# 行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

# 古典修辭學及中古文學詮釋--「農夫皮爾斯」中的古典及基 督教教育

計畫類別: 個別型計畫

計畫編號: NSC94-2411-H-004-054-

執行期間: 94年08月01日至95年07月31日

執行單位: 國立政治大學英國語文學系

計畫主持人: 林質心

報告類型: 精簡報告

處理方式: 本計畫可公開查詢

中 華 民 國 95年10月31日

#### 英文摘要

This paper studies how William Langland modifies classical rhetoric to build a Christian poetics suitable for the understanding and spreading of salvational doctrine in *Piers Plowman*. The paper can be divided into three parts. First, it will explore how Langalnd adopts classical rhetorical topics passed down from Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Boethius, and learns from preachers like Origen, Augustine, Alan, and Auqinas about how classical rhetoric can be used as a tool for understanding and spreading salvation doctrine. Second, the paper will argue that Langland departs from Christian educators like Cassiodorus, Hugh of St. Victor, and Bonaventure in focusing more on the weakness and corrupted nature of the speaker and on the emotions of the speakers and the readers. Lastly, the paper will point out how Langland follows early medieval educators and preachers in adopting certain classical rhetorical figures—exemplum for example—as specifically suitable tools for the understanding and spreading salvation doctrine, as if the figures were endowed mysterious power.

#### 中文摘要

本文研究威廉·藍能(William Langland)如何在「農夫皮爾斯」(Piers Plowman)中重塑古典修辭學以建立一以瞭解傳播救恩論為目的的基督教詩學。本文可分三部分。第一、本文探就藍能如何採用自亞理斯多德、西塞羅、坤體良、波依蒂亞斯傳下古典修辭學中之主題並從奧立崗、奧古斯丁、艾蘭、阿奎那斯所建構之講道詮譯學中學到如何以古典修辭學做為瞭解傳播救恩論的工具。第二、本文認為藍能和中古其他教育家凱西多羅斯、聖維多修、及聖伯納文都不同:他著重於講者的不完全及敗壞及講者和聽者的情緒反應。第三、本文指出藍能如何從中古教育家學到以特定似乎有神祕力量的修辭手法—如喻道故事—做為瞭解傳播救恩論的工具。

#### 關鍵詞

威廉·藍能(William Langland)、「農夫皮爾斯」(Piers Plowman)、古典修辭學(classical rhetoric)、中古修辭學(medieval rhetoric)、中古詩學(medieval poetics)、中古文學詮譯(medieval literary interpretation)、救恩(Salvation)、基督教教育(Christian education)

#### 報告內容

前言、研究目的

I started this project, "Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Literary Interpretation: the Classical and Christian Education in *Piers Plowman*," to answer two research questions. First, I want to understand "what were the Christian concerns about the abuse of language, especially as existent in classical rhetoric." Second, I want to understand "Langland's concern about classical rhetoric,

his modification of it for a Christian poetics, and the relation of this modified version to Will's salvation." My research this year does further confirm my speculation that Langland's concern for salvation motivates him to further modify the educational model passed down for centuries and already modified to help Christians understand and preach salvational doctrine. However, as in any research, there are surprises: I did not expect to find that Langland's modification is so radical that he almost always draws our attention back to the good intention of the speaker, the "ethos" in Aristotle's *Rhetorica*. Neither did I expect his presentation of a Christian poetics to be so closely knit with how medieval preachers and exegetes used rhetoric to interpret and present salvation doctrine.

