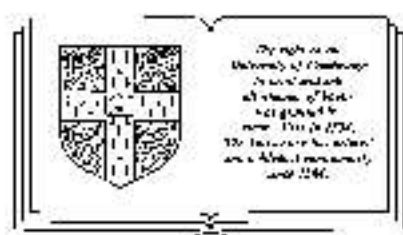

CHANCE AND MEDICAL ETHICS SAUER

CHAUCER AND
MEDIEVAL ESTATES SATIRE

The Literature of Social Classes and
the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*

JILL MANN



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TO MY PARENTS
EDWARD WILLIAM AND KATHLEEN DITCHBURN

Quba waic if all that Chaucer writ was trew?
Henryson

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Preface

This book is an attempt to discover the origins and significance of the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*. The interest of such an inquiry, as I hope will become clear, is many-sided. On the one hand, it throws light on the question of whether 'life' or 'literature' was Chaucer's model in this work, on the relationship between Chaucer's twenty-four pilgrims and the structure of medieval society, and on the role of their 'estates' in determining the elements of which Chaucer composes their portraits. On the other hand, it makes suggestions about the ways in which Chaucer convinces us of the individuality of his pilgrims, about the nature of his irony, and the kind of moral standards implicit in the *Prologue*. This leads me to suggest that Chaucer is ironically substituting for the traditional moral view of social structure a vision of a world where morality becomes as specialised to the individual as his work-life.

Although my work is not a source-study in the straightforward sense of the term, my procedure is to examine medieval satire on the 'estates' or classes of society written in Latin, French and English within the period 1100-1400. The earlier date means that I can give full prominence to the rich abundance of twelfth-century Latin satire; the latter date is set by the date of the *Prologue* itself, which is usually taken to be 1387. I have, however, included works written before 1100 if they throw light on Chaucer or estates satire, and also a few early fifteenth-century works which give an idea of the unabated continuance of this satiric tradition. A few works in medieval Italian, German and Spanish have also been used for purposes of comparison. My method is comparative, but its aim is not to use other writers merely as a foil for Chaucer, as examples of 'convention' which contrast with his individual genius. Other writers had their own aims, which shaped their selection and use of material – and I hope that it may emerge from what follows that their aims and accomplishments are much more sophisticated than is often believed. But in order to build up a general impression of the traits associated with different medieval estates, and the range of satiric methods by which they are presented, I have had to deal with

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other writers in piecemeal fashion, and am fully conscious of not having done justice to writers of the stature of Jean de Meun or Langland. My main purpose in examining other satirists is to gain a clearer idea of Chaucer's distinctive use of estates satire, and this must stand as my excuse. If I have stimulated interest in this neglected area of medieval literature, what is inadequate here may be supplied by others.

There are many whom it is appropriate to thank here for their help and encouragement. My longest-standing debt is to those who taught me medieval literature as an undergraduate at St Anne's College, Oxford — Mrs D. Badnarowska, Miss E. Griffiths and Mrs P. Ingham. I have to thank Miss Pamela Gralon, my supervisor while I was registered as an Oxford research student, not only for suggesting the subject of this study to me, but also for her patience and helpfulness during the years that I was working with her, and for reading parts of the manuscript after our formal relationship had ceased. The last eighteen months of my work on this book were done in Cambridge under the supervision of Peter Dronke, to whom I am indebted for unfailing interest, stimulating comment, and great generosity with books, advice and time. In these warm thanks Ursula Dronke must also share. I am also grateful to Dr D. S. Brewer for reading and commenting on parts of this study, and for his prompt invitation, when I arrived in Cambridge, to the medieval graduate seminar, to which, as to the Cambridge Medieval Society, I read a paper on this subject, and received helpful comments. In slightly different form, this study was submitted for a Cambridge Ph.D., and I must also thank its examiners, D. A. Pearsall and A. C. Spearing, for stimulating comment. Clare Hall, Cambridge, awarded me a Research Fellowship in 1968, and gave me welcome financial support.

