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Luve, Lichery and Evill Women: The Satiric Tradition in the Bannatyne Manuscript

When George Bannatyne compiled his anthology of Scots verse in 1568 he was clearly motivated by a desire to preserve the literary heritage then existing in "copeis awld mankit and mvtillait" (I); he also wished to organize his material by kind, as indicated by his arranging and rearranging his

collection as he composed it.² Resulting was a manuscript in five major parts: Part One, the "ballatis of theologie"; Part Two, the "moral / grave" poems; Part Three, the "mirry balletis"; Part Four, the "ballatis of luve"; and Part Five, "taills and storeis." Preserving a sampling unparalleled in kind and quantity,³ the manuscript contains medieval and late medieval poems ranging in form from the lyric to the drama and in content from the bawdy fabliau to the delicate hymn adoring the Virgin.

Recognizing the need for variety and believing in the benefits of poems "blyth and glaid" (I), Bannatyne balanced his religious and moral poems in Parts One and Two with the merry ballads, poems intended to entertain, in Part Three. Similarly in Part Four, after arranging in the sub-category for "songis of luve" over twenty-five poems worshipping the idealized lady, Bannatyne placed a large number of oppositional poems in a sub-category for "Contemptis of luve And evill wemen" (3, 240). Testifying to the prevalence in late medieval Scotland of anti-feminine sentiment, these poems about "evill wemen," in their number, variety, and eclecticism, constitute a significant grammar of satiric form.

A genre of considerable breadth, satire in general has been defined as "the systematic exploitation, with aggressive intent, of what are, or are made to seem, deviations from the norm within a context"⁴; women, of course, throughout most of history have been deemed deviations from the male norm. In fact, misogynistic satire occurs as early as the Egyptian Book of the Dead, in the second millennium B.C.⁵ Satirists also typically take as objects

²William A. Ringler reviews the manuscript's compilation in his "Description of the Bannatyne Manuscript" in the Scolar facsimile; see also J. T. T. Brown's earlier analysis, "The Bannatyne Manuscript: A Sixteenth Century Poetical Miscellany," Scottish Historical Review, 1 (1904), 136-58.

³On the manuscript's encyclopedic nature see Helena Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI (Cambridge, 1981). That the poems are in the language of late medieval Scotland does not imply origin since, for example, a number are of English provenance; see Fox's "Contents of the Manuscript" in the Scolar facsimile.


⁵Francis Lee Utley, The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women (1944; rpt. New York, 1970), p. 5. Advancing a definition of the term for his study of the querelle des femmes, Utley states that anti-feminine satire has women as the subject and an attitude and intention that are "exaggerated or controversial" (p. vii); Utley indexes the salvos on both sides of the argument. For another discussion of the querelle des femmes see Joan Kelly, Women, History and Theory (Chicago, 1984), pp. 65-109. On the argument in Britain, see Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, ed., Half Humankind:
matters of strong emotional investment, such as love, sex, and power; these matters, in varying combinations, are at the heart of anti-feminine satire. As it is present in medieval and late medieval Scots literature, anti-feminine satire portrays women in negative, reductive, or stereotypic ways, calling attention to women's perceived or created "deviations," and denigrating qualities, attributes, and values typically considered female. Anti-feminine satire is not, moreover, generally "corrective"; unlike some satire purporting to be about reform, anti-feminine satire embeds no positive alternative, since woman's sins and vices are attributed to her nature, inherent in her sex. That the ostensible end of these satires is comedic only lightly disguises their misogynistic essence.

The satiric impulse has been persistent in the work of Scotland’s major poets and in Scots verse as a whole, as evidenced in Bannatyne's manuscript. Illuminating the culture's views of women, love, and sexuality, Bannatyne's poems about "evill wemen" also reveal some of the primary forms employed by late medieval satirists. In fact, the poems in this category comprise virtually a list by type of traditional vehicles for anti-feminine satire, among them the "impossibility" or "lying-poem," the Sambhavana, the catalog of female failings, the lover's palinode, and the warning poem.