#### 文獻探討及研究方法

Langland's attitude toward Christian education, as represented in *Piers Plowman*, from Passuses VIII to XIII, has puzzled many critics. With a focus on understanding Langland's doctrine of salvation and his ideas Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest, critics study different educational paradigms to explain the education the narrator seems to receive under the friars, Thought, Wit, Dame Studie, Clergie, Scripture, and Ymaginatif. Some describe the function of these figures through Ymaginatif's judgment since Ymaginatif seems to conclude the lesson by appearing last. Harwood, for example, shows how Clergie, "as he discloses himself and as Imaginative goes on to describe him, is the vision of Christ where, so far as Will can see, he does not exist" ("Clergie," 290). In another article, Harwood further argues that Ymaginatif, as "the capacity to interpret, thus distinguishes between images interpreted from the point of view of profit and those interpreted from the perspective of faith" (333), and he defines Kynde Wit as the faculty for the former and Clergie as the faculty for the latter (333-34). Baker, for another example, relate Ymaginatif to the dialectic tradition and argues that "Ymatinatif decides the question by demonstrating that these two apparently conflicting positions are not contradiction" and that "Ymaginatif concludes by confirming both sides of the quaestio: the righteous heathens are saved but not without baptism" (217). Minnis concords more with Haywood by relating Ymaginatif to Langland's "original theory of poetry" and focuses on the legitimacy of using exemplum, a rhetorical figure, as a way to present the doctrine of salvation and on how we should interpret those exempla (87). In short, these critics all imply that Langland's Christian education culminates in an education of literary interpretation. The problem is: what kind of literary interpretation is Langland adopting to present the salvational doctrine?

There are two ways through which medieval literary interpretation can be studied. First, as some critics have noticed, Langland seems to use biblical exegeses as his model for understanding and spreading the doctrine of salvation, a task he himself takes on in writing *Piers Plowman*. That is, critics often find an understanding of medieval biblical exegeses the key to interpret Langland's educational scheme in *Piers Plowman*. David Fowler, for example, sees the latter "as an extension of the Bible" (226), finding the voice of Amos everywhere in the A-text and "the stormy landscape of apocalypse" (295) in the B-text. Ruth Ames singles out one concern of the church fathers, an uneasiness about "the 'other faith'" (193), and puts Langland against the history of the Christianization of Judaism. By doing so, she finds a great amount of biblical commentaries that illuminate the interplay between the Bible and *Piers Plowman*. Robertson and Huppé even make an attempt "to present a coherent account of the thought

structure of the B-text of *Piers Plowman* in the light of medieval interpretations of Scripture" (ix). Alford further specifies one of the exegetical technique as the principle of Langland's composition: "[verbal] concordance in sermons" (84). He explores the way the Bible concordance was used in forming a sermon in the Middle Ages and compares it with Langland's abundant Latin quotations from the Bible and his method of composition.

While there is no doubt that Langland learns a lot from exegetes in constructing his theory of literary interpretation and in deciding what role it plays in an ideal Christian education, very few critics notice another key tradition that helps shape medieval theories of literary interpretation, the trivium, especially rhetoric. Classical figures like Quintilian, for example, already sees grammar as "the art of speaking correctly and the interpretation of poets" (I, iv, 63), including "the art of writing" and "correct reading" as part of the rudimentary studies (I, iv, 63). Cassidorus and Bonaventure both include the trivium as the basis for biblical interpretation. Augustine also specifies the relation of rhetoric to understanding and presenting biblical lessons. With the three kinds of rhetoric, judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative, covering most of the topics found in medieval literature, there is no surprise that when medieval poets present a legal dispute at court, a debate between body and soul, or an encomia of noble knights and ladies, they follow what they learn in school: they make use of the common topics in classical rhetoric to convince the readers. The relation between rhetoric and poetics is so close that Vinsauf does not hesitate to include a discussion of many rhetorical topics in his *Nova Poetica*. Colish points out that "Where poetry utilized an imaginative mode of organization involving a logical progression from image to image, rhetoric uti8lized an intellectual mode of organization involving a logical progression from idea to idea" (228). To understand how literary interpretation helps Christians understand salvation in the middle passuses of *Piers Plowman*, then, this paper will study both medieval exegeses and classical rhetoric and how the two are adopted by Langland to form a Christian poetics. This paper will bring in Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Origen, Boethius, Augustine, Alan, and Aquinas as important authorities on biblical interpretation or rhetoric and see how Langland establishes his own educational paradigm to help his readers understand salvation, with Christian educators like Cassiodorus, Hugh of St. Victor, and Bonaventure as his predecessors. This paper will explore why the narrator has to go through the friars, Thought, Wit, Dame Study, Clergy, Scripture for his Christian education and in that order, and why Imaginatif is presented as the last subject for Christian literary education. In other words, this paper aims at showing how Langland answers the medieval Christian concerns for adopting classical rhetoric as the basis for a Christian education, especially when it was adopted to interpret the Bible and present salvational doctrine.

