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Chaucher and the Genoese.

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CHAUCER AND THE GENOESE

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS
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Accompanied by two Italian merchants, Geoffrey Chaucer traveled on a diplomatic mission to Genoa in 1372. As Chaucer's purpose was to arrange the use of an English port for the Genoese, the mission assumes interaction between Chaucer and Genoa's seafaring merchants. Soon after his initial journey to Genoa, Chaucer was appointed as Customs Controller for the Port of London, where his dealings with the Genoese continued. Based on medieval English records, this project plots the details of Chaucer's 1372 trip, examines his professional relationships at the port, and traces likely connections between Chaucer and the Genoese, thereby illuminating a portion of Chaucer's biography and casting further suspicion as to the "real-life" inspirations for his verse.

DEDICATION

For Michael

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E tanti sun li Zenoexi
e per lo mondo si distexi,
che und'eli van o stan
un'atra Zenoa ge fan.

And so many are the Genoese
And so spread throughout the world,
That wherever one goes and stays
He makes another Genoa there.

-The Anonymous, c. 1290

INTRODUCTION

From medieval times to the present, scholars have examined people, events, politics, literature, and other sources that could have influenced the content and "shape" of Geoffrey Chaucer's works. His rich social and professional life–as a royal page, a soldier, an esquire to the King, a justice of the peace, a diplomat, and a man of the arts, to name a few–suggest that Chaucer had opportunities to draw from a plethora of experiences. Because of this wealth of potential sources, critics have, in many cases, treated "phases" in Chaucer's life; for example, Chaucer's works predating 1386 have been classified as his Italian Period, and scholarship has proven that the works Chaucer composed in these years reflect the plots, themes, and poetic devices of major Italian poets (particularly Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch), all hailing from Florence. The course of scholarship on Chaucer's Italian Period has rested primarily on the works of these three poets; however, this thesis argues that additional Italian sources, specifically gleaned from Chaucer's interactions with the Genoese, contributed to Chaucer's total experience with Italian culture. Moreover, it announces the significant influence that Jacobus da Voragine, a Genoese archbishop and author, had on two of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

In 1372-3, Edward III sent Chaucer on a diplomatic mission to Genoa. Chapter 1 reviews the English records concerning this trip, discussing its purpose and its results. While in Genoa, Chaucer was to negotiate with Genoese leaders concerning an English port; various documents indicate that the itinerary

was completed, assuring us that Chaucer did, in fact, interact with specific Genoese citizens. Furthermore, the chapter describes major political events that defined Genoa at the time of Chaucer's visit, through which it also offers a "glimpse" of the major players in Genoese industry–the merchants.

The second chapter discusses the years immediately following Chaucer's Genoa voyage, when he served as Controller of Customs for the Wool Quay at the Port of London. Chaucer held this position for twelve years, during which time there was also an influx of Genoese merchants at the port. These merchants, commonly called "galleymen" (because Genoa was known for its building of ships or "galleys"), dealt business at the Wool Quay and, in fact, manned their own port property, the Galley Quay, which was adjacent to the Wool Quay. This chapter brings to light specific records that document Genoese citizens at the port; furthermore, it enumerates specific cases of Genoese merchants which Chaucer facilitated.

Chapter 3 demonstrates how Chaucer put his experiences with the Genoese to work in his own writings. To illustrate, for the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale, Chaucer depends on The Golden Legend, a thirteenth-century collection of saints' lives by Jacobus da Voragine, who was a prominent Dominican friar and writer from Genoa. Though The Golden Legend has long been recognized as a source for the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale, Chaucer's utilization of a Genoese work has not; this chapter seeks to do so. In addition, this section explains that Chaucer also drew from Jacobus's popular sermons for the Wife of Bath's Prologue, a fact that has received little critical attention, but that should be factored in for a more exhaustive view of the Wife's Prologue and Tale.