However, because medieval and late medieval satire was often less concerned with traditional shape and more intended to reflect and comment upon contemporary situations, satire is frequently evident in attitude, tone, and intent, as well. Many of the poems against "evill wemen" in the Bannatyne manuscript are satiric in this sense; existing in a variety of shapes and forms, these poems employ such satiric techniques as "invective, sarcasm, irony, mockery, raillery, exaggeration, and understatement." The end, of course, is "to make the object of attack," in this case women, "abhorrent or ridiculous," which is an ultimate goal of all satire.


8In addition to the standard forms of satire are "sub-genres based on content rather than form: on satirical intent alone, on feministic intent alone, or on the desire to mingle praise and dispraise" (Utley, p. 46).

Yet, since satire is always to some extent about the speaker and the society, the satiric vehicle inevitably advances other parallel objects which the poem is about and which impel its construction. Ineluctably twisting like a Möbius strip to reveal its underside, satire comments additionally upon its genesis and its matrix, reflexively revealing its avowed target, its author, and itself as literature to be coexistent objects of the same writing. Therefore, even though women are purportedly what the poem is about, in that mix of assumptions and attitudes that underlies the poem and compels the satire the poems are equally about men and their responses to women, about society and culture, and about the production of satire. My intent here is to examine the forms and conventions of anti-feminine satire present in Bannatyne's section on "evill wemen," to consider from a sampling of those poems how forms and conventions help create the satiric myth, and to make some observations en route about the production of anti-feminine satire in late Middle Scots.  

One of the most undisguised vehicles for anti-woman sentiment in Bannatyne's manuscript is the "impossibility" or "lying-poem," its rhetorical technique of hyperbolic comparison well suiting it to satiric expression. After listing a number of "impossible" events or occurrences, the poem declares that only when such inconceivable things happen will something else occur; "impossibilities" adapted to anti-women satire have as desideratum that a woman or women will behave in a certain way. One especially creative poem, anonymous and witnessed only in Bannatyne, draws its impossibilities widely, from the local world in Scotland to the realms of politics, nature, and the spirit. As the narrator asserts the impossibility of the woman he loves being "steidfast and trew" (CCCLVI), his attitude ranges from being sufficiently wistful as to engage our sympathies to being so overwhelmingly cynical as to dissipate those sympathies on the instant. This ambivalence testifies to the irony inherent in the technique of satire, where the verbal attack so often has its genesis in gentler feelings become twisted and distorted.

Besides drawing upon the natural world for such conventional impossibilities as when "fische with fynnis can in the firmament fle," the narrator localizes the poem, stating that his beloved will be true when "Abirdene And Air Ar baith a toun / And twied sall turne And rynnis in to tay." Such massive changes on earth as well as inconceivable changes in heaven are more likely than his lady's faithfulness. After a series of such comparisons, the narrator accords his lady's failing epic proportion by a comparison to the time "quhen troy agane Is biggit fair & new," thus linking his lady through

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10 For ways of looking at this material I am indebted to Felicity A. Nussbaum's introduction to her discussion of later English satire in The Brink of All We Hate: English Satires on Women 1660-1750 (Lexington, KY, 1984), pp. 1-7.
allusion with that other "faithless" woman blamed for the Trojan War. Interest­ingly, Bannatyne himself widens the poem’s charge by the title he affixes. While the narrator of the poem castigates only his lady, Bannatyne general­izes the attack to the entire sex by using a plural rather than a singular noun in the title: "Ane vthir ballat of vnpossibiliteis compaird to the trwth of wemen in luve."

