hell, seemingly derived from St John Chrysostom:

> ... therfore yellyng, roryng, & wepyng, thou schalt cryin wyth feendys in helle, wyth-outyn ende, 've! ve! ve! quante sunt tenebre!' wo! wo! wo! grete arn my therknessis in peyne!
> (p. 228, l. 34 - p. 229, l. 2)

The attribution to St John Chrysostom is not clearly made, but the passage seems to be dependent on 'Crisostomus seyth ... ' (p. 228, l. 27). In a collection of sermons roughly contemporary with Jacob's Well (though some of the sermons were probably composed at an earlier date) we find a similar description:

> ... ther is no songe but oribull rorynge of dewels and wepynge and gnastynge of tethe and

> weylyng of dampned men, crying "Ve! ve! ve! quante sunt tenebre! — vo! vo! vo! how gret is this derkenes!" (1)

The author of Jacob's Well makes the description more personal by using the second person in addressing his audience, and the premodification of 'thou' by the three participles in juxtaposition is stylistically effective, but it seems clear that the two authors are drawing on a common Latin source (though the second author does not cite an authority for his description) and that the author of Jacob's Well was not the only preacher or writer to 'borrow' the passage.

The narrative element in Jacob's Well has been closely examined by Joan Gregg.[2] She argues convincingly that the majority of the tales are derived directly from the Latin Alphabetum Narrationum, in spite of the fact that the author never acknowledges a debt to this source (not in itself unusual in the Middle Ages), but cites other authorities such as Cesarius and Jacobus de Vitriaco. She emphasises, quite rightly, that if this was indeed the source-book for most of his stories, he did not follow it in an uncritical manner, but 'motivated by a deeply earnest homiletic spirit, exercised discrimination in selecting his tales from his source and handled much of his narrative material freely, consciously reshaping his Latin originals to enhance their didactic effect'.[3] However, there are some stories even in Part I (the published section) which have no parallel in the Alphabetum Narrationum, and Dr Gregg herself admits that in this, as in so many other aspects

[1] Middle English Sermons, ed. W. O. Ross, p. 240, ll. 33-6.
[2] Traditio, 33 (1977), 359-80.
[3] Ibid., p. 372.

of the study of this text, final conclusions must await the availability of the second part of Jacob's Well. Indeed, in the final chapter of the work, Chapter xcv, there is the lengthy and interesting story of the pedlar with his six baskets of fish. Three of the baskets the pedlar calls 'goddys curs', 'synnes', and 'falsnes'; the other three are 'truthe', 'charyte', and 'mercy'. The first three baskets were readily bought by eager customers, but the other three, which the pedlar had hidden, were stolen. The story tells how the pedlar sought the missing baskets in the palaces of high dignitaries of the Church, the courts of emperors and kings, the households of the lesser clergy, the abodes of friars, the houses of rich and poor, great and small, but nowhere could truth, charity, or mercy be found,

> ... ffor the fysch of truthe, of charyte, and of mercy smellyn so stronge vpon vs we mowe noght sufferyn the sauour ther of, but puttyn hem awey fro vs. (1)

No source is given for this interesting story, and there is no similar story in the Alphabetum Narrationum.[2] Clearly, any relationship with, and indebtedness to, the Alphabetum Narrationum or any other narrative source has to be considered in the analysis of the stylistic features of the exemplary stories in Jacob's Well.

In the works composed in the vernacular within these frameworks of common tradition there is still room for some variety in the kind of English used by the preachers and writers, apart from the obvious differences of dialect. Some attention has been paid to traditional codes of presentation of material in the discussion of genre traditions and traditions of content in the preceding

[1] MS Salisb. Cath. Libr. 103, fols 216^{v}-217^{v}.
[2] There is no record of it in Tubach's Index Exemplorum.

pages, but, as is usual in the choice of appropriate style and linguistic patterning, much might depend on the nature of the addresser and his relationship with the addressee(s), the particular purpose of the work concerned, and the special circumstances, if any, in which it was to be presented (especially if intended for oral presentation),[1] as well as on the customary traditional code.[2] However, problems are encountered in any attempt to analyse and classify varieties and levels of discourse in medieval English usage. It is impossible to discover with any certainty what the spoken language (as distinct from written representations of it) was really like at various stages of its development, and what the average person (difficult in itself to define) would consider to be informal or formal in vocabulary or syntax.[3] It is not easy to determine what would have been regarded as 'natural' syntax and, therefore, the exact significance of apparent deviations, whether, for example, they result from the creativeness of the author, or not.[4] Moreover, authors would vary in the extent to which they were influenced by the style of Latin or French source-material — source-material of which the present-day scholar might not be aware. In other words, as already stated, it may be more difficult than M. M. Morgan suggests to distinguish 'between the element of personal contribution to ... style and the influence of

[1] In some respects, a great deal of medieval English literature could be considered 'oral' since at some stage it was likely to be read aloud.

[2] See Roman Jakobson, 'Functions of Language', repr. in Readings for Applied Linguistics, Vol. I, ed. J. P. B. Allen & S. Pit Corder (Oxford, 1973), pp. 53-57.

[3] See Gosta Langenfelt, Select Studies in Colloquial English in the Late Middle Ages (Lund, 1933).

[4] N. F. Blake draws attention to these problems in The English Language in Medieval Literature (London, 1977), Chapters 8 & 9.

prevailing fashion'.

There is a broad distinction between verse and prose, though the distinction may not have been so clearly recognised in the Middle Ages. There are sermons in verse such as the North-English Homily Collection,[1] presumably intended for reading aloud in their entirety to a congregation; and collections such as the South English Legendary[2] (some manuscripts of which contain material for the various festivals of the Church's year as well as saints' lives) may very well have been compiled and used for the same purpose. Numerous devotional and didactic tracts, some of which, as already noted, may likewise have been read in sections from the pulpit, were also composed in verse. Even in prose works, it is not unusual to find the author occasionally making use of verse in some form or other. Latin versions of the Speculum Christiani have English verse and prose passages interspersed, and the English prose version retains these passages of verse. Richard Rolle of Hampole in Ego dormio makes occasional use of verse, and John Mirk inserts a popular poem in honour of the Virgin Mary into one of his sermons.[3] In Jacob's Well there are short pieces of verse at the conclusion of two sermons,[4] and in another sermon there is a lengthy verse dialogue based on Psalm 35.[5]

1 ed. J. Small, English Metrical Homilies (Edinburgh, 1862).

2 ed. C. D'Evelyn & A. J. Mill, EETS, OS 235, 236 (1956) & 244 (1959).

3 EETS edn, pp. 232-33.

4 No. xi, p. 76, & No. xxiv, p. 167.

5 No. xx, pp. 139-40. Numbering of psalms is in accordance with the Vulgate version of the Psalter. See also S. Wenzel, Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its ME Poems (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

In the prose itself there is a variety of style. As might be expected, works of the same author (e.g. Rolle), written at different times and for different purposes, may show a range of styles, and within the same work there may be variation of style in accordance with variation of subject-matter and the immediate aim of the author. At times, the prose of these religious works is a close, literal translation of the original Latin or French, resulting in unidiomatic English. In the case of Rolle's translation of the Psalter, this seems to have been the result of deliberate policy rather than lack of skill on the part of the translator, for, though he states that he seeks 'no strange Inglis, bot lightest and communest', he also declares that it will be English 'that es mast like vnto the Latyn, so that thai that knawes noght Latyn, be the Inglis may cum tille many Latyn wordes', and that he will 'folow the letter als mekil als' he may.[1] The editor of the Speculum Christiani notes that the English text (translated from the Latin, possibly by a Lollard) 'abounds in instances where two or even three synonymous words correspond to only one in the Latin original'.[2] In this respect, the translator is following a well-established practice, introduced originally, perhaps, as a method of preventing misunderstanding, but capable of being used as a stylistic device to create rhythmical and other effects. As will be seen later, the author of Jacob's Well follows a similar practice in his translations of biblical passages, and the use of doublets is a regular feature of his style generally. On the whole, the author of Jacob's Well translates freely from the Latin the stories that he uses as exempla, but on occasion he

[1] Quoted by R. M. Wilson in 'Three Middle English Mystics', Essays & Studies, 9 (1956), 87-112.

[2] EETS edn, p. cciii.

gives a very unidiomatic rendering,[1] or even leaves the Latin untranslated, whatever the reason.[2]

Many religious prose works show some degree of rhetorical ornamentation in their style. Sometimes it is apparent throughout the work; sometimes it is only evident when the occasion requires a special heightening of style. It has already been pointed out that it is debatable how much is due to the influence of Latin rhetoricians, direct or indirect, and how much is due to the native qualities of the English language, but there was a long tradition of this kind of style for religious works. Sometimes, as in the case of A Talking of the Love of God, a later writer appears to have deliberately not only modernised an earlier text, but also 'beautified' and 'enriched' it, so that the later version is 'much more thickly encrusted with ornament'.[3] Mirk's Festial, on the other hand, is a more popular, down-to-earth work and contains fewer stylistic features of this kind, though there are some lively descriptive passages and imaginative details of characterisation. Owst describes the style as 'breezy and forceful speech'.[4]

The same writer, perhaps misled, like Brandeis, by the apparent rusticity of some of the imagery, on another occasion refers to the author of the work under review as the 'rude author of Jacob's Well'[5] — a strange epithet for such a learned author, whose prose style, in spite

[1] For example, the story on p. 192.
[2] For example, the two stories, pp. 151-52.
[3] M. M. Morgan, op. cit., pp. 113-14.
[4] Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, p. 114.
[5] Ibid., p. 184.

of the few occasions when the English is unidiomatic, is anything but 'rude'. His style varies in accordance with the nature of his message; only on rare occasions does it attain the extreme of being 'thickly encrusted with ornament', but there is ample evidence of rhetorical and other significant stylistic features.

C H A P T E R T W O

The Author and his Design

There is only one manuscript of Jacob's Well (or Fons Jacob as it is called in the manuscript, though the modern binding gives the title as Fons Jacobi), and this is to be found in the Library of Salisbury Cathedral, catalogued as MS 103.[1] The text itself extends from fol. 6^r to fol. 217^v, and there are two columns of text on each side. The headings at the beginning of each chapter and at the head of each leaf are in red, as is the initial letter of each chapter and section. The underlining of Latin quotations is also in red. One scribe appears to have been responsible for the bulk of the copying; his handwriting has been estimated to belong to the period 1440-50. A detailed subject-index in Latin (fols 220^r - 230^r) has been added, the bulk of which, on the evidence of the handwriting, seems to have been written about 1470. It is introduced by the words 'Incipit tabula libri precedentis qui vocatur ffons Jacob'. A third scribe completed the list of Chapter Headings begun by the first, added the side-notes, mostly in Latin, and wrote the rest of the subject-index. A fourth scribe re-wrote some of the side-notes which had apparently been damaged as a result of the binding of the manuscript. On the evidence of handwriting and watermarks, the bulk of the manuscript has been dated 1445-55, and since the text is at least one remove from the author's original, it has been suggested that the original work was probably composed in the first quarter

[1] Southampton University Library holds a microfilm of the whole manuscript.

of the fifteenth century.[1]

Mystery surrounds the origin and history of the manuscript. According to the present Librarian, the manuscript was not in the Cathedral Library in 1622 when the manuscripts were catalogued, but was there in 1670 when they were re-catalogued. The manuscript bears the name of 'John Sheward' (possibly the previous owner) in a seventeenth-century hand. Until recently, no detailed study had been made of the dialect; Brandeis simply declared that it was in the standard London dialect, with a Kentish flavour.[2] However, in an unpublished letter, dated 19 August 1985, to the Librarian of Salisbury Cathedral Library, Dr L. M. Carruthers states that his study of the dialect of the manuscript shows that it was written by someone from East Anglia, probably from the area between Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds, and he expresses the belief that the original author came from more or less the same area or from a slightly more northerly one. He notes the possibility, though he regards it as unlikely, that the work was composed and copied in the Salisbury area by immigrant writers using the Suffolk dialect. In the light of this, it is worthy of note that Lavynham, too, was probably a native of Suffolk (he entered the Carmelite house at Ipswich) and that seven of the fourteen manuscripts of A Litil Tretys show E. Anglian characteristics.

Nothing is known of the author except what can be gleaned from the work itself, and this amounts to very little. One assumes that he was a cleric of some kind,

[1] The suggested dates for the manuscript and the original composition are those given by Brandeis and have been generally accepted.

[2] There is an unpublished master's thesis by Virpi Koivula of Finland, 'An Inquiry into the Adjectival Inflexion in Jacob's Well I' (Tampere, 1978). There is no English Abstract, but the author has very kindly given me details of his research.

well-educated and well-read, with access to a well-stocked library. His attitude to the Church, law, and authority is conventional and orthodox. Like many of his contemporaries, he condemns hypocrisy, self-seeking, and the abuse of power within the Church itself,[1] but, unlike some medieval writers and preachers, he seems to bear no grudge against monks or friars. Rich and poor, lords and servants, bishops and curates, priests and laymen, monks and friars, all are dealt with equally and fairly according to whether they are guilty of sinful conduct or not. For example, under Theft and Robbery, the author castigates all classes of society for the various kinds of dishonesty they practise — common robbers, women, lawyers, sheriffs, bailiffs, lords, prelates, regulars, servants, and officials of all kinds.[2]

When he deals with Sloth, the highest in the land are taken to task for the particular branch of Sloth which is peculiar to them:

> The secunde fote brede of wose in slowthe is tendirnesse of flesch, that lettyth a man that doth no penaunce, ne sufferyth no-thyng that deryth his body. & for he is so tendir & soft, wyth-oute hardnesse, therfore the feend restyth in him as in his softe fedyrbed. the feend seyth to hym thus: 'thou hast be norysched tenderly, therfore kepe wel thi body, & put the to no penaunce, for it myght be thi deth, and thou mayst do no penaunce as stronge men mown. for thou art of tendyr complexioun, and it were a foul happe to for-do thi-self.' thus wyl the feend telle the to lette thi begynnyng of good lyif. this tendirnesse in slowthe wyll makyn the to delyghtyn in softe clothys next thi body, bothe on thi bak & in thi bed, & often to be wasshyn and bathyd & kemmyd, in cherschyng of thi flesch; so tendyrly, that it may suffren non hardnesse, neythir to go barfote ne wolleward, ne to faste, ne to

[1] See, for example, his criticism of prelates who 'puttyn here sugettys to outrageous cost' on their visitations (p. 129, ll. 19-22) and of priests who strive for a benefice 'vnryghtfully' (p. 135, ll. 29-31).

[2] pp. 128-29.

> vse harde metys ne harde drynkes, ne to lyn wyth-oute schetys, ne to knelyn harde, ne to suffere cold on handys or on fete. this branche of slowthe is myche norysscheđ in lordys courtys. Luc. vij^{o} 'Qui in veste preciosa sunt, & in delicijs in domibus regum sunt.'
> (p. 104, ll. 12-30)

St Luke (7. 25) refers, of course, to kings' courts; perhaps the author felt it would be wiser to avoid referring to kings.

This criticism of fondness for the easy life is not peculiar to Jacob's Well, but once again the author seems to have integrated material from some version of the Somme/Miroir with material from A Litil Tretys or some related text. The corresponding passage in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, for example, is briefer and less descriptive, but it includes the devil's prompting:

> The secounde is tendernesse of flesche, as when a man may suffre no penaunce ne noght that may greue his flesche, but all softnes and likyng, and suche one is the deueles bolster or couche that he resteth him on and seith thus to him in his thoght: 'Withynne thou hast tenderliche be norisshed; therfore take good kepe to thi body and put the to no penaunce. Ffor it myght be thi deth. Ffor thou art feble of complexioun, penaunce myght sone destroye the. Hit were a grete perile to thee forto fordoo thiself by penaunce.' And thus the deuel, the enemy, schryueth a man and letteth him of bygynnyng of good lyf. (MS Harl. 45, fol. 51^{r})

The Book of Vices and Virtues (p. 26, l. 33 - p. 27, l. 4) agrees with Jacob's Well in having 'fethere bed' instead of 'bolster or couche', and the Speculum Vitae (MS Add. 8151, fol. 59^{v}), like Jacob's Well, has the additional remark by the devil: ' ... thou may no penaunce bere/Os othere that are stalworthere'. The passage in A Litil Tretys, in the form of a third-person

statement, does not include the devil's remarks, but, like Jacob's Well, contains more concrete details of behaviour and the quotation from St Luke:

> Tendyrhed is whan a man delitith him in softe clothynge. in nessche beddyng. he moste ofte be wassche. ofte be bathid. & ofte be kempt. he cherschith so tenderlyche his flesch that he may no scharpnesse sofre. ne nothyng that is hard. As is goyng barfot. welleward. leuynge be hard mete & drinke. lyggynge on hard lyteris. owt of lynnyn clothis. knelyng on the bare grownd. suffryng cold in handis & feet. & tak scharp disciplynys for the loue of god. He that chersith so his body & hys flesch that he may no swich thing suffre fallyth in this vice. This vice folwith most tho men which that ben nurssch-id vp in kyngis courtis as it semyth be cristis wordis in the gospel. luce 7. Wher he seyth thus. Qui in veste preciosa sunt & in delicijs in domibus regum sunt.
> (ed. van Zutphen, p. 16, ll. 20-31; the editor has retained the punctuation of the manuscript)

Thus the author of Jacob's Well appears to have successfully combined the two, added a few extra details of his own, and, as usual, addressed his audience directly through the use of the second person in place of the third.

At the other end of the social scale, servants too have their particular weakness:

> The sexte fote brede of wose in sleuthe, lettyng amendement of lyf, is faylyng, and that is often in seruauntys. ferst thei are buxome to servyn awhyle, & so afterward ryght frowarde & slowe. so summe begynne to serue weel god, & fayle longe er the terme-day; and swyche arn vnworthy to haue ony mede. (p. 109, ll. 29-34)

This criticism of the slothfulness of servants closely resembles that to be found in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir. It is expressed in the following words in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen:

> The sixte is failynge ... that at hir ferste comynge in to seruice thei beth buxom, besy, and preste, but afterward thei slaketh & wexeth froward. But he is noght worth to be ful hyred that serueth noght as his forward asketh. Right thus many men serueth god whos seruantes we schulle alle be. Some men bygynneth wel in goddes seruice, but thei failleth longe or her day that schulde be the end of her lyf. And thei beth not worth to haue mede but thei amende hem withthinne her terme.
>
> (MS Harl. 45, fols 52^{v}-53^{r})

In these comments on, and condemnations of, the vices of humanity, as found in all social classes, we are often presented with an interesting and lively picture, however derived, of a cross-section of medieval life, as, for instance, in the following account of the false excuses given by various members of society:

> So thou synfull man, obstynate in thi synne, excusyst the, & seyst, I may noght kepe halyday, for god wil sende no wederyng on the werkeday, ne lucre of my craft, & so I schulde lese my good & my profyt. I tythed falsely, for ellys I dede ayens the vsage of my neyghbourys, therfore, I wylle reyse vp non newe vse. I halpe the poore man on the haly-day wyth plowgh, & carte, & othere werk, for I wolde noght lese my werke on the werkeday aboute myn owyn good. how schulde I come be-tymes to cherch that haue so myche to done? ... I muste nedys weyin falsly chese & wolle, spyserys & othere thinges, & selle be false mesurys as othere don; ellys schulde I loose ther-on. I muste swere nedys, & forswere me in chaffaryng & in other wyse; ellys no man wyll beleuyn me. I muste nedys be wyles, defraude, & falsnesse, dysseyuen my neyghboure; for yif I dede truthe I schulde neuere thryue but ben a beggere. And nedys I, & my wyif, & my chylderyn, and my meyne muste lyve. Why schulde I paye the tythe tyl I sette on all the expenses of myn hows-holde? (p. 261, ll. 4-21)

I can find no corresponding passage in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir or in A Litil Tretys.

On another occasion we are given a picture of the idle pursuits of all classes of society:

> The thredde fote brede of wose in slauthe, that lettyth the to begynne thi good lyif, is ydelnesse. that lyketh wel the feend. for whanne the deuyl fyndeth a man ydel, thanne he makyth hym to thynken on pride, & lecchery, & on glotonye, & on othere vyces. & after the studying & the thynkyng on tho vyces, the feend steryth hem so therto, that thei drede noght to do tho synnes. this ydelnesse is whanne thou louyst non occupacyoun but veyn & ydell, as thus, to thynken ydell thowghtes, to spekyn ydel woordys, to don ydell dedys, that arn werkys of no profyt, as to pleyin at the tablys, at the chesse & the chekyr, at the hasard, & at swyche othere vayn pleyis .... Idelnes is also whanne, oute of tyme & out of mesure, thou yeuyst the to huntyng, hawkyng, foulyng, fyschinge; to gon to wakys & to wrestlynges, to daunsynges & to steraclys, to tauernys, to reuell, to ryott, to schetinges, to feyrys, to markettys on the holy-dayes, & to chaffarynge, & levyst thi parysch-cherche & thi seruyse; & in doinge thi pylgrimage on holy-dayis; & in pleying at the two hande swerd, at swerd & bokelere, & at two pyked staf, at the hurlebatte; & to harpyn, lutyn, to scornyn, & to yeuyn the to euyll cumpany, in myspendyng thi good & thi freendys good, & in yeuyng euyl exaumple, & in wykkyd desyres in euyll wyllys, & in steryng othere to euyll, in wicked counseylyng, in defoulyng the halyday, in synne & in euyll werkys. (p. 105, ll. 4-35)

Here again the author of Jacob's Well not only gives a much fuller description than those in related texts of the evils of Idleness by including vivid details of the actual activities in which the Idle are engaged, but also addresses and involves his audience directly through the use of the second-person singular. The corresponding passage in other versions is much shorter and in the form of a third-person statement. The following extract from A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen is typical:

> The thridde is ydelnes. Ffor when the fend fyndeth a man ydel & not occupied with good werkes,

> anone he putteth him in his seruice and occupieth him with his werkes and maketh hym thinke & studie in pryde, enuye, lecherie, glotony, couetise, & all other dedliche synnes, and oute of suche thoght falleth also to the assent and further to fulfillynge in dede, and so can the deuel thorgh idelnesse lette good lyf. (MS Harl. 45, fol. 51[r])

In Lavynham's treatise there is a reference to 'pleying at the tables, at the chesse, at the dees. & alle other game that no profyte is inne', and there are quotations from Ezekiel and Jerome, which the author of Jacob's Well also includes, though he does not include the quotation from Ovid's Remedia Amoris which also occurs in A Litil Tretys,[1] but beyond that there is little resemblance between the two versions.

It is clear that the author of Jacob's Well is anti-lollard. He denounces:

> ... alle wycches, & heretykes, & lollardys, & alle that beleuyn on here heresye. alle that fauouryn hem, or defendyn, beryin, or do beryin, suche men, heretykes or the beleuerys on hem, in ony holy place, & alle here mayntenourys or fauourerys. (p. 59, 11. 26-29)

Elsewhere he declares that it is a deadly sin to 'dysseyue the peple be thi fals techyng as lollardys don' (p. 164, 11. 33-34) and admonishes those that 'fallyn in erroure, in heresye, in lollardrye, & maynteneherowne opynyouns' (p. 156, 11. 14-16).

His pictures of the torments that await the damned in Hell are conventional, but he is not without compassion, especially for the poor, the oppressed, and the unlearned. When dealing with the importance of

[1] ed. van Zutphen, p. 16, 1. 38 - p. 17, 1. 19. See also The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 27, 11. 5-11, and MS Add. 8151, fol. 60[r].

knowing oneself, he quotes from a story in which the devil, on being compelled to tell the truth, asserts that such knowledge comes, not from learning, but from the Holy Spirit:

> 'To knowe sterrys, & other scyens, that kunnyng comyth of stodye; but to knowe the-self comyth of no skole, ne of no clergye, ne of no letterure. ffor doctourys of lawe & of dyuynyte, & maystrys of othere scyence, sumtyme summe of hem knowe noght hem-self, ne wyll noght knowyn hem-self, to gouerne hem fro synne to ryghtwysnesse; but summe lay-men kun bettyr knowyn hem-self in gouernaunce fro synne than summe grete clerkys. therfore, this yyfte of knowynge comyth of the holy gost, & noght of skole. ffor the holy gost yeuyth noght this yyfte of kunnynge for here furryd tabbardys, hodys, chymerys, & pylyouns, but the holy gost yeuyth this kunnyng & knowyng to leryd & lewyd that arn in the grounde of obedyence in ful equyte.'
> (p. 276, l. 25 - p. 277, l. 4)

This sentiment seems to be very much in accord with the anti-intellectualism expressed by some of the mystics of the fourteenth century as shown, for example, in the following comment made by a fourteeth-century monk of Durham:

> Let the meek hear and rejoice, that there is a certain knowledge of holy scripture which is learnt from the Holy Ghost and manifested in good works, which often the layman knows and the clerk does not, the fisherman knows and not the rhetorician, the old woman has learnt and not the doctor of theology. (1)

He cites St Jerome and St Bernard as his authorities when he speaks to his audience as follows:

> Swyche godys as thou hast abouyn thi necessarye clothyng & fedyng arn poore mennys good. yif thou wyth-holde the godys fro the poure folke, &

[1] See W. A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, p. 252.

> spende hem in other vse in excesse, that is wast; for thou doost sacrilege & raveyn. Seynt bernard seyth, the nakyd & the hungry cryen wreche, and seyn: 'what helpyth vs the gold in youre brydell-ys & in youre aray, and the gold in youre chystes? the rust fretyn monye in youre cofferys, it doth noght awey our cold, oure hungyr, oure thrust. what dooth to vs al the multitude of youre dyuerse garnementys foldyn in youre pyles, in youre malys, in youre cloth-sacchys, in youre fardellys, in youre summerys, or spred abrode in youre perchys? oure good it is that ye wastyn, fro vs cruelly it ye stelyn, & dyspendyn so wastfully, and afterward, at the doom, the poure & the ryghtfull schul stond-yn stylly, & askyn suche wastourys, that wastyn here good, and don hem wrong.' prouer. vj to., Seynt bernard seyth, thou vanyte of all vanytees, more wodere than vayne, that makyst clad the cherch-wallys of dede stonys wyth peynture of bryghtnesse, schynyng wyth gaynesse, & latyst the qwyke stonys of god, the poure folk, goddys lyk-nesse, gon nakyd & nedy; they perschyn for cold.
> (p. 306, l. 14 - p. 307, l. 1)

There is some resemblance between the sentiment expressed in the last few lines and that conveyed in Piers Plowman (Passus III, ll. 60 ff.) when Meed makes the following promise:

> 'And I shal covere youre kirk, youre cloistre do maken,
> Wowes do whiten and wyndowes glazen,
> Do peynten and portraye [who paied] for the makynge.'

His social gospel is the traditional one of each man in his estate doing his duty to God and man, faithfully and honestly, without grudging.

J. R. H. Moorman has drawn attention to the value of the close contact of the parish priest with the land, whatever the extent of his holding.[1] What rank our author held is not known, but, even after allowance has

[1] Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 113-14.

been made for the many pictures of contemporary life which may not have been the result of personal observation but derived from some other authority, he does seem to have a certain amount of first-hand knowledge of rural customs and pursuits. His detailed development of the image of the pit or well, with its layers of mud and gravel and the use of 'skete', 'scauel', and 'schouel' to clean it out, suggests a knowledge of rural activity. The initial 'figure' may have been suggested by a gloss or commentary on St John, 4. 6, but the elaboration of it seems to be dependent, to some extent, on the author's own knowledge of the making and cleansing of wells.

However, he is no country bumpkin. Chapters ii to ix in particular deal knowledgeably and exhaustively with Canon Law and the decisions taken by various Councils, especially those held in England. No doubt a 'rustic audience' would understand the author's cursing of:

> alle paryschenys that hewyn doun violently, or stubbyn, pullyn, or schredyn, or croppyn, ony treen in cherche-yerde or in chapel-yerd, wythinne closure, or mowyn, or repyn ony herbage growyng there-in, wythoute leue of the curatys or of here deputees. (p. 26, 11. 4-8)

They might also understand and heed (however grudgingly) the preacher's reminder that:

> Of alle thise forsayde, of lamberyn, chese, mylk, fysschyng, fowlyng, wex, hony, calvys, coltys, swannys, chykenys, gees,dokys, hawkyng, & huntyng, the tythes owyth to be payed, wyth-oute reknyng of ony cost, or of ony expensys. (p. 39, 11. 25-28)

It is, however, doubtful whether such an audience would be particularly interested in, or would understand, the preacher's similar cursing of those who falsify papal bulls (p. 27, 11. 8-12), or of those who:

> gon, wyth gret cumpanye, wyth strengthe & force of armys, wyth gret dyn & gret aray, to ony court of holy cherch, & dredly astonyen the ordynaryes & here offycerys, & turblyn other peple there present, that the offyse & the iugement of that court is wrongfully lettyd.
>
> (p. 25, 11. 23-27)

It is not surprising that the author felt it necessary to supply relevant exemplary stories here, as elsewhere, in his work, so that those who could not take the 'fruyt' would still have the 'chaff' to interest them,

> For lewed peple loven tales olde;
> Swiche thynges kan they wel reporte and holde. (1)

The author's general purpose is clear and has already been considered in the previous chapter dealing with the framework of tradition. He is concerned with the essentials of the Faith and the penitential lore of the time, and as 'the prechour of goddys woord, he styrreth & troubelyth the watyr of lustys in the pyt' of the recipient's conscience:

> My werk & labour schal be to tellyn what is this wose of the vij. dedly synnes, & how ye schul caste out this wose, ffirst wyth a skeet of contricyoun, and after wyth a skauell of confessioun, and thanne schouelyn out clene the crummys, wyth the schouele of satisfaccyoun. (p. 2, 11. 17-21)

In an unpublished section of the work, he comments unfavourably on those preachers who seek to please and appease their congregations:

> Therfore prechourys hye and lowe arn aferyd to sey the trouthe, bothe seculere and relygious; and stodyin how in here sermouns thei mown with

1 'The Pardoner's Prologue', Complete Works of Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1957), p. 149, 11. 437-38.

> flateryng colourys, symylacyouns, and fals excusacyouns, favouryn and plesyn the peple, grete and smale, leryd and lewyd, in here synne, and so excusyn here vyces, wrongys, and here falsnesse.
>
> (MS Salisb. Cath. Libr. 103, fol. 143^{r})

Moreover, it is clear from the outset that the author sees himself as 'a man of craft' who is about to undertake a 'gret werk'. (p. 1, l. 1).

What are not clear are the specific aim of the work and the particular audience for whom it was intended. The work is a medley of statement, narration, admonition and exhortation. For much of the time, after the manner of sermons, he uses the form of direct address. It is significant that in the doctrinal matter (as already noted in the few examples given above) he often changes the third-person construction of the original Somme/Miroir into that of the second person, thus directly involving his audience, though, of course, the use of the second-person form of address is not restricted to sermons in the field of medieval religious literature. Whereas Mirk in the opening sentences of his sermons regularly addresses his audience as 'syrs and dames', 'good cristen men and woymen', 'Goddys blessyd pepull', and the like, the author of Jacob's Well only very occasionally begins a chapter in this way; when he does, he addresses his audience as 'sires', or more frequently, as 'freendys'.[1]

The author makes use of both the second-person singular ('thou', 'the', 'thi', etc.) and the second-person plural ('ye', 'yow', 'youre', etc.) in addressing his audience, generally in accordance with a particular

[1] See, for example, Chap. x ('Syres') and Chaps xxvi, xxvii, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii ('Freendys/frendys').

pattern. In his introductory sentences and in his concluding exhortations, he uses the plural forms, but in the body of the chapter he almost invariably uses the singular forms, unless he is translating a quoted passage where the plural is used, or is occasionally engaging in a mid-way general exhortation. Thus Chapter xii opens with the following words:

> The other day, I schewyd you fyve cornerys of pride; & now I schall telle you vp the othere cornerys of pride in youre wosy pytt, that is, in youre synful herte. (p. 76, 11. 9-11)

The author then deals with the various aspects of Pride, supplying explanations relating to the behaviour of the listeners (his customary method), but making the message more personal through the use of the singular forms, as in the following example:

> The sexte cornere of pride is indignacyoun; that is, whan thou hast dysdeyn of symple folk, & lust noght to speke to hem but full of scorn & of iapys; in beryng the foule to thi sogettys, & hareiously takyst on wyth hem, & wyth thi peerys, & wyth thi bettyr, & felly & prowdly schamyst & reprouyst hem, more for pride than for charyte, more for thi temperal harme than for here trespas ayens god. (p. 76, 11. 12-18)

Then, after the first 'Exaumple', he reverts to the plural form of address:

> Sythen that a countasse was dampnyd for pryde, beth ware, ye poore folk that are prowde, & takyth lownes! (p. 81, 11. 1-2)

Finally, after another 'Exaumple', he concludes in the following manner:

> Fforsakyth pride, takyth lownes, that aungelys mowe bere yow to blyss! (p. 81, 11. 26-27)

In the unpublished section of Jacob's Well the author sometimes introduces his topic with an inclusive 'we', as in the following examples:

> The last day we made redy oure morter of sonde. (fol. 157^{r})
> The dyuerse day herebeforn we han cowchyd & leyd ston of gode werkys. (fol. 163^{r})

The author's message is addressed to both men and women. The inclusion of comments on the behaviour of women, virtuous or otherwise, and of numerous stories dealing with incidents in the lives of such women would not in itself be sufficient conclusive evidence, but the following exhortation in Chapter ii leaves us in no doubt:

> Therfore, thou man & womman that heryst the woord of god wyth thin erys, be ware of the peryle of thi synne & of the articles of the gret curs! (p. 11, 11. 9-11)

The occasion and location of the delivery of a series of sermons of this nature to such a comprehensive audience, which included representatives of the various estates as numerous as those which people Langland's Fair Field, are difficult to imagine. In the opening chapter the author declares that the work will require:

> manye a day werk, er it be endyd & made. I suppose lxxxix. dayes & v. it muste be in werkynge. (p. 1, 11. 9-10)

This agrees with the ninety-four chapters that follow. At the beginning of the final chapter (xcv), the author says that he is going to summarise all 'that I haue seyd & schewyd you this hool tweyne monythys & more' (fol. 214^{v}); this presumably is meant to refer to the previous ninety-four days, though 'three' whole months and more would seem more appropriate. Both the editor of

the EETS edition and Joan Gregg regard these statements as referring to the period occupied by the delivery of the sermons, assuming that these were delivered 'day by day'[1] during the period of 'lxxxix dayes & v', and it seems unlikely, especially in the light of the statement in the final chapter, that what the author is referring to is the period of composition ('in werkynge') rather than that of delivery. It is, however, difficult to visualise any period in the Church's year when ninety-five consecutive daily sermons of this nature would be required; even Lent, when daily sermons were most likely to occur, has only some forty days to offer. Apart from the reference in Chapter iii to the four or more occasions in the year when the Church required the reading of the Articles of the Sentence of the Great Curse, no particular part of the Church's year is indicated. The most likely interpretation of the text is that the sermons were given, or intended to be given, on consecutive days, though there is no certain confirmation of this within the sermons themselves. Most chapters in the published section open with the statement 'The other day I told(e)/schewyd you' (or occasionally he uses the adverb 'here-beforn'), thus linking the chapter or sermon with the previous one, but on no occasion does the author make use of the word 'yesterday' or any similar expression that might confirm that the sermons were given, or intended to be given, on consecutive days. The unpublished section of the text throws no further light on this matter. In many of these later chapters the opening words tend to follow the pattern of 'The last day I/we ... but now' or 'As for this day werk, we ....', and on one occasion he refers to 'Thise two laste dayes' (fol. 176^{r}), but sometimes there is no reference to a previous day.

[1] Brandeis, op. cit., p. viii; Gregg, op. cit., pp. 359-60.

Like so many of his contemporaries and predecessors, the author of Jacob's Well complains of people's failure to attend divine service and of their improper behaviour — wandering thoughts, idle chatter, sleeping — whilst the service is in progress. The reasons for non-attendance, late arrival, or early departure are varied. As we have already seen, the attraction of worldly pleasures and pastimes is given as one cause of non-attendance at service and 'defoulyng the halyday'. In Confession the penitent is admonished to ask:

> How manye matynes, massis, euesangys, howrys, prechynges, offrynges, & othere gode dedys, hast thou omytted & fayled? how ofte hast thou iangelyd, rownyd, & slept, in tyme of dyuyne seruyse in holy cherche? (p. 184, l. 32 - p. 185, l. 1)

In reproaching his congregation for 'ianglynges in cherch', he tells them the oft-told story of the devil and his great scroll:

> ffor this same clerk[1] seyth that the deuyl in a cherche wrote the woordys of the peple, whiche thei iangledyn & rownedyn in cherch, & whan his scrowe was to lytel, he drewe it out, wyth his teeth, broddere; and in his drawyng he smote his heuyd ayens the walle. (p. 115, ll. 8-12)

Moreover, the same devil has a bag in which he collects overskipped verses:

> 'I bere in my sacche sylablys & woordys ouerskyppyd and synkopyd, & verse & psalmys the whiche these clerkys han stolyn in the qweere, & haue fayled in seruyse.' (p. 115, ll. 2-5)

This devil was called Tutivillus or Tityvillus.[2]

[1] According to the author, 'Jacobus de vitriaco'.

[2] See Owst, Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 512-14, for similar references in sermon literature.

In Chapter ii, which serves as a prelude to the chapters on 'the artycles of the sentencys' and the perils of 'the grete curs', the author appeals to his listeners to give him a sympathetic hearing:

> Therfore, whanne I schewe to you an-other day the artycles of the sentencys, beeth noght euyll payed wyth me, but beth glad to here hem. and yif ye fele you gylty in hem, yerne amende you wyth perfyt penaunce, that ye peryssche noght in soule. (p. 8, 11. 16-19)

He pleads also on behalf of any other cleric who might have to perform the same unenviable task (perhaps making use of the author's own series of sermons):

> Whanne thi curat schewyth to the the artycles of the curse, go noght out of the cherche, tyl they be schewyd, for no cause, but here hem wyth full wyll. (p. 11, 11. 22-24)

In the light of the content of Chapters iii to ix, one can understand the temptation to find an excuse for leaving the church (and, according to medieval homilists, congregations were good at finding such excuses) and possibly returning for the stories at the end of the sermon.

What is particularly significant is that on two occasions when engaging in rebukes the author seems to refer to a particular church in which the sermons are being delivered. The first occasion occurs in a sermon where the author is again rebuking people for vain thoughts, words, and deeds:

> Therfore, thou that syttest stylle here in cherch, vnocupyed & thynkest on thi muk & on other ydelnes, & spekyst ydell woordys, or slepyst as a beste in goddys seruyse ... how thynkest thou to be sauyd wyth other mennys prayere, & wylt noght helpe therto thi-self wyth thi prayere? (p. 231, 11. 9-15)

The second reference occurs in the same sermon and is more specific:

> I trowe the feend hath nede to drawe lengere & braddere his rolle here; for it is ellys to lytel to wryten on alle the talys tolde in this cherch, for it is neuere lefte, but it be at sacre, for prechyng, ne schryfte, ne schame, ne dreed of god ne of the world. (p. 232, 11. 15-19)

It may be, of course, that this series of sermons, like Mirk's Festial, was composed as a model and guide for other preachers (though this is never hinted at by the author) and 'this cherch' would then refer to whatever church was appropriate at the time. It is, however, further evidence that the author thought of the chapters as sermons to be delivered, though it may be that the work was also intended to serve a dual purpose as a manual of moral instruction. The survival of only one manuscript suggests that it did not achieve widespread popularity, though the scribal additions in the form of sidenotes, the Chapter Headings, and the comprehensive Index are evidence of some use having been made of the work.

No one has yet discovered a source in which the doctrinal and the narrative elements are already combined and integrated as they are in Jacob's Well. In the absence of such evidence, it would seem reasonable to assume that the author himself was responsible for such a composition, thus making provision for both the learned and the unlearned amongst his audience in accordance with the advice of earlier authorities.

Where Jacob's Well differs mostly from works in the same tradition is in the overall allegorical structure, carefully planned from the beginning:

> I purpose here-after gostly to makyn a gret werk, that is, of a schelde pytt to makyn a depe welle. (p. 1, 11. 6-7)

Traditionally, the conventional symbol in such works was the tree with its root, branches, and leaves, but for the author of Jacob's Well the basic symbol is the well, which is reflected in the title, though even he occasionally speaks of branches and leaves, as, for example, in Chapter xxiii. The scriptural authority for his choice of the well is the account of Christ's meeting with the woman of Samaria as recounted in St John's Gospel, 4. 5-30, but the story itself seems to be almost irrelevant to his purpose. In Chapter i he quotes a few words from the relevant passage — 'Neque in quo haurias habes, & puteus altus est' — but only in support of his statement that:

> ye muste haue a wyndas, & a roop, & a bokett, to drawyn vp watyr to drynke, be-cause youre welle is so deep. (p. 3, 11. 24-26)

Much later, in Chapter xxxviii, when dealing with the weeping that is a necessary element in shrift, he gives an allegorical interpretation of Christ's request for water from the well, in explanation of his theme that it is the water of weeping that Christ thirsts for, but the 'figure' seems almost incidental to his main use of allegory:

> For wepyng is the watyr that ihesu desyreth to drynken, secundum doctores, after whiche watyr of wepyng he thrysted on the cros, & seyde, 'I haue thryst,' that is, for helth of mannys soule, for wepyng of mannys synne. ffigure here-of Iohannis iiij^{o}. crist restyd him be the pyt & the welle of samarye, that is, be the synfull body, sory of his synne. & crist askyd watyr of the womman samaritan, that is, he askyth watyr of wepyng terys of synfull soule for his synnes. scripture seyth, 'lacrime extinguunt viciorum flammas,' wepyng qwenchytz the flammys of synne. (p. 185, 11. 16-25)

He refers again to the biblical text in his recapitulation in the final chapter:

> puteus altus est. Iohannis iv. this welle is the welle of Iacob, that is, of hym that doth penaunce, on whiche crist sytteth & restyth hym and byddyth the womman, that is, mannys soule, yyuyn him drynkyn of this watyr of vertewys in this welle.
> (MS Salisb. Cath. Libr. 103, fol. 216^{r})

Although the author of Jacob's Well on a number of occasions cites glosses, including 'the gloss interliniare' (p. 267, ll. 20 ff.), as his authorities for scriptural interpretation, it was certainly not from the more popular glosses that he derived the idea of the sustained allegory of Jacob's Well. Typical glosses and expositions are devoted to interpretations of the significance of the sixth hour at which Christ approached the well, the five husbands of the Samaritan woman, and the Samaritan woman herself,[1] but the author of Jacob's Well makes no reference to, or use of, these.