Both Chaucer's journey to Genoa and his appointment at the port of London assured him of interaction with Genoese people, nobility and commoners alike. Furthermore, his utilization of Jacobus da Voragine's works in the Canterbury Tales indicates that he was familiar with more than one work by a Genoese author. Hence, an analysis of Chaucer's Italian Period can no longer seem complete without considering his interactions with the citizens and literature of Genoa. With the goal of discovering more about this phase in Chaucer's life, this thesis seeks to encourage such critical considerations–of how Chaucer's public interaction transferred to private contemplation, of how his life experience affected his life works–of Chaucer and the Genoese.

CHAPTER 1

CHAUCER'S ITALIAN EXCURSION, 1372-1373: THE KING'S BUSINESS IN GENOA

Over recent decades, literary critics have been convinced of Italian influence on Chaucer's poetry and have even outlined an Italian period among his works (c. up to 1386), during which Chaucer is believed to have modeled several of his major writings after Italian poets. Early scholars such as George B. Parks and J.S.P. Tatlock argued Chaucer's Italian connections by successfully tracing a number of his plots and devices to the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.[1] In his article, "Boccaccio and the Plan of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," Tatlock wrote, "It is becoming more and more evident that the influence of France and Italy ran along side until the day of [Chaucer's] death" (116). By 1980, Beryl Rowland's Companion to Chaucer Studies included a discussion of the Italian poets' influence on Chaucer as part of a critical background "essential for an appreciation of Chaucer's poetry [beyond a] superficial level"(v). Contemporary scholars continue to survey Chaucer's familiarity with Italian works and to confirm his debt to Italy's famed poets. For example, in 1997 Charles Hobday described Chaucer's 1373 visit to Florence, asserting that Italian meters influenced the poet's rime royal.[2] Also in recent years, Piero Boitani noted that Dante and Chaucer shared similar backgrounds in the classics, science, and philosophy, and he argued that Chaucer drew from the same sources for his Troilus and Criseyde as Dante did for his Divine Comedy.[3]

Such criticism reveals useful facts about a significant period in Chaucer's life and verse. It confirms Paul Ruggier's idea that Italian literature helped to shape Chaucer's "artistry" as a whole.[4] Volumes of such scholarly evidence indicate Chaucer's link to the Italian "greats" of medieval literature; however, most of the discussion concerns Chaucer's experience in Florence only, where consulting with Petrarch or Boccaccio would have been possible, but apparently not provable.[5] I suggest that broadening the focus to include Chaucer's relations in Genoa could uncover still more about his Italian period, illuminating a portion of his life, and perhaps shedding new light on his writings. Therefore, I have proposed a thesis with a dual purpose: first, to sketch Chaucer's "experience" with the Genoese as revealed by documentation of his 1372–1376 journeys, and second, to suggest what this experience might disclose about Chaucer–both the businessman and the poet.

Accompanied by two Italian merchants, Giovanni di Mari and Jacopo di Provano, Chaucer traveled on a diplomatic mission to Genoa and Florence in December of 1372, a trip generally regarded as his first of two visits to Italy.[6] Larry Benson notes that, previously, this trip was thought to be Chaucer's first acquaintance with the language and literature of Italy, but that scholars now agree that Chaucer was probably chosen for the mission because he already knew some Italian.[7] Donald Howard argues convincingly that Chaucer could speak Italian and was influenced by Italian families who lived near his childhood home in the Vintry,[8] a wine merchandising area in London. Furthermore, several Chaucer biographers note that Chaucer's father and grandfather had regularly conducted business with Italians, especially the pepperers, many of whom were Genoese. Although numerous scholars mention Chaucer's first Italian journey,

they tend to ignore Genoa and focus instead on his side trip to Florence. The discussion of a possible meeting in Florence between Chaucer and Boccaccio or Chaucer and Petrarch has overshadowed any serious considerations about his appointments in Genoa. Even an authority on medieval Genoa, Steven Epstein, omits discussion of Chaucer's visit there. No one has entertained the possibility that Chaucer's Genoese relationships could have influenced his life or his work.