The poem’s subtext becomes evident when the narrator draws compar­isons from the realms of human conduct, citing as impossibilities the time when loyalty is loved, "quhen invy Is flemit owt of cloister," and when "everilk cuntry land and regioun / At ane accord ar sett but varience." Doubling back to its own context in satiric loops, the narrator criticizes the faithless lady through comparisons that are themselves intensely satirical assumptions: that no one values loyalty, that religious orders are rife with deadly sin, and that harmony between nations can never occur. Such allu­sions to human conduct reveal the dimensions of the narrator’s cynicism and comment upon the larger society’s failings, but they also help create the satiric myth by equating the faithless lady with the entirety of the world’s evil; she then comes to represent all that offends not just the narrator but the entire social whole. In such a way the author of satire creates what he, and the culture, then despises.

Also among the poems reproaching "evill wemen" is another type of anti-feminine satire employing an ancient rhetorical figure Sanskrit critics call the "Sambhavana."12 Positing all the globe’s resources as insufficient to record a particular matter, many cultures have used the figure to make reli­gious statements concerning the goodness of Allah, for example, or the mira­cles of Krishna. Molding the genre to satire, the anti-woman forces bent its conventions to misogynistic expression.

One of Bannatyne’s Sambhavanas asserts that if all the wood growing under heaven were "crafty" and "convenient" pens, all the sea ink and the earth pleasing white paper, and if all men who ever lived were writers, they still "Cowld not wryt the fals dissaitfull dispyt / And wicketnes contenit in a wyfe" (CCCXL). The poem increases its satiric effect by juxtaposing the form’s standard conventions to a cacophonous clash of tone at the end. The subjunctive phrases in the beginning, with their gentle references to growing wood, flowing seas, heavenly skies, and aesthetically pleasing pens and pa-

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11While it would certainly be a mistake automatically to attribute satire to unfortunate personal experience, in poems like this such experience may contribute considerably to tone; in general, personal experience, the cultural climate, and the literary milieu undoubtedly combine to produce such expressions.

12Irving Linn, "If All the Sky were Parchment," *PMLA*, 53 (1938), 953.
per, lull one into expecting a conclusion good or pleasant. The stark change in tone in the last two lines then comes as a shock, the suddenly erupting condemnation of married women made doubly powerful by its tonal contrast. 13

Yet, while unequivocal in its denunciation of wives and marriage, the poem also speaks about literary production, assuming the male as the subject and creator of art, the controller of resources, and the speaker of truth about the female object. Hence, even though the poem grants to a wife the power of misbehavior, genuine control in the world obviously resides with the one whose description creates and shapes ultimate reality. In other words, a wife is "fals" and "dissaitfull" because the producer of satire describes her so. Such poems do not, however, exist in a vacuum nor are they solely the product of one man's experience; instead, they partake of a long misogynistic tradition and have place in an attitudinal matrix. Multi-layered with cultural tenets and social dicta, such poems subtly but vigorously reproduce and thus enforce the dominant value system.

In addition to the "impossibility" and the Sambhavana poems, Bannatyne's section on "evill wemen" offers as well the parody of the courtly panegyric, another satiric variation on a traditional form. The courtly hymn's excessive praise of the idealized lady and the satirical panegyric cataloging "bad" women 14 or stereotypical female failings work together in literature and in culture as polarities, creating opposite mythic extremes. Whereas the courtly catalog enumerates the idealized lady's noble virtues, beauteous attributes, and admirable conduct, the parody lists her disgusting qualities, her ugliness, and her sinful behavior. Insisting that the same creature can be on the one hand perfection and on the other all vice, these two forms demonstrate the contradiction inherent in anti-feminine satire. Each genre employs the same technique, couching extreme emotion in wild cosmic analogies.

The anti-feminine parodies create a fictional evil woman, a necessary response to the mythic model of perfection the courtly hymns establish. Those courtly panegyrics, piling up hyperbolic praise, readily disclose their double-edged nature as they prescribe most rigidly how women are to behave and to

13 MacQueen labels such a final, clashing line "a sudden, impatient dash of cold water" (p. lx).

14 Interestingly, the cataloging of bad women is often done by indirection, not by naming the evil women themselves but by naming men considered their victims, such as Sampson, David, and Troilus, for example. An exception is poem CCCXLV which names "allesone," "meridiane," and "cresseid."
be. Through such poems the culture dooms women to failure and insuffi-
ciency and men to disillusionment and resentment; women's inability to
achieve and maintain a position on the pedestal inevitably results in the dis-
appointment and hatred expressed in the satiric parodies. Reflecting in re-
verse the excesses of the courtly encomia, and using the techniques of par-
do, reduction, and exaggeration, the catalogs of female failings are among
the most virulent of anti-feminine satires.