Finally, I should like to thank my husband, to whom I owe not only intellectual debts, but also the recognition that my work was as important as his.

J.M.

List of Abbreviations

- AH* *Amleza Hypponia*, ed. G. M. Doves, C. Blaine, H. M. Bannister
Am. Journ. Phil.
American Journal of Philology
- Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*
The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century, ed. T. Wright
- BM* British Museum
- BN* Bibliothèque Nationale
- Bowden, Commentary*
M. Bowden, *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*
- CB* *Classique Breton*, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann
- CFMA* *Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*
- Chaucer Concordance*
J. S. P. Tatlock and A. G. Kennedy, *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Roman de la Rose*
- CT* *Canterbury Tales*
- DA* *Dissertation Abstracts (formerly Microfilm Abstracts): A Guide to Dissertations and Monographs Available in Microfilm*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1958-
- Du Cange*
Glossarium ad scriptores Latinorum, 10 vols., Nizet and London, 1844-7
- EETS o.s.*
Early English Text Society, original series
- EETS e.s.*
Early English Text Society, extra series
- EMR* *English Historical Review*
- ELN* *English Language Notes*
- Godefroy*
Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Française . . . de IX^e au XV^e Siècle, T. Godefroy, Paris, 1881-1902
- GP* *General Prologue*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Hautefort, NB
B. Hautefort, *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*
- Hist. lit. de la France
Histoire littéraire de la France par les religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur
- JELIP *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
- Latin Stories
A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, ed. T. Wright
- Lit. and Litig.
G. R. Cress, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd edition
- Map Poems
The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. T. Wright
- MED *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Karst and S. M. Kuhn, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1934 (in progress)
- MLN *Modern Language Notes*
- MLR *Modern Language Review*
- MO *Miscellanea de P. Omer*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, *Julius Caesar: The French Works*, Oxford, 1899
- MP *Modern Philology*
- NE *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, et autres bibliothèques*
- Nietmeyer
Mediæ Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Leiden, 1954-
- NQ *Notes and Queries*
- NR *Nouveaux Recueils de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux et Autres Pièces Inédites des XIII^e, XIV^e, et XV^e Siècles . . . d'après les MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, ed. A. Jubinal
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary . . . a corrected re-issue of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, C. T. Onions, Oxford, 1933
- PL *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne
- PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
- Poesies Pop. Lat.
Poesies Populaires Latines du Moyen Âge, ed. E. de Méril
- PPI *Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat
- PPC *Pierre de Pluchanque's Creed*, ed. W. W. Skeat
- PPS *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright
- PQ *Philological Quarterly*
- PSE *The Political Songs of England From the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. T. Wright

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Religious Orders

- D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 1
 RES *Review of English Studies*
 RR *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. F. Lecoy
 SA W. F. Bryan and G. Dumas, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*
 SAEF Société des Amateurs Textes Français
 SP *Studies in Philology*
 SS *Nigel de Longchamps: Sprudum Stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Rayns
 TLS *Times Literary Supplement*
 Tobler-Lommatzsch
Altfraanzösischer Wörerbuch, A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, Berlin, 1925-
 Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.
Transactions of the American Philological Association
 UTQ *University of Toronto Quarterly*
 WC *Vox Clamantis*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, John Cowar: *The Latin Works*
 Wagenknecht
Chaucer: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. E. Wagenknecht
 Wells, Manual
 J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1150-1400*
 ZfDA *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Altertum*

Note on References

Major works (or a manuscript collection such as the *Cangina Burma*) are cited by title; details such as their date, diffusion, author and editor can be found by referring to the discursive section of Part I of the Bibliography, under the name of the language in which they are written, and fuller details of the editions in which they are to be found are given in Part II of the Bibliography. Short poems are referred to by their title or incipit (where the title is a vague one) and editor, and are listed alphabetically in Part I of the Bibliography, with a short reference to the work in which they are printed; the latter is to be found in Part II of the Bibliography under the name of the editor. If a primary source is used only once, or only within one section of a chapter, details of its date and diffusion are given in the footnotes, in which case it will not appear in Part I of the Bibliography. Part III of the Bibliography lists secondary works cited more than once in discussion. For abbreviated references, see the List of Abbreviations. References to page or column are preceded by 'p.' or 'col.'; numbers not so prefixed are list references.