However, Chaucer did travel to Genoa, and on his first trip, he remained there for as long as three months. According to Chaucer Life-Records, the primary purpose of the mission was to arrange the use of an English seaport for the Genoese (39). Treaties for peace and freedom of commerce between England and Genoa had been confirmed on 17 September 1372, and the negotiations that Chaucer and his associates were to conduct with the doge and commonalty of Genoa undoubtedly resulted from this treaty. On 1 December 1372, Chaucer and his companions embarked on their route to Genoa. Studies on travel time in the Middle Ages suggest that of the 174 days spent on the trek, Chaucer could have stayed as many as 100 of them in Genoa and Florence (40). This itinerary offers further proof that Chaucer probably knew Italian already, as 100 days would hardly have given him time to learn a language. (And we know he was fluent in other Romance languages, such as Latin and French, and probably knew Spanish as well.) More importantly, 100 days is also ample time to interact, as a representative of the King, with Genoa's nobility and to make an acute observation of Genoese merchants, mariners, or other locals.

Although it would be ideal to report the itinerary Chaucer followed while in Genoa, a schedule of his meetings, or a first-hand account of his interactions with Genoese citizens, such records either do not exist, or remain hidden;[9] nev-

ertheless, it is possible to report Chaucer's official position during his visit and thereby define the sort of interaction he would have had with the Genoese. To determine what basis there is for investigation on the subject of Chaucer and Italians, we must begin with what exposure to Italy we are sure Chaucer had. Toward this end, Life-Records reports documents that lay invaluable groundwork. The records show that from 1367 until 1374 Chaucer served in the king's household; as an esquire to Edward III, he journeyed on the king's behalf a number of times, and among these trips, at least two of them were to Italy. (The earliest records of Chaucer's missions abroad pertain to his travels in France during the 1359-1360 winter campaign. Other documents reveal that from 1357-1359, he could have been covering various destinations in England as a member of the Ulster household, and that in 1366, Chaucer was travelling in Spain.) By 1371, Edward's attention turned toward negotiations with Italy. The doge, or duke, and merchants of Genoa wanted the use of an English port; and since Genoa and England had renewed a treaty of peace and friendship in February of 1371, resulting from two or three years of negotiations, a meeting was due between the two parties. On 17 September 1372, England and Genoa confirmed treaties for freedom of commerce, and subsequently, Edward III commissioned Chaucer's first trip to Italy. Still an esquire to the king in 1372, Chaucer went to Genoa to help facilitate the discussion about the commercial port that Genoese merchants wanted to establish on England's coast. While Strohm encourages scholars not to exaggerate Chaucer's official capacity in the negotiation (he cites Chaucer's Genoese companions as more experienced negotiators),[10] his credentials should not be undercut. Pearsall asserts, in fact, that Chaucer was "something more" than an esquire during the time of his first journey to Genoa (95); he was among

the sixty-two "scutiferis camere regis," or an "esquire to the king's chamber," receiving winter and summer robes. Pearsall claims that this title also indicates that Chaucer was a member of the king's inner household, his *secreta familia*, a group in attendance upon Edward who traveled about with him (95).[11] By 1374, Chaucer moved on to other appointments, as connection with the king's household was not as desirable by that time as the result of Edward's mismanagement of money and other domestic challenges. Nevertheless, his close ties with Edward III were intact at the time of his visit to Genoa in 1372-3, and his titles within the king's household made his contributions significant.

While a record documenting specific Genoese individuals with whom Chaucer met has not been discovered, his official position dictated that he would meet with nobility. But before attempting to list those with whom Chaucer could have met, it is best, perhaps, to view the broader political scene as Chaucer approached Genoa. In order to understand Chaucer's experience in the appropriate context, it is helpful to acquire a sense of place for both England and Genoa, and their relationships with each other, around the time of his journey. The following brief summary concerning the state of the two governments in 1372-3 includes aspects which would have proven relevant to Chaucer's business there.

England

In many respects, the state of England at the time of Chaucer's diplomatic mission to Genoa can be measured in direct proportion to the effectiveness of its king, who at that time was Edward III. In the reign of Edward, England lay between what historian Scott Waugh calls "two periods of extreme political disorder" (4). However, from 1330 to 1370, Edward III's rule saw a unified crown and

some of the greatest military victories in the country's history. Waugh says "the image of Edward III and his time is inextricably linked to war," and "bring to mind valour and chivalry" (3). In fact, Edward engaged England in a series of campaigns and led significant victories, particularly over the French and Scots.