Inescapably, these satiric parodies reveal the source of that disappoint-
ment and hatred to be located not only in the poem's stated object but also in
its speaker and his reality. One astonishingly hostile and malevolent catalog
of female failings, at one time wrongly attributed to both Chaucer and Dun-
bar, centers upon female lasciviousness. Following Jerome's contention that
woman's desire is insatiable, the narrator attributes to women a "furius ap-
petyt," declaring their major interest and defining characteristic to be their
"beistly lust" (CCCXLVIII). Their lasciviousness is so great and so per-
verse, he continues, that women will even experience sexual desire for a
"crukit crippill criateur quhilk formit is ane owill
be
nateur." Against such
undiscriminating and lust-filled women men are helpless; although "clerkis
awld" have cautioned youths to avoid the meanness and trickery "of wemen
quhilk ar our oppressioun," to do so is difficult. Even if it were possible to
assemble in one "cumly cors" all male virtues, including the wisdom of
Solomon and Aristotle, the strength of Samson and Hector, and the excel-
lence of Achilles, women could nonetheless, with "thair sle serpent wrinkis
and fals taill," render all those male virtues "of non availl."

In the course of reviling women for their sexual appetite, however, the
poem also testifies to women's power, thereby disclosing the struggle for
control between the sexes that exists at the poem's core. The narrator con-
firms this sexual and political power struggle straight off when he notes, as it
were, in passing, that womankind "settis at nocht god Nor manis blame."
Arising from fear and anger, the comment seems particularly generated by an
awareness that women unintimidated by the prospect of men's disapproval
are ultimately uncontrollable. The equating of "man's" disapproval with
"god's" further attests this struggle for power and the narrator's rage at this
violation of the patriarchal hierarchy and his inability to achieve mastery.16

15Matthew Hodgart, Satire (New York, 1969), p. 80. Also observing the connection
between misogyny and the courtly love tradition, Utley notes that "formalized satire is co-
eval with formalized love." (p. 31).

16Katharine M. Rogers, in The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Lit-
erature (Seattle, 1966), notes that "the favorite attack on women in the Middle Ages was for
Attempting to compensate for his lack of control, the narrator remarks of women that "Sic is thair werd thairfoir quha sowld thame wyte." Ostensibly excusing women's perverse and voracious sexuality by attributing it to their destiny, this totally insincere explanation instead effectively stigmatizes women with the "werd" created by the satirist and consigns them to a marginal category apart from the body of reasonable humankind, apart, that is, from men, whose sexuality we are evidently meant to assume is not part of their destiny. Clearly a compensatory mechanism, this effort to contain and remove asserts control over ungovernable women by pronouncing them different and casting them into a stigmatized category. A technique inherent in satire, particularly in anti-feminine satire, this rhetorical posture separates the speaker from the object, allowing the distance necessary for vilification and for creating the satiric myth.

Certainly the force of this poem's attack against women makes it one of the most overwhelming poems in the entire manuscript. Forced to acknowledge men as powerless to control women's expression of sexuality, and powerless to confine that expression to the arenas of marriage or dalliance with himself and others like him, the narrator then follows cultural prescription in assigning to that struggle moral weight; reproducing the conditions of the culture, he locates evil in women, who have the power of their sexuality, and good in men, who struggle to control that sexuality. The narrator's sense of failure in the struggle for power between the sexes thus provides the fundamental motive power of the poem.