Introduction

How are we to describe the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*? What does it tell us about the society it represents? It seems rather late in the day to ask these questions. For no one could claim that the *Prologue* has suffered from a lack of critical attention; on the contrary, it has long been praised as the consummate achievement of Chaucer's art.

The enthusiasm ostensibly generated for the whole of the *Prologue* often proves, however, to be excited by the few characters who provide a focus for a critic's particular interest, whether this is in their comic aspects, their psychological complexity, or the moral significance attached to them. Study of the *Prologue* has too often meant a series of partial approaches, based on the figures who most conveniently offer themselves for character analysis,¹ or for investigation of possible historical prototypes,² or for interpretation according to the conventional iconography of medieval art or science.³ So it does not seem redundant to attempt to analyse the character and meaning of the *Prologue* as a whole.

In the pages that follow, I shall be claiming that the *Prologue* is an example of a neglected medieval genre – that both its form and its content proclaim it to be part of the literature dealing with the 'estates' of society. This claim needs special justification, since it is usually assumed that the *Prologue* has no source and only shadowy analogues, an assumption which probably arises from an over-limited conception of its basic form as 'a collection of portraits'. This aspect of the *Prologue* clearly cannot be ignored, and I shall discuss the portrait tradition briefly at a later stage in this book. But the *Prologue*'s form can equally well be defined as 'a satiric representation of all classes of society' – the form of an estates satire. This aspect of the *Prologue* has not escaped notice, but its recognition has never instigated close and thorough investigation of estates satire in relation to Chaucer's work.⁴ When estates satire has been used, it has been as supplementary evidence in a historically-oriented examination of fourteenth-century society.

¹ The notes appear between pages 213 and 294.

That is, the relationship between Chaucer and other estates satirists has most often been taken to be the common source of material in life itself.⁶

The 'real-life' basis of the *Prologue* was propounded most strongly in J. M. Manly's influential book, *Some New Light on Chaucer*.⁷ In attempting to identify some of the Canterbury pilgrims with real fourteenth-century persons, Manly emphasised Chaucer's direct experience of the world around him as the source of his creation, and expressed his dislike of the 'abhorrent doctrine that [Chaucer] built up his matchless pictures of human life entirely by piecing together scraps from old books, horoscopes, astrological and physiological generalizations' (p. 263). But a literature-life antithesis would be misleading, as I shall try to show later, and though my approach differs from that of Manly, it is not inevitably opposed to it. Meanwhile, we may note that Manly's description of Chaucer's method of character-drawing – 'from the experiences and observations of his life, his imagination derived the material for its creative processes' – can bear elaboration. Even if the basis for the Canterbury pilgrims *was* Chaucer's observation of real people, we should still have to discuss and analyse the literary techniques by which he re-created them for his readers. And we should still need to consider the literary aim which animates this re-creation.

Manly's own approach to the *Prologue* was confessedly partial; he thought it likely that many of the characters were not meant to be identifiable.⁸ He also concluded his study by remarking that in any case, Chaucer's character-drawing was never undertaken for its own sake, but always 'with strict reference to the requirements of his art' (p. 292). Manly did not specify more precisely how he thought these requirements determined the character-drawing of the pilgrims;⁹ in fact this comment seems inconsistent with his earlier suggestion that Chaucer's selection of classes for inclusion in the *Prologue* was made on the basis of his own 'interests and prejudices' (p. 73). What Manly did show was the relevance of the *Prologue* to its contemporary social life rather than to a world of eternal human types. It is this aspect of his work that I want to pursue, by studying the relationship between the *Prologue* and estates satire, a medieval literary genre which is closely concerned with the life of society. In the course of this investigation, the way in which Chaucer's artistic requirements affected the presentation of the *Prologue* figures will also become clearer.