The passage from St John's Gospel provided the author with his key 'figure', but he supplements it with imagery of water and mire drawn from other biblical passages. In Chapter xxxv he introduces the 'figure' of the pool of Bethesda (St John, 5. 2-9) as a further development in his allegorical treatment of the well:

> Thise v. wyttes of thi soule, vnderstondyng, desyre, delyghte, mynde, & wyll, mowe be figured, Joh. v., be the pyt that had v. entrees, & iche entre lay ful of syke folk. An aungyl, be certeyn tymes, steryd the watyr in the pytt, and what syke body myghte ferst entre in-to the pytt after the styrryng of that watyr, he was made hole & heyl of what syknesse so euere he hadde be-forn. this pyt is thi conscyens, in whiche watyr of lustys & wose of synne standyth stylle & abydeth as watyr in a pytt. Ps. 'Statuit aquas quasi in vtre.' the v. entrees of thi conscyens arn thi v. gostly wyttes a-forn seyde, in

[1] See Migne, Patr. Lat., Vol. CXIV, cols 371-74 ('Glossa Ordinaria'), 906 ('Walafridi Strabi Expositio in quatuor Evangelia'), & Vol. CCXIX (Index of allegory & figures).

> whiche v. wyttes lyen myche folk syke.
> (p. 224, 11. 12-22)

The pit is again 'fyguryd' in this way in the final chapter of the work (fol. 215^{v}). No doubt the author was also well acquainted with, and influenced by, the widespread, but less specific, biblical imagery of living waters and life-giving springs and its symbolic significance, such as that contained in the passage from Isaiah which he quotes in the very first chapter:

> Ther-fore, ye schul drawe watrys, in ioye, of the wellys of youre saveoure, that is, of youre bodyis, that arn the wellys of god. 'Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris.' Ysaie xij.
> (p. 4, 11. 6-9)

However, in the first part of Jacob's Well, in spite of the title and its biblical origin in the story of the woman of Samaria, the author is much more concerned with the image of a pit containing mud and foul water, representing the body, than with a well. Though on occasion the terms seem to be interchangeable,[1] the emphasis is on the necessity of the cleansing of the pit before the well can be discovered and developed:

> ... that is, of a schelde pytt to makyn a depe welle. (p. 1, 1. 7)

For the figurative use of 'pit' he acknowledges a debt to Abbeville — 'this pytt is thi body, the which is clepyd the pytt of lustys, secundum doctorem Abuile' (p. 5, 11. 20-21) — but it is the Psalms that seem to have been the source of much of his figurative language concerning the pit, the mud, and the overpowering water. Psalm 68, in

[1] As on p. 5, 11. 17-18: 'yif thou haue a pytt or a welle that is depe wyth corrupt watyr'. Both 'fons' (St John, 4. 6) and 'puteus' (St John, 4. 15) are used in the Vulgate.

particular, is frequently cited.[1] In Chapter i he pictures the soul within 'this pytt of corrupte watyr' crying out to God in the words of the Psalmist:

> 'Saluum me fac, domine,[2] quoniam intrauerunt aque vsque ad animam meam.' (p. 2, 11. 3-4)

Here it is the author himself who supplies the image of the pit. In the same chapter, when referring to the mire of the Seven Deadly Sins that lies beneath the foul water, after a quotation from Habbakuk he continues with imagery derived from the same psalm, verse 15:

> Wo to hym that gaderyth in his pyt of his body ayens his soule the wose of dedly synne, for he hath gret nede to seyn wyth David: 'Eripe me de luto, vt non infigar!' lord, deliuere me out of this wose of dedly synnes, that I styke noght therin to be perysshed! (p. 2, 11. 13-17)

In Chapter xi, when dealing with Pride, he makes use of the same verse and follows it with a figurative interpretation of a passage from the third chapter of Nahum:

> 'Eripe me, domine, de luto, vt non infigar.' Delyuere me, lord, out of the wose of synne, that I styke noght faste ther-in, be wycked custome! 'Intra in lutum & calca.' Naum in fine. Entre thou in-to wose, & defoule thi-self, that is to say, entre in-to thi-self, wosy in synne; wyth thi mynde be-holde how depe thou art in wose of synne, and dyffoule thi [body] wyth trauayle of sharpe penaunce. for who-so styketh faste in depe wose, he may euyll oute. (p. 68, 11. 22-29)

The same verse from Psalm 68 is quoted in Chapter xiii (p. 87, 11. 12-16), where the subject is Envy, and again in

[1] Numbering of psalms is in accordance with the Vulgate version of the Psalter.

[2] Both Gallican and Hebrew texts of the Psalter read 'Deus'.

Chapter xxiv (p. 164, 11. 10-14), when the author is dealing with Lechery and the rest of the Deadly Sins. In Chapter xi, verse 3 of the same psalm is also quoted:

> for who-so styketh faste in depe wose, he may euyll oute. Ryght so, who-so is in depe synne, he may euyll out, for he is so fyched there-in. Ps. 'Infixus sum in limo profundi.' (p. 68, 11. 28-31)

The same verse is cited in Chapter xxiv, when the author is reminding his audience once more of the danger of the 'wose' of the Seven Deadly Sins in which they may be stuck and from which deliverance must be sought:

> for thou that art in this wose of leccherie & of the othere vj. dedly synnes, whiche I haue told the here-beforn in dyverse dayes, thou mayst seyn, 'Infixus sum in limo profundi.' I am fyched faste in depe wose. (p. 164, 11. 7-10)

In both cases he appears to be quoting from the Hebrew Psalter, which was not normally used for Church services in this country though it was studied by scholars, and not from the Gallican with its reading of 'limum'. Elsewhere, Psalm 41, verse 8, is the authority cited:

> ffor yif youre pyt in his entrees be stylle opyn & vnstoppyd, the corrupte watyr of curse & the depe wose of synne rennyth in ayen, and so youre pytt first is depe, & after-ward wexith deppere. 'Abbissus abbissum inuocat'. (p. 216, 1. 27 - p. 217, 1. 2)

Jacob's dream of the ladder extending from earth to heaven (Genesis, 28. 12) is also integrated into the general allegory, though the author's interpretation of it is more extensive than that normally given in the glosses. He gives the following summary of the significance of the ladder in his final chapter:

> Thise be the laddere stakys in thi laddere of loue

> to styen vp by to heuene. This laddere sey Jacob. Gen. 27. standyng on erthe, that is on erthely man & the ouyr ende towchyd heuene, for charyte in erthely man towchyth God in heuene, for God is fastnyd to the laddere of charyte and aungelys gon vp & doun on this laddere of loue, that is to seye, aungellys be this laddere of loue come doun fro heuene to counfortyn man, and be this laddere of loue aungellys gon vp to heuene with mannys soule and to presentyn God with mannys deuoute preyerys.
> (fol. 216^{v})

As might be expected, there are figurative interpretations of other biblical passages from both the Old and New Testaments (sometimes labelled 'figure' in the body of the text, or 'figura' as a scribal entry in the margin). Typical is the following example:

> ffigure here-of luc. vltimo. Cryst ledde his apostlys out of Bethanye, and blyssed hem, & thanne he stey to heuen. Bethania interpretatur domus obediencie, that is, to bethanye wyth equyte. whan crist hath brought the fro wretthe to obedience, that is, to Bethanye & equyte, thanne he blysseth the wyth his hand, that is, wyth his yyfte of kunnyng for to knowe the-self to gouerne the in vertuys, to stye vp fro Bethanye to heuen, that is, in obedyens & equyte to styen vp to endles blys.
> (p. 277, ll. 7-14)

However, these 'figures', though they are introduced by the author in order to supplement and illustrate points in his preaching, are not an integral part of the main allegorical pattern of the well and the pit.

The sustained allegory of the well also bears witness to the author's own knowledge of the making and cleansing of wells, whether derived directly from personal experience or indirectly from some other source of information. In Chapter i we hear of some of the actions and materials necessary for the converting of a shallow pit into a deep well — actions and materials which are, of course, given a symbolic interpretation. The foul, stagnant water must be scooped out and the mud

and gravel removed until eventually the pure spring water is reached. The first implement required for this cleansing is a scoop 'deep & hool, to resceyue watyr'. If the scoop is too shallow, 'it takyth no watyr'. Moreover, it must have a good handle 'for to holde wyth'. The scoop can be used to remove the water 'stynkyng & corrupt', but there remains the oozy mud, and unfortunately 'depe watyr in a wosy pytt makyth deep wose'. Three more implements are needed to remove the mire:

> ffirst the nesch wose muste be cast out wyth a skete, & after-ward the hard wose wyth a skauel, & after that the crommys of the wose wyth a schouyll. (p. 168, ll. 10-12)

Each implement is described. The 'skete' is:

> opyn a-forn, redy to deluyn in-to the nesch wose, & redy to delyuere it out. A skete also sumdel, in the heuyd, is raysed & reryd on bothe sydes; for ellys it myght noght receyvin but lytel wose for scheldehed, for to castyn it out. Also the heved of a skete, in the bothme, is hoole, & ellys the wose wolde noght abyden therin to ben cast out, but it schulde fallen doun ayen thrugh the skete in-to the pytt. Also a skete hath a long handle to be holdyn by, wyth mannys handys, for to werkyn therwyth. (p. 168, ll. 14-23)

The 'skauel' has 'a scho of yren scharp & myghti' at its front, 'an heued hole & narow, & a long stele, an handyll', which is six spans long — a sharper instrument more suited to the removal of the harder mud.[1] Finally there is the shovel, and it is important for the symbolism that the author should draw attention to its three components: a shoe, a head, and a handle, which is four spans long. We are informed that 'the yren scho of the schouele entryth before into the wose, that the heued of the

[1] See p. 179, ll. 16 ff..

schouele myghte entren in after'.[1] After the removal of the mud, the well must be dug deeper, and a spade is required to remove the underlying gravel. When the pure spring water has been found, then the ground must be levelled and a foundation of stone corbels laid. After this, with the help of a plumb-line, upon these corbels are to be laid stones, set in mortar made of lime, sand, and water, A rope, bucket, and windlass complete the operation.[2]

The plan of the allegory of the pit and the well is explained in Chapter i. The pit, full of foul water and mire, represents the sinful body of man, 'that is clepyd be doctourys the pytt of lust'. The pit has five entrances, which are the five senses, and it is through these five entrances that the foul water, representing the Articles of the Great Curse, enters. The mire beneath the water represents the Seven Deadly Sins, 'in whiche the soule styketh sumtyme so faste that he may noght out, but schulde peryssche'. When the pit has been cleared of the corrupt water of the Great Curse with the scoop of penance, and of the foul mud of the Seven Deadly Sins with the 'skeet' of contrition, the 'skauell' of confession, and the shovel of satisfaction, then the five entrances of the senses must be blocked. Then, with the spade of 'clennesse', the pit must be dug deeper, and all the sand and gravel beneath the mire, representing the circumstances of sin, removed. Further digging into the ground of virtues will bring one to the seven springs of the water of grace, that is, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.

[1] See p. 189, 11. 12 ff..
[2] See pp. 2-3.

After this, the well must be firmly consolidated. The corbels, mentioned above, represent the Seven Articles of the Faith, whilst the sand, water, and lime used to make mortar represent, respectively, memory of one's sin, tears, and a burning love for Christ. The plumb-line is Truth, and the stones the Works of Faith. The well has a ladder, and this represents love for both God and man, by means of which the soul may rise to heaven. However, the ladder is a complex symbol, since its numerous rungs represent the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deeds of Mercy, both bodily and spiritual, and thanksgiving and prayers to God, including the Ave Maria and the seven petitions of the Pater Noster. Finally, to complete the well, there must be the rope of belief (with its threefold significance of Faith, Hope, and Charity), the bucket of desire of all goodness, and the windlass of the mind. Thus 'ye schul drawe watyrs, in ioye, of the wellys of youre saveoure'(p. 4, 11. 6-7).

Having explained his plan, the author says:

> Now haue I ymagyd and cast all myn hool werk of this welle; which I schal laboure to you lxxxix dayes and v., ere it be performyd. (p. 4, 11. 10-12)

The rest of Jacob's Well is the result of his labours. The plan is carried out in detail (except in Chapters iv to ix, where he is dealing with many of the Articles of the Great Curse), ponderously and laboriously, with typical medieval fondness for numerical analysis, division, and sub-division. However, there are times when the allegorical pattern seems to break down under the strain, the symbolism becomes contrived and forced, and the terminology is inconsistent, so that it is difficult to visualise the pit or well except in a very general manner. One wonders how much would have been comprehensible to a medieval congregation.

Every foot of the pit, whether of depth or breadth, and every span of the handles of the implements used is brought into play and given a figurative interpretation. The handle of the 'skeet' is conveniently made seven spans in length in order to accommodate the seven qualities of contrition; it must be premeditated, secret, comprehensive, orderly, personal, sorrowful, and felt inwardly. Likewise, the six spans of the handle of the 'skauell' of confession and the four spans of the handle of the shovel of satisfaction have special significance, the former representing the various aspects of shrift, and the latter the four elements of fasting.

The oozy mud representing the Seven Deadly Sins is divided and sub-divided in great detail, though the terminology used at times seems hardly appropriate. For example, we are told that the 'wose of pride' has 'viij. cornerys, or viij. quarterys';[1] Envy has 'iij. cornerys of wose' (heart, mouth, and deed).[2] Most of the 'cornerys' of Pride and Envy have their own 'breadth' of mire. Thus the first 'corner' of Pride is Presumption, which is 'vj. fote of wose in brede',[3] each foot representing a sub-division of Presumption. The third, fourth, and fifth 'cornerys' are each three feet broad. No measurements are given for the sixth and eighth 'cornerys', presumably because the author has no sub-divisions for these aspects of Pride, but somewhat inconsistently the second 'corner' of Pride (Vainglory), though it 'is in thre manerys', is likewise given no measurement of breadth.[4] Each of the three 'cornerys' of Envy is three feet broad.[5]

[1] p. 69, l. 6.
[2] p. 82, ll. 18-19.
[3] p. 70, ll. 13-14.
[4] p. 71, ll. 3-19.
[5] pp. 82-84.

The allegorical treatment of Wrath in Chapter xiv is rather confusing. The author begins by stating that Wrath has three 'degrees' — hatred of the heart, malice of the mouth, and deed of vengeance. However, the 'wose of wrethe' is also 'four-square' — wrath against God, against oneself, against one's household, and against one's neighbour. Then we are told that 'this wose of wretthe' (the exact referent of 'this' is not clear) is 'vij. fote of depthe', a foot being assigned to each of the seven varieties.[1] The listener, or reader, is admonished to 'caste out this wose of wretthe' until he finds 'this grounde of euynhed, that is, equyte'.[2] A second sermon on Wrath follows (Chapter xv), in which again the audience is told to cast out the 'wose of wretthe', but at the beginning of this chapter the author appears to digress into a different order of imagery, presumably influenced by the traditional tree and branch imagery and by the words of St Bernard:

> The other day, I tolde you of the wose of wratthe & of his braunchys, & yit, this day, I schal telle you more of wratthe. Seynt Bernard seyth that wretthe is gate of alle synnes, be the whiche wretthe alle synnes entryn in-to man. for yyf this gate of wretthe be schett, alle vertuys haue reste in man; & whanne this gate of wretthe is opyn, alle synnes entryn in-to man. (p. 97, 11. 8-13)

Even if we interpret 'gate' in the sense of one of the five water-gates mentioned in Chapter i (i.e. the five bodily senses) — and this seems an unlikely interpretation — there is inconsistency, since it is through all the five water-gates that sin and corruption enter the body, not just one.

The amount of mire allotted to Sloth is more exten-

[1] p. 92, 1. 5 - p. 94, 1. 27.
[2] p. 95, 11. 5-6.

sive in breadth, though there is no mention of depth:

> In this wose of slowthe ben xviij. fote brede of wose. there ben vj. fote brede of wose that lettyn the begynnyng of good lyif; And other vj. fote brede of wose in slawthe that fordon good amendyng; and the laste vj. fote brede of wose in slawthe bryngeth a man to an euyll ende.
> (p. 103, ll. 16-20)

Each six-foot section is further broken down in an analysis of each individual 'fote brede of wose'. At the beginning of the second chapter on Sloth (xvii), each big division of the sin is referred to as a 'parcell of the wose in sleuthe' ('parcell' being used in the now archaic sense of 'portion/section of land, etc.'), and the subdivisions as 'branchys', though he also continues the earlier image:

> I haue told you of vj. braunchys of slowthe that lettyn begynnyng of good lyif, & of othere vj. that lettyn amendyng of lyif; but now I schal tellyn you of vj. othere braunchys that bryngen a man to euyll endyng. And thise vj. I clepe vj. fote brede of wose in the last parcell of slowthe.
> (p. 112, ll. 4-9)

As in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir, the six elements of the third 'parcell', which are responsible for bringing man to an evil end, are dealt with very briefly, and the picturesque features of some of the aspects dealt with earlier are lacking, but after a general admonition to cast out the 'wose' of Sloth in all 'his xviij. fote brede' until solid ground is reached, the author returns to a more vivid treatment of Sloth in general in the second half of the sermon through the use of other imagery and of exempla.

Three chapters are devoted to Gluttony, and in these there is a combination of the imagery of the pit and the well and the more traditional imagery of the tree and its branches. This is shown clearly in the following

quotation from the third of the chapters (xxiii):

> & out of this glotonye, that is a wose moyst & wete, springeth out at the mowth ofte, in the feendys scolehows of the tauerne, a tre, that is, euyl tunge. this wose, I tolde you here before, is v. fote brede, that is for to sayne, it is in v. manerys. the tre euyll tunge, that springeth out of the wose of glotony, hath x. braunchys, that is, x. spyces, & iche of tho spyces hath manye levis, that is, many circumstauncys. Medycyne here-of is, ferst to caste out the wose of glotonye & of drunkeschypp, that the tre of euyl tunge, wyth alle his braunchys & wyth alle his levys, may drye & welke. (p. 156, l. 30 - p. 157, l. 5)

Gluttony makes the tongue speak evil, and out of the evil tongue spring the ten branches of the sins of the tongue, including backbiting and idle speech, which have already been dealt with once under Envy and Sloth respectively. Obviously there is some inconsistency in both the allegorical pattern and the doctrinal message conveyed by it, inconsistency which is further exemplified by the author's statement that Gluttony is the 'gate of synnes, be the whiche alle othere synnes entryn into man' (p. 145, ll. 27-28); we have already been told that it is through the gate of Wrath that all other sins enter man. Moreover, in a later chapter, Idleness or Sloth (including idle words) receives further treatment. On this occasion, it is symbolised by the sand and gravel of the pit, of which the 'secunde fote depthe is in thi tunge, that is, ydel & euyl woordys' (p. 228, ll. 25-26).

Only one chapter is devoted to Lechery. In his treatment of this sin, the author gives us not only the breadth (this time in fathoms) but also the depth of the 'wose'. The oozy mud is three fathoms broad, the first fathom representing lecherous thoughts, the second one lecherous words and manners, and the third one lecherous deeds. The first fathom of mire is four feet deep, the third is fourteen feet deep, but no depth is given for

the second fathom, nor is it dealt with in detail and analysed like the other two. This sermon ends with a summary of some of the most common vices — the Deadly Sins, flattery, hypocrisy, vanity, gambling, dancing, swearing, and the like — and another plea to cast out 'this wose of synne'.

As the work proceeds, the author makes provision at the beginning of each chapter for recapitulation and careful indication of the stage reached in the digging and cleansing of the pit, so that, when we reach Chapter xxxvi, we are presented with a useful summary of the development of the allegory:

> I haue told you be-forn dyuerse dayis how ye schul scopyn out of youre pytt of lustys, that is, youre body, wyth the scope of penaunce the corrupte watyr of the grete curse, & how ye schul castyn oute the stynkyng wose of dedly synne wyth the skete of contrycyoun, wyth the scauell of confessioun, and wyth the schouyll of satysfaccyoun. I haue telde you also how ye schal schettyn & stoppyn the v. watyrgatys of youre bodyly wyttes & the v. watyrgatys of youre soule, that is, youre v. gostly wyttes. yif youre pytt be fermyd clene fro the watyr of curse & fro the wose of synne, & alle the watyrgatys of youre bodyly & gostly wyttes be stoppyd wel fro comyng in ayen of corrupte watyr & wose of lustys & of synne, thanne youre pytt is drye & clene, but it is schelde in perfeccyoun, frelte, febylnes, vnkunnyng, in ignoraunce & vnknowyng, that it hath in hymself no kyndely spring of watyr of swetnes & of clennes in his owne ground be-cause it is noght depe ynow doluyn in perfeccyoun.... therfore, the nedyth delue thi pytt so depe in perfeccyoun that it mowe be a welle hauyng a kyndely spryng of swete waters.
> (p. 227, ll. 7-27)

Chapter xcv, the final chapter, consists of a brief summary of the whole work.

The work is allegorical in the widest sense of the word, but it is clear that, though the general pattern is successfully maintained, there are times when the structure creaks under the strain, and it has to be classified (to

use W. P. Ker's terms)[1] as 'mechanical' allegory (and sometimes the mechanism breaks down) rather than 'imaginative' allegory. Any allegory includes a type of symbolism, but if a distinction has to be made between allegory and symbolism (and it is accepted that the two are closely intertwined so that distinctions are blurred in common usage),[2] then Jacob's Well has its share of both, though no doubt to the author of Jacob's Well all would be allegory. There is basically the use of the material of this world in order to reveal the higher eternal world of which the symbol is a part (symbolism) and there is also the inventing of 'visibilia' to express immaterial facts (allegory).

What we have in Jacob's Well is a unique allegorical presentation of doctrinal matter which is common to many medieval devotional works (especially those which are derived ultimately from the Somme le Roi). Not only is the allegorical treatment unique (in contrast to the customary imagery of the tree with its branches and twigs), but so also is the order in which some of the doctrinal matter is presented, the Ten Commandments and the Pater Noster, in particular, being dealt with at the conclusion of the work instead of at the beginning, presumably to suit better the allegorical pattern. Moreover, the author has supplemented the common doctrinal matter with details of Canon Law and Constitutions, and, what is more interesting, with an abundance of relevant illustrative stories. He has also made the instruction much more personal through the extensive use of the second-person

[1] English Literature: Mediaeval (London, 1912), Chap. vii.

[2] See C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936; repr. 1967), pp. 44 ff.. See also A Dictionary of Literary Terms, ed. S. Barnet, M. Berman, & W. Burto (Boston, 1960), pp. 84-85.

form of address and the addition of stirring applications of the teaching in the form of emotive admonitions and exhortations. Much of the material is obviously derived, but, unless, and until, some source-book is eventually discovered, it must be assumed that the composition is the result of his own ingenuity.[1] Working within established traditions, he has presumably sought to transfer common doctrinal material into more presentable sermon form, and at the same time, as a 'man of craft', to create a 'gret werk', the style of which would do justice both to the sense and the emotional impact of the material. The following chapters deal with more of the stylistic features that he employs in the presentation of his message.

[1] There is figurative use of Jacob's ladder and Jacob's well in the Somme/Miroir in the section dealing with the Gift of Wisdom and the corresponding Virtue of Soberness (The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 273 & pp. 278-79; MS Harl. 45, fols 154^{v} & 158; MS Add. 8151, fols 181^{v} & 186^{v}-187^{r}). The seven rungs of the ladder are the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, Wisdom being the highest rung. The well is not named as such, but simply described as the well at which Christ sat and rested when he was weary; it is the well of love and also of wisdom, which is 'troubled with none erthe ne mud of this world' (MS Harl. 45). The description of the well in MS Add. 8151 of the Speculum Vitae is incomplete; lines appear to have been omitted by the scribe.

The allegory of the pit and the well and the figurative use of Jacob's ladder in Jacob's Well bear no resemblance to these incidental 'figures', and it seems very unlikely that the author of Jacob's Well was in any way indebted to them for his allegorical framework.

CHAPTER THREE

Simile and Metaphor

It is obvious from the last chapter that allegory is fundamental to Jacob's Well, but in addition to the overall allegorical pattern, there is an abundance of other figurative imagery not directly related to the main allegory of the pit and the well, especially in the form of simile and metaphor, of which the former is the more predominant. Sometimes simile merges into metaphor, or vice-versa, as, for example, when the author makes use of the image of the house on fire in the following way:

> A man seynge his neyghbourys hows brynne, & kepyth noght his owne hows, but takyth of the fyir of his neyghbours, & brennyth there-wyth his owyn hows; he gouernyth hym euele. Ryght so, who-so takyth hede of otherys malyce, synnes & defawtys, and takyth non hede of his owne defawtys, but wyth the fyir of his neyghbourys synnes & malyce brennyth his owyn hows of his conscyence in rankoure, wretthe, & hate, or euyl demyng and supposyng in herte, & slaundryng, and in euyl spekyng wyth mowth, in vnkyndely dedys; Also this man hath mysgouernaunce, that brennyth & dystroyeth in herte, tunge, & dede, his owyn soule wyth the fyir & slaundre of othir mennys synne.
> (p. 259, ll. 17-28)

Likewise in his treatment of Satisfaction the author combines simile and metaphor in his imagery of cleansing:

> As a leche, wasschyng the wounde or the sore of the syke, makyth it clene, or he helyth it; Ryght so, the wounde of dedly synne in thi soule muste be wasschyn & made clene. wher-wyth? wyth watyr of legh that is made wyth asschys & watyr, wyth asschis of lownes, & wyth watyr of wepyng. for asschys & hote watyr makyn good leyghe, & but the watyr go thrugh the asschys, the leygh makyth noght clene. ryght so, but watyr of wepyng be medlyd wyth asschys

of lownes, it pourgyth not thi synne.
(p. 195, 11. 22-30)

In accordance with the medieval ars praedicandi, the imagery is introduced in order to amplify and dilate the sermon material, with the aim of catching the attention and pleasing, as well as instructing and admonishing, and it is clear that both the author himself and the originator of the marginal comments, in accordance with what seems to have been normal medieval practice, regarded most of the similes and metaphors, like the illustrative stories, as exempla.[1] In Chapter ii ('Exhortacio contra articulos sentencie excommunicacionis maioris') the author introduces the simile of the overflowing stream (illustrating the way in which the sentence of the curse, having been stopped in one man, then enters another) with the word 'exaumple' (p. 5, 1. 22). Similarly in Chapter xxvii ('De confessione') the word 'Exaumple' precedes the simile of the leaky ship (illustrating the necessity of doing shrift for all one's sins; p. 181, 11. 24 ff.). On a number of occasions a simile attracts the marginal entry 'exemplum'[2] and sometimes even 'exemplum bonum' as in the case of the extended image of the sparrow in Chapter xl.[3] Perhaps the marginal comments are the jottings of some

[1] See J. W. Blench, Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1964), p. 113: 'The word exemplum itself is a generic term, and includes the "figure" which is a simile or metaphor, the "narration" which is a story with human actors, and the "fable" which is a story where the actors are animals.' Various definitions of 'exemplum' were the subject of discussion at the Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium IV (Oxford, 1984), and there was recognition of the fact that in the Middle Ages the term (as here) was used to indicate more than just the narrative exempla.

[2] See, for example, p. 191, 11. 25 & 30; p. 194, 1. 19; p. 260, 1. 18.

[3] p. 250, 1. 29. See also: p. 231, 1. 21; p. 236, 1. 1; p. 239, 1. 7.

later cleric who planned to make use of the exempla for his own sermons or writings.[1]

Most, if not all, of this supplementary figurative imagery, like the narrative exempla, is traditional in content and application (particularly noticeable is the figurative use of animals and the tavern), and, as already indicated in Chapter One, much of it apparently derived from his customary sources, with integration of imagery from the Somme/Miroir and A Litil Tretys. Here again is another particular manifestation of the framework of common tradition and the influence of prevailing fashion. However, there are occasions when one can detect what appears to be the author's personal contribution to content and style in order to satisfy his own interests and special requirements, and it is the aim of this chapter to analyse and illustrate his use of this figurative imagery, indicating to what extent there is evidence of the addition of significant stylistic features, introduced by the author as a 'man of craft' engaged in a 'gret werk'. The following pages are concerned, therefore, with an examination of the nature, distribution, and application of the imagery in the various sections of Jacob's Well and an analysis of typical linguistic patterns in the structure of the imagery.

In Chapters iii to ix (excluding vii) and xxxi to xxxiii, where the author is dealing with Constitutions and Canon Law, he is writing in an objective style, either translating or closely copying the original Latin,

[1] Similar marginal comments occur elsewhere in this type of work. See, for example, Middle English Sermons, ed. W. O. Ross (probably a collection intended as models for other preachers), where there are marginal comments such as Nota (widespread), Narracio bona (pp. 128, 160, 219), Bonum exemplum de oracione (p. 243), etc..

thus producing what could be called a legal register, not far removed from that which persists today. This is the kind of English used normally for written transmission when the matter to be dealt with and communicated is the imposition of obligations and the conferring of rights. In such English there is the need for exactitude and the avoidance of the ambiguity in which the language normally abounds. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that figurative imagery is almost completely absent from these sections, though there are the customary exemplary moral stories providing lighter entertainment.

In Chapters xxxi to xxxiii, where he is dealing with Restitution, there is certainly the basic image of the handle of the shovel (in keeping with the overall allegorical pattern), but its application seems to be very 'mechanical', and the chapters lack any other kind of figurative imagery.

Chapter vii is an exception. It is shorter than the others in the group, and is in the form of an exhortation rather than that of a detailed legal document; it is significant that it is entitled: 'De Exhortacione Decimandi'. Having devoted Chapter vi to a detailed account in legal style of 'how ye schul tythe truly, for to kepe you sykerly out of the artycle of cursyng' (p. 37, ll. 5-6), the author now changes style and devotes much of this sermon to a biblical comparison, supplemented by the usual illustrative stories. He makes his intention clear in the opening sentence:

> Here-before I told you how ye schulde tythen. now I schal telle you an exaumple, to make you to drede ther-by fals tythyng, & for to be styred to tythe trewly, as goddys lawe techyth yow, and noght as euyl vsage techyth you.
> (p. 43, ll. 7-10)

He relates the legend of how it was Judas Iscariot who grumbled at Mary Magdalene's pouring of all her precious ointment over Christ's feet, protesting that the money could have been used to relieve the poor, but in fact saying so because he was the keeper of the common-purse and was in the habit of stealing a tenth part of its contents. To recover his loss, he sold Christ for thirty pence, which was the tenth part of the value of the ointment. 'Ryght so', the author tells his audience, does the false tither grumble at the honest one, and if he is compelled for fear of shame to pay his tithe, he goes and steals it again. Although there is a narrative element in this 'exaumple', it has more of the characteristics of a simile <u>exemplum</u> than of a narrative one.

Chapter ii is also particularly interesting. It, too, is referred to as an Exhortation: 'Exhortacio contra articulos sentencie excommunicacionis maioris'. The allegory of the pit and the well is maintained, and this is supplemented by a great deal of other figurative imagery, especially imagery of sea and water, derived ultimately from the Psalmist, from whom the author also quotes without specifying the particular psalm; in at least two cases he wrongly attributes to the Psalmist quotations from other books of the Old Testament.[1] Typical of his use of this imagery in exhortation is the following passage:

> Whanne the watyr of the se flowyth heyghere, & be his stremys brekyth ouer the se-walles in-to the lowe ground, thanne drenchyth the watyr that grounde. Ryght so, whanne the watyr of the gret curs, wyth onye of his stremys, that is, wyth ony of his artycles, flowyth out of holy cherche, &, be the entre of malyce & wyckydnes, brekyth in-to hym that is lowe & depe in synne, thanne the sentence of that curs drenchyth hym, & perysschyth his

[1] See p. 6, l. 29, and p. 7, l. 7.

> soule. therfore nedyth hym to crye wyth the psalmystre: 'Saluum me fac, deus, quoniam intrauerunt aque vsque ad animam meam!' Saue me, thou lord god, for watrys of cursynges haue entryd my soule! 'libera me de profundis aquarum!' delyuere me, lord, fro the depe watrys of cursys! 'Non me demergat tempestas aque, neque vrgeat super me puteus os suum,' that the tempestys of the watrys of cursys drenche me noght, ne that the pyt of lustys, wyth his mowth of temptacyoun, drenche noght my soule. (p. 6, 11. 9-24)

Once again the quotations are from Psalm 68 (verses 2, 15, and 16); it appears to be the author's favourite psalm. Simile, metaphor, and quotation are combined in this emotive appeal to the audience.

Less emotive and more explanatory is the image derived from the story of Noah, which follows the passage quoted above:

> The watyr of noes flood was so depe & hegh, that it flowyd abouyn ony hyll in erthe, & drenchyd al the world, saaf a fewe soulys. Ryght so, this watyr & this flood of the gret curs flowyth hyghe in-to the hylles of prowde & ryche folk. Ps. 'Montes gurges aquarum transijt.' the swelwe of watrys of cursynges flowyth in-to the hylles of proude & ryche men. thise watyr of curs ouerflowyth thanne the valleys of poore folk. Ps. 'Adaquauit eos velut in abbisso multa.' ffor vnethis is there hyghe ne lowe that dredyth to be drenchyd in there watyr of curs. (p. 6, l. 25 - p. 7, l. 2)

The first quotation is from Habakkuk 3. 1 (not a psalm) and the second one from Psalm 77. 15. After a few lines, in which he reverts to the pit imagery, he continues the figurative treatment of the story of Noah in the following passage:

> The dowfe of noes schyp fonde no drye place to restyn him on, for the watyr was so depe; therfore he turnyd ayen to the schyp. Ryght so, whanne the holy gost may noght restyn in hym that is depe in watyr of curse, he turnyth awey fro hym to the schip of holy cherch, that is, to alle god folk that arn in grace. (p. 7, 11. 14-19)

The symbolic 'Ship' was, of course, a very popular homiletic 'figure', sometimes representing Faith or the Good Man, but most frequently, as here, the Church.[1]

The sea and water imagery is the dominant type in this sermon, but there are also images derived from other areas of life. In the following passage the Sentence of the Great Curse becomes the sword of Holy Church striking a deadly blow:

> Ffor as a swerd, smytyng a dedly stroke, departyth the soule fro the body, & sleeth that persone whom he so dedly woundyth; Ryght so, the swerd of holy cherche, that is, the sentence of the grete curs in ony of his artycles, smyteth & sleeth hem that ben gylty there-in; for it departyth god fro hem, that is the lyif of here soule, as a swerd departyth the body fro the soule of hem that he dedly woundyth. and so thei ben dede, & alle here werkys for thei be departyd fro god & alle sayntes.
> (p. 8, 11. 27-34)

This seems to be a traditional image, since it also occurs in some versions of Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests when he too is dealing with the Articles of Cursing:

> For, rythe os a swerde de-partuth the heued frome the body. Ryghte so, gostelyche to speke, thoroghe prestus tonge, that is goddus swerde, to vndurstonde, departeth mannus sowle ... fro hym [cryste] & fro oure lady, & ffro alle the cumpany of heuen.
> (EETS edn, p. 61)

However, apart from these two chapters of Exhortation, the chapters dealing with Constitutions and Canon Law contain little figurative imagery.

Figurative imagery is also largely absent from the narrative style of the exemplary stories, possibly because

[1] See G. R. Owst, Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 68-76.

they are themselves *exempla* of a different kind. It has already been noted that the author appears to have translated from the Latin of his originals, sometimes literally, sometimes more freely, and at times not even troubled to translate at all. Where the imagery does occur, he seems to have been influenced by his sources in both content and use of the imagery, though it is difficult to determine what the precise source was in certain cases. Even if it can be shown on other grounds that it is likely that most, if not all, of his exemplary stories were derived 'through the agency of the *Alphabetum narrationum*', there is still the problem of identifying the particular manuscript available for his use. For her comparison of the stories in the Latin original with their analogues in *Jacob's Well*, J. Y. Gregg has used MS Harl. 268 — one of those also consulted by M. M. Banks in the EETS edition of the English translation. For the sake of consistency, the same manuscript has been used for the purpose of comparison in this study.

One of the few uses of imagery is to be found in the following passage from the story of an old monk admonishing a younger man, tormented by lust, to think of the bitterness of hell:

> The olde man seyde: 'whan the modyr wanyth here child, sche wetyth here tetys wyth sum byttere thyng, & so the chyld felyng ofte that bytternes leuyth his soukyng. So thou putte thin herte in byttere thought of thi deth, & in thought of byttere peynes endles, in helle ordeynyd redy for the, but thou amende the.' (p. 231, ll. 18-23)

A note in the margin refers to this as 'bonum exemplum', and the author himself in his application of the moral of the story continues the image in the form of a metaphor:

> Therfore, wyth this bytternes forseyd, putte fro the the tetys of ydylnes, that thou souke no more ther-of for no delyght! (p. 232, 11. 3-4)

This is one of the nine stories in the published section of Jacob's Well which the author attributes to the Vitae Patrum. Here is the corresponding passage in that collection:

> Dicit ei senex: Mulier quando vult ablactare filium suum, amarum aliquid superungit uberibus suis; et cum venerit infans ex consuetudine sugere lac, sentiens amaritudinem, refugit. Mitte ergo et tu in cogitatione tua amaritudinem. Dicit ei frater: Quae est amaritudo, quam debeam mittere? Dixit ei senex: Cogitationem mortis et tormentorum, quae in saeculo futuro peccatoribus praeparantur. (1)

However, in her study of the exempla Joan Gregg claims that these stories attributed to the Vitae Patrum 'share with their analogues in Arnold of Liège's example-book omission of details which are included in the original versions and in other intermediate versions of these tales'.[2] This suggests that the author of Jacob's Well derived the story, not from the Vitae Patrum, but from the Alphabetum Narrationum, and it is interesting to note that the Alphabetum Narrationum also has the imagery of the mother and the weaning of the child, and that, though the wording of the two Latin versions is very similar, in the Alphabetum Narrationum (fol. 83^{r}) the young man ('frater quidam' in the Vitae Patrum) does not ask the final question, and the old man's reply to this question is embodied in the previous reply, as in Jacob's Well.[3]

[1] Migne, Patr. Lat., LXXIII, col. 881.

[2] Traditio, 33 (1977), p. 370.

[3] Cf. An Alphabet of Tales, EETS edn, p. 107, 11. 2-10.

In the story of the lecherous woman chased by devils,[1] the voice of the devils is compared to the sound of hunters and their hounds:

> Sche tolde hym that sche was deed, & feendys pursewyd here. thei herdyn fro ferre the voys of feendys lyche the voys of hunters & of here houndys, wyth orryble hornys & cryes. (p. 167, 11. 4-7)

The sound of the hounds and hunters is mentioned in the corresponding story in An Alphabet of Tales and in the original Alphabetum Narrationum,[2] but the simile is not explicit:

> And belife he harde a blaste of ane vgsom horn at a hunter blew horrible, & huge barkyng of hundis, and als sone as thai hard, this womman was passand ferde. (An Alphabet of Tales, p. 310, 11. 13-15)

In the version given by Cesarius the simile is introduced by 'quasi':

> Et ecce ex remoto vox quasi venatoris terribiliter buccinantis, nec non et latratus canum venaticorum praecedentium audiuntur. Quibus auditis illa dum nimis tremeret....(3)

In the story of the encounter between Abbot Macarius and the devils in the church, there is a lively picture of the devils and their antics:

[1] The story also appears in Caesar of Heisterbach's Dialogue of Miracles, but Dr Gregg (op. cit., p. 370) is wrong when she states that it is attributed to this author in Jacob's Well.

[2] MS Harl. 268, fol. 142^{v}.

[3] Caesarius Heisterbacensis, Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. J. Strange (repub. 1966, Gregg Press, New Jersey), Vol. II, p. 330. Further page references are to this edition of the text.

> The abbott wente in-to the chirche, & see ouyr-all in the chirche dyuerse feendys smale as chylderyn, blewe as men of Inde, rennynge al abowte in the cherche, & scornyng there euery man, makyng a mowe, & puttynge here fyngerys to the eyghen of summe, and thei sleptyn. (p. 237, ll. 15-19)

The Vitae Patrum is cited as the source, but J. Y. Gregg includes it amongst those stories which, she suggests, were actually derived from the Alphabetum Narrationum. The story was a popular one, and there are versions of it in both the Alphabetum Narrationum and the Vitae Patrum. There is also a story in Cesarius's Dialogus Miraculorum — 'De daemonibus, qui visi sunt Maguntiae in superba veste feminae' — which bears some resemblance to this one. The relevant passage in the three versions is as follows:

> Erant enim parvi ut glires, nigri sicut Aethyopes, ore cachinnantes, manibus plaudentes, et sicut pisces intra sagenam conclusi saltantes.
> (Dialogus Miraculorum, I, p. 287)

> et ecce videt quasi parvulos quosdam pueros Aethiopes nigros per totam ecclesiam discurrere huc atque illuc, et velut volitando deferri. Discurrentes autem illi Aethiopes pueri, singulis quibusque fratribus in oratione positis atque psallentibus alludebant, et si cui de eis oculos duobus digitulis compressissent, statim dormiebat.
> (Vitae Patrum: Patr. Lat., LXXIII, cols 765-6)

> et vidit per totam ecclesiam quasi parvulos ethiopes discurrere qui singlis fratribus illudebant, et si cui digitulis oculos compressissent, statim dormiebat. (Alphabetum Narrationum, MS Harl. 268, fol. 164^{r})

Both the Vitae Patrum and Cesarius give the colour of the small boys ('black'); in Jacob's Well this has become 'blewe'.[1] Neither the Alphabetum Narrationum nor the English translation of it makes any mention of colour.

[1] Cf. Kg. Alex: 'Her visages ben blew so ynde', and Metham Physiog: 'In Inde the fasys and bodyis be blwe; in Calde and Ethyope, alle blak.'

On the other hand, both An Alphabet of Tales and Jacob's Well make the comparison with 'men of Inde', whereas the three Latin versions refer to the boys as 'Aethiopes'. Whatever the source of the version in Jacob's Well, the description of the devils is certainly much livelier than the following corresponding one in An Alphabet of Tales:

> And he went with hym & saw, & ther was all the kurk our as it had bene litty11 men of Ynde, & let the monkis to make ther prayers, & turnyd thaim in wommen liknes & made thaim thynke on thaim, & samen thai garte slepe & be wery of ther prayers. (p. 392, 11. 19-23)

The English version is briefer than the Latin original.

However, figurative imagery is not a significant feature of the narrative style of the author of Jacob's Well, and, though the evidence is scanty, what imagery there is would seem to be derived or developed from similar imagery in his source-material. Moreover, the last two examples are in the nature of simple descriptive comparisons rather than figurative exempla; such similes are rare in Jacob's Well.

It is in the doctrinal matter, where the author is engaged in exposition and exhortation, that we find the use of figurative imagery as a marked stylistic feature, especially that of animals, for which there was a long-established tradition, particularly in the representation of the Seven Deadly Sins. In most cases his imagery is derived from the Somme/Miroir or from some version of A Litil Tretys. Even when he introduces imagery for which no parallel can be found in these other works, as sometimes happens, especially in his additional passages of introduction and final exhortation, it is unlikely to be original in content, nor would it be expected to be. A great deal of the imagery is common to all the English

versions of the Somme/Miroir with which comparison has been made — Ayenbite of Inwyt, The Book of Vices and Virtues, the Speculum Vitae, and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen — but there are occasions when Jacob's Well, the Speculum Vitae, and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen agree in the omission of imagery which occurs in the other two, probably in accordance with some redaction of the Miroir rather than of the Somme. His use of this source-material varies; sometimes his version is almost word for word like one or more of the other versions; at other times, in spite of the lack of originality in the content, he achieves added effect through the skilful use of language.