Edward III's successful military campaigns are regarded as exceptionally remarkable when one considers the massive change that England's domestic front faced during the same period–the most devastating, of course, being the onslaught of the Black Death. Loss of population made it more difficult to mobilize and maintain power for military pursuits than in previous or subsequent generations. Nevertheless, Waugh says "England witnessed an extraordinary fulfillment of the potential of the medieval state, founded on cooperation and trust between the king, the landed elite, and the church" (4). Over the course of his reign, Edward managed to gain approval and cooperation from English villagers and nobility alike, despite a myriad of domestic and economic disasters. According to W.M. Ormrod, soon after his rule, Edward was remembered as an honorable and just leader, who "had won respect abroad and popularity at home" (x). The St. Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham wrote favorably of Edward, calling him a king "so noble, so high-minded, [and] so fortunate"; however, the same chronicler did not over-idealize Edward's reign, as there were political problems by the 1370's; Edward's last years

> witnessed the gradual disintegration of royal authority. Finally, diplomatic and military failures combined with domestic mismanagement to produce a serious political confrontation in the Good Parliament of 1376. (Ormrod xiii)

Sometime between Edward's undisputed success as a military strategist and his downfall as an economic manager, Chaucer voyaged to Genoa on the King's behalf.

Relations between England and Genoa had been inconsistent, to say the least,[12] and Edward commissioned Chaucer and his associates to confirm peace between the two. It is not difficult to understand Edward's desire for peace and alliances during these years, as the 1370s brought several military reversals to England. Edward was once again at war with the French, and by 1372, English control was nearly extinguished in the south of France. Historians such as Alice Beardwood and Benjamin Kedar have speculated on Edward's need for naval assistance at this time, which could have been another reason he wanted a negotiation with the Genoese.[13] Kedar suggests that Edward was eager for naval assistance, and Genoa's port boasted an arsenal acquiring both Genoese and Venetian naval power was necessary for Edward in his continuing tension with France (4). It is for their aid at sea, Beardwood asserts, that the Genoese and Venetians were granted protection and privileges in England.[14] Another possible reason for the negotiation between England and Genoa was Edward's interest in maintaining good relations with Italians in general, as he had borrowed and would continue to borrow in the future from Italy's financial houses. Beardwood notes that a number of monetary arrangements had taken place between Edward and the Bardi of Florence, and despite the failure of the Bardi house in 1346, English royalty continued to issue letters of protection to them and the Peruzzi house, also of Florence.[15] Edward consistently needed money to fund his war efforts, a factor which ultimately contributed to the so-called disintegration of Edward's reign

after 1360; his insurmountable debt to Italian creditors, such as the Peruzzi, caused their collapse when he could not repay them.

Though it is not clear, based on documentation, what Edward expected in return from the Genoese if he granted them the use of an English seaport, the records of Chaucer's trip document a *negotiation*, or some advantageous agreement for both parties. Whether Edward sought military aid, money, or a political or social ally, historical evidence proves that by 1372, Edward's was a crown in decline and in need of assistance from abroad.

Genoa

Genoa in the 1370s cannot be analyzed through a kingship, as can England, because there is no royal leadership through which to determine Genoa's political status. It is more useful, therefore, to observe late fourteenth-century Genoa according to the success of its most prominent nobility: the merchant class. At the time of Chaucer's visit, Genoa was hailed as a most powerful seaport in Europe, and its merchants as the foremost in trade.[16] In fact, by the Middle Ages, the city was nick-named "La Superba," or "The Proud," indicating the reputation of superiority Genoa had achieved by its success in commerce. The Genoese merchants had earned fame through various venues, two of which were prominent, even in 1372: the benefits of traveling abroad and their enjoyment of fine food and clothing.[17] Many would say that the pride of the Genoese, largely fueled by the merchants, was not ill-founded. Prior to and during Chaucer's mission, Genoa flourished in trade and the port at Genoa rivaled any powerful commercial center in Europe. Markets for grain, salt, and wine were universal, and Genoa was involved in them all. Moreover, Steven Epstein notes, the city's