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ESTATES AND ESTATES LITERATURE

The meanings of the word 'estate' which concern us are thus defined by the *Middle English Dictionary*: 'A class of persons, especially a social or political class or group; also a member of a particular class or rank', and 'A person's position in society. . . social class'. To these definitions I think it necessary to add a particular reference to the role played by a person's work in determining the estate to which he belongs. It is true that the estates included in estates literature are not classified only in terms of what we would now recognise as their occupation; they can, for example, be distinguished according to clerical or marital status. But clerical and marital status inevitably include some notion of the particular duties and temptations of the work that accompanies them.

Estates literature has been defined by Ruth Mohl, who has written the only book entirely devoted to the genre, in terms of four characteristics. First, an enumeration of the 'estates' or social and occupational classes, whose aim seems to be completeness. Secondly, a lament over the shortcomings of the estates; each fails in its duty to the rest. Thirdly, the philosophy of the divine ordination of the three principal estates, the dependence of the state on all three, and the necessity of being content with one's station. And last, an attempt to find remedies, religious or political, for the defects of estates.¹ However, these characteristics are by no means to be found in every piece of estates writing, and estates material is clearly recognisable in works not strictly belonging to the genre, such as *Piers Plowman*. My working definition of estates satire is therefore less rigid; it comprises any literary treatments of social classes which allow or encourage a generalised application. Thus the works I shall discuss in relation to Chaucer range in scope from brief poems dealing with one class only, to encyclopedic attempts to span all sections of society. In form they include not only works which satisfy the more rigid definition of estates literature— which deal with a fairly large number of social classes in sequence, and expound their duties or criticise their failings in a relatively direct way—but also works in such literary forms as debate, narrative, or drama, in which estates satire can play a more or less dominant role. (Some idea of the scope and form of individual works can be gained from consulting the first part of the Bibliography, and the first appendix, which outlines the estates lists of the more regularly-organised estates works.) The justification for making no

INTRODUCTION

discrimination, within the main body of my discussion, between works differing in literary form, is the empirical observation that the estates material they draw on is of the same type and very often identical.

THE ESTATES FORM

For one important purpose, however, it is necessary to distinguish works which have an estates form from those which simply contain estates material. For the form of the estates genre and the form of the *Prologue* are one and the same. The framework of the *Prologue* is a list of estates. Chaucer specifically says at the end of the *Prologue* that he has described the 'estaa' of all the pilgrims (716).¹⁶ The *Prologue* is also a collection of portraits, but this is a secondary consideration; if we had been presented with portraits of the Seven Deadly Sins, for example, we should quickly have recognised that the portrait series was merely a vehicle, while the conceptual framework belonged to the Sins tradition.

It is important to stress this relationship between the form of the *Prologue* and estates literature because of the assumption mentioned earlier that society itself, rather than a literary genre, would have been Chaucer's model. This assumption applies both to the question of the comprehensiveness of the *Prologue*, and to the order in which the characters are placed. On the first point, Manly, for example, questioned 'whether Chaucer really intended to present an exhaustive survey of fourteenth century society', because of his apparently arbitrary inclusion or omission of certain social classes (*New Light*, pp. 71-2). The assumption that the *Prologue* must be matched with fourteenth-century society if the pilgrims are to be taken as representative figures has characterised both the critics who think they are representative, and those who think they are not. Thus J. R. Hulbert, who thought that they were, commented, 'No one ever supposed it chance that there are *one knight, one lawyer, one monk, etc.*', but concluded from this that the *Prologue* was a 'conspectus of medieval English society'.¹⁷ Manly's criticism of this kind of comment was surely right, for there are many aspects of fourteenth-century society which the *Prologue* does not cover. But it does cover the elements of social anatomisation made familiar by estates literature. Thus Bronson remarked on the 'relative scarcity of women in the company', and attributed this to the fact that their presence on a pilgrimage was 'realistically' unlikely.¹⁸

It can equally well be attributed to the fact that estates literature rarely listed more than two estates of women – religious and secular.¹⁴

The list of estates included in individual estates works given in Appendix A shows that some estates – especially monk, friar, priest, lawyer, doctor, knight – appear with great regularity, but that each author exercises considerable freedom in his selection. The estates included in the *Prologue* correspond well enough to this rather vague norm. Chaucer makes no serious omissions. The higher echelons of both clergy and laity are unrepresented, but in other works much of the material applied to them is identical with that assigned to their less exalted counterparts. Bishops and priests, kings and knights, are on the whole admonished in the same way. On the other hand, the third estate is represented in the *Prologue* with an unusual richness.