Nowhere does he acknowledge a debt to the Somme/Miroir or A Litil Tretys for this or any other material derived from these sources, though he often 'borrows' any citation already there in his source, so that St Gregory or Bartholomew Anglicus, for example, may be cited as authorities for imagery derived indirectly through these sources. Early in the first sermon on Gluttony there is the double image of the wrestler and the wolf:

> Ffor whan a stronge man hath doun an-other, & holdyth hym be the throte, it is hard for hym to rekeuere ayen. Ryght so it is of a man that the feend holdyth in the synne of glotonye in his throte; for the feend sekyth the throte of man be glotonye, as the wolf sekyth the throte of the scheep. (p. 141, ll. 14-19)

This is common to all English versions of the Somme/Miroir. The following version from A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen is very similar to the one in Jacob's Well, though there is the addition of the 'hounde' alongside the wolf:

> When a champioun is born doun in fight of his enemy and is holde down by the throte, hit is hard & a grete peyne to him forto aryse. Right so it is of a man that the fend hath felde by this synne, ffor than the fend secheth to the throte

> right as a wolf or an hounde secheth to the throte of a schepe that he wole strangle & slee.
> (MS Harl. 45, fol. 138^{r})

The necessity of meeting the demands of rhyme affects the version in the Speculum Vitae, but it is essentially the same:

> Whene the champioun that is stronge
> Has foghtene wythe hys felowe longe
> Ande has hade doune at the laste
> Ande holdys hym by the throte faste,
> Hyt is to hym grete noys & payne
> To couere vp & ryse agayne.
> Right so hyt is of a mane withine
> That the fende holdes in this synne,
> Ffor the fende sekes blethely
> To the throte of a mannes body,
> Os to the shepe sekes wolfe or hounde
> To wyry hyr ande confounde.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 158^{v})

In discussing the third branch of Envy of the heart ('foly forthynkynge'), the author of Jacob's Well introduces the following simile of the harp, which he attributes to St Gregory:

> Seynt gregorie seyth in prologo moralium, whanne an harpe is weel sett in tewne, whanne a stryng of the harpe is towchyd, anone an-other stryng that is acordyng to that stryng in tewne, is steryd & mevyd of the towchyng of his felawe. Ryght so gostly, whanne a good cristen man is towchyd wyth ony bodyly or wordly dyssese or myscheef, an-other good cristen man, acordyng wyth hym in loue, wythoutyn enuye, is styrred, & hath ruthe & pyte of his dyssese. (p. 82, ll. 27-34)

Again, a comparison with A Litil Tretys reveals that the true source of the imagery was either Lavynham's treatise or a related text:

> For seynt Gregory seyth thus & est in prologo moralium that whan the harp is wel set in twne let oo streng be towchyd therof. & a noon schal a nother streng that is his consonawnt & a cordyng

> with him in twne steryn. & be meuyd at the towch of his felawe. Ryght so it faryth gostly. Let oo good cristyn man be towchid with seknesse bodely or with eny other myschef, a noon is ther another good cristyn man therby steryd & hath ther of rewthe & pyte in his herte.
> (ed. van Zutphen, p. 14, 11. 27-34)

In this case, the author of Jacob's Well has 'borrowed' not only the imagery, but also some of the other stylistic features, such as the use of the doublets 'steryd & mevyd' and 'ruthe & pyte'.[1]

It is noticeable that in these passages of doctrinal exposition and exhortation the similes and metaphors (particularly the former), like the quotations from, and references to, the Bible and other authorities, frequently come in clusters, some sermons containing none at all, whilst others have an abundance, one image following another in monotonous sequence. Chapter xlii provides a good example of a cluster of images. In the section dealing with the twenty-two types of misconduct of the tongue (for which there is no corresponding passage in the English versions of the Somme/Miroir and in A Litil Tretys), one brief simile follows another in rapid succession. Typical is the following passage beginning with the author's description of the backbiter:

> A bacbytere is a bocherys dogge, euermore hauyng a blody mowth full of synfull defamynges, and euere, as a dogge he lyckyth the woundys & the sorys of an-other man.... the viij. inche is this: many-full of woordys. 'In multiloquio non deest peccatum.' He that hath manye woordys faryth as a fool that

[1] The harp is used again in the sermon on Wrath (p. 90, 11. 2-9) in a simile illustrating the incompatibility of good and malicious men, and once again the imagery seems to have been derived from A Litil Tretys (p. 10, 11. 13-20) and not from Bartholomew as stated. See Appendix for detailed comparative lists of imagery.

> sellyth his chaffare wyth-outen wyghte & mesure.... the x. inche is speche of harlotrye & rybaldrye, dy[s]honest woordys. thou that spekyst so faryst as a sowe or as an hogge, for thou art noght aschamyd to puttyn thi mowth in as foul fylthe as thou puttyst thi fete.... the xij. inche is in dyspisyng an-other. thanne faryst thou as a lytel hound, that lytel may do, & berkyth more than a gret bocherys dogge.... the xiiij. inche is whan thou scornyst gode lyuerys. thou faryst as a blynde man. whanne he wenyth to spytten on the erthe, he spytteth on otheres face. Ryght so, wenyst thou to scornyn an erthly man & a synfull man in synne, & thou scornyst & dyspysest his good conscyens, that is, the face of his soule. the xv. inche is whanne thou yeuyst to an-other euyl counseyl to don euyl ayens god & holy cherch, or ayens othere qwyke or dede. thou faryst as an addere, for thou sleest wyth thi tunge whom thou towchyst wyth thin euyl counseyl. the xvj. inche is this: whanne thou sowyst dyscorde, & makyst wyth thi talys folk out of charyte & out of loue. thou faryst as a dragoun. thou spewyst out fyir, & brennyst thi bettyr.... thou faryst as an hounde, that lyckyth an-other hound, whanne he metyth hym, be-hynde in the ers, in that vnclene membre.... thou faryst as an addere. thou hast a crokyd tunge heldyng wyth hownd and wyth hare.... thou faryst as a wolf, for he o monyth in the yere lyueth be the wynde; so dost thou.... thou faryst as cuckow, that euere syngeth his owen name; so thou euere-more kanst noght speke ne preyse no man but the-self.
>
> (p. 262, l. 3 - p. 263, l. 27)

In the explanation of the twenty-two types, the dog is used to illustrate three different characteristics (backbiting, despising, and flattery)[1] and the adder two (bad counsel and double-dealing). These are simple, traditional similes (together with the occasional metaphor) describing actions and behaviour; the verb 'faryst' occurs with monotonous regularity. There is a certain amount of enrichment through added pictorial detail, the use of doublets such as 'out of charyte & out

[1] See Owst's reference to 'the ubiquitous house-dog', Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, p. 27.

of loue', 'scornyst & dyspysest', and of isocolon (parallelism of clause structure with phrases nearly equal in length) such as 'thou sleest wyth thi tunge whom thou towchyst wyth thin euyl counseyl', but the main purpose — to retain attention and give clarity and emphasis to moral instruction — seems to be almost defeated through the surfeit of imagery.

In the passage quoted above, animal imagery is predominant. Elsewhere, predominant imagery of a different kind is to be found where clusters of images occur. In Chapters xxix and xxx (both dealing with Satisfaction), there is an unusual series of images concerned with surgery and healing. The image of Christ as the great physician is, of course, widespread in religious literature, but the author of Jacob's Well seems to be much more concerned, even obsessed, with the performance of earthly physicians. Such imagery is particularly appropriate in this section of the work where he is dealing with the cleansing of the conscience through contrition, confession, and satisfaction. In contrast to the monotonous style of the cluster of animal images considered above, in this cluster there is more evidence of syntactical, phonological, and lexical patterning. This kind of imagery first makes its appearance in the opening words of the first chapter on Confession:

> For, thowgh deed flesch be kut out of a wounde, wyth a scharp corryzie, thi wounde, thowgh, nedyth to be pourgyd, wyth a drawyng salue; ellys it wolde rotyn & festryn ayen. Ryght so, thowgh thi dedly synne be kut out, wyth sorwe of herte, fro the pyt of thi conscyens, yit thi conscyens nedyth to be pourgyd, wyth a drawyng salue of clene schryfte, & ellys the wounde of dedly synne rotyth & festryth ayen in thi soule. ffor a doctour, hugo de sancto victore, seyth, in a bodyly soor, thowgh it be curyd fro dede flesch, wyth corrosyes, there beleuyth stylle in the sore other fylthes, & other vnclennes gaderyth ther-in, that muste be purgyd out, wyth drawyng salue. Ryght so, thowgh thi synne is don out of thi soule, wyth contricyoun,

> yit the wounde & the hurt of that synne, the filthe & the vnclennesse, the whiche that synne made in thi soule, as lustys mynde, freelte of wyth-stondyng, custome of ofte hauntyng, & suche othere, schulde rotyn & festryn ayen in thi soule but thei were pourgyd out, wyth clene schryfte.
> (p. 178, l. 28 - p. 179, l. 13)

No corresponding passage occurs in his usual source-material,[1] and there is evidence here of the author's use of rhythmical patterning, concord of sound between unstressed final syllables (homoeoteleuton), and the pairing of synonymous or near-synonymous words — 'rotyth & festryth', 'freelte of wyth-stondyng, custome of ofte hauntyng', 'the wounde & the hurt' — which are characteristic features of his style and will be dealt with more fully at a later stage.

There is further sickness imagery in this chapter and in the second chapter on Confession (xxviii), but it is in the next two chapters on Satisfaction that the medical imagery becomes predominant. In a passage already quoted above at the beginning of this chapter (p. 86), there is further reference to the washing of wounds. Rhythmical and alliterative nominal and adverbial groups — 'the sore of the syke', 'wyth asschis of lownes, & wyth watyr of wepyng' — together with the questioning 'wher-wyth?' (p. 195, ll. 23-27), make their contribution to the final emotional appeal:

> Thynke wherof thou come — of asschys! thynke what thou art — asschys! thynke what thou schalt be — asschys! thou were asschys, thou art asschys, thou schalt ben asschys!
> (p. 195, l. 31 - p. 196, l. 1)

[1] For comparison, Brandeis refers to Hugo de St Victore, Migne, Patr. Lat., CLXXV, col. 177, but I can find little, if any, resemblance.

A simile of blood-letting is introduced in order to illustrate the necessity of restitution as an essential feature of Satisfaction:

> A leche byddyth the syke, that hath superfluyte of blood, to lessyn his blood in blood-letyng, yif he wyll be curyd of his maladye. Ryght so, thou that hast getyn good be haly-day werkyng, haly-day chaffaryng, be false othys, be false dysceytes, be false auncerys, be false weyghtes or mesours, be fals labour, takyng more than thou hast deseruyd in fals seruyse, in falsenes of thi craft, & in wyth-holdyng the hyre fro hem that han deseruyd it; & thou hast get good in raueyn, thefte, & mycherye, in false tythynges, & wyth-holdyng thi dettys fro dede, qwyke, & fro holy cherche, & thou hast noght made amendys for the harmys & wronges that thou hast don; or ellys thou hast good, more than the nedyth, and lyith stylle, & releuyth noght the pore; thou that art gylti in ony of thise poyntes, thou hast superfluyte of blood, that is, thou hast superfluyte of other mennys good. for this super-fluyte mayst thou neuere ben heyl in soule, tyl this blood be leskyd in blood-letyng, that is, tyl thou parte this good a-sunder, & restore it to the awnerys, & yelde iche man his, & ellys schalt thou be euere syke in synne. for a lessyng of blood doth awey the maladye, it makyth the heyl, & sauyth thi lyif. (p. 196, ll. 6-24)

This, like most other similes in this particular cluster (and in contrast to the animal similes mentioned above with their monotonous 'thou faryst as ...'), is an extended one, merging into metaphor, and the author rounds it off by returning to the image of blood-letting after the long list of possible offences. This explan-atory and extensive simile is followed by an appropriate exhortation, expressed in terms of the main allegory. Then follow two exemplary stories of ill-fated usurers before the final rousing exhortation, in which the author, in accordance with the pattern already noted,[1] makes use of the plural pronoun and verb in addressing

[1] See above, pp. 63-64.

his audience:

> Therfore, ye proude & ferse, & ye ryche wyth fals getyn good, ye thevis & mychers, false tytherys, raveynerys, extorcyonerys, haly-day werkerys, & iangelerys in dyvyne seruyse, beth sory, beth schreuyn! restoryth! makyth amendys!
> (p. 199, 11. 6-9)

Whereas in the extended simile he gave a list of their misdoings ('thou that hast getyn good be haly-day werkyng', etc.), here in a compact series of emotive vocatives he addresses them by name according to their particular sins ('haly-day werkerys', 'extorcyonerys', etc.). Thus, by way of illustration and amplification, we have a sequence of simile, allegory, and exemplary story as a prelude to the final message.[1]

Clusters of a different kind occur when a sequence of similes with no predominant image is used to illustrate and explain either the same teaching point or closely related aspects of the same point. Sometimes there may be as many as five such similes, but the commonest pattern seems to be that of three, in keeping with the fondness of the medieval world for the use of three in division and sub-division. However, since in most cases these groups of similes are common to all English versions of the Somme/Miroir, it seems certain that the author of Jacob's Well was indebted to some redaction of this work for the content and application of these clusters, though not necessarily for the style in which they are expressed. In Chapter xvi there is a good example of his practice in its simplest and briefest form. The author is describing the effect of Cowardice,

[1] There is further analysis of this passage on p. 218 below. In none of the works used for comparison is there a cluster of similar medical imagery. See Appendix for further examples.

the sixth branch of Sloth:

> Thou faryst as he that hath dreed of his dreme; & thou faryst as he that dar noght entryn the cherch-yerd for the snayl that puttyth his horn oute ayens hym; thou faryst as a chylde that dare noght passe, for the goos hysseth at him.
> (p. 107, 11. 1-5)

The corresponding passage in the Speculum Vitae is less concise, but when allowance has been made for the demands of rhyme, it is the version which most closely resembles that quoted above. These two alone enhance the creepy effect through the placing of the snail in the church-yard, and they alone have the alliterative patterning of 'dreed' and 'dreme',

> He may be lyckenede, os we rede,
> Tuw a mane that of hys dreme has drede,
> Ande tuw a mane that is so ferde
> That dare not entere the kyrke-yerde
> Ffor the snayle that crepes aboute
> And ayennes hym puttes hys hornes oute,
> Bot as a chylde he is herteles
> That dare not, so arghe he es,
> Passe by the way at hys ese,
> Ffor he sees the gose at hym whese.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 61^{r})

A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen has the following version:

> He may be likned to a man that is aferde of his dreme, or to him that dar noght goo be side the snayle, ffor he putteth out the hornes, or to a childe that is aferde of the assynge of a goos.
> (MS Harl. 45, fol. 51^{v})[1]

[1] It is interesting to note that, apparently because of an error in the French original ('ous' for 'oues'), the third simile in The Book of Vices & Virtues becomes 'the child that dar nought goo in the weie for the boones that wistleth with the wynde' (p. 27, 11. 30-31) - a moving simile created purely in error!

Once again, the author of Jacob's Well has converted the material of a tract into a form more suitable for presentation in a sermon through the use of the second-person form of address.[1]

The personal contribution of the author is noticeable again in the following simile (containing one of the few auditory images in the work)[2] where other ornaments of style — alliteration and the pairing of nouns and adjectives in rhythmical patterns — combine with the use once more of the second-person form of address to heighten the oral effectiveness of the message:

> As a carte-qweel, drye & vngrecyd, cryeth lowdest of othere qwelys; So, thou drye & noght grecyd wyth grace grucchyst lowdest of alle othere ayens thi god in ony dyssese & tribulacyoun.
> (p. 260, 11. 26-29)

There is no such figurative image in the English versions of the Somme/Miroir, A Litil Tretys, Mirk's Festial, or Middle English Sermons; one would like to believe that this is an original image, based on first-hand experience of the neighbourhood, but Owst has drawn attention to what is apparently a similar image in Bromyard's Summa Predicantium under 'Avaritia'.[3]

With regard to syntactic structure, the similes in Jacob's Well fall mainly into two large groups. One is the group where the comparison is made through the linking of the two components by 'as'; the other group

[1] See p. 118, 11. 13-32, for another example of a triple simile, where the habits of the fox (twice) and the otter are used for purposes of comparison.

[2] See also p. 148, 11. 24-25: 'the first is outrage in here woordys, as a clapp of a melle, that neuere wyll be stylle'. (derived from the Somme/Miroir).

[3] Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, p. 37, fn. 4.

follows the pattern of '(As) ... Ryght so/so'. In the former group the subject under discussion precedes the illustration; in the latter the pattern is reversed. Both types are a common feature of medieval religious literature, including the works from which the author of Jacob's Well seems to have derived much of his material, the latter type being the more common, possibly because of the heavier emphasis on the moral application introduced by the adverbs 'Ryght so'.

In the first group there are some similes of the simple, adjective + 'as' + noun type, but they are few in number, mainly conventional, sometimes supplemented by alliteration, and little more than clichés. Some, like the first example, tend to be purely descriptive similes rather than the more customary illustrative exempla. Typical examples are:

> A countas ... deyid, & was drawyn wyth feendys to helle-ward ... & aperyd to a lady of fraunce, fowl as a feend. (p. 80, 11. 27-30)
>
> so thin ydel thoughtes, woordys, & dedys, arn wyth-outyn noumbre, & bareyne as sande wyth-oute profyt, & varying, discordeng asundre, departyd in-to dyuerse dysirte, none hangynge wyth other as kyrnellys of grauel. (p. 230, 11. 9-12)
>
> [Obedience] makyth the tame as a lambe, there wretthe made the first ferse & wylde as a lyoun. (p. 268, 11. 23-24)
>
> This mynde here-of [day of judgement] schal make the in dreed cold as frost. (p. 284, 11. 15-16)
>
> The v. fote depthe is stedfastnesse, that makyth a mannys herte styff as a towre that stant on a roche, & as a rotefast tre that no storme may ouyrthrowe. (p. 289, 11. 4-6)

The last example is derived ultimately from the Somme or Miroir, since the same imagery occurs in the same form and context in the English versions of this work. The version in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen corresponds

most closely to that in Jacob's Well.[1] Occasionally the pattern is noun/pronoun + 'as'/'like'/'likened to' + noun as in the following examples:

> An ydel spekere is as a tre beryng levys & no fruyt. (p. 262, ll. 12-13)
>
> Slowthe makyth the as a cyte vnwallyd, redy & esy for alle synnes & for alle feendys to entryn in-to thi soule. Slouthe makyth the as a schetyng hyll, redy to be schett wyth the arwe of euery temptacyoun. (p. 114, ll. 27-30)
>
> Suche men are lyche a beeste of Inde that is clepyd a portepyn. this beeste, whanne he is wroth, he casteth out of his scharpe pynnes spytefully at hym that he is wroth wyth. Also thei are lyke a dogge that berkyth and byteth whom he may. (p. 154, ll. 16-20)

The simile in the first example is attributed to St Jerome. The second example (in which simile merges into metaphor) forms part of the author's final summing-up of the subject of Sloth and has no parallel in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir or in A Litil Tretys, but the adjectival post-modification suggests translation from the Latin at some stage. The porcupine's reputed casting of its quills was a popular medieval image; in this case the simile was obviously derived from the Somme/Miroir. Even the doublet 'berkyth and byteth' in the simile of the dog is not original.[2]

However, most of the similes in this first group follow the pattern of verb + 'as' + verb (sometimes understood). The following cluster of five similes is typical of this kind:

[1] See below, pp. 241-42.

[2] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 150^{v}: 'berketh & biteth' and MS Add. 8151, fol. 175^{v}: 'berkes and bytes'.

> Mekenes makyth man to serue in viij. maners, that is, the meke seruyth redyly, as the schyp-mayster redyly sterith the schyp whan he seeth nede. he seruyth symplely, as a schep goth mekely where his heerde wyll dryuen hym. he seruyth comly, wyth herte & body, his god. he seruyth as doth the lady that is buxom & wel plesyd here husbonde, & non other man in folye. the meke seruyth comounly as an asse, that hath as leef to bere whete as barly, rye as gold; he goth as faste for the smale as for the grete. the meke seruyth smertly, & lyghtly, & strongly, and duryngly, as the sunne, that the more it ryseth the more strengthe it hath.
> (p. 246, ll. 9-19)

The same imagery, with slight variations, illustrating aspects of Meekness is to be found in Ayenbite of Inwyt, The Book of Vices and Virtues, the Speculum Vitae, and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, the closest resemblance being between Jacob's Well and the last two,[1] but in Jacob's Well the use of balanced structures — 'the more it ryseth, the more strengthe it hath', 'he goth as faste for the smale as for the grete' — and the use of the device of homoeoteleuton (accidental or otherwise) — 'smertly, & lyghtly, & strongly, & duryngly' — help to emphasise the sense and prepare the listener for the more emotive and hortatory treatment of other aspects of Meekness which rounds off the sermon. Derived similes are still there, embedded in the final exhortation, but again they are supplemented by other devices: increased alliteration, the effective repetition of the command 'flee', and co-ordinate structures:[2]

> Ffor the vj. fote, fle loos & worschip for wynd of veynglorye, as crist dede. whanne he had fed the folk, & helyd the seke, he fledde vn-to a

[1] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fols 41^{v}-42^{r}, and MS Add. 8151, fol. 46^{r}.

[2] These stylistic features are dealt with more fully in later chapters.

> mountayn, & there he was in prayerys, for he wolde no loos. ffle loos for tempest of tunge, as a mayde that louyth a man peramoure, sche is a-schamyd as sone as sche wott that ony man perceyuyth it.... Truste thou in god ouer all thyng in holy conscyens, in hardy herte, thynke of goddys presence, and be raysed to heuen be holy thought. thanne se the world foul & vggly, voyde of al goodnes. despyse the world, & held it but a fantasye, & chyldys game & as a dreem. and thanne forsake it, for so doth the meke. be so hardy & trusty in god that thou dure abyde & taste the angrys of the worlde, or takyn the deth for goddys loue.
> (p. 246, l. 20 - p. 247, l. 2)

Some of the diction is similar to that in the following passage from the Speculum Vitae, but the total impact is very different:

> For tempeste of tunge the meke mane
> Also he flees loos os he cane,
> As dos a maydoun in hyr floures
> That lufes a mane paramoures,
> Schames alse tyte os sche may wytte
> That any parceyues hyte.
> So dos the meke whene he heres ....[1]
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 47^{r})

Here, as elsewhere, the author of Jacob's Well was adapting his material (unless we assume that this had already been done for him in an original, and there is no evidence of this) to fit the pattern outlined in his opening chapter or sermon, and to make it more suitable for the spoken word and oral delivery.

The pattern of the similes contained in the clusters concerned with the physician and healing already discussed is that of the second large group of similes — '(As) ... Ryght so/so'. There are a few

[1] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 42^{r}: 'The meke man fleeth loos and praysinges as a mayde that casteth hir herte and loue to eny man is aschamed as sone as sche woot that eny man aperceyueth hit. So doth the meke man.'

exceptions,[1] but usually if the first element of the simile is introduced by an initial 'as', then the second element begins with 'so'; if the initial 'as' is omitted, then the second element is introduced by 'ryght so'. Thus, in the first category we have:

> For as men that wyll takyn a bere anoynten his waye wyth hony, to makyn hym to fallyn in a pytt, so thise losengerys, wyth flateryng, ledyn a man be veyn-glorye in-to the pytt of helle.
> (p. 149, 11. 29-32)

> And as the yren scho of the schouele entryth be-fore in-to the wose, that the heued of the schouele myghte entren in after; so almes-dede owyth to go be-fore to god to askyn helpe, that prayere folwyng, mowe spedyn in grace.
> (p. 189, 1. 29 - p. 190, 1. 1)

The simile of the bear occurs in the Somme/Miroir versions in the same context, but the pattern is different as is evident in the following example from A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen:

> ... maketh hem longe ligge in her synne, and suche enoynteth the way to helle as it were with swete hony, ffor thei scholde the hardiloker goo therforth, as men that wole cacche the bere leyeth hony in his wey where he wole cacche him forto he falle in a pitt or he be war.
> (MS Harl. 45, fols 145^{v} - 146^{r})[2]

The simile of the shovel in the second example from Jacob's Well is immediately preceded by a simile of the verb + 'as' + verb type:

> For almes-dede is noryschere & makere redy the weye

[1] See, for example, p. 195, 11. 22-25, and p. 235, 11. 21-25; here both 'as' and 'ryght so' are used.

[2] Cf. MS Add. 8151, fol. 168^{v} and The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 57, 11. 29-31.

> to god a-forn the face of prayere, that prayere folwyng after almes-dede, mowe fynde redy weye to god & redy place to his mercy, as a purveyour goth be-forn to takyn an jn for his mayster.
> (p. 189, 11. 25-29)

This image is common to English versions of the Somme/Miroir. The following version from the Speculum Vitae is in the form of a metaphor:

> Whene a ryche mane mase hym boune
> To come to a cyte or to a toune,
> Hys forrayerys before sendes he,
> To take hys inne there he schulde be.
> Fforayers that tase on this wyse
> Innes to ryche mene in paradyse
> Are here almes that thei gyfe,
> Whyle thei in this worlde lyfe.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 99^{r})[1]

Thus in Jacob's Well there is integration of a simile based on the author's main allegory with one whose content (though not structure) seems to have been derived from his usual source-material.

Many examples of similes belonging to the second sub-division of the second group ('... ryght so') have already been given in the earlier pages of this chapter. Also typical is the following example:

> Seynt gregorie seyth, libro 10. moralium, xxxvj. capitulo, that an ypocrite, a popholy man, is lyche an irane; for an eran, whan he hath longe trauayled, & myche, to makyn his web, thanne comyth a lytel wynd and blowyth awey all to-gedere. Ryght so, an ypocryte, whan he hath gretly & longe trauayled, & vexid his body in penauns & in othere holy werkys, to ben holdyn holy, thanne comyth a lytel wynd of mannys mowth, that is, a lytel preysing, & blowyth awey all his mede.
> (p. 74, 11. 8-15)

[1] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 91^{r}, where the image is in simile form as in Jacob's Well, but the pattern is 'as ... so'.

Comparison with A Litil Tretys shows that Lavynham and not St Gregory was almost certainly the source from which the author of Jacob's Well obtained this simile; even the somewhat rare adjective 'popholy' ('hypocritical') seems to have been 'borrowed':

> And of swiche folk spekyth seynt Gregor libro 8. moralium 36. wher he liknyth an ypocrit or a popholy man to an ereyne. For ryght as an ereyne whan he hath sore trauaylid abowte the weuyng of hys web. than comyth a litil puf of wynd & blowyth a wey al to gydere. Ryght so whan an ypocrite hath trauaylid his body with penawnce. than comyth ther a litil wynd owt of a mannys mowth that is not ellis but preysyng & thankyng & blowyth a wey alle his mede. (ed. van Zutphen, p. 4, ll. 22-28)

The personal contribution stylistically of the author of Jacob's Well seems to be limited here to the added pairs of adverbs — 'longe ... & myche' and 'gretly & longe' — in order to give greater emphasis to the extent of the wasted effort.

Preacher after preacher in the Middle Ages fulminated against the tavern and its inmates. Not only did attendance at the tavern lead to non-attendance at church, but it also led to indulgence in deadly sins and worldly pursuits of all kinds.[1] The author of Jacob's Well is no exception. As in the English versions of the Somme/Miroir (though there is no corresponding reference to the tavern in A Litil Tretys), in Jacob's Well we are told that it is Gluttony which first leads men to frequent taverns and subsequently engage in worldly pleasures, but whereas in the other versions this is expressed in the form of third-person statements, here the listener or reader is addressed and directly involved through the use

[1] Owst in Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 429 ff., gives numerous examples of complaints from both English and Latin works.

of the second-person singular — 'thus makyst thou thi bely thi god'. Moreover, the author of Jacob's Well is, as often, more concise, and by the telescoping together of several clauses, with the resultant accumulation of adverbial groups, he achieves a more dramatic effect:

> Thus makyst thou thi bely thi god. this synne drawyth the to tauerne, to dyse pleying, to leccherie, to rybawdie, to slaundre, to reste & ese, and to othere synnes. Glotonye is, whan thou hast a talent, wyth-outyn temperure & mesure, to mete or drynke.
>
> (p. 141, l. 29 - p. 142, l. 2)

The corresponding passage in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen (typical of the others) is in the form of a statement concerning behaviour in general without any particular application:

> This man lyueth perilousliche that thus is led after the lust of his wombe, of whiche he maketh his god as is seide byforn. This synne schameth moche a man and bynemeth him his good name, ffor ofte suche bycometh tauernegoers and afterward dyspleyers, and sithen they beth-comen wrecches and harlottes, and useth many vilenyes. And yit thei beth-come ofte leccherous, and after that theues and robboures, and at the laste beth taken for thefte and anhonged. And this is the ende that this synne ledeth a man to.
>
> (MS Harl. 45, fols 138^{v}-139^{r})[1]

The author of Jacob's Well returns to this theme at the beginning of his second chapter or sermon on Gluttony. Here, his metaphor of the tavern as the school-house or chapel of the devil is in itself by no means original, but the language he uses in presenting the picture of the tavern and its inmates makes it one of the most vivid

[1] Cf. The Book of Vices and Virtues, p. 47, l. 32 - p. 48, l. 4.

metaphors in the work:

> At the tauerne often the glotonye begynneth. for the tauerne is welle of glotonye, for it may be clepyd the develys scolehous & the deuelys chapel, for there his dyscyples stodyen & syngyn, bothe day & nyght, & there the deuyl doth meraclys to his seruauntys. God, in his chapel of holy cherche, makyth blynde men to se, crokyd to go, dombe to speke, deefe to here, & to haue alle here ryghte wyttes; but the feend, in his chapel of the tauerne, schewyth his myraclys. he takyth awey mannys feet, that he may noght go, & his tunge, that he may noght speke, alle his wyttes & his bodyly strengthe. thise myracles doth the feend in the tauerne.
>
> Now here ye what lessoun he techyth his clerkys in the scole of the tauerne. he techyth hem glotonye, leccherye, for-sweryng, slaundryng, bak-byting, to scorne, to chyde,to dyspyse, to reneye god, to stele, to robbe, to fyghte, to sle, & manye othere swiche synnes. And thus he heldyth hem be the throte of glotonye in the scolehous of his tauerne. he techyth his dyscyples to mysgouerne here tungys. (p. 147, l. 25 - p. 148, l. 12)

In enumerating God's miracles in his Church, the author of Jacob's Well achieves effective rhythms through his use of parallel word-groups (isocolon), with no conjunctions intervening (asyndeton), after the verb 'makyth':

> blynd men to se, crokyd to go.
>
> dombe to speke, deefe to here.

Even if, as stated by Edna Stover, Nassington's Speculum Vitae was the direct source of the doctrinal matter in Jacob's Well, clearly this versified treatise, subject as it was to the requirements of the octosyllabic couplet, did not provide the author of Jacob's Well with a model for his style. A comparison with the corresponding lines in the Speculum Vitae highlights the effectiveness of the choice of words and word-order in Jacob's Well:

> In kirke gode schewes hys vertues,
> Ande hys myracles there he duse;
> He mase the blynde to haue the sight,
> Ande the crokede to go right;
> He gyues hem here right wytte
> That are wode and wantes hytte;
> He mase the doumbe haue redy spekynge
> Ande the defe mene here herynge.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 165^{r})

Much closer in style, though not quite so effective rhythmically, is the following prose version from A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen:

> Ffor in holy chirche god scheweth his vertues and myracles, as in makynge the blynde to see, the lame goo, doumbe to speke, deue to hyre, & yeueth the wode her right witte.
> (MS Harl. 45, fol. 143^{r})

The results of the devil's miracles in the tavern are likewise expressed more concisely and effectively in Jacob's Well:

> He takyth awey mannys feet, that he may noght go, & his tunge, that he may noght speke, alle his wyttes & his bodyly strengthe. thise myracles doth the feend in the tauerne. (p. 148, ll. 3-5)

Here, there are the two nominal groups acting as objects to 'takyth' (in contrast to the 'makyth' of God's miracles), referring to particular instruments of man (feet and tongue), followed, in apposition, by a third group summarising the total effect. Again there is the repetition of corresponding rhythmical patterns and grammatical constructions: 'feet, that he may noght go' and 'tunge, that he may noght speke'. In A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen there is also repetition of rhythmical patterns and grammatical constructions of a different kind, but here the repetition is excessive (six similar patterns in succession) and, as a result, less effective:

> But the deuel in hys chapel, that is the tauerne, he doth his myracles, whiche that beth contrarious to these aforeseide. Ffor the wele seynge he maketh blynd, the wele goynge he maketh lame, the wel spekyng he maketh doumbe, & wel hirynge he maketh deef, and right-witted he maketh mad.
> (MS Harl. 45, fol. 143^{r})

It is obvious from the examples given in the preceding pages (and in the Appendix) that the incidents, sights, and sounds of everyday life appear to have supplied most of the material for the author's comparisons, whether they be in the form of simile or metaphor; there is little exotic imagery. Although the audience might learn in amazement for the first time of the mermaid with 'a body as a womman, & a tayl as a fysch, & clawys as an eryn', who 'syngeth so merye in the se, that sche makyth the schipman to slepe, and thanne sche drenchith hym' (p. 150, ll. 21-24), or of the chameleon that 'lyveth be the eyre, & hath no-thyng in hym but wynde' and 'wyl chaungyn hym to alle colourys that he seeth' (p. 151, ll. 17-18), there is not the wealth of incidental information and secular instruction that is to be found in a collection such as The South English Legendary.

Obviously, descriptions in religious works of foreign and legendary creatures are not derived from first-hand experience of the writer, but it has already been pointed out that even what appears to be a most realistic picture of contemporary life — a house on fire, a butcher's dog on the prowl, etc. — is often derived, not from original observation and experience, but from a long literary and homiletic tradition. Both the image itself and its moral and figurative application in the form of simile and metaphor have usually a long history behind them. Moreover, even when an author cites a well-known authority as the source of his imagery, it is far from certain that this was the direct

source of the 'borrowing'. It is clear that, although the author of Jacob's Well, like other writers of his time, sometimes cites a learned authority such as St Gregory, Albertus Magnus, Isidore, or Bartholomew Anglicus, as his source, much of his figurative imagery was derived from a redaction of the Somme or Miroir (probably the latter) and from A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins (probably Lavynham's text, since there is no evidence that a Latin original existed). Additional figurative imagery which cannot be traced to either of these sources was, no doubt, equally traditional and probably derived indirectly rather than directly from the great authorities.

One cannot agree, therefore, with Brandeis when he writes that many of the similes 'seem to have sprung from the preacher's own fancy' and 'are of a taste which could scarcely have pleased even what the fifteenth century might have called good company' (p. viii), though it is true that many of them show some sign of the author's individuality in the method of their presentation. One of the similes referred to in this context is what Brandeis calls 'the simile of the shirt' — though it is an implied simile rather than a direct comparison — which the author introduces in order to illustrate the necessity of frequent confession. It is preceded by the main allegorical imagery:

> The v. spanne of this handyl in schryfte is often schryuyng for foryetyng. yif thi scherte be vsyd al the yere vnwasschyn, be the yerys ende it is ryght foul. thi lauendere may noght, thanne, wasschen it als whyt & as clene as yif it be wasschyn euery woke onys. therfore, oftyn be thou wasschyn in thi schryfte, & thanne schalt thou be clene.
> (p. 185, 11. 26-31)

He immediately follows this with a return to the main imagery of the allegory, expressed in balanced clauses:

> For the oftere thi scauel castyth out wose, the sunnere thi pyt is clene; the seldere thi scauell is vsed, the lengere it is or thi pyt be farmyd. (p. 185, 11. 31-33)

The image of the laundress and her task is a common one in medieval literature,[1] but it would appear that once again the author of Jacob's Well, with his audience in mind, has made the image more emphatic and attention-catching by involving his listeners or readers directly — 'thi scherte' and 'thi lauendere'. Since this passage occurs in one of the additional chapters on Confession in Jacob's Well, compared with versions of the Somme/Miroir, there is no parallel simile in these works. However, in a later chapter on Confession in the context of the battle against deadly sin, where the author of Jacob's Well is conforming with the content of the Somme/Miroir, there is another less specific version of the same imagery.[2]

As is clear from both the text and the marginal comments, most of the similes and metaphors are to be regarded as exempla, amplifying the message and serving the serious didactic purpose of doctrinal edification and moral exhortation and condemnation, like the other kind of exempla, the illustrative story. Most, if not all, of the imagery is not original in either content or application, and the author is clearly working within the framework of common tradition. However, it is possible to detect the element of personal contribution, since the method of expression at times shows the craftsman at work, transforming treatise material into that

[1] See Owst, Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 35-36.

[2] Jacob's Well, p. 297, 11. 8-12. Cf. MS Add. 8151, fol. 72^{v}.

more suitable for sermon presentation through the use of the form of direct address instead of third-person statement, and through the employment of additional stylistic devices such as the repetition of auditory, syntactic, and lexical patterns in order to attract attention and heighten the emotional appeal. These and other stylistic features will be examined more fully in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methods of Stylistic Analysis

Attention was drawn in the previous chapter to the way in which the impact of the imagery was sometimes rendered more effective through the presence of additional linguistic devices. It is clear that in stylistic analysis significant features sometimes occur which cannot be explained or appraised by reference to one linguistic level only, whether it be grammatical, phonological, or lexical, and the relevance of all the levels involved has to be considered. When features at one level 'reinforce or explain features at another', and a text is 'characterised stylistically as much by the way inter-level features exist as by the features which operate within levels',[1] cross-referencing in some form is necessary in spite of the procedural problems that this entails. When, for example, as Crystal and Davy point out, rhythm and word-order are both considered stylistically significant, it is almost impossible to decide whether the description should be primarily carried out at the phonological or the grammatical level; if at both levels, then some repetition is inevitable. Likewise, it is difficult to determine whether doublets, for example, should be regarded primarily as features of grammatical, phonological, or lexical patterning.

However, since in Jacob's Well not all the significant linguistic features are of the multi-level type, the practice adopted in this study in the following

[1] D. Crystal & D. Davy, Investigating English Style (London, 1969), p. 20.

chapters is to describe features, as far as possible, first at the grammatical level and then at the phonological level (with incidental reference at both levels to relevant lexical features), but to make appropriate cross-reference with treatment of 'bundle' features,[1] where relevant. Although, as a whole, the significant linguistic features of Jacob's Well can be identified as those of the province[2] of sermon and religious moral treatise, for the purpose of stylistic analysis it is practicable to think in terms of three sub-provinces (as has already been done in the study of figurative imagery) and distinguish broadly between the language of legal obligations, the language of story-telling, and the language of doctrinal exposition and exhortation. It is in the language of the last-named that features of the multi-level type are most predominant. First, however, some explanation of terminology and certain general characteristics is necessary before further consideration of stylistic features takes place.

It is generally agreed that in modern English at the grammatical level the normal order of the components in an independent clause serving the purpose of a statement is that of Subject, Predicator, Complement, and

[1] See Crystal & Davy, ibid., pp. 20-21, where it is the name given to a feature which demands reference to a number of levels simultaneously and is described separately as such after the levels have been dealt with independently of one another.

[2] The term adopted by Crystal and Davy (ibid., pp. 71-73) for that dimension of features of utterance which refer to the kind of occupational or professional activity being engaged in.

Adjunct — SPCA.[1] This order also applies in dependent clauses with the exception of some relative clauses where C precede SP. The Subject and Complement slots are filled by nominal groups or dependent noun clauses (and in the case of the Complement also by an adjective or adjectives used predicatively), the Predicator by a verbal group, and the Adjunct by an adverbial group or dependent adverbial clause. A 'group' in this use of terminology may consist of one or more words with possible pre- or post-modification of the head word in the group, where relevant.[2] Each element of clause structure may be 'realised' by more than one group. Not all clauses contain Complement and/or Adjunct. The term 'Complement' includes the direct object, indirect object, and complement of traditional grammar. Deviations from the norm are usually considered to be 'significant', though some Adjuncts may quite normally occupy a position at the beginning of a clause or

[1] The term Verb is preferred by some scholars to Predicator; hence SVCA. See R. Quirk, The Use of English (London, 1962), p. 190; Barbara M. H. Strang, Modern English Structure (2nd edn, London, 1968), pp. 76-77; D. Crystal & D. Davy, Investigating English Style (London, 1969), pp. 51-53.

[2] Linguists differ in their analysis of structure and consequent use of terminology. Some regard pronouns as distinct from nominal groups in the realisation of S & C. Difficulties arise particularly with regard to the Adjunct. Some avoid the term 'group' altogether and simply refer to adverbs, adverbial constructions, and adverbial clauses; others include all three in the term 'group'. The matter is further complicated since on occasion the Adjunct may be realised by a nominal group, especially in the case of certain expressions of time and place. For further discussion, see: Crystal & Davy, op. cit., pp. 53-59; B. M. H. Strang, op. cit., pp. 76-77 & 181-192; Eirian Davies, 'Elements of English Clause Structure', Programme in Linguistics & English Teaching, Paper 10 (London, 1968), pp. 13-17; J. F. Wallwork, Language and Linguistics (London, 1969), pp. 75-76.

between the Subject and the Predicator (when the adverb is closely related to the verb).

By the early part of the fifteenth century (the period to which Jacob's Well belongs) this type of structure for a clause embodying a statement seems to have been already established as a norm, though in translation from Latin or French a writer might still copy foreign structures. However, as already pointed out, there is bound to be some uncertainty about the 'natural' syntax of medieval English and some difficulty in assessing how much value should be attached to what appear to be unusual syntactic patterns. Some apparent deviations may have arisen quite arbitrarily rather than as a result of deliberate literary activity.[1]

Within the groups themselves, there is in modern English a recognised word-order; thus in the pre-modification of a head word in a nominal group, the normal word-order is: Pre-determiner (e.g. 'all') + Determiner (e.g. 'this') + Adjective (e.g. 'idle') + Head Word (e.g. 'talk'). Adjectives normally precede the words modified, and when more than one adjective is used, there is normally a fixed order, as in the case of adjectives expressing size and those expressing age; the former usually precede the latter. Stylistic contrasts can be made in terms of the complexity of pre- and post-modification. Some varieties of English (e.g. conversation) have hardly any pre- or post-modification; others have complex pre-modification (e.g. journalism) or complex post-modification (e.g. legal English).

In modern English, clauses are linked together by

[1] See N. F. Blake, The English Language in Medieval Literature (London, 1977), p. 143.

means of co-ordination or subordination. Most varieties of English show a mixture of the two methods, but the proportion of one to the other is likely to vary according to the function and purpose of that particular variety. For example, in legal and liturgical English there is an interesting and significant blend of subordination (particularly at sentence/clause level) and co-ordination (particularly at group level), whilst co-ordination (or even looseness of syntax with no linking at all) is predominant in conversational English. However, looseness of syntax, which in modern English might be considered a sign of a colloquial style, may be far from that in medieval English. The use of parataxis, both asyndetic and syndetic, was a marked feature of early medieval English, perhaps partly as a result of a lack of subordinating conjunctions, but also partly through deliberate choice;[1] Jacob's Well belongs to a much later period when the use of subordination in sentence structure was common practice in certain varieties of English.