merchants were innovative, figuring out ways to make profit from supplying goods that were not available from Genoa itself, but which could be shipped by Genoese vessels (61). For example, though the Genoese had none of their own salt pans (natural depressions in the earth where water collects and leaves salt deposits), they shipped salt from Provençe, Languedoc, Sardinia, and even from Ibiza, the "island of salt." Just as with grain, they were able to "move" salt, even though it was not their own product. In addition to producing savvy businessmen, Genoa's merchant class shipped products from areas of abundance to areas of scarcity, quickly making the Genoese world travelers (61). The states of northern Italy had to rely on outside sources for a large portion of their staple foodstuffs (28). In order to ensure adequate food supply, the Genoese sometimes had to travel great distances at great expense. In fact, much Mediterranean trade was moved by the massive shipping of grain to northern Italy, involving some of the greatest trading companies, such as the Peruzzi of Florence. Perhaps the Genoese's own reliance on outside goods piqued their interest in the market of commercial trade; although Genoa relied on key imports such as grain for their own sustenance, over time they themselves drew the greater profit from sea trade. Their need for commodities in bulk, such as grain, prompted the Genoese to build carriers for transport. Thus, the galleys, or the great ships, of Genoa, evolved (61).

Indeed, bulk trade could not have become what it was in the fourteenth century without the Genoese. They had been shipbuilders for years, which fitted them for sea commerce as early as the 1100s. By the 1160s, they had founded a local shipbuilding industry, producing seaworthy ships and galleys for transporting merchants wherever they needed to go. Furthermore, the merchantmen

of Genoa diversified their trade by educating themselves on as many items as possible. The Genoese found out what consumers wanted, be it silk or paper, and gathered information about the products in demand; then they devised plans to make the desired items available. Epstein considers the Genoese strategy in the context of overall economic development, observing that the Genoese were in the business of transporting whatever goods were desired from places of relative abundance to places of scarcity. This method served the Genoese merchants better than capitalizing on a few exclusive items, and it kept them in favor with a much larger number of consumers, as well.

As evidenced by their heavy involvement and profitable dealings in trade, the Genoese were a skilled group of commercial businessmen and a widely traveled nobility. Such was their status at the time of Chaucer's arrival in 1372. Despite Chaucer's prestigious position as esquire, he was undoubtedly impressed by the progressive culture he encountered when he arrived in Italy. "He had been to France and Spain," notes Pearsall,

> but Italy was the heart of Europe, physical witness to the grandeurs of imperial Rome and the origins of the Christian church, home of numerous kingdoms, dukedoms and principalities, several of them individually richer than England, and perhaps two centuries ahead of England in terms of artistic and literary innovation. England, from an Italian point of view, was as remote and poor and back ward as it had been during the days of the Roman Empire, and Chaucer must have felt it to be so. (103)

Although we cannot determine how Chaucer felt as he "experienced" Genoa, it is certain that the environment contrasted with his own, and that the business he undertook while there required direct contact with Genoese citizens and culture.

Chaucer's Negotiations

Records concerning the negotiations between England and Genoa document that Chaucer and his party were, in fact, to treat with the "doge and commonalty" of Genoa. It is plausible, then, to consider Domenic Tregoso, who led Genoa as doge from 1371 to 1378. Little is published about Tregoso; more is available concerning the state of Genoa at the time of his rule–a fact that reflects, perhaps, something of Tregoso's leadership. In 1339, Genoa had become an aristocratic republic, the doge (a dictatorial sort of governor by modern standards) serving as its chief executive. Like many of Genoa's leaders, Tregoso had been handed down the difficult task of alleviating the financial woe of his people brought on by heavy taxation placed on the Genoese populace by his predecessor. There is no evidence that Chaucer's visit and Tregoso's attempts to reduce taxes are related, but certainly the doge found it appealing to have any opportunity to advance Genoese trade, and thereby advance Genoa's economic position. However, scholars have paid little attention to Tregoso, making it difficult to draw conclusions concerning his personal or professional interactions.