It can only have been with the aim of providing a full version of an estates list that Chaucer chose to introduce as many as thirty pilgrims in the *Prologue*. Thirty is an unwieldy number for description (and Chaucer evades describing all of them), for dramatic interplay, or for tale-telling – is there any other collection of tales with so large a number of narrators? Chaucer was concerned to impose an estates form on the *Prologue* in order to suggest society as a whole by way of his representative company of individuals – rather than to use estates material in the same incidental fashion as that which he may have culled from physiognomics, allegorizations of the sins, romances and so on. To adapt a phrase of Musset's to a different purpose, the estates framework provides 'a formal, *a priori* ideal ordering of experience, without which the naturalistic detail would have only the barest sociological significance'.¹⁵

On the second question, that of the order in which the estates are presented, two misconceptions seem to prevail. The first is that estates literature always proceeds, in an orderly way, from the top to the bottom of the social scale, in contrast to the fairly haphazard method of the *Prologue*.¹⁶ Support for this view has been found in Chaucer's apparent admission, at the end of the *Prologue*, that he is unusual in ignoring social ranking:

Also I praye you to foryeve it me,
 Al have I nat see folk in hir degre
 Here in this tale, as that they sholde stonde. (743-5)

This may indeed mean that he is thinking of the more tightly-organised works of estates literature, and pointing out the vagaries of his own

scholar. But tight organisation is not a *sine qua non* of an eclectic work, as the appendix list shows, and Chaucer's apology cannot therefore be read as a statement that he is writing something else.

The second misconception is about the exact nature of the order which is being neglected in the *Prologue*. Modern writers have tended to assume that medieval perceptions of the class-hierarchy were the same as our own. Tardock, for example, found the characters 'mostly middle-class': 'none is beneath the rather prosperous Plowman'.¹⁶ On these grounds it is usually assumed, for example, that it is correct for Chaucer to begin with the Knight, that the Prioress is of high status, and that the Wife of Bath is middle-class.¹⁷ The estates lists show that it would be more 'correct' for the clerical figures to precede the Knight, and that despite the high rank achieved by some women, their estate is placed lower in the list than all those of the men. The estates framework is more concerned to distinguish 'qualitatively', to separate clergy from laity, men from women, than to arrange an exact hierarchy of rank cutting across these divisions. The estates habit of distinguishing by function rather than by rank determines, for example, the treatment of women according to their marital, rather than their social, status, the undifferentiated treatment of burghers, and the presentation of the lowest ranks of the clergy before the secular emperor. Clearly this literary order did not reflect the actual status of each class in society, and it is possible that social actualities affected the order which Chaucer developed for the *Prologue*. But if we say that the *Prologue* neglects a proper order, we must make clear whether we mean a literary order, or actual social ranking. And we must provide empirical evidence for the way in which both were perceived in the fourteenth century.¹⁸

As for Chaucer's apology for not setting his figures 'in hir degree', it may just as well refer to a literary as to a social order, since it occurs at the end of a discussion of literary propriety.¹⁹ He apologises for the apparent lack of literary decorum that he is about to demonstrate in reporting the ribald tales of some pilgrims, and defends himself with a literary principle: 'The wordes muoste be easye to the deede' (742). He continues this line of thought - 'Also I praye yow to fyttyve it me' - with an apology for another apparent violation of literary decorum; he has not proceeded in the 'right' order. The literary context of this apology strongly encourages the belief that the standard of correctness to which Chaucer is referring is provided by estates literature. Chaucer is consciously producing an example of this genre,

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