Although it is not a major concern of this study, some attention has been given to the significant features at a graphological level, especially punctuation marks in the manuscript (as distinct from editorial punctuation) in order to try to assess the true nature and significance of some grammatical units. Brandeis does not indicate what policy he has followed in his punctuation of the EETS edition. He appears to have retained without modification any capitalisation that is present in the manuscript, but has to some extent modernised the rest of the punctuation through the introduction of

[1] See B. Mitchell & F. C. Robinson, A Guide to Old English, rev. edn (Oxford, 1982), pp. 99-102; 'asyndetic' and 'syndetic' mean respectively without and with co-ordinating conjunctions.

comma, semi-colon, colon, exclamation mark, and inverted commas. In the manuscript the main punctuation mark used is the full stop, though in some sections single or double vertical lines have been inserted in red, perhaps by a later hand. There seems to be no consistency or regularity about the use of these vertical strokes. Sometimes they appear to supplement a full stop which is already present, and sometimes seem to indicate a new turn of thought or sub-division of material as in the summary of the Seven Deadly Sins in the final chapter of the work (fols 214^{v} - 215^{r}). On some pages there are no such insertions at all.

The full stop occurs frequently, mainly at line level; occasionally it appears in a slightly raised position, but this positioning seems to have no particular significance in this text.[1] Although at times the use of the full stop agrees with modern syntactical use, it is probably based on oral or rhetorical requirements. A further problem arises from the fact that it is impossible to discover to what extent the manuscript punctuation is authorial or scribal. The last few lines of the manuscript afford a good example of the use of the full stop:

> .wyth truthe in the feyth leyth youre curbelys. wyth truthe in the werkys of the feyth leyth youre ston werk. wyth charyte makyth youre laddere. wyth dedys of charyte makyth youre laddere stakys. wyth charyte turnyth the wyndas of youre mynde fro synne to vertu' fro the feend to god. wyth mercy on youre soule. and' wyth the roop of hope of mercy of youre synne. lyfte vp youre body to penaunce and youre soule to god. wyth the roop of loue. that the bokett of youre desyre mowe be fylled here wyth watyr of grace. and in youre ende wyth wyne of ioye.
> (fol. 217^{v})

[1] For comments on the position of the full stop in late ME manuscripts, see M. B. Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', in Medieval Eloquence, pp. 127-42.

Obviously, in view of the nature of the punctuation of the manuscript, there is room for difference of opinion about the interpretation of some of the features at a syntactical level, especially in the matter of sentence division. What one editor might regard as a series of simple sentences, another might interpret as a series of co-ordinate clauses within the same sentence, especially where clauses are introduced by 'and' or 'but'.[1] On the whole, except where explicitly stated otherwise, the text as punctuated by Brandeis will be taken as an acceptable guide-line.

There is plenty of evidence that throughout the medieval period the usual method of reading, even to oneself, was to read aloud, and, therefore, prose, no less than poetry, had to satisfy the ear even more than the eye.[2] The appeal to the ear was, of course, of greater importance still to the creator of sermons, by their very nature intended for oral delivery, though some were possibly never delivered as such, but served as models for others. Therefore, it is important to analyse features also at a phonological level, although the document being studied is a written one.

However, it must not be forgotten that the written page can supply only part of the picture. In order to appreciate fully the impact of the sermons when read aloud or spoken to a congregation, one would need to know what vocal and paralinguistic tricks were employed by the speaker to supplement the message itself; indeed,

[1] See N. F. Blake, The English Language in Medieval Literature, Chap. III, 'The Editorial Process'.

[2] See, for example, Ruth Crosby, 'Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages', Speculum, 11 (1936), p. 104.

different speakers might make use of different devices, and no matter how elaborate and intricate the auditory patterning, its effectiveness would be dependent on the competence of the preacher. Some of the treatises on the art of preaching have sections dealing with these matters. Henry Caplan has drawn attention to some of the advice given and criticisms made.[1] For example, it is suggested that the preacher should use a 'vox acuta' in exposition, a 'vox austera' in correction, and a 'vox benevola' in exhortation. Criticism is made of excessive pointing of the fingers, tossing of the head, closing of the eyes, and too much noisiness. Also criticised are voluntary baring of the teeth, uncontrolled features, indecent gestures (!), sleepy delivery, and excessive briskness; we learn that 'excessive speed is the mother of oblivion and the stepmother of memory'. In one treatise we are told that it is desirable that the preacher, besides being of competent eloquence and able to speak without error or confusion, should be young, but boyish in neither appearance nor manner, and also free from bodily defects. Unfortunately, we know nothing of the physical appearance, vocal capability, or proficiency in eloquence of the author of Jacob's Well, or of any other cleric who might have preached this collection of sermons.

Another general relevant factor is the lack of certainty about the exact nature of the pronunciation of the variety of English with which the author of Jacob's Well was familiar at the time of its composition, especially since it belongs to the transition period between Middle and early Modern, and to what

[1] H. Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', Classical Philology, 28, No. 2 (April, 1933), 73-96.

extent he would be conservative in the retention of older forms no longer in use in colloquial English, but still considered appropriate for homiletic literature.[1] The retention or otherwise of the pronunciation of final unstressed 'e' and of unstressed 'e' before a consonant or consonants in the inflexional endings of nouns, verbs, and adjectives is of particular importance when one comes to consider typical rhythmical patterns.

According to Wright, final 'e', though still quite common in spelling, had ceased to be pronounced even in southern dialects by the second half of the fourteenth century.[2] Professor Dobson is more or less in agreement with this when he suggests that the loss of Middle English unstressed 'e' in the final position was completed, in educated London English, comparatively early in the fifteenth century.[3] In her article on 'Chaucer's Prose Rhythms', Professor M. L. Schlauch, for the sake of consistency, regards final unstressed 'e' as still spoken when the following word begins with a consonant, though she admits that this has probably given her too high a percentage of pronounced final unstressed 'e' s.[4] The probable date of composition of Jacob's Well is some years later than the dates of the composition of Chaucer's works, and the unique manuscript has been dated c.1450. In the manuscript, final unstressed 'e' is still very much in evidence in spelling; in some cases the spelling with 'e' seems to be fairly consistent (as, for example, in 'synne'), but there are occasions when spellings of

[1] See Gosta Langenfelt, Select Studies in Colloquial English in the Late Middle Ages (Lund, 1933).

[2] J. & E. M. Wright, An Elementary Middle English Grammar, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1928), p. 73.

[3] E. J. Dobson, English Pronunciation. 1500-1700. Vol. II. Phonology, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1968), p. 879.

[4] PMLA, 65 (1950), 568-89.

the same word both with and without the final 'e' occur, sometimes in close proximity and in the same phonetic and syntactic context. Thus we have:

the gret curse (p. 1, ll. 17-18)
the grete curs (p. 5, l. 22)
the gret curs (p. 5, l. 25)
the grete curse (p. 13, l. 8)

prowd (p. 69, ll. 20 & 29; p. 75, l. 2, etc.)
prowde (p. 69, l. 26; p. 75, l. 6, etc.)

lownes (p. 75, l. 13)
lownesse (p. 75, l. 27)

ryghtfulnes (p. 285, l. 22)
ryghtfulnesse (p. 285, l. 20)

skete (p. 168, l. 13; p. 168, l. 14)
skeet (p. 168, l. 13)

in a bodily soor (p. 179, ll. 4-5)
in the sore (p. 179, l. 6)

wyth bellys ryngynge, wyth candelys brennynge (p. 13, l. 22)
wyth bellys ryngyng, with candele brennynge (p. 63, ll. 6-7)

The scribe, like other fifteenth-century scribes, often adds an additional stroke to the final letter(s) of a word, and interpretation of the significance of these strokes is difficult.[1] In the case of final 'r', Brandeis has interpreted the upward curve as indicating a final 'e' and has expanded accordingly. In other cases, however,— '-ll', '-n̄', '-m̄', '-n̄', '-p̄' — he has simply given the manuscript form, though some editors of manuscripts of this period regard the bar through the verticals of '-ll' and '-h' as denoting '-e' and give the expanded form.[2] Brandeis gives no explanation of

[1] See M. B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands (Oxford, 1969), pp. xxviii-xxx.

[2] See, for example, Kristensson's edition of Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, pp. 62-63.

the editorial principles he has followed; presumably he either regarded these strokes as otiose and decorative, or he was uncertain about their significance. In some cases, other forms such as 'alle', 'cherche', and 'heuene' seem to confirm that an '-e' in spelling is indicated, but in other cases such as the following there appears to be no consistency: 'euyl̶l̶', 'euyl̶', 'euyl' (adj.); 'ful̶l̶', 'ful̶', 'full'; 'wyl̶l̶', 'wyl̶', 'wyll' (n); 'schouel̶l̶', 'schouyl̶l̶', 'schouyl', 'schouel', 'schouele'; 'scauel̶l̶', 'skauell', 'scauel'; 'ydel̶l̶', 'ydel'.[1]

The syncope of the unstressed 'e' before one or more consonants in inflexional endings appears to have been a much more protracted process, and the generalisation was much less rapid and complete in some cases than in others (and, of course, it never did take place when syncope would have produced an impossible consonant group). The verbal inflexions '-est' and '-eth' were commonly still separate syllables whilst they remained in use (as in Jacob's Well) and the verbal inflexion '-ed' was still often a separate syllable until the end of the seventeenth century (and still is in some past participles used as adjectives).[2] In the Jacob's Well manuscript, unstressed 'e' before consonants in inflexional endings of nouns and verbs appears as 'e', 'y', or 'i' (probably representing allophones of /ə/); the spellings appear to be interchangeable, since no consistent pattern emerges.

[1] The bar through the verticals of '-ll' and '-h' in the manuscript is sometimes not very distinct, and it is difficult to decide at times whether the bar exists or not; there is room for disagreement with some of Brandeis's transcription.

[2] See Dobson, op. cit., pp. 879 ff., and Wright, op. cit., pp. 73-76.

It is impossible to assess with any certainty the extent to which the spelling (and the pronunciation, if any, reflected in the spelling) represents that of the author himself. However, in view of the estimated date of composition, and in the light of conclusions drawn by grammarians from the evidence of other Middle English and early New English works, it would seem safe to assume that the occurrence of final 'e' was a spelling device and did not indicate pronunciation of the final unstressed sound, but that the 'e'/'i'/'y' before one or more consonants in the inflexional endings was still normally pronounced, thus providing an unstressed syllable at the end of the word.[1]

Assonance, consonance, and alliteration, in addition to rhythm, are features to be noted at phonological level, and it has to be borne in mind that these features, besides sometimes reinforcing features at grammatical and lexical levels, often reinforce one another, so that the impact is likely to be the result of the use of not simply one single device, but a combination of a number of devices at phonological level.

[1] I am indebted to Mr Virpi Koivula for information about his own conclusions concerning final unstressed '-e' as a result of his study of Adjectival Inflexion in Jacob's Well. He concludes that: (i) 'the scansion of the poems included in Jacob's Well I shows that the original was written down at a time when final -e was gradually falling out of use.'; (ii) 'final -e was mute at least in certain types of speech at the time of copying of the text.'; (iii) 'the system of adjectival inflexion was evidently disintegrating according to a set of definite principles at the time of the writing of the text.'
With regard to unstressed 'e' before consonants in inflexional endings, it has been suggested that, even in Old English, 'formal writing ... wrote out in full many unstressed forms, but even when that very text was being read, the shortened form may have been used'. See M. Daunt, 'OE Verse and English Speech Rhythms', Transactions of the Philological Society (1946), p. 58.

Alliteration in particular is a marked feature of Jacob's Well. This is not surprising in view of the well-established traditions of alliterative prose extending back to the late OE prose of writers such as Aelfric and Wulfstan. It is possible to draw a distinction between two ways in which alliteration was used in medieval English prose.[1] Sometimes the alliteration was confined to one phrase, frequently a doublet, thus helping to create a self-contained rhythmical unit. At other times, it was extended beyond the single phrase and used to link together the components of lengthier utterances. The two are not, of course, mutually exclusive. Alliteration is used in both ways in Jacob's Well.

In its more limited sense, alliteration refers to the repetition of initial consonants of stressed syllables (and, particularly with reference to OE verse, also of initial vowels), but its meaning is usually extended to include the repetition of initial consonants whether the syllables are stressed or unstressed (especially when prefixes occur).[2] The term is used in the wider sense in this study.

The alliteration in Jacob's Well, though a marked feature, is rarely excessive or over-elaborate; it is frequently combined with some other stylistic feature, as, for example, in 'takyth the tryacle of my techyng in-to the stomak of youre soule' (p. 117, l. 4), where it reinforces the imagery and gives support to the device of isocolon. At its best, through providing sonority and balance, it serves to present the listener

[1] See N. F. Blake, Middle English Prose (London, 1972), p. 1.

[2] Stone in Middle English Prose Style, pp. 92-93, refers to this as 'consonance-alliteration'.

with a memorable phrase, maintain his interest, achieve emphasis, and rouse emotion as required.

In addition to features already mentioned, there are in Jacob's Well a number of significant features of the multi-level type (usually classified by the rhetoricians as Figures of Speech), the description of which could be primarily carried out at grammatical, phonological, or lexical levels, but it is not easy to determine priorities between the levels involved. These include antithesis, isocolon (parallelism of structure between, or within, clauses, with the parallel members equal, or nearly equal, in length), anaphora (the repetition of the same word or phrase at the beginning of successive sentences or clauses), and homoeoteleuton (concord of sound between unstressed final syllables).[1] The use of these devices will be dealt with as seems most appropriate in each case.

[1] Terminology, definition, and classification may vary according to the classical or medieval writer chosen as authority.

C H A P T E R F I V E

The Language of Legal Obligation

The lengthy and detailed exposition of Canons and Constitutions which is to be found in Chapters iii to ix (excluding vii) and to a slightly lesser extent in Chapters xxxi to xxxiii seems to be unique in collections of English sermons, though treatises like Mirk's included some less detailed versions, and clearly it was the duty of priests to pronounce the Great Sentence in some form or other three or four times a year. The author makes copious references to original Latin pronouncements (sometimes inaccurately), but he may, of course, be making use of secondary sources. At times, for no apparent reason, he quotes a few words of the Latin original, and on one occasion includes a much longer extract (p. 40, ll. 6-27). The typical subordinate and co-ordinate structures were already there in the original Latin as a characteristic feature of legal language, but, apart from a few instances where he seems to have reproduced a non-English construction, he has succeeded in producing a functional English style highly suitable for the recording of legal decisions and agreements, though not so suitable for oral delivery of a sermon to a mixed congregation. There seems to be little attempt to achieve a rhetorical effect. Practically all the sentences are in the form of declarative statements; the use of rhetorical questions, exclamations, and other methods of achieving audience involvement is rare in these chapters. The co-ordinated words, often in pairs, although occasionally they have an alliterative or rhythmical pattern, are there mainly to satisfy the requirements of legal documents — clarity, exactness of reference, lack of ambiguity,

inclusiveness — rather than to achieve some desired rhetorical effect.

In examining at grammatical level the type of language used in Jacob's Well in the exposition of the Articles of the Great Curse and man's legal rights and duties, one is struck by the length of the sentences employed and by the number of clauses that are dependent on the one main subject and verb. Chapter iv provides a good example of this kind of structure. After an opening remark recapitulating what has gone before and indicating what is to come, the author introduces his list of curses with a main clause of the SPC type, followed by a subordinate relative clause containing within itself another relative clause:

> We schewyn acursed alle tho that malycyously lettyn, or do lettyn, men of holy cherch or here seruauntys, to entryn in-to here feeldys & in-to here londys, wherthrugh thei may neyther gaderyn here tythes, ne kepyn hem, ne fecchyn hem.
> (p. 24, 11. 6-9)

In order to cover every possibility, there is the use of co-ordination within the subordinate clauses, resulting in sequences of two or three nominal and verbal groups (representing alternative possibilities):

men of holy cherch or here seruauntys

feeldys & ... londys

lettyn, or do lettyn

neyther gaderyn ... ne kepyn ... ne fecchyn

The Complement of the main clause — 'alle (tho)' — preceded by the conjunction 'and', is then repeated eighteen times (together with variants 'And alle lordys' and 'And alle paryschenys') followed in each case by a

subordinate relative clause beginning with 'that'. This subordinate clause, as in the first example, frequently contains another subordinate clause, often a relative clause, but sometimes an adverbial or noun clause. The author then begins with another main clause — 'We denounce acursed alle tho ...' (p. 26, l. 29) — followed by some thirty similar subordinate relative clauses.

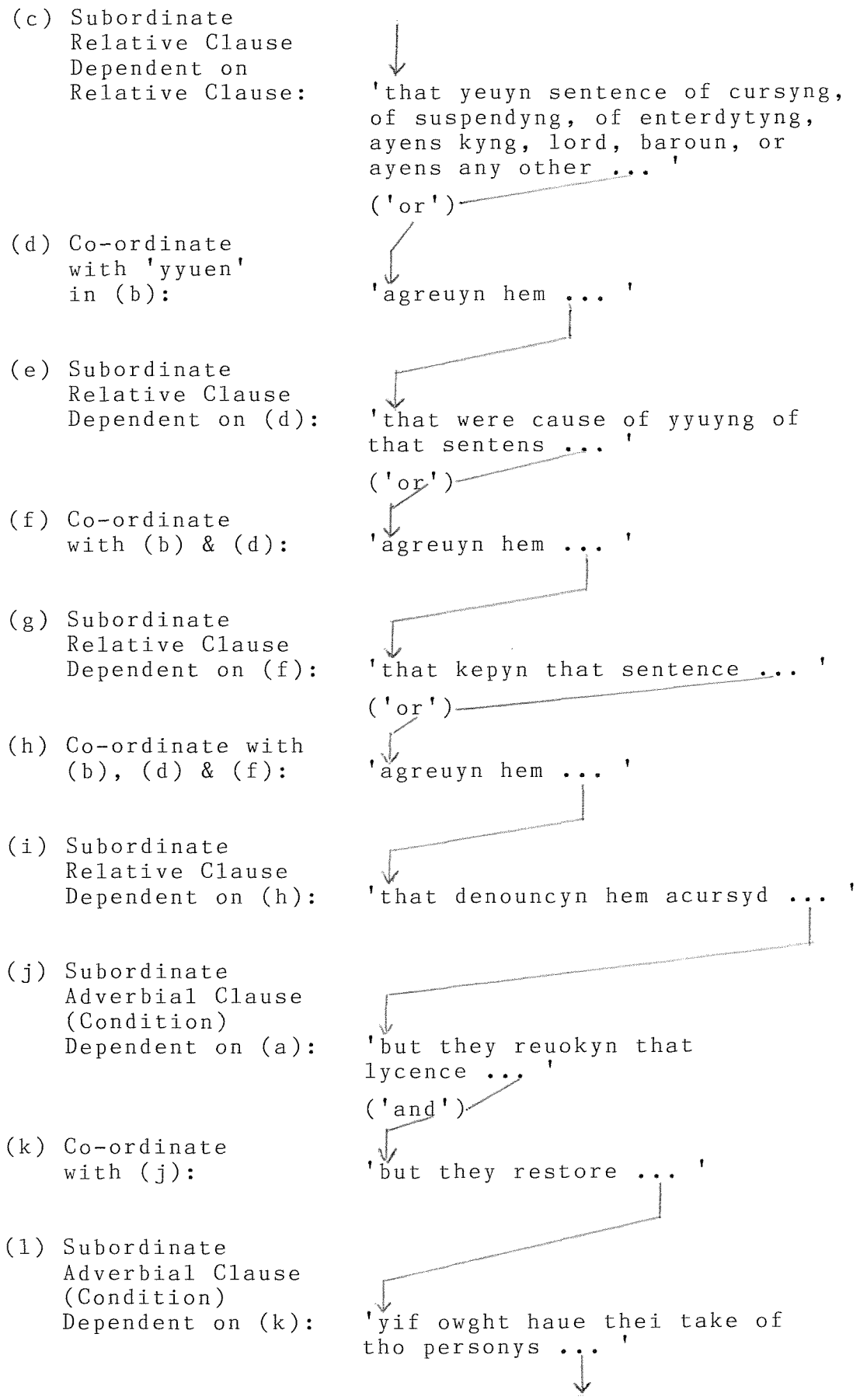
The final paragraph of exposition (as printed in the EETS edition), before the author's closing reminder and the two exemplary stories, affords a good example of this kind of complicated structure:

> [We denounce acursed ...] And alle grete men & othere that yyuen leue to slen or to taken, to harmyn or to hinderyn, or to agreuyn, in persone or body, or in here godys, hem that yeuyn sentence of cursyng, of suspendyng, of enterdytyng, ayens kyng, lord, baroun, or ayens ony other, or agreuyn hem that were cause of yyuyng of that sentens, or agreuyn hem that kepyn that sentence, or agreuyn hem that denouncyn hem acursyd, but they reuokyn that lycence, and but they restore, yif owght haue thei take of tho personys that were cause of that sentens; And alle that arn so hardy to vsyn swyche leue, for to slen or for to hynderyn ony that is cause of the sentens; and alle that do swyche malyce wyth-oute leve. (p. 30, ll. 17-28)

In this passage there is a complex system of subordination and co-ordination:

(a) Main Clause: '[We denounce acursed] ... alle grete men & othere ... '

(b) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on Main Clause: 'that yyuen leue to slen or taken, to harmyn or to hinderyn, or to agreuyn, in persone or body, or in here godys, hem ... '


(c) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on Relative Clause:
'that yeuyn sentence of cursyng, of suspendyng, of enterdytyng, ayens kyng, lord, baroun, or ayens any other ... '
('or')
(d) Co-ordinate with 'yyuen' in (b):
'agreuyn hem ... '
(e) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on (d):
'that were cause of yyuyng of that sentens ... '
('or')
(f) Co-ordinate with (b) & (d):
'agreuyn hem ... '
(g) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on (f):
'that kepyn that sentence ... '
('or')
(h) Co-ordinate with (b), (d) & (f):
'agreuyn hem ... '
(i) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on (h):
'that denouncyn hem acursyd ... '
(j) Subordinate Adverbial Clause (Condition) Dependent on (a):
'but they reuokyn that lycence ... '
('and')
(k) Co-ordinate with (j):
'but they restore ... '
(l) Subordinate Adverbial Clause (Condition) Dependent on (k):
'yif owght haue thei take of tho personys ... '

(m) Subordinate Relative Clause Dependent on (1): 'that were cause of that sentens.'

In the main, the co-ordinate elements are linked together by the co-ordinating conjunction 'or'. This use of lengthy sentences with an intricate pattern at all levels of subordination and co-ordination (especially the use of alternative nouns and verbs) is in keeping with the legal tradition of inclusiveness and avoidance of ambiguity. Crystal and Davy have drawn attention to the fact that co-ordination 'at all levels, and of all kinds of structures' is still extremely common in modern legal English. They also note that there is a marked preference for post-modification in the nominal groups,[1] a feature noticeable here in the number of subordinate relative clauses post-modifying the head words of the Complements in the passage analysed above.[2] It is also 'a characteristic legal habit to conflate, by means of an array of subordinating devices, sections of language which would elsewhere be much more likely to appear as separate sentences';[3] this is also a feature of the kind of English used by the author of Jacob's Well in these particular sections.

It is important that a legal document should say exactly what it intends to say and afford no opportunity for misinterpretation at lexical level. Thus it is important that even 'alle men of craft' should be

1 Investigating English Style, pp. 204-5.

2 When the passive voice is used, it is the head word of the Subject which is post-modified, e.g. 'And alle tho arn acursed that for malyce forbydden othere folk that they schulde.... (p. 56, 11. 33 ff.).

3 Investigating English Style, p. 201.

clearly defined:

> Also alle men of craft, as wryghtes, smythes, weuerys, brewsterys, baxterys, thaccherys, cordewanerys, taylourys, sowsterys, tylerys, masouns, plomerys, tannerys, peyntourys, & alle othere men of craft, as fullerys, mercerys, grocerys, vynterys, pedderys, owyn to payin the tythe of here getyng be here craft, whanne here resonable expensis be takyn vp.
> (p. 40, l. 30 - p. 41, l. 3)

As might be expected, sometimes the terms used have a special technical significance and are not likely to be found in other varieties of medieval prose:

> And alle tho that don men of holy cherche, or procure to don hem, paye, or suffre hem to paye, toll, pyckage, murage, or grondage, panage or gwydage, for swyche godys as are noght led to feyres & markettys be-cause of marchaundise.
> (p. 29, ll. 6-9)[1]

Legal English is not intended primarily for oral presentation, though, as the author reminds his audience, it was ordained by Holy Church that 'thise artycles schulde be schewyd in euery qwartere of the yere onys, or oftere yif it were nede' (p. 13, ll. 14-15). Even with the help of such supplementary auditory and visual paralinguistic devices as 'cros standyng', 'bellys ryngynge', and 'candelys brennynge, & after-ward quench-yd' which could 'yif it were nedeful' accompany the reading of the Articles, the preacher's congregation must have found it difficult to follow the thread of his discourse in this part of his programme. Indeed, in the words that follow these he seems to be compiling a manual of instruction for other priests rather than

[1] Cf. Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, EETS edn, p. 62: 'Also alle that vnrytheffully settyth tallages vppon men of haly chirche, as podage, gwyage, or any othur vnskylful thraldom ....'

preaching a sermon to a mixed audience:

> Thise sentencys schulde be schewyd vnder this forme: Be the auctoryte & powere of almyghty god, fadyr & sone & holy gost, and of the gloryous mayde marie, modyr of god, oure lord ihesu crist, & of seynt Myghhel archaungyl, & of alle archaungelys & aungelys; be the auctoryte of seynt Johun baptyst, & of alle holy patriarkys & prophetys, and of the holy apostlys Petyr & powle, & of seynt Johun the euangelyst; be the auctoryte & powere of the blyssed marterys, Steuen, laurence, & seynt Tomays, & of alle holy martyres, & of alle holy confessourys; be the auctoryte & powere of the blyssed maydenys Katerine, Cristine, & Margarete, & of alle holy maydenys, & of alle holy sayntes, that is for to seye, be the auctoryte & power of all holy cherch in heuen & in erthe.
> (p. 13, l. 26 - p. 14, l. 12)

This is similar to the rather shorter version given by Mirk in his Instructions for Parish Priests:

> Isto modo debet pronunciare centenciam:
> By the auctorite of oure Fadur, of the sone, of the holy goste, & off ou[r]e lady seynte mary, goddus modur of heuen, and alle othur virgynes, and seynte myhel, And alle othur angellus and archangellus, And Petur and poule And othur apostolus, and seynte stewne And alle othur martyres, And seynte nicholas And alle othur confessoures, And alle the holy halowes of heuen.
> (EETS edn, pp. 66-67)

In contrast, there are other occasions in these chapters (apart from those mainly devoted to exhortation), though they are not frequent, when the author of Jacob's Well seems to be preaching to his audience in a less intricate, conversational style, addressing it directly through the use of the second-person singular:

> Yif a styward fynde in the old court-rollys & rentallys, & in the newe bothe, that thou art behynde of thi rente to thi lord for thi tenement, and thou seyst that thou wylt noght payin it, because thou vsedyst noght to paye before that tyme;

> schal thin euyl vsage excuse the, & proue fals that is wretin in the court-rollys & rentallys? I trowe, nay. thou schalt paye it, or be put out of thi tenement. Ryght so, ihesu, the styward of the fadyr of heuen, whanne he sytteth in the last court of the doom, yif he fynde the in the old lawe, & newe, that thou art behynde of thi tythe, schal thin euyl vsage excuse the for to dystroye goddys lawe? Nay, thi pletyng & thin vsage schal noght avayle the there. (p. 41, ll. 15-25)

Chapter ix, in which the author is recapitulating, abounds in post-modification within nominal groups functioning as either Subject or Complement in elaborate grammatical structures of the kind analysed above, but, in the midst of it all, the author suddenly breaks away from the regular pattern and switches for a brief moment to the use of the second-person singular:

> [We denouncyn ... acursed ...] alle that takyn vp here cost or here expensis, or yyuen ther-of, or spendyn ther-of, of ony parcell, tyl it be first hool tythed to-gydere, or ellys sett on, or told in the noumbre, as of hey, corn, wode, fruyte, wolle, chese, fysschyng, foulyng, & of all manere thynges tythable, saaf of chaffaryng, of laborerys, of men of craft; here resonable expensys there abowte awghte ferst to be takyn vp in reknyng, & the tythe of the remenaunt owghte to be payed to tythe. But thi cost abowte thi corn, or abowtyn thin hey, ne for makyng of chese, ne scheryng of wolle, thou schalt noght rekene thi cost, but payen trewly thi tythe & hooly. and yif thou do noght thus, thou depryuest holy cherch of his fredom & of his ryght. ffor the cherch frely, wyth-oute thraldom, schulde haue hool his tythe, wyth-oute lessyng & apeyryng, wyth-oute reknyng of ony cost, or of expenses. And alle tho arn acursed .... (p. 56, ll. 20-34)

However, in the surfeit of denouncing and cursing of 'alle personys gylty in ony of thise artycles' — infringers of the church's rights, protectors of thieves, dishonest tithers, false witnesses, house-burners, polluters of churches, witches, heretics, lollards, priests who solemnise unlawful marriages, lords who

forbid trade with churchmen, false coiners, and the like — it is doubtful whether anyone in a congregation would have been in a fit state to notice the brief change of style. Perhaps it is significant that the author felt the need on this occasion to include as many as four illustrative stories, brief though they be, told very simply. The last of the four, relating how St Bernard killed the fleas in the abbey through his curse, is the shortest in the published section of Jacob's Well, but it supplies the author with the material for his final exhortation:

> Syth curse sleth flees, that dedyn no synne, rathere curse sleth body & soule that synnen in endles peyne. therfore amendyth you that ben gylty there-in! (p. 64, 11. 18-20)

The medieval housewife, as well as the abbot, seems to have been engaged in a constant warfare against fleas, and although the remedy for getting rid of fleas mentioned in this story is not one of the six included by the Ménagier of Paris in his book of instructions to his young wife at the end of the fourteenth century,[1] it seems likely that the recipients of this message would have felt much more at home with the story and its moral application than with the main body of the material contained in this chapter or sermon.

Crystal and Davy have noted that many legal sentences have 'an underlying logical structure which says something like "if X, then Z shall be Y" or, alternatively "if X, then Z shall do Y"'. They add that what they call the 'if X component' is most likely to be accommodated by means of adverbial clauses of condition

[1] See Eileen Power, Medieval People (Pelican, London, 1937), pp. 107-8.

or concession.[1] This kind of structure is a marked feature of the style of English in the three chapters on Restitution (xxxi-xxxiii), though the sentences are generally less lengthy and contain fewer co-ordinate structures than those of the earlier chapters dealing with the Articles of the Great Curse. The adverbial clause, usually one of condition, though concessive clauses also occur, almost invariably precedes the main clause. In almost every case, the author makes use of the second-person singular form of address. Typical of this style is the following passage:

> Yif thou wytte where stolyn thyng is wyth-holdyn, & art askyd ther-of, & wylt noght tellyn it, and of thin offyse thou were boundyn to tellyn it, and thou myghtest tellyn it wyth-outen peryle of thi persone or of thin estate, thou art bounde to restore that thefte in the hole. And thow thou in alle thise forseyde art bounde in the hole to restore the harme to hym that is harmyd, but yif one of the partynerys restore the hole, alle his othere felawys are delyuered; but eche of the othere is bounde, be euen porcyoun that longyth to hym-self, to restore to hym that restoryd all the hole. (p. 202, 11. 10-19)

On at least one occasion, the condition is implied in a main clause rather than expressed explicitly in a sub-ordinate adverbial clause; the approach seems to be less formal and more conversational, with the suggestion of an imaginary argument:

> Thi felawe defamyth ryghtfully this man. thou seyst thi felawe lyeth. be thi woord, thi felawe is holdyn a lyere; thou owyst to restoryn his name on this manere. (p. 200, 11. 28-30)

The frequency of adverbial elements is a marked feature of the legal style in Jacob's Well as it still

[1] See Investigating English Style, p. 203.

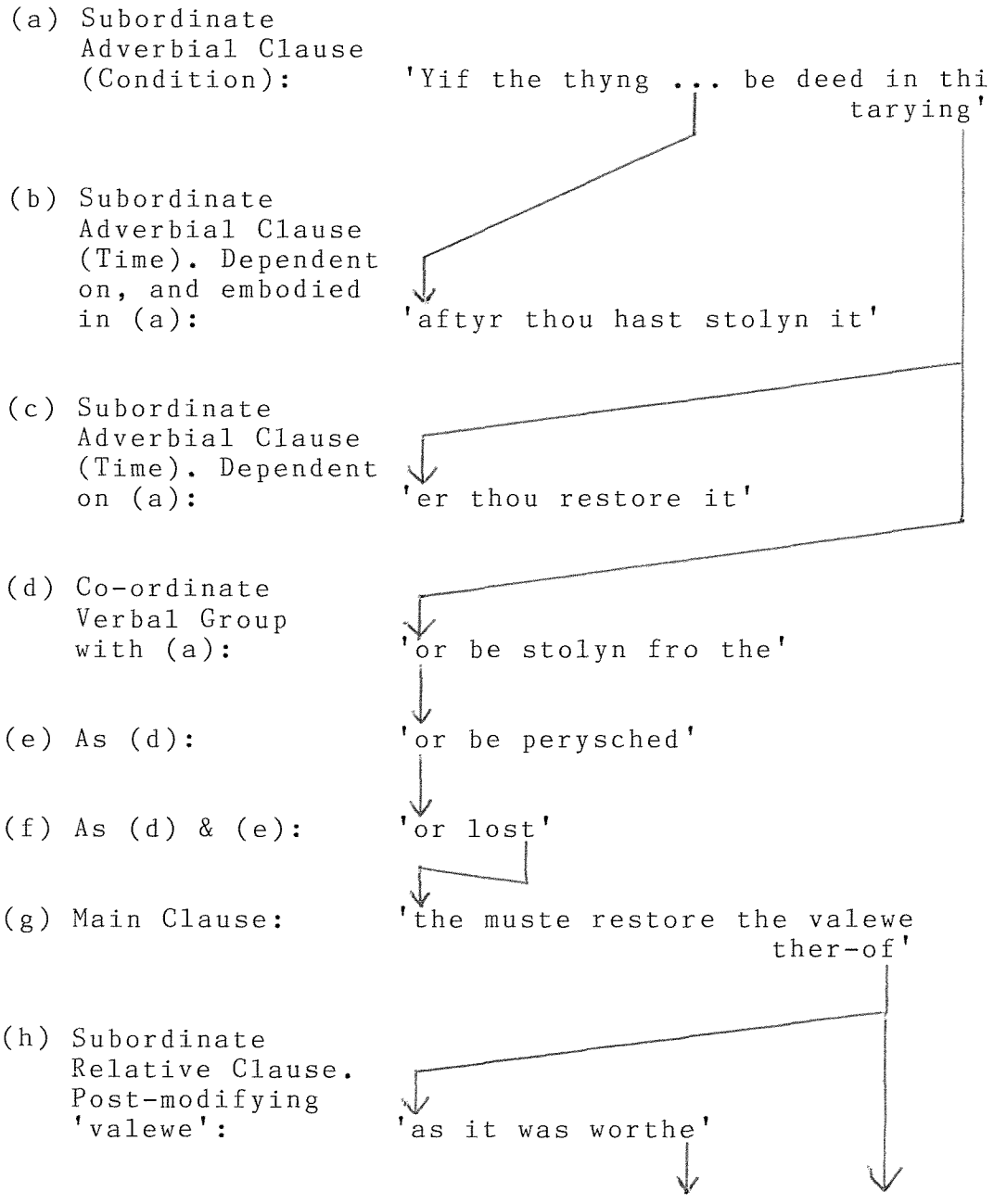
is of modern legal English. Their function is not primarily the achieving of greater elegance of expression, but the clarifying of meaning and the avoiding of ambiguity. This function is rendered more effective still through the variety of positions occupied by the adverbial elements; often these are positions in which they would not normally be found in other varieties of English. As in Modern English, the Adjunct may consist of an adverb, an adverbial construction such as a non-finite clause or a prepositional phrase, a nominal group, or an adverbial clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction. Adjuncts frequently occur within the structure of subordinate clauses, sometimes within adverbial clauses which are themselves already the exponents of Adjuncts in larger structures, and particularly within the subordinate relative clauses which, as already noted, are a marked feature of the chapters dealing with the Articles of the Great Curse.

In the chapters on Restitution, the adverbial clause of condition (usually preceding the main clause) frequently contains a number of co-ordinate structures and has dependent upon it other subordinate clauses (often themselves adverbial), and the main clause itself may be followed by other dependent clauses (usually not conditional). The following is a typical example:

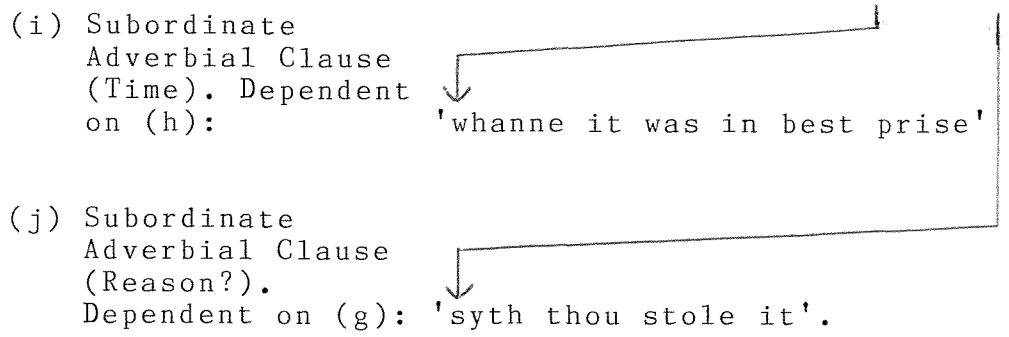
> Yif the thyng, aftyr thou hast stolyn it, be deed in thi tarying, er thou restore it, or be stolyn fro the, or be perysched or lost, the muste restore the valewe ther-of as it was worthe, whanne it was in best prise, syth thou stole it.
> (p. 205, 11. 23-26)

The order of components in the sentence is as follows: Adjunct ('Yif ... lost') + Subject ('the') + Predicator ('muste restore') + Complement ('the valewe ... worthe') + Adjunct ('whanne ... it'). Although 'the' is in the

objective case, it is acting as Subject; the same construction occurs elsewhere in the text, but the author (or scribe) also uses the more normal construction of 'thou muste'.[1] A more detailed analysis reveals the following pattern of syntactic structure:



[1] See A Middle English Dictionary, ed. Hans Kurath & Sherman M. Kuhn (1956—), 'moten', v.8.



Adverbs appear frequently as exponents of the Adjunct, but, since there is repeated recurrence of the same adverbs, there is but limited variety. As might be expected in legal English, the adverbs usually express connotations of right and wrong, legality and illegality. Thus by far the most predominant adverbs are those of manner such as 'wittingly', 'wrongfully', 'maliciously', 'unrightfully', and 'falsely'. There are very few occurrences of adverbs of time and place, such concepts being normally expressed through the use of adverbial clauses and phrases, which are capable of indicating more precisely time and location — an important factor in legal documents. The commonest position for the adverb is either between the Subject and the Predicator, as in 'Alle tho that wrongfully slen or murderyn ony man' (p. 20, l. 1), or after the Complement, as in 'And alle tho that endyten ordinaryes wrongfully' (p. 25, l. 15), or, if there is no Complement, after the Predicator. Some adverbs are to be found occurring between the Predicator and the Complement, as in 'alle tho that arestyn, or enprysoun wrongefully, ony man of holy cherche' (p. 57, ll. 16-17), but very few initially in a clause, preceding the Subject — mainly the very occasional adverb of time such as 'afterward' in the following clause: '& afterward thou perceyuyst that it was falsly gett' (p. 206, ll. 5-6). In this latter respect, it contrasts sharply with the author's practice in his narrative style, where the adverb frequently occurs initially, thus providing continuity in the

narration of events; such initial cohesive links between clauses are much rarer in legal English.

Prepositional phrases occur much more frequently as exponents of the Adjunct than do adverbs, their main function being to indicate manner, place, reason, and occasionally time. They are to be found in all possible positions within the clause, especially when they express manner or place: initially before the Subject, between the Subject and the Predicator, between the Predicator and the Complement, and finally in the clause after the Complement, or if there is no Complement, after the Predicator; the final position is by far the most common.

The frequency of co-ordinate structures is a significant feature of both adverbs and adverbial prepositional phrases, especially the latter. Sometimes the co-ordinated structure consists of doublets which read like legal formulae, satisfying again the need for precision and inclusiveness, and the avoidance of ambiguity. When two adverbs are co-ordinated, they are usually placed between the Subject and the Predicator as in the following examples:

> And alle that vyolently & vnryghtfully brennyn howsys (p. 17, 11. 17-18)
>
> & alle that wyttyngly & falsly makyn or vsyn false busschellys & othere false mesurys. (p. 19, 11. 9-10)
>
> And alle preestys that wyttyngly & wylfully solemnyzen swyche vnleefful matrimonye (p. 21, 11. 19-20)
>
> alle ... that wyttyngly & malycyously depriuen of here ryght & of here lawe holy cherche (p. 55, 11. 4-6)

As is evident in two of the examples given above, there

are often other doublets of a different grammatical category within the same clause. Typical collocations of adverbial phrases are the following:

in vyolens & malyce (p. 16, l. 13)

for socour & helpe (p. 16, l. 23)

in dyspyt & vyolens (p. 16, l. 28)

in party & in specyall (p.14, l. 28)

be strengthe, manace, or dreed (p. 21, l. 22)

Sometimes a statement is given further emphasis and precision through the co-ordinating of an adverb with an adverbial phrase or a non-finite clause:

> And alle preestys that wyttyngly, & be here fre wyll, solemnysen ony suche matrimonyes, or ony weddynges (p. 60, ll. 23-25)

> Ffor the cherch frely, wyth-oute thraldom, schulde haue hool his tythe, wyth-oute lessyng & apeyryng, wyth-oute reknyng of ony cost, or of expenses (p. 56, ll. 31-33)

> And alle that dyffowlyn holy cherch violently, in schedyng of mannys blood opynly, or in doing openly the synne of lecchery, or ony other foul & horryble synne, wherfore holy cherch nedyth to be reconsyled (p. 17, ll. 14-17)

On other occasions there is a much longer series of co-ordinated adverbial phrases, as in the following example, where the author is intent on including all possible places from which offerings might be stolen for the theft of which a man would be accursed:

> And we schewyn acursed alle tho that in vyolens stelyn, or takyn to here owyn vse, or to ony othere mennys vse, ony offryng in syluer, in wex, or in ony other thynges, or ocupyen hem in ony other manere, whiche offrynges ben offryd in cherchys, or in chapellys, porchys, or cherche-yerdys, chapel-yerdys, or in oratoriis, at awterys, crossys, or

> ymages, or at relykys, or in ony other placys of toun, offryd be-cause of goddys worship; or tho offrynges dyspose for ony vsage, or for ony coloure of ony good werk ayens the wyll of hym that tho offryngys longe to, by lawe or priuylege.
> (p. 20, 11. 9-18)

A slightly abridged version of the same statement of condemnation appears in the author's recapitulation in Chapter ix (p. 57, 11. 4-8).