Besides the doge, Chaucer was to treat with the "commonalty" of Genoa (Crow and Olson 39). Though *commonalty* refers to a general populace, one must conclude, as mentioned earlier, that Chaucer would hold meetings with nobility. And as the merchant class spearheaded all notable success of fourteenth-century Genoa, it follows that he would have met with merchant representatives. Epstein suggests that, in addition to meeting with Genoa's doge, Chaucer and his associates probably arranged to speak with the *mercanzia*, a committee in Genoa that dealt with trade.[18] Described by Michael Ott as the earliest well-known type of guild, the mercanzia operated in Venice, Genoa, Milan, Verona, Pisa, and

elsewhere as early as the tenth century; Ott notes that "it somewhat resembled the merchant guild of Northern Europe, being an association of all the mercantile interests of the community [. . .] " (2). After the First Crusade brought about an increase in trade, the mercanzia divided into craft guilds. It is important to note, Ott says, that there was a kind of hierarchy established among the guilds, as the Italian arts were not all considered equal:

> Some, being more important, had a right of precedence over the others and a larger share of the political rights. This hierarchy varied, of course, from one city to another; in Rome the farmers and drapers came first; in Venice and Genoa, the merchants. (2)

Perhaps the most notable quality of the mercanzia was its elaborate organization. The membership was divided into apprentices, journeyman, and employers, and their lives were regulated, Ott says, by a system of statutes based on the professional and religious duties of the members of the mercanzia; the relations between the guild and the local government; competition, monopoly, and even social responsibility to the sick and the orphaned (2). The mercanzia elected officers who typically served for a term of six months; and as the importance of the guild grew, so did the number of officers. As the Genoese merchants' success in business was reliant on their ability to trade overseas, the officers and the members of the mercanzia in Genoa would likely favor the offer of English port use that Chaucer brought from King Edward in 1373; in essence, the use of an English seaport would establish a Genoese commercial settlement in northern Europe and bolster their trading possibilities. Such a settlement would have been extremely attractive to the Genoese tradesmen because, by the time of Chaucer's visit, an economic depression was brewing for Genoese merchants.[19]

While Chaucer's meeting with the doge, the mercanzia, and other members of the commonalty remains speculative, records of payment to Chaucer subsequent to his trip indicate that he did follow the agenda for the journey, which would have included meeting with noble Genoese citizens. And the fact that these meetings did take place proves that Chaucer had specific interaction with Genoese people. Also, there is some indication of the potential for further research on the trip's documentation. Though scholars, such as Crow and Olson, present the extant English records that mention Chaucer's mission to Genoa, such records have not been examined for specific connections between Chaucer and the Genoese. Furthermore, little work is now complete on any extant Genoese records. It is plausible to consider that the Genoese, like the English, recorded the port negotiations that took place in 1373 (Genoese historians are noted for their careful and copious chronicling during the fourteenth century) and that, consequently, they have recorded Chaucer's arrival and stay in their region. Discovery and/or thorough examination of such records might add considerably to what we now know concerning the poet's exposure to the people of Genoa. Pursuing Genoese records, however, creates an entirely new and different search for documents, involving knowledge about the Genoese's treatment of official documents. Concerning Italian archives, Diane Owen Hughes points to notary records as a source.[20] It is possible, though hardly certain, that an individual notary scripted documents concerning the doge's or the mercanzia's discussions with Chaucer and his fellow diplomats; but if that should be the case, the particular notary is yet unknown. This is an angle that deserves attention and could ultimately lead to a more definitive description of Chaucer's experiences in Genoa.

Although questions remain concerning the specifics of Chaucer's mission to Genoa, several factors concerning his trip are certain. First, Chaucer did, in fact, arrive in Genoa. Second, he followed his assignment to treat with the Genoese concerning their desire to use an English port. Third, given Chaucer's position as esquire, he would have met with nobility. These factors are confirmed by various English records and accounts, and construct the framework for study on the subject of Chaucer's relationship with Genoese citizens. These recorded events assure us that Chaucer did interact with people of Genoa. And as the search for influences on Chaucer's verse is ongoing, any relationships he maintained, domestic or foreign, should not be ignored.