#### 結果與討論

My research leads me to several general conclusions. First, classical rhetoric played a role at least as essential as, if not more than, grammar and logic in the forming of a medieval Christian poetics. It is true that scholasticism, and therefore logic, was still the most important tool in forming and studying theological doctrine, but with the rising focus on the education of the commoners after the Fourth Lateran Council, persuasion became as an important concern as accuracy. Scholars like Murphy and Baldwin do have reasons to believe that for many medieval

educators, Alan for example, rhetoric was treated as only the study of style, of figures of speech, and that medieval poetics derived from classical grammar rather than rhetoric. But many medieval writers of poetic treatises, Matthew of Vendome, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and John of Garland for example, focused their discussion on common classical rhetorical topics, as Cicero did in his *Inventione*. The confusion results from the fact that medieval educators treated the three subjects, grammar, rhetoric, and logic, as all parts of a Christian's education. They follow a tradition set by Quintilian, who believes that there is only a very thin line between the teacher of grammar and the teacher of rhetoric: the one focuses on an understanding of the text correctly; the other focuses on interpreting the text, for which task logic also helps. The therefore often redefined the three subjects, depending on where they wanted to draw the line. Whether Langland's Christian poetics find its basis more in classical rhetoric or the other two subjects, then, should be decided by how medieval educators redefined rhetoric. It should be decided by how classical educators defined the three subjects, by the occasion for and purpose of the passages as well as by the way the speaker approaches a text, that is, by whether the speaker is trying to interpret a text and persuade the audience through listing classical rhetorical topics. With this principle, I find that in the middle passuses, Langland often interprets biblical texts to persuade his readers as a medieval preacher often did, using classical rhetorical topics and figures without excluding the help of grammar and logic.

Second, with his focus on the modification of classical rhetoric for preachers, Langland is more concerned with the weakness and corrupted nature of the preachers rather than with rhetoric as simply a tool. While Quintilian already includes character-building and Augustine already specifies the proper intention of the preacher—charity, Langland draws out attention to how preachers should be moved by the Bible and inspire their audience. In other words, the "ethos" and "pathos" in Aristotle's *Rhetorica* become as important as, if not more than, "logos" in Langland's Christian poetics. That is, Langland tried to form a Christian poetics that aims not only at presenting and spreading the doctrine but also at moving readers to live according to the teaching of the Bible and saving their souls.

Lastly, when I further study how the three kinds of classical rhetoric, judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative, were adopted both in sermons and in literature, I find the medieval poets and preachers, who need to interpret the Bible as well as present their interpretations, often followed the same rules. While it is commonsensical that classical rhetoric provides the basis for medieval theories of sermons and literature—the theory of letter writing being another beneficiary—very few scholars study the transformation of classical rhetoric to medieval Christian poetics, with a focus on preachers' effort to adopt classical rhetoric in the interpretation and presentation of salvation doctrine. It is essential to understand how preachers' modification of classical rhetoric influenced poets' modification of classical rhetoric if we want to study what Langland considers an ideal Christian literary education. Unlike Cassidorus and Bonaventure, he does not simply consider a study of classical trivium in general the basis for an understanding of the Bible. Unlike Augustine and Alan of Lille, he does not simply use classical rhetoric figures whenever they are effective for persuasion. Instead, he modifies the classical inventory of topics and singles out those related to the emotions and intentions of the speaker and readers as specifically suitable for preachers and favors certain rhetorical figures—exemplum for example—as mysterious tools for understanding and spreading salvation doctrine.

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## 計畫成果自評

I am now revising a draft, "Salvation and Literary Education: Rhetoric and Biblical Interpretation in *Piers Plowman*," and hope to submit it for publication very soon. I am also considering expanding my analysis of Imaginatif as the figure representing an ideal Christian poetics and of the following episodes that present of the effect of that poetics for another paper. As this is the first time that I conducted a project sponsored NSC, I was not aware that a year is probably too short for me to do the research, brood over various scholarly opinions, and finish the paper. A project of this complexity surely needs a brooding period for the ideas to develop and mature. It is my hope that next year I can propose a two-year project on the continuing development of Christian poetics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.