In the corresponding section of Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests the Adjunct, whether in the form of adverbial clause, adverbial prepositional phrase, or adverb (apart from 'wittingly'), plays a less significant role, and the use of co-ordinated structures seems less marked, especially in the Douce MSS versions.

As in Modern English, legal or otherwise, the normal order of the rest of the components of a clause is Subject, Predicator, Complement, except in certain subordinate relative clauses where the Complement in the form of a relative pronoun precedes the Subject. Constructions like the one in the passage quoted above — 'alle tho that ... tho offrynges dyspose' — where the Complement is placed between the Subject and the Predicator are rare. Such a structure might normally be considered un-English,[1] but in this case the positioning of 'tho offrynges' seems perfectly normal since it places the noun in close proximity to all the itemised examples of offerings — in churches, in chapels, in churchyards, at altars, etc. — which precede it in the previous clause and with which it is in apposition.[2] The same cannot

[1] Cf. Ross, Middle English Sermons, p. xxvi, where he comments on a similar syntactic construction in three of the sermons in his collection.

[2] Cf. the use of 'swych' in similar constructions, p. 26, 11. 8-9, & p. 28, 11. 7-8.

be said of some of the other occasions, like the following, where the Complement also occurs between the Subject and the Predicator:

> We denouncyn hem acursed that mede takyn, to lettyn the pees. (p. 16, 11. 5-6)
>
> And alle tho arn acursed that ... in tyme of enterdyt, ony dede bodyis beryin, or do beryin, in saynctuarye. (p. 33, 11. 13-16)
>
> [We denounce acursed] ... alle that the godys of holy cherch, or of men of holy cherch, leyd or put in holy place, arestyn, ocupyen, or comaundyn therto. (p. 29, 11. 12-14)

Here the author seems to have been less successful in anglicising his material, since there is no apparent stylistic gain.

The reversal of the normal order of clause components in order to achieve rhetorical effect is rare in this section of Jacob's Well, but this has been achieved in the following example, where the placing of the Complement at the beginning of the clause gives added emphasis to the adjective 'perilous':

> Ful perylous it is to inducyn & to steryn an-other to synne. (p. 199, 11. 30-31)

There would appear to be no similar stylistic gain in the following passage, where the Complement likewise occurs initially in the clause:

> Yif thou harme a man in body, maynyst him, or otherwyse apeyrist his body, his membre ne his hurt mayst thou noght restore. (p. 200, 11. 1-3)

Adjectives and the collocations in which they are to be found are predominantly those which one would normally associate with legal or religious matters:

'holy', 'righteous', 'false', 'wrongful', 'evil', 'lawful', and 'rightful' are amongst the most common. In accordance with normal legal style, they are always in the positive form[1] and are never preceded by an intensifier. Some of the collocations, as, for example, 'dyvyn seruyse' (p. 34, l. 4) and 'resonable expensis' (p. 41, l. 3) are still in common use. The adjectives normally occur in pre-modifying positions as in present-day English (only occasionally are they used predicatively), but there are certain stock legal collocations in which post-modification is a regular feature: 'alle thise thynges forsayde' (p. 38, l. 9), 'tho personys forseyd' (p. 61, ll. 20-21), 'place relygyous, or othere placys halwyd or priuylegyd' (p. 16, l. 27), 'pasture, comoun & seuerall' (p. 37, l. 17), 'alle thynges profytable' (p. 37, l. 10).

As in the Adjunct, within the Complement and the Predicator there is an abundance of co-ordination. Verbs, nouns, and adjectives (often synonyms or near-synonyms) are co-ordinated, sometimes in pairs, sometimes in more extensive lists. In most cases, the co-ordinating conjunction is 'or', which indicates once again that the purpose of this co-ordinated style is the achievement of precision and inclusiveness rather than elegance of expression. Co-ordination is a less marked feature of the Subject, since frequently the exponent of the Subject is simply the personal pronouns 'we' and 'thou' or the relative pronoun 'that', but examples do occur.

Many of the Predicators consist of two verbs linked by 'or', and, like some of the Adjuncts, they consist of legal formulae. The following are typical examples:

[1] The word 'last' in 'the last wyll of the dede' (p. 18, l. 2) and in 'the last anoyntyng' (p. 60, l. 9) can hardly be classed as a superlative.

owyn to schewyn ... or do schewe (p. 13, l. 12)

dyffamyn or slaunderyn (p. 15, l. 16)

malycyously puttyn forth, or procuryn (p. 15, l. 20)

lettyn, or procuryn to lettyn (p. 18, ll. 1-2)

for malyce forbydden or lettyn (p. 19, ll. 19-20)

wrongfully slen or murderyn (p. 20, l. 1)

malycyously lettyn, or do lettyn (p. 24, ll. 6-7)

beryin, or do beryin (p. 60, ll. 29-30)

is stollyn or falsely gett (p. 205, l. 31)

There are also much longer sequences of verbs (presumably to cover all possibilities) like the following:

> And alle tho arn acursed that in vyolens dyffoule malycyously, dyspoylen, or robbyn, ony man of holy cherche, or falsly conspyrin, confederyn, comettyn, ymagyn, or castyn, ony fals cause, dyspyt or slaundre, harm or wyckydnes, ayens ony man of holy cherch, for hate or vengeance, for wynnyng or loue, of ony fleschly freend. (p. 34, ll. 30-35)

> And alle tho that in vyolence wastyn, brekyn, peryschen, dystroyen, ocupyen, stelyn, beryn, ledyn awey, or do ledyn awey, the godys that longyth to graungys, manerys, or other possessyouns, of erche-bisschopys, bysschopys, or of ony othir men of holy cherche. (p. 55, l. 31 - p. 56, l. 2)

Co-ordination within the Complement follows a similar pattern. There are a few collocations of two or three nouns, which read like legal formulae — 'counseyl or fauour' (p. 29, l. 25), 'helpe, counseyl, or fauour' (p. 28, l. 16), 'collectys & extorcyouns' (p. 29, l. 11), 'wryttes or letterys' (p. 55, l. 12) — but in most cases there are long sequences of nouns, often including 'alle' suitably post-modified with a relative clause, and frequently serving as objects to equally long sequences of verbs, as in some of the passages already quoted. The sequences may consist of lists of human beings, their

activities, trades, and professions, as in the following passage:

> Alle that conspyrin ayens hem, alle tretours, alle comoun baratours, vprayserys of vnryghtfull batayles, alle comoun ryserys, alle felouns & here maynteynourys, counfortourys, confederatours, & conspiratours. (p. 59, 11. 9-12)

Sometimes the sequence may consist of nouns denoting places or goods kept in those places:

> [We denouncyn] ... alle tho that brekyn, brennyn, or robbyn, holy cherche, chapell, place relygyous, place halwyd or priuylegyd, in vyolence or malyce, opynly or priuely, or holy cherche godys, or othere mennys godys, leyd in the holy place to be kept. (p. 55, 11. 17-21)

At other times, the author's main concern may be with 'wrongfull taxes, tallyagys, or othere wrongfull extorcyouns' such as 'toll, pycage, murage, groundage, passage or gwydage' (p. 62, 11. 3-8).

Co-ordination of adjectives is much less common, and rarely occurs when the adjective is in a pre-modifying position. The following, where the adjectives are used predicatively, are typical examples:

> whethir the fredom be spiritual or temperal (p. 14, 1. 29)
>
> suche thinges that are ryghtfull & lawefull (p. 18, 11. 6-7)
>
> or ellys but thin entent be corrupte & fals (p. 210, 11. 20-21)

Many of the syntactic structures analysed in the preceding pages seem more suited to written than to

spoken English,[1] and lead one to wonder again about the real nature and purpose of Jacob's Well, whether these chapters in particular were ever delivered (or intended to be delivered) in their entirety as sermons, and, if so, to what type of audience; yet it must be borne in mind that in each of these chapters, except Chapter vi ('De modo decimandi'), there are also the redeeming features of the customary simple illustrative stories, and there are some features in the language of legal obligation itself, though they are few, that could be considered stylistically significant at a phonological level. There is some use of alliteration, usually confined to short formulaic legal and theological expressions. Perhaps in some cases the alliterative patterning enabled the preacher to give added vehemence to his message and make it more memorable. Here are some typical examples:

dampnyd & departyd fro god (p. 14, l. 14)[2]

holy cherche or chapell, chercheyerd or chapelyerd (p. 14, ll. 23-24)

in dysherytyng or in depryving (p. 15, l. 33 - p. 16, l. 1)

wyttyngly & wylfully (p. 21, l. 19)

longyth lawfully (p. 29, l. 22)

forsake to fulfylle (p. 57, l. 11)

dyffoulerys & depryuerys (p. 62, ll. 24-25)

[1] Cf. Crystal & Davy, op. cit., p. 194: 'It [legal English] is essentially a visual language, meant to be scrutinised in silence; it is, in fact, largely unspeakable at first sight, and anyone who tries to produce a spoken version is likely to have to go through a process of repeated and careful scanning in order to sort out the grammatical relationships which give the necessary clues to adequate phrasing.'

[2] Cf. Book of Margery Kempe, 91/28, 'damnyd or departyd'.

There are a few collocations such as the following which are not particularly legal or theological in character, but which seem to reflect the patterns of everyday speech:

> seylyng on the se (p. 28, ll. 18-19)
>
> bakyn here breed (p. 30, l. 3)

There is also some evidence in these examples, and elsewhere, of that two-stress rhythmical patterning which is such a marked feature of other sections of Jacob's Well: 'wyttyng & wyllynge', 'ryghtfull & lawefull', 'corrupte & fals'.

It is also significant that the author appears to be aware of the difficulty of presenting this material orally. He includes amongst the first group of chapters under review two chapters (ii and vii) devoted specially to exhortation; in the first of these, as already observed, he begs his audience not to be 'euyll payed' with him or anyone else who 'schewyth ... the artycles of the curs', but be glad to hear them, and in the second one, he supplies the much-needed illustrative material (mainly the story of Judas Iscariot) to supplement the rather wearisome preceding chapter or sermon on tithing. Moreover, the author normally ends, and, to a lesser extent, begins, the chapters under consideration in a different kind of style. The final passage of denunciation in Chapter ix, before the introduction of the brief exemplary tales, provides a good illustration of this, since it partly echoes an earlier passage in another chapter, but the style is different. In Chapter iii we have the following explanatory statement (the grammatical structure is less complex than usual):

> And thise artycles, yif it were nedeful, schulde be

> schewyd solemnely, that is, wyth cros standyng, wyth bellys ryngynge, wyth candelys brennynge, & after-ward quenchyd. (p. 13, 11. 20-23)

The same prepositional phrases occur in the passage at the close of Chapter ix, but they are woven into a powerful rhetorical denunciation. Rhythm, alliteration, assonance, extensive homoeoteleuton, isocolon, parallel grammatical structures with contrasting lexis, and the appropriate figurative application of the light of the candle, all combine to produce this stirring warning:

> Alle personys gylty in ony of thise artycles aforseyd, we denounce hem acursed in the gret curs be all the auctoryte of holy cherche, in slepyng, wakyng; in stondynge, syttyng; in lying, goyng; in spekyng, in sylence; in etyng, drynkynge, & in all here werkyng, wyth all solemnyte that longyth ther-to be the ordenaunce of holy cherche; we schewyn hem acursyd, wyth crosse standyng, wyth bellys ryngyng, with candele brennynge! & as the candele schal departe fro his lyght, so thei are departyd fro the lyght of saluacyoun to therknes of dampnacyoun, tyl thei come to dampnacyoun! ffiat! ffiat! Amen. (p. 62, 1. 36 - p. 63, 1. 9)

Accompanied with the appropriate ritual and dramatic effects (the words 'crosse', 'bellys', and 'candele' are underlined in red in the manuscript here, though not in the earlier passage), the words must have been profoundly moving.

By contrast, the corresponding passage in the Cotton MS Claudius A. II of Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests seems flat, repetitive, and monotonous, though some of the repetition may be due to scribal error:

> We acurson hem be the auctorite off the courete off Rome, wit-inne and wit-oute forythe, sclepynge & wakynge, goynge, syttynge, and standinge, lyggynge of-bowne the erthe & vndur the erthe, spekynge, rydynge, goynge, syttynge, stondynge, etynge, drynkynge, in wode, in watur, in felde & in towne.
> (EETS edn, p. 67)

The version in the two Douce manuscripts is less repetitive, but still much less moving than that of Jacob's Well:

> We accursen hem by the auctorite of the courte of Rome, within and withoute, sleping or waking, going & sytting, stonding and riding, lying above erth And vnder erth, speking And etyng, drinking, in wode, in water, in felde, in towne.
> (ed. G. Kristensson, p. 107, 11. 68-71)

In both the Douce and the Cotton manuscripts the reference to the candle and the bells comes later in a final piece of verse, with none of the figurative application to be found in Jacob's Well:

> Than thou, thi candul, kaste to grownde,
> Ande spytte therto the same stownde,
> And lette also the belle knylle,
> To make hertus the more grylle,
> Othur poyntus bene many & fele,
> That be not wel for to hele,
> That thou myghte know thi selfe beste,
> In the schartur of the foreste;
> In the grete chartur also
> Thou myghte se many mo. (EETS edn, p. 67)[1]

One might also bear in mind that for many centuries, until quite recent times, the Anglican Church expected its congregations to listen to similar kinds of syntactic structures employed to convey information about Articles of a different kind. It was the duty of deacons and priests on the first Sunday after their ordination to recite the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion to the congregation in place of a sermon, and express their assent thereto. In theory, assent is still required, but the custom of reading them aloud to a congregation seems to have lapsed in recent years. These Articles were first agreed upon 'for the avoiding of diversities of opinion,

[1] Cf. Douce MSS, ed. Kristensson, p. 107, 11. 81-90.

and for the establishing of consent touching true religion' in 1562 and ratified on several later occasions. The final paragraph of the Declaration of Charles I states:

> That if any publick Reader in either of Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a College, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities shall preach or print any thing either way, other than is already established in Convocation with Our Royal Assent; he, or they the Offenders, shall be liable to Our displeasure, and the Church's censure in Our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other: And We will see there shall be due Execution upon them. (Book of Common Prayer)

The Articles themselves have syntactic features not far removed from those which are characteristic of the chapters of Jacob's Well that have been under consideration. The following is an extract from Article xxxiv:

> Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.
> Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.
> (Book of Common Prayer)

Unfortunately, these Articles are not supplemented by exemplary stories!

CHAPTER SIX

The Language of Story-telling

The variety of English to be found in the exemplary stories (usually two in number) at the end of each chapter or sermon (except Chapter vi) is generally in sharp contrast to that discussed and exemplified in the previous chapter. Here the language has to serve the functions of narration, description, and the recording of conversation, the purpose of the stories being not only to illustrate the punishments awaiting the unrepentant sinner and the rewards in store for the righteous and the penitent, but also probably to re-capture and maintain the interest of at least some section of the audience (the 'lewed peple'?) and compensate for the comparative dullness of the main body of the sermon. Like 'the artycles of the sentens of the grete curs', most, if not all, of the stories appear to have been translated and adapted by the author from the original Latin, and, as with the Articles, very occasionally he seems to have made little attempt to anglicise the Latin constructions, and on one occasion, for no apparent reason, has given the Latin version of two stories without any attempt at translation (pp. 151-52), but in the main the stories are re-told freely in a very readable English style. Not only has he modified, often by dilation, the content of the stories in order to present virtue and vice in a stronger light and make the stories more relevant to his particular theme, but also through the use of stylistic devices mainly at grammatical and phonological levels he has made them, on the whole, more dramatic and more suitable for oral presentation than, for example, their analogues in An Alphabet of Tales,

which are also translations from a Latin original.[1]

At clause/sentence level, a marked feature is the number of simple, one-clause statements. The first story at the end of Chapter iii ('Sentencie') provides us with a good example. At the close of a chapter abounding in intricate syntactic structures, we have this short story of some sixteen sentences, six or seven of which are simple, one-clause statements, none of them containing more than twelve words, most of them fewer. They occur as part of the narration:

> he dede the werse & noght the betere.
>
> he lay seek.
>
> In thise woordys his soule went out of his body to helle.
>
> his body stanke as ony careyn.
> (p. 22, 11. 1-2, 3, 14-15)

They also function in the direct speech, four of them occurring in rapid succession:

> 'I may no sorwe haue. I may noght schryue me. I may haue no wyll to make amendys. grace is gone fro me.' (p. 22, 11. 8-9)

These sentences, whether part of the narrative or the direct speech, tend to describe a state of mind or body rather than action. The punctuation here is, of course, largely editorial (and syntactical), but, although in medieval texts the punctuation is not used syntactically, it seems clear that the author himself (unless it is

[1] It is clear, for various reasons, that the author of Jacob's Well was not indebted to this English version for any of his stories. See J. Y. Gregg, Traditio, 33 (1977), pp. 362-63.

assumed that the scribe was responsible for the punctuation) also thought of these clauses, if not as separate sentences, at least as being to some extent self-contained and separated by a pause of some duration from what precedes and follows, for in each case there is a corresponding full stop at line level in the manuscript, the only difference being that there is an additional stop before 'helle', suggesting perhaps a dramatic pause before the utterance of this word.

The rest of the sentences in this short story are also fairly simple in structure. The first sentence is the most intricate, but even here the structure is far less complicated than those discussed in the previous chapter:

> Bede tellyth, in gestis Anglorum, that there was a man, cursyd in his werkys, &, whanne he was tawght or reprouyd, he beleuyd it noght, but was rebell & dyspytous. (p. 21, l. 33 - p. 22, l. 1)

Here we have a main clause with a noun clause as Complement, within which, instead of the post-modification by means of a relative clause which we might expect in written English — 'a man, cursyd in his werkys, that...' — we have the co-ordinating conjunction 'and' introducing a co-ordinate clause 'he beleuyd it noght' (preceded by an Adjunct in the form of a short adverbial clause of time) which in turn is co-ordinated with the clause '[he] was rebell & dyspytous', linked by means of the co-ordinating conjunction 'but'. The structure is highly suitable for story-telling.

In the accompanying story ('The Sinful Woman and the Abbot') the author employs not simple, one-clause sentences in the relating of events, but equally readable and speakable compound sentences of two or more

co-ordinate clauses linked together by 'and' or 'but' (Syndetic Parataxis). Sometimes there is post-modification in one of the clauses by means of a brief subordinate relative clause. The following are typical:

> thanne was sche takyn out of here selle fro here penaunce, & lyved in grace, & deyid, & wente to that ioyfull bed. (p. 23, ll. 26-28)

> Sche herde this, & fell doun to the Abbotes feet, wyth gret weping, and askyd god mercy. (p. 23, ll. 13-14)

> Sche led hym in-to a chaumbre, & bad hym gon vp to a bed that there was wel arayed. (p. 23, ll. 1-2)

> sche was wonder fayr, but sche was comoun of here body to alle that desyred here. (p. 22, ll. 29-31)

In the conversational passages there are some simple, one-clause sentences and a one-word sentence-substitute:

> The Abbot seyde to here: 'Is there no priuyere place?' Sche seyde: 'yis.' the Abbot seyde: 'go we thedyr!' (p. 23, ll. 2-4)

The longest speech is made, perhaps appropriately, by the Abbot. This consists of two sentences; one, interrogative, and the other, affirmative and exclamatory, linked together by 'and':

> 'Why dredyst thou noght god thanne, that dampnyst thin owyn soule to helle, & lesyst thin owyn soule & alle the soulys that thou steryst to synne? and noght only thou schalt haue [peyne] for thin owyn synne, but thou schalt haue als manye peynes as thou hast loste soules!' (p. 23, ll. 9-13)

The first sentence consists of a brief main clause in which the head word of the Subject, 'thou', is post-modified by a subordinate relative clause, itself consisting of two short co-ordinate clauses, the second of

which has one of the head words of its Complement post-modified by another brief relative clause. The second sentence consists of two co-ordinate main clauses linked by 'but', the second one again having post-modification within the nominal group of the Complement by means of a short relative clause. These two sentences, though they contain dependent clauses, are fairly straightforward and easy for the listener to follow.

In the language of medieval texts, as in the recording of the language of present-day conversation, where there is a large number of loosely co-ordinated clauses, one is faced with the problem of deciding upon the true length of each utterance, that is, whether these co-ordinated clauses should be regarded as sequences of simple sentences or as a single compound sentence. The problem is further complicated as a result of the custom of beginning what one would almost certainly regard as a new sentence with the conjunction 'And' or 'But'. The editor of a text has to use his own judgement, based on the limited and possibly ambiguous punctuation marks in the original. Any solution of the problem has implications for stylistic analysis. Thus, at the conclusion of the story of 'The Vision of Clerk Odo's Man' (Chapter ii), there is the following passage as punctuated in the EETS edition:

> the ground openyd, the feendys threwe him doun
> to the pytt of helle, the erthe closyd ayen.
> the feendys vanyssched awey. (p. 11, ll. 5-7)[1]

The editor obviously felt that the first three clauses

[1] This story does not occur in either Bede's History or in William of Malmesbury's, although the author attributes it to 'gestis anglorum'. Nor is there an analogue in the Alphabetum Narrationum.

were so closely linked in content that they formed one compound sentence, whereas he regarded the fourth clause as a brief simple sentence. Dramatically, the result is quite effective for both reader and listener if the correct duration of pause is adopted. However, other interpretations are possible, since the manuscript punctuation is as follows:

> the ground openyd. the feendys threwe him doun to the pytt of helle. the erthe closyd ayen· the feendys vanyssched awey.‖ (fol. 9^r)

Perhaps less convincing is the editor's punctuation of the following passage in the story of 'The Humble Nun' (Chapter xii):

> sche wyssche here dysscheS, & scouryd here pottys, sche turnyd here spyttes, sche lay in the kechyn nyght & day, sche sate neuere at borde, but eete of here trenchourys & of here broke mete that was most abiecte. (p. 81, 11. 7-11)

The editor has regarded the six main clauses as co-ordinate members of the same sentence, but another editor might well decide, with some justification, that here there are three or four separate utterances. A judicious use of the semi-colon would possibly make Brandeis's editing more acceptable. It is interesting to note how the passage is punctuated in the manuscript:

> . sche wyssche here dysscheS & scouryd here pottys sche turnyd here spyttes. sche lay in the kechyn nyght & day. sche sate neuer at borde but eete of here trencherourys & of here broke mete that was most abiecte· (fol. 28^r)

However, in the same story, Brandeis is surely right in treating 'sche com' as a simple sentence, dramatically effective:

> the holy man seyde to hem, 'On of yow fayleth yit here.' the nunnys seyden, 'none fayleth but a fool.' the man seyde, 'clepe here hyder!' sche com. the holy abbot fell doun to here fete, & seyde to here, 'holy modyr, blysse thou me!' (p. 81, 11. 16-19)

The manuscript has '*sche com.' with the first full stop slightly raised; whether this is significant or simply the result of careless positioning is debatable.

In spite of these problems, it is evident that there is a large number of simple and compound sentences in these stories, and that these, together with complex or mixed[1] sentences usually of a straightforward kind, are particularly suitable for the oral presentation of stories. Moreover, on occasion, the introduction of a short simple sentence at the appropriate moment provides stylistic variety and may serve the purpose of conveying information concisely, marking a stage in the story, emphasising a point, or creating a dramatic effect. Thus, two simple sentences provide a dramatic close to the story of 'The Usurer's Church occupied by the Devil' (Chapter xxxi):

> the bysschop & the clerkys fleddyn awey for dreed. the feend, wyth a thunder-crakke, smote doun the cherche to the grounde. (p. 203, 11. 6-8)

In the manuscript, too, the sentences are punctuated as two separate utterances (fol. 65^{r}). In the story of 'The English Witch who died Unshriven' (Chapter xxviii), the short simple sentence 'the myd-cheyne was stylle hole' occupies a key position half-way through the story;

[1] As used by Crystal & Davy, a 'mixed' sentence consists of a compound sentence in which at least one of the clauses has a dependent clause. See Investigating English Style, p. 49.

it marks an important stage and heightens expectancy:

> hyre sone, a munke, & here dowghter, a nunne, wokyn here body iij. nyghtes in cherche, as sche bad hem; & yif sche abyde stylle in the cherche iij. nyghtes, thanne schulde thei berye [here] the day aftyr. the two ferste nyghtes, in syght of alle tho that wokyn here, feendys comyn, & brokyn vp the cherche dorys, & two cheynes of that stonyn coffre. the myd-cheyne was stylle hole. the iij. nyght, at cokkys crowyng, the feendys comyn ayen, wyth dyn & crye, that all the cherch quakyd, & the erthe also. Oon of the feendys that was mayster-feend, most horryble & foul, prowdely wente to the body, & bad here be name aryse. sche seyde, 'I may noght for this yren cheyne.' the feend seyde, 'for thi synne the cheyne schal breke!' the feend brak that myd-cheyne, & with his foot smote awey the lyd. (p. 187, 11. 1-13)

In the manuscript this key sentence is also separated from what precedes and what follows by means of full stops at line level. The following corresponding version in An Alphabet of Tales is much less dramatic, partly owing to the excessive use of 'and' to link clauses together:

> And so all this was done, and ij furste nyghtis, as clerkis was sayand ther prayers aboute hur, ffendys brak the yatis of the kurk, & come in vnto hur & brak ij of the chynys at was at ather end; and the myddyll chyne abade styll hale. And vppon the iij nyght aboute cokkraw, ther come in suche a throng of fendis, at thai at saw it semyd at the temple turnyd vpsadown. (EETS edn, p. 487, 11. 23-28)

In both Jacob's Well and the Alphabetum Narrationum this story is attributed to Cesarius, but there seems to be no trace of it in his Dialogus Miraculorum.

Equally effective is the brief two-word sentence in the following short story:

> In vitis patrum I rede that a frere, smellyng swete

> onde & breth in kyssyng of a womman, was temptyd sore to lust of here. sche dyed. the frere on a nyght toke here body out of the graue, and kepte the body priuely in his selle, tyl sche stanke. (p. 219, 11. 3-6)

In a similar manner, the following short simple sentences (all of which have corresponding punctuation with full stops at line level in the manuscript) mark important stages and heighten expectancy in their respective stories:

> the day of the doom com. (p. 213, 1. 12)
>
> the priour redde hem. (p. 12, 11. 13-14)
>
> he knewe here wel. (p. 167, 1. 4)
>
> the helle-huntere, wyth his helle-houndys, com ny. (p. 167, 11. 12-13)
>
> the widewe wepte. (p. 132, 1. 26)

In the declarative clauses, which form the bulk of those used in the telling of the stories, Adjuncts are to be found in all three positions: initially, medially (between Subject and Predicator, or between Predicator and Complement), or finally in a clause. Sometimes Adjuncts occur in all three positions within the same clause as in the following examples:

> & in his syght of his brethryn, aungelys, wyth melodye, boryn his soule to heuen. (p. 36, 11. 25-26)
>
> but whanne his neyghboure afterward was deed, the styward, wyth two false wytnessis, on a nyght wente to the grave. (p. 132, 11. 16-18)

By far the commonest position for the Adjunct is initially, usually to indicate time, manner, or place. As one might expect in the language of story-telling, in contrast to that of legal obligations, the adverb 'thanne' is common in this position; it provides con-

tinuity in the narration of events and has a cohesive function. Other adverbials draw attention to themselves — at least to the modern ear — by occupying this marked initial position, and thus heighten the effect:

> hastely there com a straunge man rydyng on an hors in at the dore. (p. 46, 11. 21-22)
>
> slawly he com to the cherche. (p. 110, 11. 16-17)
>
> In this drynk & in thise woordys, he turnyd al blak lyche the feend. (p. 10, 1. 31 - p. 11, 1. 1)
>
> often & longe sche was wowed of a clerk, to ben his loue. (p. 271, 11. 13-14)
>
> wyttyngly & wylfully thei forsakyn the vertu of myght and the yyfte of strengthe. (p. 302, 11. 4-5)
>
> euyn & morwe, dayes & nyghtes, halydayes & sonedayes, a-forn hye masse & after, & in tyme of masse, he delyghted gretly in delycacyes. (p. 158, 11. 1-3)

Often, as in the third example given above, the use of a demonstrative in the adverbial phrase has a cohesive effect, since it links the clause grammatically and lexically with the previous clause. Occasionally, when the Adjunct appears initially, there is a reversal of the normal order of Subject and Predicator. This occurs sometimes after 'thanne' (cf. a similar reversal after OE 'thā' in particular), but it also occurs after other adverbials:

> thanne was sche takyn out of here selle fro here penaunce. (p. 23, 11. 26-27)
>
> thanne wyst he wel be the feendys woordys that his deth was nygh. (p. 32, 11. 8-9)
>
> sone after deyid the fadyr. (p. 307, 11. 10-11)
>
> & out of her grave euere-more ros a gret smoke. (p. 95, 11. 13-14)
>
> & out of the knyghtes nose com smoke, & flammys, &

fyir wyth brimston. (p. 214, 11. 11-12)

In the following co-ordinate clauses the author has achieved pleasing rhythmical and alliterative patterning through the use of both the normal order and the reversal of it:

& there they dede abyde, and there is his body beryid. (p. 32, 11. 18-19)

In some of the examples given above, there is evidence of co-ordination within the Adjunct: 'In this drynk & in thise woordys', 'often & longe', 'wyttyngly & wylfully', 'euyn & morwe, dayes & nyghtes ... & in tyme of masse'; in the last example, adverbial nominal groups are co-ordinated with adverbial prepositional phrases in order to indicate and emphasise the extensive nature of the time devoted to the delight in 'delycacyes'. Such co-ordination is not limited, of course, to Adjuncts in the initial position, but it is much more likely to occur in Adjuncts consisting of prepositional phrases (mainly those expressing manner or reason) than in those consisting of adverbs. Often the co-ordination takes the form of doublets of nouns within the adverbial phrase:

for wepyng & sobbyng (p. 12, 1. 12)

'for his grete sorwe & penaunce' (p. 12, 11. 21-22)

wyth full sorwe of herte & wepyng (p. 67, 11. 17-18)

wyth wepyng & gret contrycyoun (p. 96, 1. 13)

'for wretthe & vengeaunce' (p. 96, 1. 17)

for sluggynes & slewthe (p. 111, 11. 6-7)

wyth dyn & crye (p. 187, 1. 7)

'in ydylnesse & ese' (p. 230, 1. 31)

In some cases, as elsewhere with doublets, one of the

pair is of English origin (e.g. 'dyn') and the other of French origin (e.g. 'crye'), but there is no consistent pattern in this usage. Sometimes there is co-ordination between Adjuncts, as in the following example, where there is a sequence of adverbial phrase, two adverbial clauses, and an adverb, in the initial position:

> on a nyght, as he wooke his dyche of colys, whil they weryn in brennyng, sodeynly a womman nakyd ran abowte the colys brennynge, and after here rood a man wyth a swerd drawyn. (p. 53, 11. 16-19)

However, in the narrative style of Jacob's Well, on the whole, the Adjuncts are less complicated in structure, and adverbial co-ordination, whether within or between Adjuncts, less extensive than in the legal style, where such co-ordination was necessary in order to achieve inclusiveness and avoid ambiguity. The co-ordinating conjunction 'or' — an essential feature of the legal style — occurs rarely, if at all, and adverbial clauses of condition are much less common than in the chapters on Restitution. The use of co-ordination here in the narrative style is descriptive and emotive, though many of the doublets are themselves traditional and conventional. Adverbs of time figure more prominently, and adverbs of manner, though they include 'wyttyngly & wylfully', are not predominantly those having connotations of right and wrong, legality and illegality. Adverbs such as 'hastely', 'slawly', 'often', 'longe', 'thanne' 'sodeynly' are more common. The telling of a story requires that any indication of time, place, manner, and reason should be given concisely, yet effectively.

The order of the other components within the declarative clauses is generally what one would expect: Subject, Predicator, Complement. However, cases have already been noted where there is a reversal of the normal order of Subject and Predicator after 'thanne', and there are

other instances, in both the passages of narration and those of direct speech, where the Complement is advanced to an earlier position in the clause, either initial, or medial between the Subject and the Predicator. In some cases, especially when the Complement occurs initially, it acquires increased emphasis through occupying such a marked position, and, if it also contains a demonstrative component, it effectively links the clause with the preceding one. Thus we have:

> & no woord myght he speke to the pryour, for wepyng & sobbyng. (p. 12, 11. 11-12)
>
> This I schewe you sooth be exaumple. (p. 36, 1. 10)
>
> 'that wyl I noght do.' (p. 66, 1. 15)
>
> 'but thou hast lownesse, & that had I neuere!' (p. 75, 1. 27)
>
> 'Abbot, all my good I yeue the & to thin hows.' (p. 138, 1. 17)
>
> the gouellere seyde to the preest that sory he wolde be. (p. 197, 11. 13-14)
>
> 'lady, this temptacyoun may I no lengere wyth-stondyn.' (p. 271, 11. 16-17)
>
> 'deed schal he noght be.' (p. 278, 1. 31)

At other times, there is no obvious stylistic advantage, and the English seems clumsy:

> 'I may no sorwe haue.' (p. 22, 1. 8)
>
> 'ffor alle oure prayerys, masses, & suffragys, & prayerys of preestys, & of alle cristene folk the schulde noght saue, yif thou dyed in this plyght.' (p. 138, 11. 22-24)
>
> 'therfore schal me neuere helpe prayere of leryd ne lewyd.' (p. 198, 11. 5-6)
>
> 'leryd & lewyd men I vexid, whil I lyved in wronges.' (p. 198, 11. 16-17)

'I for-sake non that me louyth, me seruyth, and to me clepyth for helpe.' (p. 256, 11. 2-3)

The Complement in these stories, like its counterpart in the sections dealing with the Articles of the Great Curse, frequently consists of more than one nominal group, though, on the whole, the sequences are much shorter; pairs of words are more common than multiple sequences, and the latter rarely consist of more than three groups. Frequently the nouns are synonyms or near-synonyms intended, not to satisfy the legal requirements of inclusiveness, but to emphasise a point in a memorable way suited to oral presentation; sometimes the grammatical patterning is supplemented by alliterative patterning. On one or two occasions, as in traditional expressions like 'freend & fo', the co-ordinated words are antonyms. As with the Adjuncts, the co-ordinating conjunction is almost invariably 'and'. Typical of the longer sequences are:

but in his schryfte he hadde swyche sorwe, syghhynges, & sobbynges in the throte, & terys in the eyghyn. (p. 12, 11. 7-8)

'Ryght so, thou vsyst ydelnesse, ease, & reste, noyous to thi soule, in seknesse of temptacyoun.' (p. 231, 11. 5-7)

'On my left syde I se dyssese, aduersite, tribulacyoun of this world. On my ryght syde I se prosperyte, rycches, wordly worschyppe, redy to dampne my soule for my mysgouernaunce.' (p. 221, 11. 31-33)

'I dyde wrong & schame, falsnes & defraude.' (p. 198, 1. 1)

In the last example, the sequence consists of two doublets. Other typical doublets are:

'wo & trauayle' (p. 31, 1. 6)

scorn & iape (p. 35, 1. 15)

'peyne & sorwe' (p. 203, l. 17)

'pore & ryche' (p. 209, l. 18)

'mercy & mekenes' (p. 255, l. 29)

'this kunnyng & knowyng' (p. 277, l. 3)

Similar collocations are to be found in the Subject of a clause, but they are much less common. When the Complement consists of adjectives used predicatively, there is similar co-ordination:

'meke, mylde, & obedyent' (p. 272, l. 7)

rebell & dyspytous (p. 22, l. 1)

wrothe & angry (p. 100, l. 12)

slawe & sluggy (p. 110, l. 16)

'frele & brotyl' (p. 221, l. 27)

'sory & pensyif' (p. 221, l. 22)

As indicated above, these doublets occur in both passages of conversation and those of narration.

Many of the head words in the nominal groups (exponents of the Subject, the Complement, and occasionally the Adjunct) and many of the nouns in the adverbial prepositional phrases (through which the Adjunct is often realised) are pre-modified by an adjective, but these are limited in range, supply little in the way of lively description, and tend to appear in conventional collocations (sometimes alliterative). The following are typical examples:

horryble synnes (p. 12, ll. 1-2)

'perfyt penaunce' (p. 22, l. 6; occurs frequently elsewhere in the text)

cursede dedys (p. 23, l. 21)

wylde beestys (p. 32, l. 15)

foul deth (p. 88, 11. 9-10)

gret oxe (p. 213, 1. 6)

fayr cow (p. 213, 11. 8-9)

'dreed-full dome' (p. 287, 1. 9)

More evocative are the rarer instances, like the following, where the pre-modification consists of more than one adjective (usually two) and where, in some cases, there is reinforcement from alliterative patterning:

> he myghte fynde non herberwe but in an old forlatyn cote. (p. 9, 11. 14-15)
>
> [He] entryd in-to an old brokyn temple to restyn there-in tyl morwe. (p. 88, 11. 29-30)
>
> he made hym be leyd on a brennyng grydell ouer brennyng wylde fyir. thus he was rostyd wyth brennyng bremston, wyth blowyng vnder of bel[wes]. (p. 10, 11. 5-7)
>
> he made hym drynke reed brennyng metal moltyn, tyl it ran out of his nose, eyghin, & erys. (p. 10, 11. 23-24)
>
> [Sche] was sett on a blak brennyng deuyl, & born to the pytt of helle. (p. 187, 11. 14-15)
>
> he fonde stynkynge & trubly watyr. (p. 147, 1. 4)

Post-modification, sometimes in addition to pre-modification, is also a common feature. Some of this is in the form of subordinate relative clauses, descriptive and explanatory, but briefer and simpler in structure than those to be found in the expositions of the Articles of the Great Curse:

> An abbot, that hyght Pannicius, in seculere wede of a lay-man (p. 22, 11. 31-32)
>
> a bed that there was wel arayed (p. 23, 11. 1-2)
>
> Oon of the feendys that was mayster-feend, most horryble & foul (p. 187, 11. 8-9)

In the last example there is further post-modification by means of the adjectives 'most horryble & foul'. There are a number of cases where adjectives appear in this post-modifying position. Sometimes it would appear that the author has slavishly copied his Latin original. Thus we have:

> A ston precyous (p. 4, l. 18; yet in the following line there is 'this smal precyous ston')
>
> a womman nakyd (p. 53, l. 18)
>
> myght and strengthe gostly (p. 302, l. 2)
>
> A countas, chast of body, gret in doing almes-dedys, devowt in prayerys, deyid. (p. 80, ll. 27-28)

In at least one case, the author seems to have lost his way in a multiplicity of post-modifying adjectives:[1]

> A nunne that hyghte Beatrix, sexteyn of here hows, fayr in body, fayrere in soule, meke, mylde, benigne, and obedyent to god, to holy cherche, to here abbesse, & lowly to alle here sustren, deuoute in prayerys & in here seruyse, And sche louyd specyally oure lady; often & longe sche was wowed of a clerk, to ben his loue. (p. 271, ll. 9-14)

However, in most cases, especially where the adjective is followed by a prepositional phrase, the structures are of a kind that occur frequently in modern literary English, though in less formal English some other structure such as a relative clause would be more usual and acceptable. The following are typical of this kind of usage:

[1] The pleonastic use of a personal pronoun following a noun as subject of a finite verb (as in this passage) is not unusual in Middle English. See T. F. Mustanoja, A Middle English Syntax, Part I (Helsinki, 1960), 138 (2).

he, wroth, slaunderyd here falsely.
(p. 101, 1. 10)

the man, nakyd saaf his breche, wente euery strete in the cyte. (p. 208, 11. 24-25)

a munke ydel, & veyn, & vnobedyent, in herte, tunge, & dede, (p. 290, 11. 10-11)

A man, ryche wyth fals getyn good, hadde too sonys.
(p. 307, 11. 7-8)

Other types of post-modification, exemplified below, are prepositional phrases and non-finite clauses; they mainly serve the purpose of conveying necessary information concisely, without any attempt at creating atmosphere or raising an emotional response:

a clerk of gret astate (p. 9, 1. 11)

the feend, in wede of a clerk, (p. 67, 1. 6)

An aungyl, in lyknesse of a man, (p. 74, 1. 33)

the scrowe, wretyn wyth his synnes. (p. 12, 1. 13)

a gloryous bed, arayed & kept wyth aungellys,
(p. 23, 1. 23)

a fayr tre wretyn aboute in euery leef, wyth letters of gold, wyth this scripture:
(p. 173, 11. 4-6)

a straunge man rydyng on an hors (p. 46, 11. 21-22)

in pycche & oyle all sethyng ouer the fyir.
(p. 9, 1. 29)

The post-modifying prepositional phrases contain further nominal groups, the head words of which may themselves be subject to pre- or post-modification, or both, in the manner described and exemplified above. However, on the whole, the patterns of pre- and post-modification are simple and of a kind suited to the oral presentation of short exemplary stories, in contrast, for example, to the complex post-modification of legal language.

Co-ordinate verbal structures are less frequent and shorter than those in the sections dealing with Canon Law and the like. They are usually limited to pairs of verbs linked by the co-ordinating conjunction 'and' (not 'or', as so frequently happens in the legal style). Even in longer sequences, like the following, the verbs may be grouped in pairs:

> and thanne he began to werwe & to curse, to swere & to lyen, to chyden & to defyen, & spake manye dyspitous woordys. (p. 100, 11. 13-15)

Sometimes the sequence consists of an auxiliary verb followed by two or more lexical verbs; at other times, there are simply two or more lexical verbs. The lexical verbs in these sequences are mostly synonyms or near-synonyms (again, one of the pair being sometimes of Latin or French origin), and, as a result, the message to be conveyed becomes emphatic and memorable, especially when the syntactic patterns are supplemented with rhythmical and other sound patterning. The following are typical examples:

> 'schal turmentyn & damnyn' (p. 23, 1. 8)
>
> languryd & peyned (p. 88, 11. 22-23)
>
> 'haue pelyd, vexid, & turmentyd' (p. 209, 1. 18)
>
> 'thanne schal thi thought be troubelyd and a-dred' (p. 231, 1. 29)
>
> wepte & greuyd sore (p. 243, 1. 6)
>
> 'to be schamyd & mayned' (p. 279, 11. 3-4)

Sometimes the pairs of verbs are of a formulaic nature:

> 'conceyuyd & bare' (p. 9, 1. 31)
>
> cryed, & seyde (p. 75, 1. 24)

answerde, & seyde (p. 176, l. 29)

As already noted, passages of direct speech occur in most of the stories. This was a traditional feature of medieval exemplary stories, and the author of Jacob's Well would find additional authority for such usage in his Latin originals. The passages fulfil some of the usual functions of conversational passages in stories — further the action, explain a situation, describe a setting, express an emotion, give a reason, present an argument — but the characters tend to speak in a stereotyped language which is usually the same as that used for the narrative, and little attempt is made to distinguish between characters through their style of spoken English. It will be clear from the examples given in the preceding pages that the same sentence and clause structures are to be found in both the narrative and the conversational passages. Although the use of the periphrastic auxiliary 'do' appears to have become common in everyday speech already in the fourteenth century, clerics were slow in adopting it in their sermons,[1] and there is no evidence of its use in Jacob's Well even in passages of direct speech.

However, there are some syntactical features, such as the frequent use of interrogative sentences, which distinguish the style of the conversational passages from the narrative ones. Sometimes the asking of a question is put in the form of reported speech and the answer given in direct speech, as in the following example:

The heremyte askyd hym what he mente, & why he

[1] See Gosta Langenfelt, Select Studies in Colloquial English in the Late Middle Ages (Lund, 1933).