The techniques of the lover's palinode, or "the poem of the turned worm," construct a satiric form around the conflict of desires the male lover experiences when confronted with female independence and autonomy. This genre gives voice to the unsuccessful lover who bemoans his misery and details his cruel treatment, but who then traditionally includes in his complaint a peripeteia disavowing both his love and his lady and often referring to other fish in the sea. When the disenchanted lover extrapolates generalizations from his disappointing experience and directs malice and hatred to the entire female sex the poem participates in creating the fiction of the female monster.

In one such poem in Bannatyne's section on "evill wemen," the lover's tormented strands of conflicting emotion, love and hate, grief and belliger-

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17 Utley terms these "rebellious lover" poems even though the lovers are not so much rebelling as expressing anger that they have failed to achieve their way with their lady and must, in consequence, leave the field. "Rebellious" seems not quite the right word for the man who has no choice but to take himself off.
ence, are interwoven and alternated, the ambivalence prevailing until the very end (CCCXXV). Although announcing at the outset that he will mourn no more, the defiant lover does so through several stanzas as he describes his "llemmen's" disloyalty with another and her indifference to himself. Stiffening his resolve, he vows to remain unaffected by his beloved's lovemaking with another: "quhen thy haif play gif I haif pyne / On gallows mot I hang." Yet, in the very next breath his love overwhelms him, when thinking of "hir forheid fyne" moves him to "sing ane sang."

In his conflicted mind and heart the extreme love that causes such agony coexists with extreme anger, resulting in a startling central stanza wherein he prays to "him that deit on tre" to send sorrows to the lady. His failure to perceive incongruity in beseeching Christ to commit injury signals his desperation, a desperation culminating in the profound misogyny with which the poem ends. Finally gathering all his determination together, he vows never again to find himself in such a state for the sake of a woman. However, he can cope with his loss only by belittling it, by exorcising his tender feelings and substituting cynicism. The disgruntled lover's final comment reduces all women to the level of baked goods for which substitutes are easily found:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye saw nevir so fair a caik} \\
\text{of meill that millar mais} \\
\text{bot yit ane man wald get the maik} \\
\text{As gud luve cunnis as gais}
\end{align*}
\]

Operating simultaneously on several levels, the palinode presents on its surface the worm who has turned, vocalizing a mix of suffering and bluster. On another level the poem reflects the fascinating psychology of individuals who can, when they must, contain in their minds contradictory and antithetical attitudes: admiration and disgust, love and hate, longing and revulsion. Drawing upon the techniques of satire to cope with his hurt and loss, the lover perpetuates a cultural myth about women's nature. That he must heal himself through such techniques reveals as much of his culture and the uses to which it puts literature as it does of the lady.

Perhaps one of the strongest literary forms contributing to the satiric myth of woman is the anti-feminine warning poem, several of which Bannatyne places in his section on "eivil wemen." Varying in their primary targets, some warn against a constellation of qualities stereotypically associated with women, while others focus on a specific reputed evil. One such poem

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18 This cold and rigid attitude recalls a companion poem, found only in Bannatyne's collection, wherein the bereft lover castigates himself for his failure to see the truth, but then with equal cynicism observes that "God wait the blind Eitis mony a fie" (CCCXXXVI).
by Walter Kennedy warns against women's sexuality, presenting it, in accord with the tradition of monastic writing,¹⁹ as a huge, enveloping, and virtually irresistible snare for all men. Voiced by a nonagenarian Franciscan, this particular poem sums to mind the theme in art of the *vagina dentata*.

Reducing women by synecdoche to genitalia, the monk warns all men against replicating his behavior, which was to spend his life, as long as his body cooperated, in service of the "mowth thankless" (CCCCLX). As in similar misogynistic verse, this elderly Franciscan does not simply regret his lecherous past, but under the pretense of such expression vilifies all women by reducing them to a single bodily part. Seeming to display no real understanding of error, he repents for the wrong reasons, condemning his past, for example, because his vigorous sexual activity contributed to his aging, with the result that his "heid is quhyt and hair / for feding of that fowmart face." Enumerating his spending of gold, silver, and gems "To pleis tha mullis attour all thingis," he regrets his commitment of goods, time, and energy because they earned him nothing. Neither can he claim moral credit for ceasing to sin, since he admits unabashedly that he changed his ways only when old age forced him to end his attentions to the "mowth." His use of the word "mowth" is of course intensely ironic since he, as a monk and one of the oratores, is also a "mouth," a speaker of the Word.