CHAPTER 2

CHAUCER AND THE WOOL QUAY, 1374-1386: THE GENOESE AT THE PORT OF LONDON

Shortly after his mission to Genoa, two events combined to guarantee Chaucer further interaction with the Genoese: 1) He was appointed Controller at the Port of London, which positioned him for various dealings with foreigners, and 2) trade between England and Genoa increased, resulting in an influx of Genoese citizens in and around London. Although no direct evidence indicates the establishment of a particular Genoese commercial port on the English coast, Life-Records confirms that trade between England and Genoa flourished in the years immediately following Chaucer's mission and that, by the end of Richard II's reign, a Genoese population was settled in London (39). An array of historical accounts concerning medieval trade provides a record of Genoese tradesmen in London at the time Chaucer was controller; Pearsall, for one, notes that the Genoese utilized English ports "more than usually," particularly at Southampton (103). Furthermore, historical surveys of London record Genoese citizens who had settled in the city by the time Chaucer took his position at the port.[21] It is certain that as controller, Chaucer would have interacted with Genoese citizens, especially the merchant class.

To analyze the potential for relations Chaucer could have had with the Genoese at the port, it is helpful to understand both the events leading up to his appointment as Controller and his duties while serving in the position. Almost immediately after his excursion to Genoa and Florence, for example, Chaucer re-

ceived several rewards from the king. On 23 April 1374, Edward III made a grant to Chaucer of a gallon of wine daily for life. (Chaucer collected this gift until the death of Edward in 1377, and Richard II confirmed it upon his accession.) Also, the mayor Adam de Bury and the aldermen granted a lifetime lease to Chaucer at Aldgate, one of the six gates in London's city wall, free of rent. Scholars such as Hulbert have demonstrated that it was customary for esquires such as Chaucer to receive rewards, including summer and winter robes, daily wages, annuities, and appointments to office (78). However, on the basis of extant recordings of gifts bestowed upon Chaucer, more recent scholars have assumed he was then in special favor with the crown and have considered these gifts to be extended in appreciation for his service.[22]

Also in 1384, Chaucer was appointed to two controllerships at the Port of London: Controller of the Wool Subsidy and Custom and Controller of the Petty Custom, positions he held for 12 years. He supervised the collection of duties, which required him to spend a considerable amount of time at the Wool Quay, the headquarters of the London customs. The Wool Quay, or Woolwharf, was situated on the north bank of the Thames, placed where it could effectively collect customs from ships in the port. At that time, there were three houses running the length of the wharf: one for wool custom, one for the petty custom, and a third for storage. The limits of the port itself were much larger, of course; its lower boundaries were Tilbury in Essex on the north, and Gravesend in Kent on the south side of the Thames. No evidence concerning the port's western, or upper limits has been found, although more contemporary records reveal that ships did pass beneath London Bridge. The vessels with which Chaucer was concerned would have landed at the small, crowded, and numerous wharves that

lay between the Tower of London and London Bridge; it was there that he performed his duties.

Though scholars have expounded very little on Chaucer's stint as Controller,[23] his "Customs" period constitutes significant years in his professional life. As Controller, Chaucer's primary responsibility was to oversee the collection of customs paid on wools, sheepskins (or "woolfells"), and leather. While he did not actually collect the customs himself ("collectors" were in charge of the actual exchange of money), Chaucer was ultimately responsible for seeing that the duties were paid and recorded properly. Through his office, Chaucer exercised one of the most ancient privileges of royalty: the right to levy customs on imported or exported goods.[24] His years as Controller spanned from 1374-1386; consequently, Chaucer exercised this prerogative on behalf of both Edward III and Richard II. Over the course of his term, Chaucer secured three major collections: the Ancient Custom, the New (or Petty) Custom, and a Subsidy Tax. The Ancient Custom, well established by the end of the thirteenth century, was imposed on all staple goods, such as wool, skins, and leather, but also on tin, lead, cheese, lard, butter, and grease. It amounted to a duty of 6s 8d on every sack of wool and every 300 (later 240) skins. To meet the expenses of foreign wars, Edward imposed the New (or Petty) Custom, adding to the collections Chaucer supervised. Established by 1303, the New Custom required all foreign merchants (which would include the Genoese) to pay an extra 50% on top of the Ancient; in 1347 it was extended to imported cloth, and was paid by aliens and denizens alike. By 1353 Edward also collected a Subsidy Tax, which was a fluctuating charge added to the Ancient or New Custom, the amount of which was decided by Parliament. As Chaucer oversaw these customs and the subsidy, it is not dif-

ficult to imagine that he interacted, directly or indirectly, with paying merchants; moreover, it is important to recognize that his dealings concerning the New Custom, which applied exclusively to foreign merchants, would have offered opportunity for specific interaction with the Genoese.