> dyde so. the aungyl seyde: 'I noumbre thi steppys in thi trauayle for to schewyn the noumbre therof a-for god ayens the feend, that thou ther-thrugh mowe haue mede in heuen.'
> (p. 111, 11. 10-14)

There is generally throughout the stories a successful variation and integration of the syntactic structures of reported speech with those of direct speech. The following extract from the story of 'The Unbending Justice Herkenbald' is a typical example:

> The chyld wente, & wyste why the womman cryed, & telde his fadyr thus: 'Lord my fadyr, youre susteres sone wolde haue leyn be that womman, & therfore sche cryed.' the lord seyde to two knyghtes, 'goth & hangyth hym for his trespace, as the lawe wyll!' thei wentyn, & bedyn that lordys susteres sone absentyn him out of the syght of his eem. & thei com ayen to his eem, & seydin that he was hangyd.
> (p. 95, 1. 32 - p. 96, 1. 5)

Usually the answers to questions are in the form of complete major sentences with structures similar to those in the narrative parts, but occasionally, more in accordance with real-life conversation, the reply consists of a single word such as 'ya' or 'nay', or of a minor sentence dependent for its full understanding on a knowledge of the question asked:

> the preest seyde, 'ya.' (p. 197, 1. 18)

> the man seyde, 'nay.' (p. 209, 1. 9)

> the portere seyde, 'nay, for sche is here yitt; sche wente neuere oute syth sche was professyd.'
> (p. 272, 11. 1-2)

> Men askyd hym also why here tayles were so pylled, & haddyn non heer. the munke seyde, 'for thei fallyn so often vnder here charge that thei beryn, & we houyn hem vp alwey be the tayle, and therfore here tayles arn pyled.' (p. 312, 11. 9-12)

Stylistic features at a phonological level are much more noticeable in the narrative sections of Jacob's Well than in those dealing with legal matters. Attention has already been drawn to the presence of short alliterative expressions. Some of these, such as 'perfyt penaunce', 'wyttyngly & wylfully', and 'doom of dampnacyoun' are the same as, or very similar to, some of those already noted in the legal style. Many of the alliterative expressions are rather conventional and, more or less, what one would expect, but the author seems to have introduced them deliberately in order to enhance his style, since there is usually no authority for them in the probable Latin sources, and there is usually no corresponding use of alliteration in the English translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum. The following is a typical selection:

lust of leccherye (p. 63, 11. 24-25)

fowl as a feend (p. 80, 1. 30)

'leryd & lewyd' (p. 198, 1. 16)

'demyd & dampnyd' (p. 225, 1. 27)

'mercy & mekenes' (p. 255, 1. 29)

'kunnyng & knowyng' (p. 277, 1. 3)

'dreedfull doom' (p. 287, 1. 9)

Perhaps a little less stereotyped and more evocative are expressions such as:

melodye of menstralsye (p. 221, 1. 17)

makyng a mowe (p. 237, 1. 18)

The former appears in a story attributed to Humbert's Liber de dono timoris; it is not an uncommon expression, but 'mirth of minstrelsy' is the more common collocation in medieval literature. The same story, likewise attributed to Humbert, is to be found in the Alphabetum

Narrationum. If, as suggested by Joan Gregg, the author of Jacob's Well derived the story from the Alphabetum Narrationum, it is interesting to note that in this work there is no reference to minstrelsy,[1] and that in An Alphabet of Tales, though there is a reference, as in Jacob's Well, to 'all maner of delicious metis & drynkis' being set before the lord, there is no mention of 'melodye of menstralsye'.[2] It seems to have been a decorative expansion of the original by the author of Jacob's Well.

However, the more effective alliteration in the story-telling is to be found in that which extends beyond the single phrase and gives movement and liveliness to the action, or colour and vividness to the description. The additional presence of consonance and assonance often heightens the effect. In the following example, the alliterative phrase 'slawe & sluggy' is effectively integrated into a larger pattern:

> Jacobus de vitriaco, he seyth that a man was so slawe & sluggy in goddys seruyse, that slawly he com to the cherche, & selde, & late, & whenne he com thedyr, he in slepyng, or in iangelyng, ocupyed hym. (p. 110, 11. 15-18)

This comes from the story of the crucifix which loosed its hands from the cross and stopped its ears as a sign of anger. According to Joan Gregg,[3] the tale is spuriously attributed to Jacques de Vitry and is probably derived from the Alphabetum Narrationum, where Jacques de Vitry is also cited as the source. Again,

[1] MS Harl. 268, fol. 181^{v}.

[2] Story DCLXXXV, EETS edn, p. 459, 11. 10 ff..

[3] Traditio, 33 (1977), p. 365; she erroneously refers to p. 67, instead of p. 110, of Jacob's Well.

it is interesting to compare the version in Jacob's Well with the following corresponding passage in the English translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum:

> Jacobus de Vetriaco tellis, how som tyme ther was a husband-man that wald nott here of almyghti God. So on a tyme hym happend to dye.
> (EETS edn, p. 67, 11. 12-14)

It would appear that the author of Jacob's Well not only adapted the story to suit his particular theme of Sloth, but also expanded it in accordance with the alliterative tradition.

In the story of 'The Vision of Clerk Ode's Man' there is a sustained passage of vigorous alliterative patterning:

> He made hym be leyd on a brennyng grydell ouer brennyng wylde fyir. thus he was rostyd wyth brennyng bremston, wyth blowyng vnder of bel[wes]. whanne he was al for-rostyd, fryed, & scaldyd, & thus for-brent, he roryd as a deuyl for peyne.
> (p. 10, 11. 5-9)

He seems to be particularly fond of the plosive /b/ combined with the rolled /r/ and the fricative /f/, especially when dealing with devils and the torments of hell:

> & yaf hym drynken of a fyren cuppe brynnyng drynk wyth brymston, tyl it braste out of his eyen, nose, & erys. (p. 157, 11. 14-15)

> The feendys huntedyn after, & all for-rentyn here, & for-brentyn here, & leydin here ouer-thwert on a brennyng feend, & so, wyth horrible cry, born here in-to helle. (p. 167, 11. 17-20)

> Sche ros opynly, in syght of alle here wakerys, & roryng went out at the cherche-dore, & was sett on a blak brennyng deuyl, & born to the pytt of helle. (p. 187, 11. 13-15)

The use of assonance and consonance is also noticeable

in these passages. The following is a selection of other effective alliterative patterns:

> But alwey, in here herte, sche was sory, & alwey preyed god of mercy, & dede scharpe dedys of penaunce, & made restitucyoun of here wrongys, saaf sche durste noght be schreuyn of here cursyd synne, for schame. (p. 67, 11. 2-5)

> The heremyte flytted his celle fyve myle ferthere fro the welle for to makyn the manyere steppys to haue the more mede. (p. 111, 11. 17-19)

> The frendys of that cursed man prayed a preest that he wolde sufferyn that body to be beryed in his cherche, & behyghten hym gret mede. (p. 198, 11. 21-23)

> The lady took hym in-to here armys, & bare hym in, for he was so feble, and his feet, handys, & face, dysfiguryd, scalt, & rotyn a-wey the flesch, & foule he stanke. (p. 243, 11. 6-9)

> The turmentourys slowin hym, & slytted hym & his herte a-sunder. (p. 298, 11. 12-13)

In comparison (where feasible) with the style of related texts, it would seem that assonance, like alliteration, is a more significant feature in Jacob's Well. The following passage comes from the story of 'A Young Man damned in spite of his Feigned Contrition':

> '& also my conscyens telde me that yif I had wyst to haue lyued, I wolde noght have sorwyd for my synnes, ne haue be schreue, & I thoughte yif I myght haue scapyd my sykenes & haue lyved ....' (p. 177, 11. 2-5)

The story is attributed to Cesarius. The same story is to be found in the Alphabetum Narrationum, and J. Y. Gregg, in keeping with her general hypothesis, has suggested that the author of Jacob's Well derived the story from this latter source. Whatever the source, it is clear that the English translator of the Alphabetum Narrationum in An Alphabet of Tales does not provide

similar assonance in the corresponding passage:

> 'I promytt to lefe my syn, yit my consciens said vnto me: "what & I mend, I sall fall vnto syn agayn"; ffor my harte more declynyd vnto that than not for to syn.' (p. 145, 11. 13-15)

In the story of 'The English Witch who died Unshriven', we are told that:

> be here byddyng, whanne sche was deed, here frendys sowedyn [here] in hertys ledyr, & closyd here in a stonyn coofere boundyn aboutyn wyth iij. yren cheynes, & the lyd abouyn schett & sowdyd, wyth leed & yren. (p. 186, 1. 30 - p. 187, 1. 1)

The corresponding passage in An Alphabet of Tales is not a description of what the friends did, but an account of the instructions given by the woman to her friends before her death. There is some assonance in the passage, but it seems to be less noticeable and less effective than that in the passage from Jacob's Well:

> And sho sent after a monk & a non that was hur childer, and chargid thaim in hur blissyng that onone as sho war dead thai sulde sew hur in a harte-skyn, & than at thai sulde close hur in a tombe of stone, and at thai sulde feste the coveryng theron stronglie bothe with lead & strong yrn, & at thai sulde close this stane & bynde it aboute with iij. strang chynys, and than at thai sulde do mes & pray for hur aboute hur bodye. (p. 487, 11. 15-21)

The compactness of the style in the passage from Jacob's Well, in contrast to the numerous co-ordinated clauses linked by 'and' in the version from An Alphabet of Tales, also contributes to the effectiveness of the description.

Rhythmical patterning with its blend of recurrence and variety is a much more significant feature of the author's style when he is dealing with doctrinal

exposition and exhortation and is considered more fully in the next chapter, but even in the narrative sections there are passages where there is effective use of this feature, often combined with syntactical, lexical, and other forms of phonological patterning. The following passage has already been quoted in illustration of the author's use of short simple sentences, but it also illustrates his use of rhythmical prose:

> sche wyssche here dysscheś, & scouryd here pottys, sche turnyd here spyttes, sche lay in the kechyn nyght & day, sche sate neuere at borde, but eete of here trenchourys & of here broke mete that was most abiecte. (p. 81, ll. 7-11)

Comparison with the corresponding passage in An Alphabet of Tales (in both works Heraclides is cited as the source) shows that, whilst there is some resemblance between some of the patterns ('wyssche here dysscheś' and 'wasshid dysshis'), the version in Jacob's Well is more rhythmically effective in suggesting the monotony of the nun's life (the omission of linking conjunctions and the presence of assonance contribute to this effect) without a corresponding monotony of style. There is a pattern of recurrence ('scouryd here pottys', 'turnyd here spyttes') and variation ('wyssche here dysscheś', 'lay in the kechyn nyght & day'). The style of the passage in An Alphabet of Tales, in spite of some alliteration, is less patterned:

> So sho passid neuer the kichyn, bod bade ther, & wasshid dysshis & skowrid pottys, and did all maner of fowle labur. And sho satt neuer at meatt, bod held hur selfe content with crombys & crustis that war lefte at the burd. (p. 223, ll. 20-24)

In the story of 'The Quarrelsome Gambler' we meet the player who rebuked his opponent for his malicious cursing, and who himself 'kepte equite in herte, tunge, & dede':

> he euenyd his herte fro malyce, & his tunge fro angry woordys, & his dedys fro wreche, & seyde to his felawe euenly: (p. 100, 11. 16-18)

This seems to be an added embellishment by the author of Jacob's Well, since in An Alphabet of Tales (both cite Cesarius as the source) we have simply:

> And the toder, when he hard hym flite with God & speke grete wurdis, flate with hym agayn & bad hym hold his tong. (p. 83, 11. 23-25)

In the following example, rhythmical patterning is combined with lexical and syntactic patterning to produce antithesis:

> a knyght was in Inglonde, noble & worthy in armys, but he was wykkyd & cursyd in werkys. (p. 225, 11. 12-14)

Alliteration (/w/) and homoeoteleuton ('-ys', '-yd') also contribute to the effectiveness of the utterance.

Until more research has been done on the possible sources of the stories to be found in Jacob's Well,[1] it is impossible to be certain to what extent the author was indebted to his sources for some of the stylistic features (as distinct from content) discussed and illustrated in the preceding pages, and to what extent he was a stylist, conscious of the stylistic significance of some of these features, but what evidence there is leads one to conclude that his usual practice was to modify the style of his originals to suit his own purpose, and

[1] The Alphabetum Narrationum has never been printed; there are more than fifty extant manuscripts. For her study, Dr Gregg made use of MS Harl. 268, but for her references to Cesarius, she used the translation of C. Bland & H. Scott (London, 1929), not the Latin original.

that the significant features of his narrative style illustrated above were not, on the whole, derived from his immediate sources.

With this in mind, the story of the 'Angels and Fiends contending for the Rich Man's Soul' (Chapter xx) deserves special attention. It contains a lengthy passage of verse, written as prose in the manuscript. The passage consists mainly of a series of rhyming couplets. The pattern seems to be as follows: two four-line stanzas, each containing two rhyming couplets; a rhyming couplet; three four-line stanzas rhyming aaaa/ bbbb/cccc/; possibly two stanzas, the first split between two speakers, with the rhyme scheme aaabccb/ dddefffe. Whether the translator's source on this occasion was the Dialogus Miraculorum of Cesarius (as the author himself claims) or the Alphabetum Narrationum (as Dr Gregg suggests)[1] is of little importance,[2] since both of them contain in dialogue form the Latin quotations from Psalm 35. 2-8, which are the inspiration for the author's rhyming couplets.[3] The verses are particularly interesting because they show the translator at work. There is, of course, the possibility that the author of Jacob's Well was not himself the versifier,

[1] Traditio, 33, p. 370.

[2] However, it is interesting to note that both the Alphabetum Narrationum and Jacob's Well have 'Dixit iniustus' in verse 2, whereas Cesarius has 'Dixit insipiens', but for verse 8 Cesarius and Jacob's Well agree in the reading 'sperabunt', whereas the Alphabetum Narrationum and An Alphabet of Tales have 'superabunt'. Both Hebrew and Gallican Psalters read 'sperabunt'. See Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. J. Strange (repub. New Jersey, 1966), vol. I, p. 105; Alphabetum Narrationum, MS Harl. 268, fol. 193; An Alphabet of Tales, pp. 503-4.

[3] The author of An Alphabet of Tales does not translate the Latin verses of the psalm.

Addendum, p. 190

Mary E. Barnicle in an article on 'The Exemplum of the Penitent Usurer' (PMLA, 33 (1918), 409-28) draws attention to three other fifteenth-century manuscripts containing Latin versions of the story, all with verse translations, in their respective dialects, of the relevant verses of Psalm 35. All four seem to be independent translations of the original, and the version in Jacob's Well differs considerably from the others. She notes, in particular, that the author of Jacob's Well, in expanding the original, has turned most of the verses into double couplets, whereas single couplets are used in the three other ME versions. See also S. Wenzel, 'Unrecorded ME Verses', Anglia, 92 (1974), 55-78 (p. 72).

and was making use of an established English verse translation, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary, there seems to be no reason to assume that he was not the translator and versifier. He translates freely and expands his original source-material. He deviates from the normal order of components within a clause, not in slavish imitation of the Latin of the original, but to satisfy the requirements of rhyme and rhythm, and to give added emphasis to certain words in the dialogue. He also introduces stock formulaic expressions in the form of co-ordinated pairs of words. Thus, '"Dixit iniustus vt delinquat in semetipso; non est timor dei ante oculos eius"' becomes:

> 'This synnere in him-self he sayde
> that he schulde synne, noght euyll apayde.
> Goddys dreed, a-forn his eyghe syght,
> had he neuere, day ne nyght.'
> (p. 139, 11. 7-10)

The Subject 'timor dei' of the original Latin becomes the Complement and occupies the emphatic initial position in the line. The negative of the original is given greater emphasis through the use of 'neuere' and the additional adverbial tag 'day ne nyght'. There is a similar supplementary adverbial tag — 'erly & late' — to conclude the fourth couplet (1. 18), and the additional Complement, 'to more ne lesse', rounds off the fifth couplet (1. 23). The Latin '"astitit omni vie non bone, maliciam autem non odiuit"' is freely translated as follows in the seventh couplet:

> 'Wyckyd waye hatyd he nought,
> Malyce & synne euere he sought.'
> (p. 139, 11. 29-30)

The order of Complement and Predicator is reversed in both clauses (whereas in only one of the Latin clauses does the Complement precede the Predicator), and

'maliciam' is expanded into 'Wyckyd ways', 'Malyce & synne', more or less in apposition to each other. 'Malyce & synne' is another example of the customary doublet (for which there is no authority in the original), one word being Latin (or French) in origin and the other English. In a later verse, the single Latin verb 'saluabis' is represented by the following co-ordinated pair of verbs: 'sauyst, and bryngyst to reste' (p. 140, l. 18). In the following couplet, the active voice of the verb in the Latin version ('quemadmodum multiplicasti misericordiam tuam') is changed into the passive, and the introduction of the adverb 'Euyr' (not in the original) in a key initial position gives added emphasis to the extent of God's mercy. Moreover, there is the additional sound patterning of alliteration:

> 'Euyr thi mercy meste
> to man is multiplyed!' (p. 140, ll. 19-20)

A further indication of the author's independent treatment of his source-material comes at the end of the sermon, where he puts into verse not only the quotation from the psalm, but also the final message of the angels, though he departs to some extent from the pattern of rhyming couplets. Cesarius reads as follows:

> Cumque quartus subiunxisset: 'Filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt'; simul in hanc vocem eruperunt: Quia Deus iustus est, et scriptura solvi non potest, filius hic hominis noster est, ad Dominum confugit, ad Dominum ibit, quia sub tegmine alarum illius speravit. Inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius, qui se lacrimis contritionis inebriavit; et torrente voluptatis suae potabit eum: quoniam apud ipsum est fons vitae; et in lumine eius videbit lumen.
> (ed. J. Strange, vol. I, p. 105, ll. 22-29)

Here is the corresponding version in Jacob's Well:

> The ferthe aungyl seyde:

'"ffilij autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt."

> The chylderyn of mannys gettyng
> vnder thi weengys, god, wrying,
> In hope schul be gyed!
> of mannys getyng this deed man is;
> thowgh he dede in erthe amys,
> vnder wengys of mercy wryed he is,
> & curyd wyth goddys grace!
> In this synfull wyght
> haue ye no ryght,
> therfore hens slyght
> ffendys ye pace!' (p. 140, 11. 21-33)

In the English translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum, as in the Latin original, the final message of the angels is delivered in prose:

> And than the iiij spak & sayd; '"Filij autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum superabunt."' And than thai all cryed samen & sayd; 'this man is owrs, for he fled vnto allmyghti God and thedur sall he go; ffor he trustid to be vndernethe the coveryng of His wengis.'
> (p. 503, 1. 31 - p. 504, 1. 3)

Comparison with the translation of the same psalm in the Surtees Psalter (extant in three northern manuscripts) shows the superior nature of the version in Jacob's Well. Here is the Surtees Psalter version of the verse 'Dixit iniustus vt ... ':

> The vnrightwis saide with tunge hisse,
> That in his-selfe noght gilte misse;
> Noght es drede of god to be
> Bifor his eghen for to se. (1)

It is in the same story that the author of Jacob's Well adds a colloquial touch to the Abbot's words by

[1] ed. C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers (London, 1896), vol. II, p. 166.

introducing the proverbial expression 'To robbe Petyr, & yeue it Poule' as the Subject of one of the Abbot's utterances. The expression was already well established, but there is no authority for it in either Cesarius or the Alphabetum Narrationum.[1] Indeed, the whole of the Abbot's speech, in which he warns that masses and the prayers of priests are of no avail to save a man's soul unless he makes proper restitution, seems to be an addition made by the author of Jacob's Well. In the Alphabetum Narrationum and in An Alphabet of Tales the Abbot makes no speech at all; in the latter we are told simply that he 'grauntid therto' (p. 503, l. 7). In the Dialogus Miraculorum the Abbot consults the Bishop and then tells the man, 'Ego deliberavi, ut bona tua suscipiam, et pro peccatis tuis Deo spondeam' (vol. I, p. 104, ll. 21-22). This is one example of the author's practice of adding to the original words spoken by a character some homiletic remarks of his own, addressed ostensibly to the other character in the conversation, but also probably intended for his own congregation.

Short simple sentences do occur in Latin versions of the exemplary stories, but most of the examples from Jacob's Well quoted earlier in this chapter seem to have resulted from the author's own adaptation, for stylistic reasons, of longer periods in the original Latin. Attention has already been drawn to the effective simple sentence, 'the widewe wepte', in the story of 'The Steward of King Philip of France'. In Cesarius (to whom the author attributes the story) the corresponding passage is:

[1] The expression occurs on at least two other occasions in Jacob's Well: p. 175, l. 32 - p. 176, l. 1, and p. 305, ll. 15-16. In the latter case, he explains its meaning at some length.

> Tunc illa amplius turbata, cum Regi clamosis fletibus nimis esset importuna, Rex testes vocari iussit. (vol. I, p. 376, ll. 15-17)

The Alphabetum Narrationum has 'Tunc amplius dolens regem gemitibus et clamoribus interpellabat' (MS Harl. 268, fol. 193^{v}), and the version in An Alphabet of Tales reads as follows:

> And than this wedow made more sorow than she did afor, and sho come agayn vnto the kyng and made a grete crying & a besekyng vnto hym to helpe hur. (p. 505, ll. 10-12)

Again, it was noted that the story of 'The Body of the Sweetheart used as a Remedy against Temptation' has the dramatic simple sentence 'sche dyed', but neither the Vitae Patrum, which the author cites as the source of the story, nor the Alphabetum Narrationum has such a sentence; nor do they have the delightful post-modifying non-finite clause 'smellyng swete onde & breth in kyssyng of a womman' (p. 219, ll. 3-4), though both give longer versions of the story. The fullest version occurs in the Vitae Patrum:

> Erat quidam frater in eremo Scythiae promptus et alacer in opus Dei, et spiritali conversatione. Huic autem inimicus generis humani diabolus immisit cogitationes, ut recordaretur cujusdam notae sibi mulieris pulchritudinem, et conturbaretur in cogitationibus suis vehementer. Contigit autem, ex dispensatione Domini Jesu, ut alius quidam frater de Aegypto veniret ad visitandum eum in charitate Christi. Et dum inter se loquebantur, evenit sermo ut diceret ille frater de Aegypto: Quia mortua est illa mulier. Ipsa autem erat, in cujus amore impugnabatur supradictus frater. Haec cum audisset ille, post paucos dies abiit ad locum illum ubi positum erat corpus illius defunctae mulieris, et aperuit noctu sepulcrum ejus, et cum pallio suo tersit saniem putredinis ejus, et reversus est ad cellulam suam, ponebatque fetorem in conspectu suo, et dicebat cogitationibus suis ....
>
> (Migne, Patr. Lat., LXXIII, col. 344)

The version in the Alphabetum Narrationum is shorter than this, but here also it is through another friar ('quidam alius frater') that the friar learns that the woman ('illa mulier') has died (fol. 78^{v}). An Alphabet of Tales has the following translation:

> We rede in 'Vitis Patrum' how ther was a bruther that gretelie was turment with mynd of a womman that he saw som tyme. So on a tyme a noder bruther of his come & tolde hym at sho was dead; and on the nyght after he come ther, he hard tell sho was berid, & he grufe down vnto hur & beheld the fayr clothe at sho was wappid in, and he tuke hur vp & had hur vnto his cell. And a litle while after sho began to stynke.
>
> (p. 93, 11. 6-12)

A comparison of other stylistic features reveals similar differences. For example, there is no equivalent doublet for 'wo & trauayle' — '"what wo & trauayle woldyst thou suffre to com ayen to heuen, yif thou myghtyst?"' (p. 31, 11. 6-7) — in the Dialogus Miraculorum, where the parallel passage reads as follows:

> Dic, diabole, si posses ad gloriam in qua fuisti redire, quid velles propter hoc laboris sustinere?
>
> (vol. I, p. 289, 11. 30-32)

The Alphabetum Narrationum has a similar reading — '"quid velles laboris sustinere?"' — and An Alphabet of Tales makes no mention of either 'wo' or 'trauayle':

> 'Tell me, thou fend, if thou may com agayn vnto the blis at thou hase loste; and if thou might, what wold thou do therfor?' (p. 177, 11. 15-16)

Again, in another story, whereas the Alphabetum Narrationum has the reading '"ego sum," inquit, "infelix ille"' (fol. 113^{r}) and An Alphabet of Tales '"I am grevouslye turment"' (p. 202, 1. 21), Jacob's Well has '"I suffere peyne & sorwe ynow"' (p. 203, 11. 17-18). In the story

of 'The Gardener cured of Avarice', the question '"Ubi sunt nummi quos collegisti?"' of both the Vitae Patrum (Patr. Lat., LXXIII, col. 892) and the Alphabetum Narrationum (fol. 68^{r}) appears in Jacob's Well as '"Where are now alle thi pense & thi noblys that thou gadredyst?"' (p. 125, ll. 25-26). There is no such doublet in An Alphabet of Tales, which simply has: '"Whar is now the money att thou gaderd samen to liff with in thine elde?"' (p. 64, ll. 20-21). Elsewhere, in the story of 'The Usurer devoured by Frogs', the clause '"As I in raueyn haue pelyd, vexid, & turmentyd, pore & ryche"', with its sequence of near-synonymous verbs and the stock doublet of 'pore & ryche' (p. 209, ll. 17-18), has no parallel in the corresponding stories in either Cesarius (vol. I, p. 106) or the Alphabetum Narrationum (fol. 199^{r}); it is part of a speech of some forty words addressed by the usurer to the priest which does not occur in the other versions and was presumably added by the author of Jacob's Well. It is in the same story that the author introduces the following brief interchange between the priest and the usurer, whereas the other versions give reported speech with no indication of any difference of opinion between the two participants:

> The preest seyde, 'nay', but bad hym restore it to the ownerys. the man seyde, 'nay.'
> (p. 209, ll. 8-9)

However, it may be that when the original Latin syntax afforded some stylistic advantage, he was not averse to retaining it, at least in part. Thus in an example already quoted earlier in the chapter - '"all my good I yeue the & to thin hows"' — there is a reversal of the normal order of clause elements, which gives prominence to the Complement as in the original Latin versions, though the Subject and Predicator are advanced to a more normal English position. In the Dialogus Miraculorum the corresponding sentence is: '"omnia bona

mea, tam mobilia quam immobilia, potestati vestrae subiiciam"' (vol. I, p. 104). There is no such reversal in An Alphabet of Tales, where consequently there is less emphasis on the greatness of the sacrifice:

> 'I will giff vnto you all that evur I hafe at do with, what at you plesis.' (p. 503, 11. 6-7)[1]

Earlier in this chapter, reference was made to one or two cases where the syntactic structures seem particularly clumsy and abnormal for early fifteenth-century English. One is tempted to assume, as Brandeis does, that on these occasions the author, perhaps through lack of interest in the particular story, did not take the trouble to translate freely, but copied the Latin slavishly. The opening sentence of the story of 'The Conversion of Peter, the Hard-hearted Toller' seems to offer a good example of this:

> Ex legenda Iohannis theolonarij. there was a tollere clepyd Perys, wondyr-ryche, to the pore vnmercyfull, non almes yeuynge, but the pore dyspysing, & hem betyng or cacchyng out at his gatys, wyth his doggys. (p. 192, 11. 5-8)

The corresponding passage in An Alphabet of Tales is in much more acceptable English:

> Iohannes Elemosinarius tellis how ther was a riche tol-gadurer that hyght Peirs, & he luffid no pure men nor wold giff thaim none almos; & when thai come to his howse he wold shute thaim oute, & giff thaim noght. (p. 203, 11. 19-22)

The story is a well-known medieval exemplum. Brandeis asserts that the authority in Jacob's Well (and presumably

[1] Cf. MS Harl. 268, fol. 193^{r}: '"mea omnia quae habeo vobis tradam"'.

in the Alphabetum Narrationum) is 'curiously misquoted' and that the story has been derived from the 'Vita Sancti Ioannis Eleemosynarii' in the Vitae Patrum (fn. 1, p. 192). However, if it was derived from the Vitae Patrum, it would seem that the Jacob's Well version is more Latinised than the original, and that slavish copying of the original Latin is not the real explanation of the structure, since in the Vitae Patrum we have simply:

> Permanebam enim, ait, cum quodam teloneario, divite vehementer et immisericordi. Semel ergo pauperibus in hieme sedentibus ad solem, seque calefacientibus, coeperunt singuli domos eleemosynatorum collaudare, et pro eis orare per singulos eorum, similiter et domos eleemosynam non facientium vituperare.
> (Patr. Lat., LXXIII, col. 356)[1]

Whatever the reason for this particular occurrence of non-English syntax, syntactic structures of this nature, without any apparent stylistic gain, are not typical of the story-telling of the author of Jacob's Well. An example of his more usual freer handling of the original Latin is to be found in his two versions of the story of 'The Devil writing Idle Words on a Scroll'. Both provide evidence of some (though not all) of the stylistic features discussed and exemplified earlier in this chapter, and both present the story in good readable and speakable English, but they are not identical in style. They both also provide a good example of the way in which the author integrates his stories into the main body of the sermon and involves the congregation. He introduces the first version by relating the devil's activities to his own congregation:

[1] See also the version in the Alphabetum Narrationum, MS Harl. 268, fol. 113^{v}, which likewise does not seem to have been the source of the Latinised structures. The mention of dogs seems to be peculiar to Jacob's Well.

> Fforsothe, thanne I trowe the feend hath a gret sacche full of youre ydell woordys, that ye iangelyn in cherche in slowthe. (p. 115, ll. 6-7)

In the second version he gives the reason for the devil's extension of the scroll, not as part of the story (as in the first version), but as part of a rebuke and admonition to his own congregation. The first version is used to illustrate 'Accidia':

> Ffor this same clerk [Jacobus de vitriaco] seyth that the deuyl in a cherche wrote the woordys of the peple, whiche thei iangledyn & rownedyn in cherch, & whan his scrowe was to lytel, he drewe it out, wyth his teeth, broddere; and in his drawyng he smote his heuyd ayens the walle. An holy man seygh this, & askyd the feend why he dyde so. the feend seyde: 'I wryte thise talys of the peple in this cherche, to recordyn hem a-fore god at the doom for here dampnacyoun, and my book is to narwe to wryten on alle here talys; thei say so manye. therfore I drawe it out braddere, that none of here talys schulde be vnwretyn.'
> (p. 115, ll. 8-17)

The second version occurs in the sermon 'De vanis cogitacionibus, verbis & operibus':

> Jacobus de Vitriaco seyth that a feend in a cherch wrote ydell woordys, & iangelynges, & rownynges, & whanne his rolle was ful wretyn he sette on his teeth to drawe out his rolle largere & breddere, that he myghte wryte theron more. as he drewe wyth his teeth on the rolle hys heued smote ayens the wall. An holy man seygh him, & seyde: 'what doost thou feend?' the feend seyde: 'I wryte rownynges & talys spokyn in this cherche.'
>
> I trowe the feend hath nede to drawe lengere & braddere his rolle here; for it is ellys to lytel to wryten on alle the talys tolde in this cherch, for it is neuere lefte, but it be at sacre, for prechyng, ne schryfte, ne schame, ne dreed of god ne of the world. but they amendyn hem, thei schull be perysched both body & soule!
> (p. 232, ll. 7-20)

If the Alphabetum Narrationum was the true source of

this story in Jacob's Well, it is interesting to note that 'verba ociosa que ibi dicebantur' of the original (MS Harl. 268, fol. 163^{r}) is represented by the much more emphatic and colourful 'woordys ... whiche thei iangledyn & rownedyn' or 'ydell woordys, & iangelynges, & rownynges' in Jacob's Well. Moreover, instead of the brief reported speech in the Alphabetum Narrationum, there is a fuller conversation in direct speech between the holy man and the devil. The version in An Alphabet of Tales lacks the co-ordinated verbs, adverbs, and nouns of the versions in Jacob's Well and retains the reported speech of the original. Furthermore, the author erroneously translates 'dicebantur' as 'was wretten' (unless it is a scribal error), and so the moral of the story is lost. The story is classified as number DLXXXI and appears under the heading 'Ociosa verba precipue in ecclesia non sunt dicenda':

> Iacobus de Vetriaco tellis at the devull wrate in a kurk all maner ydul wurdis that was wretten ther, and when he had not parchement enogh to write on he drew it oute with his tethe & his handis, & he drew so faste at he rappid his head agayn the wall. And ther was a holie man at saw hym, and he askid hym what he did, and he tolde hym all that is befor said. (p. 388, ll. 14-20)

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Language of Doctrine: Exposition, Exhortation, and Denunciation

Attention must now be directed to the rest (i.e. the bulk) of the work, where the author is engaged in presenting the doctrinal matter, and where his style has to serve the functions of exposition, illustration, argument, moralisation, exhortation, and condemnation. As already noted, it is in these sections of the work that the allegorical pattern is unfolded and that most of the supplementary figurative imagery is to be found. It is here also that the author's style is most varied and most noticeable for significant features at all three levels and particularly for those multi-level features which cannot be explained by reference to one level only. Phonological features are much more in evidence than in the legal and narrative sections, and there is greater use of rhythmical prose. These significant features are to be found especially in the passages of exhortation and denunciation, which have no analogues in other versions of the Somme/Miroir.

There is a general pattern of explanation and recapitulation at the beginning of each sermon, and exhortation and assurance at the end, as in Chapter xv:

> The other day, I tolde you of the wose of wratthe & of his braunchys, & yit, this day, I schal telle you more of wratthe. (p. 97, ll. 8-9)
>
> Therfore, castyth out the wose of wretthe, of wreche, & of malyce, & takyth the ground of equyte, that is, euyn beryng in mesure, in sobyrnesse, in pacyens, & in temperure, in all youre aduersyte! & thanne, as the mayde, schul ye in youre ende, wyth aungellys, be takyn to heuen blysse! To whiche blysse & cetera. (p. 102, l. 33 - p. 103, l. 3)

Frequently, however, one function merges into another; a sentence of exhortation or denunciation may be intermingled naturally with a cluster of explanatory sentences, and an illustrative text from the Bible or some other authority (usually translated), or one of the exemplary stories, is often the starting point for a passage of moralisation or exhortation. Thus in the same sermon there is the following passage:

> Seynt gregorie seyth, whan the voys, in wretthe, schewyth out angrely, & that voys brest out in dyspysing thi brother, thanne schalt thou be gylti to haue the excecucyoun of the sentence yeuyn ayens the, that is, the fyre of helle! therfore, foryeue hate out of thin herte, wythoutyn askyng! foryyue thi wretthe in woord & dede, whan thou art askyd! foryeue thi lawefull accyoun, & seke ferst loue, that thou mowe haue double mede in heuen. thus caste oute the wose of wretthe!
>
> (p. 98, 11. 17-24)

The use of the rhetorical device of anaphora (in this case the repetition of 'foryeue'/'foryyue' initially), as will be seen later, is a marked feature of the passages of exhortation. Likewise, in Chapter xxiv explanation and illustration of the distinction between deadly and venial sin are followed by the appropriate exhortation:

> Whan thou kyssyst, halsyst, towchyst, or gropyst, hem that longyn noght to the for delyght & lust in thi-self, or for that ende to steryn hem to thi lust, or for to steryn hem to coueytin the to here lust, thof the dede be noght do, it is dedly synne.
>
> Therfore, caste out of thi pyt of luste this wose of leccherye, wyth alle his circumstaunces in brede & depthe! caste out leccherous thoughtes, wylles, desyres, delyghtes, leccherous woordys, wowynges, leccherous syghtes, leccherous maners, as kyssynges, felynges, dern syngynges, gay aray, nyce chere, leccherous songys of loue paramour, & letterys of loue! & caste out the dede of leccherie.
>
> (p. 163, 1. 29 - p. 164, 1. 6)

The style ranges from wearisome and monotonous cataloguing and listing of examples, with division and sub-division, to lively pictures, whatever the source, of contemporary life; and from simple commands to 'deluyth doun depe' to highly patterned and moving passages of exhortation. Often there is skilful variation in the employment of different sentence types — simple, compound, complex, and mixed — but sometimes the complex and mixed sentences are very intricate in structure and similar to those in the legal style. Occasionally the author seems to forget the structure with which he began an explanation; the syntax becomes disjointed and the style discursive (with possible punctuation problems for an editor), though perhaps to the listener this would not be as apparent as it is to the reader, since other features such as the use of doublets, triplets, and longer sequences render some of these passages particularly effective when read aloud. The following passage is a typical example:

> The thredde fote brede of wose of coueytise is nygardschippe; that is, whanne thou hast ynow, & sparyst it out of resoun nought nedy; &, thowgh ryght harde, & spendyng lytel in good vse, ne hauyng no rewthe ne pyte on the pore, lytell or ryght nought yeuyng to the nedefull for goddys loue, but in wast, in synne, & in euyl vse, spendyng thi good in howsyng, in clothyng, in lustys, in delycacyes, in ryott, in revell, in yyftes, in presentys to hem that han non nede, & to thi kyn, & in superfluite & in excesse of feestys, & in kepyng vytayle so longe tyl it han perysched & lost in stynkyng & rotyng, in sowryng, in mowlyng, or lost wyth mathys, in clothys lost wyth motthys & wyth mys, & in kepyng monye in exces, tyl it be ruste-fretyn, where-wyth manye pore folk myghte a be relyvyd & holpyn. (p. 121, 11. 10-22)

The author is not always so judicious in his use of sequences of words. There are occasions when, perhaps in an earnest desire to be comprehensive and omit nothing of importance, he produces a Complement consisting of a long, monotonous list of words. This is particularly

noticeable in Chapter xlvii, where he is dealing with the sins of the heart, mouth, and of deed. Here he is simply reproducing standard lists of such sins, the like of which can be found in numerous medieval manuals of penitential lore. They occur, for example, in Rolle's The Form of Living and in the Speculum Christiani. The lists in Jacob's Well resemble most closely those to be found in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen of MS Harl. 45, fol. 57 (there are no such lists in Ayenbite of Inwyt and The Book of Vices and Virtues). The description of the sins of the heart, where the Complement extends to twenty-three lines of the EETS edition, is typical:

> The synnes of the herte arn thise: thought, delyght, consentyng, purpos, wyll, desyring, vnfeythfulnesse, slowthe, dulhed, vndeuowtnesse, wanhope, ouerhope, vntrustynge, wrong wenyng, foly loue, dreed, assentyng, foly affeccyoun, veyn gysyng, vayn gessyng, wrong suspeccyoun, wratthe, hate, rankoure, envye, careles dreed, sorwe of otherymennys welfare, ioye of here evyl-fare, ydelnesse of herte wyth-outyn occupacyoun of the loue of god, euyl dreed, euyl loue, errour, fleschly affeccyoun to thi freendys or to othere that thou louyst, dyspyt of pore men & of synfull men, vnconable ioye of ony wordly vanyte, sorwe of losse of wordly catell, wyll to worschipe the ryche for here muk, dowte what is to do, obstynacyoun in euyl doyng, & sorwe that thou dedyst no more evyll, or that thou dedyst noght the lust or the lykyng of thi flesch, there thou myghtist a don; vnstabylnesse of thowght, peyne of penaunce, ypocrysye, leef to plese men for preysynge, dreed for to dysplese for losse of catell, schame of good dede, ioye of euyll dede, syngulere wytt, coueytise of worschipp, of dignyte, or to ben holdyn bettyr than another, or rychere, or fayrere, or be more dred; veyn-glorye of ony godys, of kynde, of hap, or of grace; aschamyd of thi poore freendys, pride of thi ryche kyn, or of thi gentyl kynn, to haue dyspyt of good counseyle, or of good techyng; or dyspyt of byddyng of souereynys, vnrewthe of hem that arn in peyne, mysbeleve in herte. (p. 294, ll. 3-26)

One wonders how much of this a congregation would remember, though even here there are some redeeming stylistic features, such as the use of assonance and alliteration:

> veyn gysyng, vayn gessyng
>
> fleschly affeccyoun to thi freendys
>
> the lust or the lykyng
>
> peyne of penaunce

There is also antithesis:

> leef to plese men for preysynge, dreed for to dysplese for losse of catell, schame of good dede, ioye of euyll dede

The corresponding passage in MS Harl. 45 is an even more monotonous list of words, though there is the balanced rhythm of 'ioye of other mennes woo, sorwe of other mennes wele'.

The role of the simile for illustrative purposes and the stylistic features employed by the author in presenting some of the similes have already been discussed. Mention was also made of the monotony resulting from the repetition of the same syntactic structures in, for example, Chapter xlii:

> thou faryst as an addere .... thou faryst as a dragoun .... thou faryst as a iogoloure .... thou faryst as an hounde ....

In contrast, there are illustrations like the following where in the application of the exemplum there are noticeable stylistic flourishes:

> Whan the deuyl took hym, the man hurte hym-self, & beet his hefd & his body ayens the ground, & fomyd out at his mowth, & grente wyth his teeth, & wexe drye. Ryght so, whanne wretthe & anger touchyth a dyspytous & a malycyous man, he hurtyth & betyth hym-self, wyth heuynes & vnpacyence; he fomyth out of his mowth, crying, dyspysing, chydyng; he grynteth wyth his teeth, malyce & venym coniect-yng; he waxith drye wythoutyn grace, wyth the fyre of wretthe. (p. 99, l. 32 - p. 100, l. 4)

The first part consists of a series of unelaborate clauses relating the events simply, the main clauses being linked together by the conjunction 'and':

> Whan the deuyl took hym, the man (1a) hurt hym-self
> & (1b) beet ... ground
> & (2) fomyd out at his mowth
> & (3) grente wyth his teeth
> & (4) wexe drye.

There is a sharp stylistic division between this and the second part, which is an elaboration of the first part, making use of doublets (verbs, nouns, and adjectives), three successive participial modifiers (creating the sound effect of homoeoteleuton), inversion of the normal order ('malyce & venym coniectyng'), and a restrained use of anaphora:

> whanne <u>wretthe & anger</u> touchyth a <u>dyspytous & a malycyous</u> man,
> (1) he <u>hurtyth & betyth</u> hym-self,
> (i) wyth <u>heuynes & vnpacyence</u>;
> (2) he fomyth out of his mowth,
> (ii) <u>crying, dyspysing, chydyng</u>;
> (3) he grynteth wyth his teeth,
> (iii) <u>malyce & venym</u> coniectyng;
> (4) he waxith drye wythoutyn grace,
> (iv) wyth the fyre of wretthe.

Similar stylistic features are to be found in a later passage in the same chapter, where the author is drawing the moral from the exemplary story that he has just related:

> Ryght so, whan man or womman, on se or on londe, be wrothe & angry wyth wynd or wyth wedyr, wawys or stormys, or wyth ony other thinges that god sendyth ayens here wylle & here lustys, he grucchyn, he cursyn, he sweryn, he defyen, he dyspysen, he chyden ayens goddys sonde. this woodnes, this wretthe is horryble dedly synne & blasphemye, that is, vnworschip & despyt to god.
>
> (p. 100, 11. 27-33)

In these passages of exposition and exemplification, the 'man of craft' is clearly at work.