Even though the monk, by his own admission, pursued sexuality all his life, a loathing of sexuality informs the poem. The traditions of satire, however, allow him to chastise himself only lightly for his past folly, since the form in which he writes, a product of the culture in which he lives, encourages him to assign sexual responsibility to his sexual objects. Attributing fault to the owner of the sexual "mowth" enables him both to minimize his own guilt and to express disgust at the sexual activity. This vicious attack thus exemplifies the process of projecting elsewhere what is known and experienced at some level as evil in oneself. Although the poem reverberates with anger at the narrator's own sexual needs and desires, the conventions of satire free him to displace and then vilify what he despises in himself.

An expression of such intense misogyny as exists in this poem has many antecedents in western tradition; one immediately thinks of Semonides, Jerome, Horace, Juvenal, and Tertullian, to name just a few. Particularly disturbing in this poem, however, is the gratuitous diminishment of women to genitalia. This searing use of synecdoche denies women humanness and wholeness of being, but the poem's hostile explicitness regarding the female anatomy casts the poem into another generic realm, as well, the hate-filled strand of the anti-woman tradition that today flourishes in pornography.

¹⁹ While not originating such sentiments, monasticism provided "a congenial atmosphere for the eternal debate over women" (Utley, p. 13).
The category in which Bannatyne overtly discusses "evill wemen" thus contains a variety of anti-feminine satiric forms in which women are imaged as false, merciless, deceitful, cold, cruel, tricky, greedy, lustful, and the source of all wickedness, a fictional female victim created to justify the savagery of the genre. Moreover, since satire really exists to satisfy an aggressive impulse, the victim must be "made to seem worthy of blame." The hyperbole, the rhetorical excess, the linguistic excrescences, the brutality of tone and expression are thus crucial in creating that worthiness of blame.

Such poems as the "impossibility," the anti-feminine Sambhavana, the courtly parody, the lover's palinode, and the "warning" poem, working together to shape the fictions necessary to the genre of satire, create and perpetuate the dominant value system, in the process illuminating the central struggle for power between the sexes. In these anti-feminine satires women are emblematic of the world's darkness, dichotomously cast as creatures made powerful by male sexual desire but as creatures who are in consequence blamed, resented, and hated for the resulting male vulnerability. Even while according women significance as the crucial other half of the heterosexual coupling, these poems reveal the difficulty women's sexuality poses to men. Reverberating in the poems as integral themes are men's responses to female sexuality: desire and therefore dependence, a sense of powerlessness, anger at the inability to control, and guilt because of desire. However, the power women have by virtue of their sexuality must be mitigated so as not to disturb the social balance our culture has nurtured over all these years. Aiding the task of maintaining sexual balance, Bannatyne's misogynistic satires reproduce the culture's ideology and shape women into monsters.

At the outset I observed that satire, always to some extent about its speaker and society, exposes its own genesis and matrix. Reproducing not just the individual's but the culture's fears and fantasies, encapsulating its frustration and guilt, satire contains, reveals, and discharges the undercurrents in human relations.

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20 Virtually all of these anti-feminine satires located in the category for "the reproche of evill wemen" have counterparts elsewhere in the manuscript. Identical forms are located in the "mirry balletis" and in the "songis of luve," as well as in the "ballattis detesting of luve." In fact, excepting Part Two, poems with analogous tone, sentiments, attitudes, and intentions are found throughout the manuscript.

21 Nussbaum, p. 4.

22 Nichols, p. 24.