Even in passages of exhortation there is sometimes monotonous repetition of the same syntactic pattern, as, for example, in the chapter on Equity, where the author is dealing with the seven 'degrees' of his subject:

> In the ferst fote thycke of equyte, se thi-self in thi conscyens wyth-ynne, & ransake on yche syde whiche is good, & whiche is euyl, & ordeyne thin entent after the reward of resoun, so that thi resoun & wyll be ryght on a-corde. In the seconde fote of this grounde equite, Se thi body vnder the, that it be euenly gouernyd in penaunce fro lustys, in mesure, in that hym befallyth, in mesure of clothyng, of etyng, of drynkyng; for the body ask-yth outrage in wyll ayens resoun in mesure of equyte. Se also that thi v. wyttes be gouernyd be equyte in resoun & wyll acordyng, that thei turne fro vyces & vanytees, as the eye to se, the ere to here, the nose to smelle, the mowth to speke, the handys & all the body to fele. thise arn the wyndowys of the body, & the gatys of the soule, thrugh the whiche deth entryth in-to thi soule. In the iij. fote thycke of equyte, se clerly a-fore the, that wordly rychesse dysseyuyth the, & stroyeth thi soule, but equyte in resoun & wyll be kepte acordynge. In the iiij. fote thycke of equyte, se clerly on thi ryght syde gode lyuerys .... In the v. fote of equyte, se clerly on thi left syde mys-doerys .... haue compassioun of here euyll condyc-youn, and besyly fle here synne .... In the vj. fote thykke of equyte, se clerly be-hynde the. take kepe of the feend, that standyth be-hynde the, & wayteth wyth wyles to wynne the .... In the vij. fote thycke of equyte, se clerly aboue the. haue god be-fore thin eyghe, that the entent of thin herte be clene in alle thi dedys. for wyth-oute ryght entent almes-dede may be synne, & vertuys may be vyces. (p. 273, 1. 32 - p. 274, 1. 27)

In spite of the monotony, it is worth noting that the author, whilst reproducing in detail doctrinal matter to be found in the Somme/Miroir group, has fitted it into his allegorical framework and has converted the third-person statements of the original into part exposition and part exhortation, uninspiring though it may be. Moreover, there are one or two interesting stylistic features such as the effective use of isocolon: 'the wyndowys of the body, & the gatys of the soule'; 'almes-dede may be synne, & vertuys may be vyces'. Comparison with other versions reveals that the 'man of craft' has apparently been at work again. A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, for example, has the following versions:

> These beeth the gates and wyndowes of the body by whiche the deth may entre in to the soule but thei be wel kept. (MS Harl. 45, fol. 49^{r})
>
> ffor withoute rightfull entencioun holy werkes of mercy as almesdede & othre may be synne and vertu vice. (fol. 49^{v})

In the Speculum Vitae there are the following corresponding statements:

> Theise are the yates of the soule namely
> Ande the wyndowes of hys body.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 56^{v})
>
> Ffor withoutene ryght entencyon
> Os knowes clerkes of discrecion,
> Almes-dede synne may ofte be,
> Ande vertuevice os we may ofte se. (fol. 57^{v})

The ultimate original source of 'the wyndowys of the body' is probably Jeremiah, 9. 21.

Probably the most highly patterned sermon in respect of variety of function and style is Chapter xxxiv, where the subject-matter is the five 'watyr-gatys of oure pytt', that is, the five senses. The sermon opens with

the preacher addressing his audience as 'Freendys' and then giving a fuller recapitulation than usual of matters already dealt with, followed by a two-sentence exhortation:

> Therfore, wyth the scope of penaunce caste out clene the watyr of the grete curse! & wyth the skete of contrycyoun, wyth the scauel of confessioun, and wyth the schouyll of satysfaccyoun, caste out clene the wose of dedly synne! (p. 216, 11. 20-24)

Both sentences are simple in structure. In both cases the Adjunct, consisting of one or more prepositional phrases, occupies the emphatic initial position, and the use of repetition in the form of anaphora and alliteration adds to the effectiveness of the exhortation. The author then proceeds to outline the topic for the day, making use of syntactic structures which include the device of isocolon ('the watyr of curse & the depe wose of synne', 1. 26) and a pair of adjectives used predicatively ('opyn & vnstoppyd', 1. 28). He concludes his introduction by explaining quite simply the significance of the imagery:

> Therfore, the v. watyr-gatys of youre pytt arn youre v. bodyly wyttes, as crisostom seyth, super Mat. in imperfecto, omilia xxxiiij. the v. entrees of thi body arn these: to se, to here, to swelewe, to smelle, to fele. thise ben the v. watyr-gatys, the fyve entrees wherby watyr of curse & wose of synne entryn ayen in-to thi pytt of lustys, but thei be stoppyd. Jere, 'Mors intrauit per fenestras vestras.' (p. 217, 11. 2-8)

Then each of the five water-gates is dealt with in turn in accordance with the same pattern. First there is a simple sentence of explanation:

> the first watyr-gate is thi syghte. (p. 217, 1.9)

> the secunde watyr-gate of thi pytt is thin heryng. (p. 217, 1. 25)

> the iij. gate of thi pytt is tastyng or swelwyng.
> (p. 218, l. 7)
>
> the iiij. watyr-gate of thi pytt is smellyng.
> (p. 218, l. 16)

Two brief stories illustrating features of 'smelling', accompanied by appropriate exhortation and moralisation, intervene before the author introduces the fifth water-gate, but the introduction is in the same manner:

> the v. watyr-gate of thi pytt is thi felyng.
> (p. 219, l. 16)

In each case, after the introductory simple sentence, there is an explanatory complex sentence of the 'whanne ... thanne' type with reversal of Subject and Predicator after 'thanne':

> Whanne thou openyst thin erys to here flateris, or lyerys, bacbyterys, or rybaudye, or othere suche woordys of dyshoneste, thanne be the gate of thin erys entryth ayen in-to thi pytt the watyr & the wose of wyckydnes. (p. 217, ll. 25-29)
>
> Whanne thou felyst or towchyst wyth mowth in kyssyng, wyth hand in gropyng, & wyth ony membre of thi body in towchyng that steryn the to synne & luste, thanne entreth be the gate of thi felyng in-to thi pytt the watyr & wose of wykkydnesse.
> (p. 219, ll. 16-20)

In these explanatory sentences there are various kinds of co-ordinate structures and some use of stylistic repetition:

> When thou openyst thin eyghne to se vanytes, iapys, or wommen, for synne, or othere dyshonest membrys to stere the to synne, or to se othere thynges to stere the to lustys, to coueytise, or to othere vyces; thanne mayst thou say thus: myn eyghe has robbyd my soule of his lyif with watyr of lustys.
> (p. 217, ll. 9-14)
>
> Whanne thou hast gret delyght to smellyn dyshoneste in leccherye & synne, to stere the the more to

> euyll, or to smelle swete herbys, swete spyces, or othere suche swete thynges, for that entent to stere the to lustys & to vyces of the flesch, thanne entryth be that watyr-gate of thi smellyng watyr & wose of synne into thi pytt ayen.
> (p. 218, 11. 16-21)

As elsewhere in Jacob's Well, the co-ordinate structures are sometimes in the form of doublets — nouns, verbs, adjectives, and prepositional phrases: 'tastyng or swelwyng', 'tastyst & swelwyst', 'felyst or towchyst', 'in excesse & in wast', 'swete & delycate'.

The explanation is followed in each case by exhortation and assurance, supported (with the exception of the exhortation on smelling, which has the support instead of two brief exemplary stories) by reference to the authority of Abuile (Abbeville). Here again there are doublets and other co-ordinate structures, often with few linking conjunctions (resulting in a suggestion of urgency and vehemence), and effective use of repetition at all three levels:

> Therfore stoppe this gate of thin erys fro the feend & fro synne, & open it to god, to heryn his woord, to heryn his seruyse, to heryn the voys of the poore, to heryn goodnesse! (p. 217, 11. 29-31)

> Therfore schette, spere, stoppe, this gate to the feend, and open it to god, wyth abstynence fro delycacyes & fro exces, wyth harde metys & drynkes!
> (p. 218, 11. 11-13)

> Therfore spere, schette, & stoppe, this watyr-gate of thi felyng, secundum Abuyle, wyth scharpe hayre next thi body nakyd, both lyggyng & goyng, and that schal stoppyn out of the pytt of thi flesch the watyr of lustys & the wose of synne!
> (p. 219, 11. 20-24)

The use of anaphora in the exhortation to shut one's eyes to vanity and see the works of God is particularly effective:

> Spere thi syght fro vanytees & fro the feend, & opene this gate of thin eyghe to god, & se his wonderfull werkys! se folke dye, se the sacrament of the awtere, se goodnes that may stere the to heuynes of sorwe, and all this schal stoppe the gate of thi syght, that watyr of wyckydnes & wose of synne schal noght entryn to thi soule bi thin eyghe. (p. 217, 11. 17-22)

The exhortation to the listener not to delight in sweet odours, but to think of the vileness and foulness of the flesh, is rendered more stirring with its suggestion of audience participation through the use of rhetorical question and answer:

> Therfore stoppe the gate of thi nase in thynkynge how foul thou were in thi concepcyoun and in thi berthe! what art thou in thi flesch? stynche & dunge! what schalt thou be in thi graue? stynkynge frowdys-mete! wyth this stynche, stoppe smellyng of thi nase! (p. 218, 11. 21-25)

In the passage of exhortation after the two illustrative stories concerning sweet and foul smells, there are further instances of grammatical, lexical, and rhythmical patterning in the two cases of antithesis and in the repetition of the verb 'to be' in its past, present, and future tenses:

> Ryght so, smelle thou what cometh of the, stynche & fylthe. the swettere mete & drynke thou vsest, the foulere stynche comyth fro the. Ryght so, the more delyght thou hast to smellyn swete thynges, the more stynkyng watyr & wose of synne entryth in-to thi pytt. Smelle how stynkyng thou art, thou were, & thou schalt be, and thanne stoppyst thou out the watyr of lustys fro thi smellyng! (p. 219, 11. 9-15)

He integrates a number of these stylistic features in his final emotive and prophetic exhortation and assurance in conclusion of the sermon:

> Therfore, stoppe thi v. watergatys of thi pytt, that is, the v. wyttes of thi body, wyth gostly dreed & heuynes, & thanne schal the v. cytees in egypt, that is, the v. wyttes in thin erthely body, spekyn wyth a chaungyd tunge! thei schal be chaunged in-to an-other langage, thei schal be chaungyd fro wycked to good, fro fylthe to clennes, fro synne to grace! 'hec mutacio dextere excelsi.' thanne schal watyr & wose of lustys & synne be schett out of thi pytt, thanne schal thi pytt be clene & full of grace in body & soule, and in the ende of the world full of ioye!
> (p. 222, 11. 4-13)

This is one of the few occasions when the author departs from his normal practice of using the plural form of address in a final exhortation. For full appreciation the passage needs to be read aloud. It is analysed in more detail later.

The apt use of a simple sentence of the declarative type as practised in Chapter xxxiv is typical of the author's practice in other chapters when he is engaged in the exposition of doctrinal matter, the main function of such sentences often being to act as a general introduction or summary conclusion to a longer, more detailed passage of explanation or illustration. These sentences usually begin with the demonstrative 'this' or 'thise', sometimes pre-modified by 'all'. The following are typical:

General Introduction

> this wose of coueytise is thre sqware.
> (p. 119, 1. 18)

> On this braunche hange v. levys.
> (p. 150, 11. 29-30)

> this howe is pees. (p. 266, 1. 1)

Summary Conclusion

> All this thre square of this wose in coueytise arn rote of all wyckydnes. (p. 119, 11. 29-30)

> All this is raueyne. (p. 129, 1. 19)

All this is wykkydnesse of mawmetrie.
(p. 132, 11. 1-2)

At other times the simple sentence is used effectively to convey a succinct comment, sometimes proverbial in character, on human nature and behaviour, as in the following:

Slewthe hynderyth mannys soule. (p. 110, 1. 13)

thei delyghte in the lust of the flesch.
(p. 144, 1. 20)

after dysdeyn comyth myssaying & werying.
(p. 154, 1. 20)

Mercy is contrarye to envie. (p. 248, 1. 25)

In some of these cases, a Latin source is quoted:

'Impudici cordis impudicus oculus est nuncius.' the leccherous eyghe is the signe of an vnclene herte. (p. 158, 11. 22-24)

prouer. xvj. 'Sermo purus pulcherimus est.' Clene speche is euermore fayrest.
(p. 234, 11. 15-16)

Simple sentences play their part also in the more emotive sections of the sermons. Like other sentences in these sections, they are used to convey commands, exhortations, assurances, and dire warnings. Some of them are very brief, consisting mainly of one verbal group (imperative) followed by one nominal group, with little, if any, pre- or post-modification, acting as Complement. Although in their context they may be effective as a result of providing contrast to more lengthy and intricate neighbouring sentences, thus creating stylistic variety and drawing attention to themselves, they contain in themselves no significant stylistic devices. Of this type are the following:

takyth exaumple of hym! (p. 208, 1. 32)

> Markyth this tale! (p. 226, l. 27)
>
> therfore god schal distroye the in thin ende. (p. 234, ll. 24-25)
>
> therfore, castyth out this wose fro the pytt of youre body! (p. 146, ll. 7-8)

These simple sentences are most emphatic and effective in suggesting urgency and strong emotion when they appear in series, sometimes as part of larger clusters containing also compound, complex, or mixed sentences, though once again it is not always easy to determine whether a structure should be regarded as a series of simple sentences or as a number of co-ordinate clauses within a larger structure, and one can only hazard a guess at the extent of duration of pause that a preacher or reader of the sermons might make at various points. The passage quoted below contains an effective cluster of simple sentences of this kind, rendered all the more effective through the reversal of the normal clause order in the first sentence and the presence of anaphora in the second and third sentences:

> deuocyoun haue thei non. here speche fayleth. here dreed is go. speke to hem, styrre hem to gode, they schewe no signe of verray repentaunce, but lye stylle as a beste, wyth-oute swetnes & dreed to godwarde & to here soule. Counseyle hem to restore here dettys, here wrongys to the cherch, to the dede, or to the qwyke, that wyl thei noght do. why? for thei haue no grace therto. (p. 175, ll. 24-30)

The cluster of simple sentences is also especially effective because of the context in which it occurs. The three simple sentences are followed by what appears to be a compound sentence of four co-ordinate clauses. In fact, the first two clauses are in the form of imperatives, but are really the equivalent of adverbial clauses of time or condition. The choice of this form

with the omission of the subordinating conjunction ('yif'/'whanne') and of a co-ordinating 'and' results in an impression of vehemence and urgency. Moreover, this is followed by a similar clause structure in the next sentence, but with the achievement of added emphasis through the inversion of normal clause order in one of the clauses ('that wyl thei noght do'). Finally comes a questioning 'why?', inviting audience involvement.

Another passage in which there is effective use of a series of simple sentences is the following, where the author draws the moral from the story that he has just related, and bids his audience be wary of the peril of sin:

> Thou schalt be rostyd and fryed in the fyir of helle! thou schalt drynken reed boylyng metal! thou schalt be lyche the feend! And as a woodman in frenesy forsakyth & dyspyseth his god, so thou, for peyne, schalt in malyce forsake thi baptem, thi fadyr, thi modyr, & al holy cherch, wyth alle here sacramentys! thou schalt forsake thi god, oure lady, & alle seyntys! thou schalt be lyche the feend! thou schalt be drenchyd in the pytt of helle, as the cursyd man Ode was, yif thou be gylty in the grete curs, & deye wyth-oute repentaunce! (p. 11, 11. 13-20)

The repetition of 'thou schalt' as the opening words of each main clause (anaphora) and the repetition of the whole sentence 'thou schalt be lyche the feend!' as a kind of refrain suggest the inevitability of the doom that awaits the sinner. The use of the verbal doublets, 'rostyd and fryed' and 'forsakyth & dyspyseth', serves to emphasise further still the gravity of the sin and the consequent fate. Moreover, there is further reinforcement from auditory patterns such as the /f/ alliteration and the balanced rhythm of the last two clauses ('yif thou be gilty in the grete curs, & deye wyth-oute repentaunce!').

The following passage, in which there is a combination of simple and compound sentences, is one of exhortation rather than dire warning:

> Therfore seyn Poule seyth, Eph. iiij, 'Omnis sermo malus ex ore vestro non procedat.' No wycked woord springe out of youre mowth! scornyth noght, dispyseth noght, bakbyteth noght, werwyth noght, be-schrewyth noght, prayeth for no vengeauns! clepyth othere be no eke-namys! schamyth no man! steryth non other out of here charyte! chydeth noght! counseylyth non harm, ne procuryth, ne comaundyth non harm! this secunde fote depe of wose in wretthe of youre mowth, castyth it out!
> (p. 92, 11. 23-30)

The first sentence, a simple one, makes a general plea and is followed by a compound sentence of six co-ordinate clauses,[1] each giving a specific example of wicked words proceeding from the mouth. The lack of co-ordinating conjunctions (asyndetic parataxis) in the compound sentence is again partly responsible for the impression of urgency which is created, but other devices are also in evidence. The emphatic repetition of 'noght' at the end of five of the clauses is an example of epistrophe; so is the less frequent repetition of 'non harm'. Finally there is the placing of the Complement of the concluding sentence in the emphatic initial position, anticipating the pronoun 'it' in the more normal position.

[1] As punctuated in the EETS edition. They could, of course, be regarded as independent simple sentences. Manuscript punctuation is as follows:

> . scornyth noght. dispyseth noght. bakbyteth noght. werwyth noght. be schrewyth noght. prayeth for no vengeauns. clepyth othere be no eke namys. schamyth no man· steryth non other out of here charyte· chydeth noght. counseylyth non harm· ne procuryth. ne comaundyth non harm· this secunde fote depe of wose in wretthe of youre mowth· castyth it out.‖ (fol. 31^{v}).

Perhaps even more stirring is the following exhortation from the end of Chapter xxx:

> Therfore, ye proude & ferse, & ye ryche wyth fals getyn good, ye thevis & mychers, fals tytherys, raveynerys, extorcyonerys, haly-day werkerys, & iangelerys in dyvyne seruyse, beth sory, beth schreuyn! restoryth! makyth amendys! yerne caste out the wose of youre synne, wyth a skeet of contrycyoun, wyth a scauell of confessioun, wyth a schouyl of satysfaccyoun! or ellys youre ende schal be schamefull dampnacyoun, as ye mowe verryly knowe, yif ye takyn hede to this tale.
> (p. 199, 11. 6-13)

One can almost hear the voice of the preacher at work. He begins rousingly with an extended Vocative consisting of co-ordinate components (including pairs of words, but these are not tautological). Then follows a series of exhortations. In the first two clauses there is the use of anaphora ('beth sory, beth schreuyn'), but then the pattern is varied, so that the one-word clause/sentence 'restoryth' stands out emphatically. In the final sentence, one Adjunct ('yerne') receives emphasis through being placed initially, and a further Adjunct, though occupying the more normal position in the sentence, draws attention to itself through the repetition of three similarly constructed prepositional phrases (isocolon), each one ending with the same sound in the final syllable, '-oun', repeated later in 'dampnacyoun'. These prepositional phrases also neatly bring together the main imagery of the six preceding chapters — two on Contrition, two on Confession, and two on Satisfaction.

The analysis given above is based on the editorial punctuation, but the manuscript punctuation, perhaps showing more clearly how the passage would be spoken, seems to give support to such an analysis:

> ye proude & ferse· & ye ryche wyth fals getyn good· ye thevis & mychers. false tytherys raveynerys extorcyonerys. haly day werkerys & iangelerys in dyvyne seruyse· beth sory· beth schreuyn· restoryth· makyth amendys. yerne caste out the wose of youre synne. wyth a skeet of contrycyoun· wyth a scauell of confessioun· wyth a schouyl of satysfaccyoun· or ellys youre ende schal be schamefull dampnacyoun· as ye mowe verryly knowe yif ye takyn hede to thys tale .... (fol. 64^{r})

As in other sections of Jacob's Well, an Adjunct may occur initially, medially, or finally. Adjuncts occurring initially often have an important cohesive function as well as their normal adverbial one; 'therfore', 'thus', adverbs of time, and prepositional phrases embodying a demonstrative or pronominal of some kind fall into this class. When the Adjuncts have not got this anaphoric function,[1] their initial placing tends to be more significant stylistically and attract more attention, as in the case of 'yerne' above and in clauses such as the following:

> but whanne thou felyst the in dedly synne, spedely & hastely be schreue, & abyde no lengere. (p. 185, ll. 8-9)

> the vij. fote in brede is this: only and princepally truste in god. (p. 245, ll. 10-11)

> lowly kepe his comaundmentys, breke hem noght. (p. 269, l. 1)

> haue compassioun of here euyll condycyoun, and besyly fle here synne, in equyte of reson & of wyll. (p. 274, ll. 19-20)

Examples of this type, as might be expected, are to be found more frequently in the hortatory passages than in the explanatory ones.

[1] 'anaphoric' is used here in the linguistic sense of the use of a word referring to or replacing earlier word(s).

The Complement, too, occasionally occupies the initial position in a clause. Sometimes, especially in the explanatory passages, such a placing of the Complement has an anaphoric or cataphoric function and helps to achieve cohesion within the text, but beyond that it seems to have no further significance. Typical examples are:

> And thre laste fote brede wose in this coueytise I schal telle yow an-other day.
> (p. 132, 11. 11-12)
>
> this ground of ryghtfulnes I schal schewe yow an-other day. (p. 285, 11. 22-23)

Elsewhere, particularly in passages where there is an intermingling of exposition, moralisation, and exhortation, such a placing of the Complement also adds significant emphasis to the exponent of the Complement. Thus we have:

> yif thou haue rancure in herte to hym that doth the wrong, that rancure thou muste foryyue oute of thin herte, thof thou be askyd no foryyfnesse.
> (p. 97, 11. 23-24)
>
> that lyketh wel the feend. (p. 105, 1. 5)
>
> that wyl thei noght do. (p. 175, 1. 29)
>
> Erthely muk thou desyrest and therfore thou spekyst ther-of. (p. 304, 11. 25-26)

This reversal of normal clause order is particularly effective when a comparison or contrast is being made through the use of two parallel clauses, as in the following cases:

> and yit thei do noght so scharpely reddour to ryche men as to pore, for ryche they forbere for mede, & pore men thei greue wrongfully.
> (p. 129, 11. 25-27)
>
> euyl it is to lye, but werse it is to forswere.
> (p. 152, 1. 29)

> Prowde folk god wythstandyth, to folk in lownes he spryngeth his grace. (p. 237, 11. 8-10)
>
> & grete ryche & proude men he toke to hys prisonerys, & smale & pore folk he late go. (p. 239, 11. 11-12)

It is interesting to note that on at least one occasion when the components of the sentence in the Latin original are in the normal English order, the author of Jacob's Well not only substitutes a doublet ('thi gold & thi muk') for the Latin 'aurum', but also alters the order, thus giving prominence to part of the Complement:

> for thi gold & thi muk thou makyst thi god. Ephes. v. 'Auaricia est ydolorum seruitus.' glossa: 'Auarus facit aurum deum suum.' (p. 120, 11. 15-17)

As is already evident from some of the examples given above, doublets are again a marked feature of the author's style in passages of both exposition and exhortation. Nouns in all their functions (Subject, Complement, post-modifying prepositional phrases, adverbial prepositional phrases, etc.) appear most frequently in doublets, and adverbs least frequently. Pairs of adjectives seem to be more common when the positioning is predicative rather than pre- or post-modifying. In practically all cases, the co-ordinating conjunction is 'and' (not 'or'). Not infrequently a combination of pairs of nouns, verbs, or adjectives is to be found in the same sentence, as in the following examples:

> & thanne schal youre sorwe for youre synne be chaungyd & turnyd in-to endles ioye & solace. (p. 173, 11. 15-16)
>
> Ryght so, whanne ye fele you heuy with this grauell of heuy & ydel thoughtys & demynges .... (p. 287, 11. 12-13)

The use of doublets is much more frequent in Jacob's Well than in collections such as Mirk's Festial and Middle English Sermons (ed. W. O. Ross). There is considerable variety in composition and impact. Some are more hackneyed (at least to modern ears) than others; some are alliterative; some are more closely synonymous than others (a few, normally nouns, consist of antonyms). Some of the doublets are familiar ones that are widespread in medieval literature and can be paralleled, for example, in the Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, though these and other English versions of the Somme/Miroir do not contain the passages of exhortation which form such an important part of Jacob's Well. Presumably the author used some of these doublets instinctively with little conscious effort; no doubt, some of them would be familiar to some of his listeners, and they might help to make a message more memorable, especially if the doublets are also alliterative and rhythmical, though there is also the possibility that, like all clichés, they would have little impact. The following are typical of the more common type:

in wele & wo (p. 101, l. 4)[1]

wyth lykyng & lust (p. 146, l. 16)[2]

loos & praysing (p. 245, l. 10)[3]

rewthe & pyte (p. 248, l. 27)[4]

pompe & pryde (p. 134, l. 28)[5]

[1] Cf. Margery Kempe (See R. K. Stone, op. cit., p. 95).

[2] Cf. Margery Kempe (as above) and Mirk's Festial, EETS edn, p. 63, l. 35 & p. 156, l. 13.

[3] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 42^{r}.

[4] Stone quotes eight examples from Julian of Norwich.

[5] Cf. MS Harl. 45 (in the same context): 'pryde & pompe'.

relevyd & holpyn (p. 121, l. 22)[1]

wroth & angry (p. 90, l. 1)[2]

Many of them, however, are less common; they are not to be found in Mirk's Festial, Middle English Sermons, or in the long lists of examples given by Stone from the works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe.[3] One suspects that some of them were the original creation of the author, working in the medieval stylistic tradition, with the aim of emphasising in a memorable way what he had to say and preventing any misunderstanding; though one also suspects that at times they were introduced simply for decorative purposes and to satisfy his own desire for, and delight in, what, as 'a man of craft' he considered to be good craftsmanship. The following seem to be of the less common type:

the difynycyoun & the determynacyoun (p. 98, ll. 14-15)

aduersytees & tribulacyouns (p. 302, ll. 28-29)

ymagyth & castyth (p. 1, l. 4)

fele & fynde (p. 80, ll. 19-20; cf. p. 113, l. 20)

encresyth & frutyth (p. 135, l. 21)

rotyth & festryth (p. 179, l. 3)

dullyn & slawthyn (p. 281, l. 9)

slawgh & sluggy (p. 111, l. 29 & p. 113, l. 24)

vnstedfast & chaungeable (p. 299, l. 27)

vnordynatly & vnkyndely (p. 161, l. 20)

[1] Cf. Margery Kempe (See Stone, op. cit., p. 128).

[2] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 40^{r} (not in the same context).

[3] R. K. Stone, op. cit., pp. 94-95 & 124-131.

Most of these doublets are to be found in the passages of exhortation or other additional material introduced by the author, for which there are no corresponding passages in other English versions of the Somme/Miroir and Lavynham's A Litil Tretys. Where comparisons can be made, it is interesting to note that for 'vnstedfast & chaungeable' MS Harl. 45 has 'vnstable & vnstedfast' (fol. 60^{v}), and that in the treatment of lechery, 'vnordynatly & vnkyndely' occurs in the positive form, that is, the deed of love-making between man and wife must be done 'ordynatliche and kyndeliche' (fol. 97^{v}). In the Speculum Vitae the two words 'vnstedfast' and 'chaungeable' appear, but not as a doublet:

> That mase a mane so vnstedefaste,
> So that hys purpos may not laste;
> Full chaungeable is hys thoght. (fol. 73^{r})

In place of 'vnordynatly & vnkyndely' the Speculum Vitae has merely 'vnkyndely' (fol. 106^{v}). In the case of another doublet, 'sleyghtys & sotyltees', the author appears to have derived from Lavynham not only the exemplum of the porcupine's habit of collecting apples with its spines, but also the doublet used in the moral application, though the wording is not exactly the same:

> A litil Tretys: Ryght so a couetous man gooth with many sleyghtis & sotiltees & gadryth an hoord of erthely catel togydere. wenyng that god & the world wol faylyn hym. but he hadde a gret summe of catel redelyche gadrid to gydere at onys.
> (ed. van Zutphen, p. 5, l. 36 - p. 6, l. 2)

> Jacob's Well: Ryght so, the coueytous man goth, wyth manye scharpe sleyghtys & sotyltees of falsnes, & gaderyth hym an hurde of erthly good on hepe, wenyng ellys that god & all the worlde schulde faylen hym, but yif he had swiche an hepe to-gydere of werdly muk. (p. 117, ll. 21-25)

In contrast to this apparent 'borrowing' of doublets, in both the explanatory and hortatory passages

there is further evidence of the author's practice of replacing one word in the Latin original with a doublet (assuming that the translations were his own), leading one again to the conclusion that he was a conscious stylist, deliberately making use of such a stylistic device for the reasons stated above. In most cases, the translation is of a biblical text. The following is a representative selection:

> Poule seyth, 2 Tymoth. 2. 'Seruum dei non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse, ad omnes docibilem, pacientem ad omnia cum modestia.' It behouyth the seruaunt of god noght to stryve, but to be mylde to alle, & be able to be tawght, & pacyent to alle, wyth good mesure & temperure. (p. 94, 11. 4-9)

> Seynt Jerom seyth, capitulo vij. Ad Julianum, It is hard & vnpossible that ony man, whan he deyith, schulde go to delytes, that had his delytes in this world. 'Impossibile est transire a delicijs ad delicias,' vt dicit Augustinus. (p. 104, 11. 30-34)

> 'Quod deus coniunxit homo non separet.' that god knytteth man may noght departe ne brekyn, wyth-oute grevous synne. (p. 161, 11. 3-5)

> 'Ve vobis, qui ridetis, quia flebitis,' Wo to you & curse, that leyghin & enioyen for youre synne, for ye schul wepe in helle-smoke. (p. 174, 11. 23-25)

> Crisostomus super Mattheum, in imperfecta omilia xv., dicit, 'Qui orat in peccato, non rogat deum sed deludit deum,' whan thou prayist, & dost dedly synne, thou prayest noght god, but thou iapyst god & scornyst him. (p. 191, 11. 18-21)

> 'Scito & vide, quia amarum est te dereliquisse dominum deum tuum.' Jeremie ij^{o}. knowe thou & se that most sorwe-full & most bytter it is the to forsake thi god in dedly synne. (p. 169, 11. 12-15)

> Ecc vij^{o}. 'Noli esse pusillanimus in animo tuo, & facere elemosinam ne despicias.' Be noght arwgh & aferd in thin herte, ne dyspyse thou noght to don almesse. (p. 107, 11. 9-11)

The author of Jacob's Well seems to have derived this

last reference from Lavynham (p. 18, 11. 22-25), but Lavynham translates 'pusillanimus' simply as 'arwe':

> Wil thou not ben arw in thyn herte, & haue thou not despit of pouer to do hem thyn almesse.

In the following example it is not so much the conversion of one word into a doublet as the introduction of doublets for which there is no authority in the original:

> Eze. xxviij^{o}., I schal take fro you youre harde hertys in slugnesse & wyckydnes, and I schal yeuyn you a fleschyn herte softe & swete in deuocyoun. 'Auferam a vobis cor lapideum, & dabo vobis cor carneum.' (p. 280, 1. 30 - p. 281, 1. 3)

This is in keeping with his practice in other respects; in the examples given above he also expands the original through the addition of extra detail: 'wyth-oute grevous synne', 'for youre synne', 'in helle-smoke', 'in dedly synne'.

Doublets are a form of repetition, and repetition of other kinds is a marked feature of both the passages of doctrinal exposition and those of exhortation, often with interdependence between grammatical, phonological, and lexical repetition. There are many instances of the use of anaphora — the repetition of the same word or phrase at the beginning of successive sentences or clauses — some of which have already been noted in the exemplification and discussion of other types of patterning. They are not equally effective or successful in achieving what must be some of the aims of rhetorical devices:- keeping the reader's or listener's attention, whilst providing meaning; giving emphasis where it is required; avoiding monotony. In particular, some of the examples in the expository passages, especially those where the initial word is a conjunction or a pronoun, achieve little else but monotony; it is

doubtful whether such repetition should even be classed as anaphora since there is no stylistic gain. The following belong to this category:

> Whan thou falsely apelyst another, thou sleest hym; & whanne thou drawyst awey the nedefull lyiflode; & whanne thou wythdrawyst thi gostly techynge fro the peple; & whanne thou yeuyst othere wykked exaumple, & in thin opyn synnes & euyll werkys. (p. 93, ll. 30-34)

> Yif thou in thi slowthe hast heuynesse, & no lust in goodnes in thin herte, but a manere of angwysch, yif it be noght ayens charyte to god ne to man, but lettyth thi deuocyoun in thin herte, yif it come of kynde, it is no synne; yif it come of thin owyn appetyte for thi gostly trauayle .... yif thin heuynes be so sluggy ... or yif it be nedefull .... yif it be omytted ... and yif thin heuynes brynge the in-to dyspayre .... (p. 114, ll. 9-19)

In contrast, there is more restrained and effective use of the device in the following passages:

> For this synne god made Dathan & Abyron synkyn to helle. and for this synne god sente fyir fro heuen, & brente chore & C & 1 of his cumpanye in wyldernes. and for this synne the iewys lostyn the land of beheste. (p. 154, l. 33 - p. 155, l. 3)

> that is for to seyne, vnethe it schal be foryeuyn hym, for vnethe ony swiche slaunderere of god or of his sayntes in cursed othys begynneth ony tyme to repentyn hym, ne to cese of his sweryng & of his blasphemye. (p. 156, ll. 23-26)

> Whan a womman chyldeth, sche peyneth, sche cryeth, sche trauayleth. (p. 195, ll. 6-7)

However, it is noticeable that in these three examples the effectiveness is due partly to the presence of other stylistic devices in addition to anaphora. In the first two there is the initial placing of the adverb or the adverbial prepositional phrase. In the third example there is the parallelism of sentence or clause structure with elements equal or nearly equal in length (isocolon)

and the concord of sound between unstressed final syllables (homoeoteleuton). There is nothing corresponding to the last two examples in his usual source-material, but comparison with the following quotations from A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen and the Speculum Vitae shows that in the first example the author of Jacob's Well was indebted to the Somme/Miroir for both the reference and the style, though the anaphora in Jacob's Well is more effective owing to the shorter clauses and the closer proximity of the initial phrases:

> Datan & Abyron, whiche for this synne the erthe opened and swolowed hem all quyke in to helle. Also for this synne God sente fuyre & brend Core & two hundred & fifty of his companye & fifty that were the grettest of the peple of God that were in deserte in wildernes. And for this synne the Iewes loste the londe of byheste.
> (MS Harl. 45, fol. 151)

> Gode for that syne vengeaunce toke
> One dere manere, os sayes the boke.
> Ffyrste God for that syne thorou hys myght
> Dide the erthe here opene right,
> To swelowe Abyron & Dathane,
> That doune to helle all quyc fele thane.
> Also for this syne that I neuene,
> Gode sent a fyre doune fro heuene,
> That brent Chore & of hys company ....
> For this synne the Jewes hadde tynt ryght
> The londe of heeste that God hem hight.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol. 176^{v})

It is in passages of exhortation, often followed by assurances of reward, that the author's use of anaphora is most effective in conveying his message emphatically and emotively. The anaphora is realised through the repetition of the verb in the imperative mood, sometimes in a triple cluster. Frequently the effectiveness is increased through the presence of other stylistic devices, some of which have already been commented upon. The following is a stirring passage from the fiftieth chapter, in which he is appealing to his audience to show compassion:

> Yyue the poore thin herte, yyue the poore ruthe & compassioun of thin herte. 'Alter alterius honera portate.' Ps. 'Iustus miseretur, id est, corde.' 'Omni petenti te, tribue, id est, corde, ore, & opere.' yyue thi-self to euery poore man that askyth almes, yyve hym of thi good in almes, yyue hym thi mowth in counfort, or yyue hym thin herte in compassioun, and in loue, & in rewthe, & mercy, and trewly thou schalt fynde in this grounde of largenesse in almesse a spryng of the watyr of grace, that is, the v. yyfte of the holy gost, the yyfte of counseyl, whiche counseyl schal counseylin the & techyn, enspyren & steryn the, to be large in almesse, & how thou schalt do thin almesse, and to whom, for the most worschyppe of god & for most profyt of thi soule.
>
> (p. 310, l. 25 - p. 311, l. 5)

In addition to the anaphora, we have the ever-present doublets ('ruthe & compassioun', 'counseylin the & techyn', 'enspyren & steryn'), balanced phrases and clauses ('yyue hym thi mowth in counfort, or yyue hym thin herte in compassioun', 'for the most worschyppe of god & for most profyt of thi soule'), the device of epistrophe (the repetition of 'almes' and of 'almesse' at the ends of successive clauses), the device of polyptoton (the repetition of words from the same root, but with different endings or forms - 'counseyl schal counseylin'), the repetition of the word 'yyfte', and, once again, the device of homoeoteleuton ('largenesse in almesse'). There is also the feature, already noted in another context, of the omission of co-ordinating conjunctions between the 'yyue' clauses (except in one instance of 'or') and the consequent suggestion of urgency.

Other typical examples of the use of anaphora (and other devices) in passages of exhortation are as follows:

> Thynke how he made the to his lyknesse, & boughte the wyth his precyous blood. thinke what peyne he sufferyd for the. think how he fedyth the & sauyth the, & how he schal rewarde the in endles

> blys, yif thou loue hym & worschipe hym. thynk how fals & vnkynde thou art to hym. thou dredyst, louyst, seruyst, & worschepyst, more thi body, the world, thi rusty monye, thi rotyn muk, the feend & synne, than thou doost thi god. thynke, but thou amende this, he schal dampne the in endles peyne.
> (p. 233, 11. 17-25)

> Ther-fore, leuyth the grauell of all ydelnesse, leuyth youre slepyng in dyuyne seruyse, youre iangelyng, youre rownyng, youre rennyng abowtyn on the haly-day fro youre parysch-cherch; leuyth youre pylgrymage on the haly-day, & do it on the werkeday; leuyth youre rennyng on holy-dayes to wrestelynges, markettys, & feyris, to steraclys & dauncys, to bede-alys, bede-wynes, & schetynges.
> (p. 291, 11. 12-18)

> Thynke wherof thou come — of asschys! thynke what thou art — asschys! thynke what thou schalt be — asschys! thou were asschys, thou art asschys, thou schalt ben asschys!
> (p. 195, l. 31 - p. 196, l. 1)

In the last passage, besides the use of anaphora and the skilful use of the formulaic expression 'were ... art ... schalt be', there is another good example of what appears to be the deliberate use of epistrophe in the repetition of the word 'asschys' at the end of successive clauses. The combination of anaphora and epistrophe (as here) was known to the rhetoricians as symploce or exoche.

The effective use of the devices of isocolon and antithesis is widespread. The use of isocolon has already been noted and exemplified in other contexts; one further memorable example is 'takyth the tryacle of my techyng in-to the stomak of youre soule' (p. 117, l. 4). Antithesis is to be found in both expository and hortatory passages, but tends to be more common in the former. Imagery figures in some of the examples, and sometimes one is reminded of the style of later writers such as Lyly. Occasionally he seems to have derived the antithesis from the Somme/Miroir, as in the following:

> this is the scorpioun, that fawnyth wyth the heved, & styngeth wyth the tayl. (p. 151, ll. 7-8)

This closely resembles 'the scorpioun that fawneth with the face, and envenymeth with the taile' of MS Harl. 45 (fol. 147). Speculum Vitae has a less balanced version:

> He is the scorpyoun venymous
> That with the face fawnes thus,
> Ande venemes with the tayle behynde.
> (MS Add. 8151, fol., 171^{r})

In most cases, however, there are no corresponding features in the Somme/Miroir or A Litil Tretys. Some of the antitheses sound like proverbial utterances, though they may have a background in Latin theological literature rather than in English speech. Indeed, the first of the following examples is a translation from the Latin, which the author also gives:

> the tunge of the flaterere harmyth more than the swerd of the smytere. Vt scribitur, 'Plus nocet lingua adulatoris, quam gladius percussoris.' (p. 164, ll. 20-23)

> In valeys of lownesse entryth watyr of grace; in hylles of pride it rennyth away. (p. 75, ll. 18-19)

> the swettere mete & drynke thou vsest, the foulere stynche comyth fro the. (p. 219, ll. 10-11)

> the brystell is oute when the threed is in. (p. 241, ll. 21-22)

J. W. Blench in his Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries gives the following quotation from the sermons of Roger Edgeworth, a Canon of Bristol Cathedral early in the sixteenth century, and comments that it shows how the Canon 'draws on the scenes and actions of common life to provide a homely group of similes', but clearly the author of Jacob's Well had used the image a century earlier, and it was probably a

stock exemplum:

> ... lyke as when a manne sowethe in cloothe, the nedle goeth afore and maketh the way for the threde to come after, not because the nedle shall sticke there still in the cloothe, but shall passe and go throughe, that the threde may come after and bide still there. And when a man soweth in leather, the threde hathe a bristle, or a harde heere, craftely set and ioyned to the former end of the threde. After the Nall hathe made the waye, then afore the threde the sayde heere goeth, not because it shall there abide still, in the hoole, but because it shall leade and gyde the threede that commeth after and must there remaine styll. (p. 123)

At times, two or three examples are grouped together in one sentence or successive sentences:

> and thanne schalt thou be blyssed, there before thou were cursyd; and thanne schalt thou be goddys chyld, there before thou were the deuelys chyld; thanne schalt thou be saued, & come to blysse, there before thou were in the weye of dampnacyoun, and schuldyst a gon to helle. (p. 11, 11. 27-31)

> for the heyghere in pride the lowere in peyne, the more gloryous in worschip the foulere in helle, the heyghere & the gladdere in souereynte the deppere & the soryere in hard fyir endeles. (p. 237, 11. 2-5)

> in whiche ground the watyr of grace schal springe in-to youre welle, whiche schal brynge you fro wose [of] slouthe to watyr of deuocyoun, fro heuy grauel of ydelnesse to fruyt of vertewys, fro sorwe & labour of this world to endeles reste & ioye. (p. 287, 11. 16-20)

Once again, there is the use of doublets, anaphora, and other devices in support of the antithesis.

There are one or two examples of the rhetorical device of antimetabole, balanced phrases or clauses in which there is repetition of words in converse order, resulting in a compact and pithy utterance. Thus we have:

> he wolde men plesyd him, but he wyll plese no man. (p. 155, ll. 28-29)

> for fastyng was made to serue prayere, & noght prayere to serue fastyng. (p. 194, ll. 10-11)

> A knyght wyth-outen armoure, or armoure wyth-outen a knyght, is vndefensable. so preyere wyth-outyn fastyng, or fastyng wyth-outen prayere, profyteth but lytel. (p. 194, ll. 19-20)

The second example is possibly a variant of Mark 2. 27: 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath'(AV). The first example is derived from the Somme/Miroir. In A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen the sentence is 'He wolde that all thing were doo after his wille and that alle men plesid him, but he wole plese no man' (MS Harl. 45, fol. 152^{r}); in the Speculum Vitae, because of the demands of verse, the device is less apparent: 'He wolde alle mene plesede hym thane/Ande he wylle pay no nothere mane' (MS Add. 8151, fol. 178^{r}).

It will be clear from many of the examples given above that repetition of the same word or phrase is a marked feature in some form or other of the various stylistic devices employed by the author. Free repetition of words, independent of their position, is also common and is often effectively employed to emphasise a statement or message, as in the following examples:

> Forsakyth youre slowthe, & takyth the ground of gostly strengthe, to trauaylen myghtely in prayerys, to duryn myghtely in goodnes, to wythstonden myghtily temptacyoun, to sufferyn myghtyly aduersite & tribulacyoun. (p. 115, ll. 22-25)

> and therfore, no schryfte, no prechyng, no repreuyng, no syknesse, ne the scourge of god, no dreed, no schame, no drede of goddys vengeauns, no dreed of the deuyll, ne dreed of dampnacyoun, ne desyre of heuen-blysse, may rayse yow vp fro deth of slowthe to the lyif of deuocyoun & of amendment. (p. 116, ll. 28-33)

> This is a specyal dreed, a specyal yyfte of the holy goste & a specyall watyr of grace, that spryngeth in the grounde of lownesse. (p. 242,11. 3-5)

> The firste inche is in spekyng blasfemye, that is, woordys ayens the reuerens of god, ayens his myght, ayens his mercy, ayens his goodnes, or ayens his ryghtwysnesse. (p. 260, 11. 16-18)

It is evident from some of the examples given in the preceding pages of this chapter that significant features at grammatical and/or lexical level are often reinforced by those at phonological level, and that some of the significant features noted are inter-level features. Significant phonological features, whether reinforcing, or reinforced by, features at other levels, are much more noticeable in the sections of Jacob's Well dealing directly with doctrinal matter, whether the concern is with exposition or exhortation, but particularly in the more emotive passages. Sometimes one phonological feature reinforces another so that, for example, an alliterative expression may also be an interesting unit of rhythm.

There is a wider range of short alliterative collocations than in the legal and narrative sections. Some, understandably, are recurrent, and a few such as 'perfyt penaunce', 'dreed of dampnacyoun', 'dreedfull dome', and 'lustys of lecchery' have already been noted as occurring also in the legal or narrative sections. In some cases it would have been difficult for the author to have used any phrase but an alliterative one, and examples such as the following are probably of little, if any, stylistic significance:

hors & harneys (p. 134, 1. 19)

long lyif (p. 163, 1. 2)

deluyth doun depe (p. 238, 1. 16)

scharp scho (p. 283, l. 1)

In both the passages of exposition and those of exhortation, by far the most popular constructions in these alliterative expressions are those consisting of noun + preposition (mainly 'of') + noun, and adjective + noun. Of those in the former category some of the most noticeable are:

watyr of weepyng (p. 3, l. 4, etc.)

laddere of loue (p. 3, l. 16)

wose of wretthe (p. 92, l. 5)

malyce of mowthe (p. 92, l. 19)

tryacle of techynge (p. 116, l. 35)

delyght of dyssolucyoun (p. 136, l. 15)

fayling of frute (p. 155, l. 13)

tempest of tunge (p. 246, l. 23)

lycour of lustys (p. 261, l. 32)

The more effective of these consist not only of an alliterative collocation, but also of a figurative expression, sometimes linked with the main allegorical framework. Those in the second category — adjective + noun — are generally less colourful and non-figurative:

long labour (p. 1, l. 4)

myche muk (p. 117, ll. 16-17)

scharp schame (p. 180, l. 21)

lecherous lokynges (p. 220, l. 4)

Next in order of frequency (though considerably less frequent) are expressions such as the following, consisting of noun + 'and' + noun, though surprisingly few of these consist of synonyms or near-synonyms:

be waye & wode (p. 129, l. 9)

mete & monye (p. 134, l. 14)

pompe & pryde (p. 134, l. 28)

on bak & in bed (p. 195, l. 15)

rynde & roote (p. 234, ll. 25-26)

talys & tydynges (p. 263, l. 21)

vyces & vanytees (p. 274, ll. 8-9)

Verb + 'and' + verb, adjective + 'and' + adjective (some of these pairs of verbs and adjectives have already been considered as examples of doublets), and verb + adverb (or vice-versa) are other typical structures, though they occur much less frequently than the three types mentioned above. Here are some examples:

fynde & fele (p. 87, l. 12)

bostest and braggyst (p. 263, l. 24)

slawgh & sluggy (p. 111, l. 29)

ryche & ryall (p. 120, l. 19)

fayr & fatt (p. 143, l. 6)

nakyd & nedy (p. 307, l. 1)

bowe buxomly (p. 72, ll. 21-22)

medefully mynystryn (p. 276, l. 9)

stande styffly (p. 300, l. 14)

Another less frequent structure is that of adjective + preposition + noun, as in the following examples:

full of foly (p. 85, l. 14)

scharp in schame (p. 180, l. 19)

syke in synne (p. 194, l. 28)

In view of the author's additions and alterations to his main source-material, especially the passages of exhortation, it is not easy to make comparisons between Jacob's Well and related texts, but where comparison is possible, it is evident that the same alliterative expressions are sometimes to be found in English versions of the Somme/Miroir, especially the Speculum Vitae and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, and in Lavynham's A Litil Tretys, usually in the same context, and were presumably derived by the author from one or other of his sources. These include 'malyce of mowthe',[1] 'fayling of frute',[2] 'pompe & pryde',[3] 'tempest of tunge',[4] 'ryche & ryall', [5] and 'fayr & fatt'.[6] However, many others (though no doubt most of them were commonplaces, except in cases like 'wose of wretthe' where they are part of the allegorical pattern) seem to be the author's own contribution and embellishment. For example, 'mete & monye' occurs in the following passage describing the activities of 'faytours':

> The thridde inche is faytours that getyn mete & monye of pyteous folk, wyth wyles, as to makyn hem seme crokyd, blynde, syke, or mysellys, & are noght so. (p. 134, 11. 13-15)

In the corresponding passage in A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen (MS Harl. 45), the word 'almes' is the equivalent

[1] Cf. Lavynham, p. 12, l. 1.
[2] Cf. Speculum Vitae, MS Add. 8151, fol. 177^{v}.
[3] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 72^{r}: 'pryde & pompe'.
[4] Cf. MS Add. 8151, fol. 47^{r}.
[5] Cf. Lavynham, p. 7, l. 27: 'ryche. ryal. & solempne'.
[6] Cf. MS Harl. 45, fol. 140^{v} & MS Add. 8151, fol. 161^{v}.

of 'mete & monye':

> The thridde beth faytoures that conne make hem seme blynde, croked, and lame, and nedy, and so getith falsliche of gode pitous men the almes that nedy men schulde lyue by. (fol. 71^{v})

The phrase 'be waye & wode' comes in the description of the activities of common robbers:

> The firste inche is comoun robrye: that is, whan thou, be waye & wode, robbyst whom thou may, & euere waytynge to robbe on se & londe, noght sparyng pylgrym ne marchaunt. (p. 129, 11. 8-10)

The corresponding passage in MS Harl. 45 mentions sea and land, but makes no reference to 'waye & wode':

> Comoun robboures beth they that holdeth comoun paas and robbeth with strengthe hem that passeth ther-forth, and that as wel on water by schip craft as on londe, as marchandys, pilgrymes, and othre. (fol. 66^{r})

Speculum Vitae has the 'wode', but not the 'waye'; no doubt the necessity to rhyme governed the choice of 'strete' instead:

> Comune may thei be calde
> That mene sees comune pases halde,
> That robbes & reues by woode & strete
> Alle manere of mene that thei with mete.
> Some robbes on watere & on lande,
> Ande nouthere spares pilgrim ne marchaunde. (fol. 82^{r})

In Jacob's Well, as already shown, it is not unusual for alliterative phrases to form part of more extensive alliterative patterning, and, as in the case of the narrative style, it is the longer alliterative patterns, where the alliteration extends beyond the single phrase, though sometimes embodying it, that are

the more striking and more creative. These range in length from short structures such as 'to drawyn vp watyr to drynke' (p. 3, l. 25), 'dredyth to be drenchyd' (p. 7, l. 2), and 'to forsake the fals world' (p. 312, ll. 29-30), where the alliteration is limited to the repetition of the initial sound of only two words, to longer structures such as the following, where the alliteration extends over several words and may include the repetition of more than one sound, though rarely more than two:

> The firste fote is dyspyte; that is, in doyng no worschype to gode men dewly, but in dyspysing hem, noght doyng dewe reverens to sayntes & to souereynys. (p. 72, ll. 16-18)

> & crist askyd watyr of the womman samaritan, that is, he askyth watyr of wepyng terys of synfull soule for his synnes. (p. 185, ll. 22-23)

> A bowe full of fruyte, an eer full of corn bowyn dounward to the erthe; Ryght so, yif thou be in lownes, thou art full of fruyte of vertuys, heuy ladyn wyth gode werkys, therfore thou bowyst dounwarde, & beholdyst the erthe, that is, the fylthe, the freelte, & the wrecchydnes, of thi flesch. (p. 236, ll. 1-6)

> so dost thou, in wynd of swyche tydynges & talys is al thi lust & thi lyif. (p. 263, ll. 22-23)

> Therfore, castyth out of youre pytt the grauel of wast & of exces fro youre herte, tunge, & dede, wyth the spade of wylfull pouert in spirite, and takyth this ground of largenesse in almesse, that this spring of grace, the counseyl of the holy gost, mowe spryngen in youre welle the watyr of clennes, and thanne schal youre welle waxen depe wyth watyr of lyif. (p. 311, ll. 18-23)

As is evident elsewhere, in the last example other stylistic features such as the use of co-ordinate structures, assonance and homoeoteleuton (particularly noticeable is the echoic effect of 'largenesse in almesse ... clennes'), and the final cadence of 'watyr of lyif' all combine with the alliteration to make the exhortation

effective. Sometimes the alliterative pattern adds further balance to that achieved through grammatical and lexical patterning in the devices of isocolon and antithesis:

> it plesyth myche the feend, & gretly greuyth god. (p. 141, 11. 9-10)
>
> thi purs byddeth the faste, thi bely byddeth the etyn. (p. 143, 11. 8-9)
>
> Mekenes makyth pes in herte. myldenesse makyth pees in tunge. (p. 266, 11. 4-5)

As is the case with the short alliterative phrases, here too at times there is close resemblance between the author's style and that of his probable source-material. For example, in Jacob's Well the fifth degree of Strength is illustrated in the following manner:

> The v. fote depthe is stedfastnesse, that makyth a mannys herte styff as a towre that stant on a roche, & as a rotefast tre that no storme may ouyrthrowe. (p. 289, 11. 4-6)

A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen has not only the same example, but also similar alliteration:

> The fifte degre is stedfastnes, that maketh a mannis herte stedfaste & stable as a toure that stondeth on a strong roche or as a tree that is so faste rooted in good grounde that no wynd ne storme may ouercaste him. (MS Harl. 45, fol. 54^{v})

In Ayenbite of Inwyt, too, there is similar /st/ alliteration, though here the fifth degree is called Constancy — '... constance. thet is a uirtue thet maketh the herte strang and stedeuest ine god ase a tour yzet ope ane stronge roche'[1] — but, rather surprisingly,

[1] EETS edn (re-issued, 1965), p. 167, l. 34 - p. 168, l. 2.

it is not a feature of the corresponding passage in The Book of Vices and Virtues, which reads as follows: '... constaunce, that is continuaunce. This is the vertue that m[a]keth the herte as stedefast and tristy to God as a tour that is founded vpon the harde roche'.[1]

Sometimes, when translating biblical passages, the author reproduces the alliterative pattern already there in the original, as in the following example, though even here he creates a more satisfactory rhythmical English rendering by the addition of the balanced phrases of 'in prosperyte' and 'in aduersite':

> for Poule techyth vs, Ad Romanos xij. 'Gaudere cum gaudentibus, & flere cum flentibus.' Enioyeth wyth hem that enioyen in prosperyte, wepyth wyth hem that wepyn in aduersite! (p. 83, 11. 4-6)

The rendering of the same verse (v. 15) in the Authorised Version also retains the alliteration: 'Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep'.

This kind of alliteration is also to be found in renderings of passages from the Vulgate where there is no such alliteration in the original Latin:

> A man that is wrothe werkyth noght the wyll of god. Jacobus j. 'Ira enim viri iusticiam dei non operatur.' (p. 100, 11. 4-6)
>
> And this fruyte of thi mowth schal be ful fedyng to thi soule. prouer. xij. 'fructu oris sui vnusquisque replebitur.' (p. 284, 11. 20-21)

The Vulgate (Prov., 12. 14) has 'De fructu'. The meaning of the last passage quoted may not be particularly clear (the fault lies in the original), but it is worth

[1] EETS edn, p. 168, 11. 10-13.

noting that, with its marked rhythm and alliteration, it sounds more effective than the equally obscure, but non-alliterative AV rendering of 'A man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth'. More recent translations, not dependent on the Vulgate, have a much clearer, non-figurative, but also less rhythmical reading, as, for example, the New English Bible, which has: 'One man wins success by his words; another gets his due reward by the work of his hands'.

Alliterative rendering of the psalms was traditional, and it is interesting to note that the author of Jacob's Well follows this tradition in the translation of passages where other versions have no corresponding alliterative patterning. The collocation 'scharp schame' quoted above (p. 235) occurs in his expanded translation of verse 5 of Psalm 31:

> Ther-fore seyth the Psalmistre, 'Dixi: confitebor.' I haue seyd & recordyd my synne in scharp schame, I schal be schreuyn of my synne, wyth a myghti wyll & desyre. (p. 180, ll. 20-22)

There is no corresponding alliterative patterning in, for example, the translation of the passage in the Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter:

> Ich made myn trespas knowen to the, and ich ne hid nought myn vnryghtfulnesse.
> Ich seid, Y shal shryue oyayns me myn vnryghtfulnesse to our Lord; and thou for-yaf the wickednesse of myn synne. (1)

The Surtees Psalter version is non-alliterative and clumsy:

> Mi gilt to the schewed I made,
> Mine vnrightwisnes and hid I ne hade. (2)

[1] ed. K. D. Bülbring, EETS, OS 97 (1891), p. 35.

[2] ed. C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, etc., vol. II, p. 162.

It is also clear that some of the effectiveness of the rendering in Jacob's Well arises from his practice of introducing doublets — 'seyd & recordyd', 'wyll & desyre' — and from the embodiment of the alliterative collocation 'scharp schame' into the larger alliterative pattern — 'scharp schame, I schal be schreuyn of my synne' — a pattern already anticipated in the sentence of exhortation which precedes the illustrative reference to the psalm:

> Therfore, lokyth that the scho of youre scauel, that is, the recordyng of youre synne, be scharp in schame & myghti in wyll to be schreuyn.
> (p. 180, ll. 18-20)

Above a century later, Cranmer adopted a similar practice in his 'translation' of Latin collects for the Book of Common Prayer, expanding one word in Latin, usually a noun or verb, into a pair of words joined by a co-ordinating conjunction. Thus 'peccata' became 'synnes and wickednes' and 'videant' became 'perceyve and knowe'. Like the author of Jacob's Well, he also used alliteration to bind together the various elements of a single phrase or clause and to emphasise the rhetorical relationship between two clauses.[1]

The use of assonance and homoeoteleuton in conjunction with other stylistic devices, in both the narrative and the doctrinal sections, but especially in the latter, has already been noted and exemplified. These devices are a significant feature of the style of Jacob's Well, though it should be borne in mind that, because of the retention of the unstressed endings of nouns and verbs, homoeoteleuton must have been to some

[1] See James A. Devereux, 'The Collects of the First Book of Common Prayer as Works of Translation', SP, 66 (1969), 719-38, and Stella Brook, The Language of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1965), p. 129.

extent a natural feature of the author's language. In the following examples the two devices, sometimes in conjunction, are again only two elements in larger patterns which include the use of alliteration, doublets, and other devices:

> for salomon seyth that stryif is ryif amonges prowde men. (p. 70, 11. 21-22)
>
> spekyng holy woordys, doyng holy werkys, schewyng holy signes, & spekyng of chastyte, of clennesse, of devocyoun, to wryen therwyth thi wyckydnesse, in dyspreysing & dyspysing synne. (p. 73, 11. 30-33)
>
> as yif thou doost thi besynes to haue a benefyse (p. 135, 11. 29-30)
>
> Therfore, takyth contricyoun & confessioun, and makyth satisfaccyoun. (p. 141, 11. 1-2)
>
> that thi membrys, dede be-fore in synne, dysfiguryd & dysformyd, myghten encresyn & reformyn ayen in-to here ryght schap be penaunce & grace. (p. 257, 11. 29-30)

Except in the legal sections, and particularly in those concerned with doctrinal exposition, exhortation, and denunciation, the prose of Jacob's Well is markedly rhythmical, though not to the extent of being ornate and hypnotic. Though subject perhaps at times to the influence of Latin sources, his rhythmical patterns are probably based on the native rhythms of the English language. It has been suggested by some scholars that English prose rhythms may have been influenced by the Latin cursus in particular. Professor Schlauch, for example, in her article on 'Chaucer's Prose Rhythms',[1] drawing to some extent on an investigation by Antonie Olmes of the prose style of Rolle,[2] seems to accept the

[1] PMLA, 65 (1950), 568-89.

[2] Stil englischer Mystik unter besonder Berücksichtigung des Richard Rolle von Hampole (Halle, 1933).

influence of the cursus on a number of basic English patterns, even though such forms did not exist in Latin, regarding them as modifications of the genuine cursus forms, and giving them labels such as cursus trochaicus (/ x / x) and cursus planus anglicus (/ x x /) when they occur finally in a clause. On the other hand, scholars such as Sherman M. Kuhn, in an analysis of Alfred's prose style,[1] and F. R. Lipp, in her study of the rhythms of Aelfric's Lives,[2] argue convincingly that the so-called cursus, even in Old English, was nothing more than a part of the natural rhythm of the English language. It is true that in Jacob's Well a stress pattern such as / x x / x (cf. cursus planus. 5 - 2) sometimes occurs before a major or minor pause, often providing effective cadence, but its use is widespread elsewhere, often in doublets, in any position in the clause. It is probable, therefore, that the author did not think of this, or any other of his rhythmical patterns, in terms of cursus, but simply used them as natural features of the language, the basic stress patterns of ordinary English speech which underlies English rhythmic prose of all periods. He would use them as aim, subject-matter, tradition, and sense of style demanded, initially, medially, and finally.

Rhythmical units vary in structure according to the varied composition of syntactical and sense units, and both recurrence and variety — essential features of good rhythmical prose — are present in Jacob's Well, but there often seems to be a basis of two-stress phrases[3]

1 'Cursus in OE: Rhetorical Ornament or Linguistic Phenomenon?', Speculum, 47 (1972), 188-206.

2 'Aelfric's Prose Style', SP, 66 (1969), 689-718.

3 'Stress' here should be understood as covering any kind of syllable prominence, whether determined by pitch, loudness, duration, or a combination of these factors.

in accordance with a long-established English tradition.[1] One of the commonest of these is that of (x) / x x / x; this also was the commonest of seven basic types that Angus McIntosh found in his analysis of Wulfstan's 'Sermo ad Anglos'. Most of these units in Jacob's Well consist of disyllabic nouns or verbs (occasionally adjectives) linked by the conjunction 'and' or a preposition (usually 'of'). Many are in the form of doublets (already discussed and illustrated elsewhere in this study), and there is sometimes additional auditory patterning provided by alliteration and/or assonance. Typical examples are:

watrys of cursyng (p. 2, l. 5)

watyr of weepyng (p. 3, l. 4)

sory & hevy (p. 70, l. 1)

omyttyst & leuyst (p. 103, l. 27)

wryteth & noumbryth (p. 111, l. 20)

wrechyd & nakyd (p. 118, l. 33)

berkyth and byteth (p. 154, l. 19)

worschypp & preysing (p. 239, l. 18)

Some of these rhythmical units occur finally before a major or minor pause:

[the] wyndas muste be thi mynde to turnyn that abowtyn, vpward & dounward. (p. 3, ll. 27-28)

and wanhope wyll makyn a man to holdyn hymself so synfull & cursed, that hym thynketh .... (p. 113, ll. 1-3)

& the secunde as for this day, is chyding and stryvyng; (p. 154, ll. 3-4)

[1] See Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', Proceedings of the British Academy, 35 (1949), 109-142.

> Oon fote is, to yeldyn that thou owyst to thi god, that is, worschyp & seruyse. (p. 287, l. 31 - p. 288, l. 1)
>
> myn eyghe has robbyd my soule of his lyif with watyr of lustys. (p. 217, ll. 13-14)
>
> the erthe knewe god, & worschepyd hym, for all erthe in his deth styrred and schakyd. (p. 282, ll. 4-5)

Another type of two-stress unit of rhythm which is common in these sections of Jacob's Well is the waved pattern of (x) / x /; McIntosh found this to be more common in Aelfric's prose than in Wulfstan's, though it must be remembered that his investigation was limited in scope. These units usually consist of monosyllabic nouns, verbs, or adjectives, linked, as before, by 'and' or a preposition; occasionally, as in 'takyth hede' (p. 226, l. 27), the first element is disyllabic. The following are of this type:

> or dreed of deth, or dreed of helle (p. 186, l. 3)
>
> for pompe & love (p. 70, ll. 27-28)
>
> rynde & roote (p. 234, ll. 25-26)

They may occur anywhere within a clause, but as is the case with the previous group, many of them are to be found before a minor or major pause, often providing effective cadence, especially when they occur at the conclusion of a section of a sermon, or at the end of the sermon itself. This is a native English cadence, ending on a stressed syllable, as distinct from Latin cadence, in which the stress rarely falls on the final syllable:

> Thanne wexist thou stowt & fell, and puttyst out thi venym of pride. (p. 74, ll. 24-25)
>
> & make you clene in grace, (p. 178, ll. 16-17)

> Ryght so, smelle thou what cometh of the, stynche & fylthe. (p. 219, l. 9)
>
> and this mynde here-of schal make the in dreed cold as frost, (p. 284, ll. 15-16)
>
> And thanne ... ye schal be chaungyd fro curs to blysse, fro synne to grace, fro peyne to ioye! (p. 13, ll. 1-3)
>
> for that bryngeth you fro synne to grace, & fro peyne to blysse! (p. 203, ll. 23-24)

As in the last two examples, there is sometimes recurrence of the same rhythmic unit in consecutive phrases, resulting in emphasis:

> Tarye thou noght fro day to day, fro woke to woke, fro yere to yere, ne tyl .... (p. 185, ll. 6-7)

However, we are more likely to find variation in order to avoid monotony rather than recurrence in order to achieve emphasis, as the following examples show:

> c̄aste out of thi pytt the wose of pride, tyl thou come to the ground of lownesse! (p. 75, l. 32 - p. 76, l. 1)
>
> oute of tyme & out of mesure (p. 105, l. 23)
>
> be scharp in schame & myghti in wyll (p. 180, l. 19)

Two other common two-stress patterns in Jacob's Well are (x) / x x / (more common in Aelfric than in Wulfstan) and, occurring less frequently, (x) / x / x (quite common in Wulfstan). Both are well-established English patterns. In units with the pattern (x) / x x /, almost invariably the first stressed word (noun, verb, adverb, or adjective) is disyllabic and the final word monosyllabic, with a linking conjunction or preposition. Thus we have:

> the watyr of grace (p. 1, l. 14)

fayling of frute (p. 155, l. 13)

erly or late (p. 166, l. 7)

Markyth this tale! (p. 226, l. 27)

wepyng for ioye (p. 243, l. 26)

Only occasionally are there units like 'the gate of thi syght' where both the lexical words are monosyllabic. Again, there is sometimes recurrence of the same rhythmic pattern in consecutive units, but there is also variety as well as recurrence. In the following extract the author is reproducing the lexical and syntactical patterns of his original, but the rhythmic patterns are different from those of his Latin source; they are mainly the / x x / type, though there are variants:

> ffor doctourys seyth that enuye, in the, turnyth gold to copyr, precyouse stonys in-to wose, corne in-to chaffe, wyne in-to watyr, hony in-to galle, day in-to nyght, ioye in-to sorwe, bawme in-to dunge, electuarium in-to venym. 'Conuertit aurum in cuprum, gemmas in lutum, granum in paleam, vinum in aquam, mel in fel, diem in noctem, gaudium in merorem, balsamum in sterquilinium, electuarium in venenum.' (p. 84, ll. 17-24)

In the following example, rhythmic and alliterative patterns combine with lexical and syntactic patterns to create isocolon, thus providing an effective cadence in the preacher's exhortation:

> & in fyllyng of the mete, that the mynde be in the swetnes of god, that fedyth the soule, & fylleth the herte. (p. 144, ll. 9-10)

In contrast to the unit just dealt with, in occurrences of the pattern (x) / x / x the first stressed word is usually a monosyllable and the final word disyllabic:

wroth & grucchyd (p. 43, l. 25)

gret & worthy (p. 78, l. 31)

crafte of foly (p. 134, l. 8)

loos & worschip (p. 246, l. 20)

Much less common are patterns such as:

wordly preysing (p. 71, l. 17)

takyth lownes (p. 81, l. 26)

wyth wepyng terys (p. 217, l. 15)

As before, sometimes the same patterns recur in close proximity within the same clause or sentence:

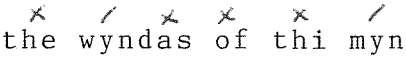
prowd in lokyng, prowd in spekyng, (p. 69, l. 22)

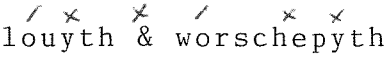
A scauel ... hath a scho of yren scharp & myghti, & an heued hole & narow. (p. 179, ll. 16-17)

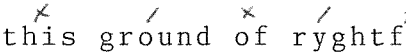
There is, however, also variety:

thanne se the world foul & vggly, voyde of al goodnes. (p. 246, ll. 31-32)

Although these four are the commonest types, there are many other varieties of the two-stress unit such as:







What is particularly interesting is that the same four rhythmical patterns which occur so frequently in Jacob's Well are also widespread in the liturgical English of the Book of Common Prayer, compiled many years later,

but drawing on and adapting earlier material.[1] Typical examples are:

(x) / x x / x	Lighten our darkness who liveth and reigneth for thine is the kingdom
(x) / x /	give us grace God of God, Light of Light
(x) / x x /	King of all Kings world without end Merciful Lord the armour of light
(x) / x / x	the works of darkness now and ever

These examples are taken mainly from the collects, and it is these rhythms that are largely contributory to the speakability of the liturgical language of the Book of Common Prayer and its suitability for use in corporate worship, either by a congregation speaking in unison or by an individual speaker to a congregation.

Although particular attention has been given to two-stress units, there are other varieties — one-stress units and units with more than two stresses. For example, when dealing with vainglory, the author uses a series of emphatic stressed monosyllables:

> Preche, synge, rede, saye massys, yeue almes, make thi prayerys, faste, do penaunce, & thou do hem only for that entent to be praysed ... it is dedly synne. (p. 80, 11. 2-5)

In any case, scansion of prose can never be rigid, and it is the longer sequence rather than the isolated unit that gives one most satisfaction and enjoyment in such

[1] See Stella Brook, The Language of the Book of Common Prayer, Chapter III.

prose. Both in Jacob's Well and the Book of Common Prayer what impresses most is the skilful alternation, variation, interlacing, and adjustment of rhythmical patterns, with a mixture of rising, waved, and falling rhythms, resulting in a build-up of a satisfactory overall rhythm of clause and sentence, often with effective cadence; in other words, the achievement of that blend of recurrence and variety which is a feature of good rhythmical prose, especially when there is also reinforcement from other auditory patterning and patterns of syntax and lexis.

Some examples of recurrence and variety have already been given. Of course, as already mentioned, one cannot be absolutely certain about the author's own speech patterns, and, as in all spoken English, there is room for some flexibility in the placing of stress according to the individual preacher's interpretation of the text. However, it seems safe to assume that, in general, content or lexical words as opposed to form or grammatical words would be pre-disposed to bear stress (as in present-day English) in connected speech, unless the meaning required otherwise.

The rhythmical patterning is most noticeable at the end of a section, where the author is summarising the points made, or drawing the appropriate moral, and at the end of a sermon in the final exhortation or denunciation. Again, the rhythmic patterning is often reinforced by other kinds of patterning. Sometimes the attention is caught by a sentence, a clause, or a few words within a clause:

> as he is foundyn in his deth, so schal he be demyd! (p. 8, l. 26)

> Who-so schewe out, wyth his voys of his mowth, the hate of his herte, wyth angry woordys & chydyng, in bryngyng othere out of charyte, he schal be

> gylty to counseyl! (p. 98, 11. 10-13)
>
> that is, be the throte of thi body & be delyght of thi soule. (p. 223, 11. 18-19)
>
> tyl thou fynde the ground of lownes, & come to a spryng of grace. (p. 237, 11. 6-7)

The second example is developed from Matthew 5. 22: 'Quicunque dixerit fratri suo "racha", reus erit consilio'. The last example given occurs in the final sentence of exhortation preceding the introduction of an exemplary story.

The following passage taken from the second sermon on Humility is typical of the longer sequences of more sustained rhythm:

> for thei that arn in lownes arn wete & moyste in wepynge & in deuocyoun, nessche & soupple in softnesse & compassioun, fruytfull in werkyng, syker & trusty fro hye fallyng. (p. 238, 11. 28-31)

A more emotive passage, where the audience is more directly involved through the use of 'thi', is to be found in Chapter xlv:

> This wepyng wasscheth thi soule, it sleth the feend, it springeth in-to thi welle, it qwenchyth the fyir of temptacyoun, it getyth lyghtly that is askyd ryghtly, secundum doctores, it bryngeth fro wordely sorwe to heuenly ioye. (p. 284, 11. 3-6)

Here again there are a number of contributing factors to the final effect: a series of short, simple clauses or sentences with similar syntactic patterning (SPC); omission of co-ordinating conjunctions; alliteration and assonance (internal rhyme); and the final balancing of 'héuenly ióye' against 'wórdely sórwe', with their contrasting stress patterns. In the following example of rhythmical prose, the last sentence of exhortation in the third and final sermon on Restitution, there is a

similar contrast between the stress patterns of 'laddere of helle' and 'blysse of heuen' in the concluding words:

> ye alle that ben in ony of thise poyntes, yerne restoryth, that ye mowe be sauyd fro this laddere of helle to the blysse of heuen!
> (p. 216, 11. 5-7)

Another rhythmical ending to a sermon, where the author strikes a balance between recurrence and variety, and seems to work up to a climax, is the final sentence of Chapter xliv:

> and thanne schal in youre welle springe watyr of grace, that is, the iij. yyfte of the holy gost, that is, the yyfte of knowyng, that ye mowe knowyn yow-self to forsake youre synne, to gouerne yow in vertewys, to encresyn in grace, and to come to endles ioye. (p. 279, 11. 30-34)

Finally, worthy of more detailed analysis is the sustained rhythm of the closing passage of exhortation in the sermon on the five bodily senses:

> Thei schal be chaunged in-to an-other langage, thei schal be chaungyd fro wycked to good, fro fylthe to clennes, fro synne to grace! 'hec mutacio dextere excelsi.' thanne schal watyr & wose of lustys & synne be schett out of thi pytt, thanne schal thi pytt be clene & full of grace in body & soule, and in the ende of the world full of ioye! (p. 222, 11. 8-13)

The quotation is from Psalm 76. 11. The impact of this passage results from the skilful blending of repetition and variation. There is almost prophetic certainty and assurance suggested by the repetition of syntactical, lexical, and rhythmical patterns: 'thei schal be chaunged', 'fro ... to', 'thanne schal', 'watyr & wose of lustys & synne'. Yet monotony is avoided through variety and contrast. There is the contrast achieved through the pairing of antonyms, and the three consecu-

tive syntactic patterns in which they occur have three different rhythmical patterns: 'wycked to good', 'fylthe to clennes', and 'synne to grace'. In the final clause there are both recurrence and variety in a series of stress-cum-sense units: 'pytt be clene', 'full of grace', 'body & soule', 'ende of the world', and finally 'full of ioye'.

It is when one compares Jacob's Well with the approximately contemporary Mirk's Festial that one realises all the more that here is 'a man of craft' engaged in creating a 'gret werk' and not just a preacher compiling another collection of sermons. Mirk's work, of course, is a different kind of collection of sermons. It is a compilation of sermons suitable for saints' days and various Sundays in the Church's year (though it does include one on the Lord's Prayer), intended for the guidance of unlettered clergy, and it is impossible to compare sermon with sermon, but a few passages chosen at random show Mirk engaged in simple explanation and narration in conversational tones, with little of the heightened rhythm or other patterning (apart from occasional alliteration) of Jacob's Well. This is in keeping with the more popular, homely, down-to-earth, and less learned nature of the work as a whole compared with Jacob's Well[1] — far more suited to Brandeis's 'rustic audience' than the subject of this study.

The opening and concluding sentences of the sermon for St Andrew's Day are typical:

> Good men and weymen, such a day ye schull haue Seynt Andrawys daye, and fast the euen. The whech

[1] There is evidence of a revised text more suitable for an educated, academic audience. See p. 7 above.

> day ye schull come to the chyrch to serue God, and forto worschip the holy apostoll for the speciall uertues that he hade: an for his hygh holynes of lyvyng, another for gret myracles doyng, the thrid for gret passyon suffryng.
> (EETS edn, p. 6, ll. 3-8)

> Now ye schull knele adowne, and make your prayer to this holy apostoll, Seynt Andrew, that he be your mediator bytwyx God and you, prayng hym to yyue you grace suche a lyfe to lede here, that hit be plesyng to hymselfe, and to our lady, and to all the company of Heuen. Amen. And also ye schull pray for the state of all holy chyrch, and for the pope of Rome and all his cardenalles, et cetera.
> (p. 11, ll. 14-20)

Apart from the homoeoteleuton at the end of the first passage, there is little that is worthy of note stylistically.

In contrast to the marked rhythmical patterning that is so often to be found in Jacob's Well at the end of a section, in Mirk's Festial we are more likely to find conversational passages in a low key such as the following:

> Thys ys a pryncypall salue to ych man that takethe hit to hert, to put away all maner worldes vanyte, and vayn murthe, and reuell. But forto vndyrstond thys the bettyr, I schew thys by ensampull.
> (p. 64, ll. 20-23)

> Thus, good men, ye most vndyrstond how gret vengeans God toke on the world for wykednesse of synne, and now, more harme ys, the pepull ar as full of synne as thay wer that tyme; and therfor God will take vengeans, ner the prayers of holy sayntys and specyaly of our lady.
> (p. 73, ll. 14-18)

There is a similar contrast of styles in the final address to the audience at the end of the sermon, as is clear from the following examples:

> And alsoo I tell you on Thursday next ye schull haue an hegh fest yn holy chyrche, the fest of Corpus Cristi. The wheche day ye schull come to the chyrch, and then woll I telle you of that fest so as God woll then vouchesaf forto enspyre me. And praye we now alle to the Holy Trynyte that we may so worschip here yn erthe yn vnyte, that we may come ynto hys mageste where he ys veraye Gode yn persons thre. Amen. (p. 168, 11. 7-13)

> Herefor, good men and woymen, I charch you on holy chyrche byhalfe, that ye fast that day, but hit fall on a Sonenday othyr yn Astyr weke; and comyth that day to the chyrch; and heruth God seruyce as cristen men owen forto do; and praythe hertly to Seynt Marke that he woll pray for you to God forto put away all myscheues of body and of soule, and that ye may haue the blys that he boght you to. To the whech blys God bryng you and me to, yf hyt be hys will. Amen. (p. 138, 11. 18-25)

Perhaps the final sentence of the first passage is doggerel verse: 'Trynyte/vnyte/mageste/thre'.

The collection edited by W. O. Ross under the title Middle English Sermons is a miscellaneous collection of sermons by various authors; the sermons themselves belong to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, though the assembling of the collection was completed at a somewhat later date. Two examples from the endings of sermons in this collection again show contrast in style with the rhythmical prose of Jacob's Well:

> Loo, here thou may well see what sorowe of herte is, and to aske mercy and foryeuenes, how meche this pleyseth God, how it doth a-wey all maner of synnes and bryngeth a man owte of the dewels boundes and maketh hym able to com vn-to the blis of heven when that he goyth oute of this worlde. Vn-to the wiche blis brynge vs he, that for vs died on the, et cetera.
>
> (EETS, OS 209, p. 206, 11. 23-29)

> For Ihesu Cristes loue, remembur invardly on thise peynes, and I trust to God that thei shall stere the to a vomyte of all thi dronkenlew lyvyng.

> And yiff thou haue this womyte of the sacrament of confession, Godes Sonne withowten question dwellith than with the and shall in thy dying resceyve the to is blis. To the wiche he brynge vs, that on this day was borne for vs. Amen.
> (Ibid., p. 241, 11. 15-21)

The first passage has a limited amount of rhythmical patterning — there is the balancing of 'the dewels boundes' with 'the blis of heven' — but the second one has none of the stylistic features that one associates with the rhythmical prose of Jacob's Well.

The author's style in these passages of doctrinal exposition, exhortation, and denunciation is sometimes clumsy and monotonous, but at its best it shows the craftsman at work and serves his purpose well. Reinforcing one another, significant features at lexical, grammatical, and phonological levels support and enhance the author's message, with a pattern of pace and emphasis which draws the hearer to listen (or the reader to read on), indicates to him points of significance, and, in conjunction with the overall allegorical pattern, encourages him to remember the beginning in the end and sense the interdependence of parts.

APPENDIX

Table of main occurrences of supplementary figurative imagery in the doctrinal sections of Jacob's Well. The sign '/' indicates that the same imagery occurs in at least one (usually more) of four English versions of the Somme/Miroir — Ayenbite of Inwyt, The Book of Vices and Virtues, the Speculum Vitae, and A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen — and/or in Lavynham's A Litil Tretys, normally in the same context and with the same moral application.

I. Native animals, birds, etc.

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
1. Dog:		
Barking (Envious man) 86/33		/
Fawning (Envious man) 87/5-8		/
Mad (Angry man) 100/6-9		
Mad (Blasphemous man) 156/20-21	/	
Hungry (Lazy man) 113/24		
Barking & biting (Contemptuous man) 154/19-20	/	
Butcher's (Backbiter) 262/3-7		
Little & noisy (Despiser) 262/19-21	/	
Licking another dog (Flatterer) 263/12-15		

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
2. Adder:		
150/26-29 (Backbiter)	/	
263/2-3 (Evil counsellor)		
263/17-20 (Double-dealer)		
3. Fish:		
Large & small in net (Proud & humble) 80/20-25 239/5-10		
Fisherman's bait (Devil's deceit) 159/6-10	/	
4. Swine:		
159/30-32 (Lecherous man)		/
262/13-16 (Filthy speaker)		
5. Spider:		
74/8-16 (Hypocrite)		/
6. Wolf:		
90/10-13 (Angry man)		/
141/18-19 (Devil & Gluttony)	/	
263/20-23 (Tale-bearer)		
7. Fox:		
118/19-25 (Covetous man) 118/25-34 (ditto)		
Fox's tail (Flatterer) 150/16-20	/	

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
8. Otter:		
118/13-19 (Covetous man)		
9. Waterleech/Tick:		
145/29 - 146/3 (Gluttony)		
10. Ass:		
103/10-15 (Slothful man)		/
246/15-17 (Humility)	/	
11. Sheep:		
246/11-12 (Meekness)	/	
12. Snail:		
107/2-3 (Object of Man's Cowardice)	/	
13. Sparrow:		
250/28 - 251/10 (Helpful to neighbours)		
251/11-20 (Secret works of mercy)		
14. Turtle-dove:		
251/13-21 (Secret works of mercy)		
15. Cuckoo:		
149/13 & 263/23-27 (Boaster)	/	
16. Goose:		
107/4-5 (Object of Man's Cowardice, like Snail)	/	

II. Foreign Animals & Legendary Creatures

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
1. Lion:		
78/1-6 (Proud person)	/	/
100/6-9 (Angry man)		
268/23-24 (Fierceness)		
2. Porcupine:		
117/17-25 (Covetous man)		/
154/16-18 (Contemptuous man)	/	
3. Bear:		
142/6-15 (Gluttony)		/
149/29-32 (Flattery)	/	
4. Mermaid:		
150/20-25 (Flatterer)	/	
5. Dragon:		
263/5-6 (Sower of discord)		
6. Scorpion:		
151/1-8 (Backbiter)	/	
7. Chameleon:		
151/16-18 (Liar)	/	

III. Sickness & Healing

All these are used to illustrate various aspects of Confession & Satisfaction.

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
1. Treatment of a wound: cutting out of dead flesh & application of 'drawyng salue'. 178/28 - 179/13		
2. Treatment of wound: further need of 'helyng salue'. 188/17-22		
3. Necessity of rewarding physician in advance. 190/6-12		
4. Physician's advice to abstain from harmful food & drink. 190/17-22; 194/25 - 195/1		
5. Need for fair words to physician. 191/24-29		
6. Mother's offer of candle for sick child. 191/30 - 192/2		
7. Application of plaster to wound. 195/15-18		
8. Washing of wound. 195/22 - 196/4		
9. Blood-letting. 196/6-32		

IV. Everyday Sights & Sounds

1. Wrestler:

78/21-27 (Devil)

141/14-17 (Devil/Gluttony) /

2. Harp:

82/27-34 (Christian love) /

90/2-9 (Discord between good & malicious men) /

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
3. Bad Penny among Good:		
151/14-16 (Liar)	/	
4. Chaff among Corn:		
151/14-16 (Liar)	/	
5. Sharpness of Razor:		
154/14-15 (Evil words)	/	
6. Leaking Ship:		
181/24-29 (Incomplete Shrift)		
297/13-17 (Frequent Confession)	/	
7. Unwalled City:		
114/27 (Effect of Sloth)		
8. Shooting Hill:		
114/29-30 (Effect of Sloth)		
9. Unwashed Shirt:		
185/27-31 (Infrequent Shrift)		
10. Oil for Lamp:		
190/4-6 (Alms & Prayer)	/	
11. Earthenware Pot:		
236/18-23 (Humility)		
260/18-23 (Blasphemy)		
261/31-34 (Swearing)	/	

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
12. Bristle & Thread: 241/20-24 (Grace & Dread in Man's Soul)		
13. Shy Maid in Love: 246/23-28 (Avoidance of Attention)	/	
14. House on Fire: 259/17 - 260/6 (Destruction of Soul)		
15. Creaking Cart-wheel: 260/26-29 (Grumbling)		
16. Foolish Merchant: 262/9-10 (Loquacious man)		
17. Bottomless Sack: 263/27-31 (Discloser of Secrets)		
18. Noise of a Gun: 267/4-8 (Angry words)		
19. Weathercock: 299/27-30 (Unsteadfastness in Penance)	/	
20. Water-mill: 148/24-25 (Idle Speech)	/	
21. Tavern: Chap. xxii (Devil's School & Chapel)	/	

Jacob's Well	Somme/ Miroir	Lavynham
22. Tower built on Rock:		
289/4-5 (Steadfastness)	/	
23. Tree firmly rooted:		
289/6 (Steadfastness)	/	

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