The records of the Good Parliament in 1376 establish that the entire customs organization was on Chaucer's Wool Quay, and it appears that Chaucer manages all aspects of the operation. Mabel Mills points out that early customs accounts indicate that there were at least two houses on the Woolwharf before 1378, one which dealt with the Ancient Custom, and the other almost certainly for the New. The houses had cellars, probably used for storage; a tronage house, for weighing merchandise; and an upper story, which has been suggested as serving as a counting house for the controller, the collectors, and any deputies or other clerks.[25] The same accounts include a summary of equipment purchased for use at the customs house, making it possible to "furnish" Chaucer's workplace. Among the items are canvas (for the windows), two trones for weighing merchandise, balances for weighing money, ink and parchment for the account rolls and for the cockets (letters certifying that customs had been paid on exported goods). Also, two chests were purchased for storing the rolls and tallies, and dishes in which merchants handed over their money for weighing, were used. The house kept canvas and thread in stock for packing wool, and several other items including wax (for the King's seal), equipment for storing letters, and benches. Between 1294 and 1297, the abacus for the counting house was repaired and improved; following that, a new counter was bought to place money on. Then in 1310, another counter was bought for both customs. This suggests that by the time Chaucer was Controller, there were two counters and an abacus in

each house. The customs house also kept a cocket seal, made of silver and bearing the King's matrix, which Chaucer would have used to verify that duties had been paid by outgoing merchants (usually exporting wool). By the mid-1380s, John Chircheman rebuilt the houses on the Wool Quay, adding an additional story–a solar, for the Controller; customs accounts do not reveal as much about these as they do about the previous structures, but factoring in the solar is helpful in envisioning Chaucer's surroundings.

Along with overseeing the customs collections, Chaucer carried out the arduous task of record keeping. One of the duties of a controller was to keep a counter-roll as a means of verifying the roll of the two collectors. Because this duty was assigned to protect the interests of the King, Chaucer noted the customs collections by hand, with no clerical assistance.[26] This charge amounted to a mass of paperwork and required strict adherence to the law.[27] More importantly, his keeping of the counter-roll indicates Chaucer's keen awareness of the duties paid at the port, by citizens and foreigners alike. The records managed by Chaucer, the collectors, and other port officials sometimes are categorized under a general heading of "port books." A series of such books, virtually unexamined by scholars, is held by the Public Record Office (PRO); it relates specifically to the Customs and Subsidy on wool, both of which fell among Chaucer's responsibilities. The description of this series in the PRO documents, which falls under a more general heading concerning medieval customs accounts, explains that the Exchequer regularly distributed books for the customs officers of each port: one set each for the customers, controller, and surveyor. The PRO cites the extant books of these officials as recording

> the number and names of ships using the port; the name of the master; date of arrival or departure; the name of the merchant in whose name the goods were shipped; each item of customable cargo, often with its value; and, in the case of the collector's accounts, the amount payable. (www.pro.uk.gov)

The extant books make up a small sample of those originally crafted; however, the ones that are accessible expand what little we know about Chaucer's years as Controller. The portion of this series which concerns Chaucer, Particulars of Account E122 , lists the "particulars of the controller, G Chaucer," during 4-5 Richard II (indicating the fourth and fifth years of Richard II's reign). The records are organized to include daily lists of customs money returned to the controller (Chaucer) by the collectors; it also provides details on individual payers of customs, the amount of goods on which each person was assessed, and the payment due.

Based on the format of these documents, it is possible to identify everyone who paid customs at the port of London from Michaelmas 4 Richard II to Michaelmas 5 Richard II; consequently, one might assume it to be possible to find names of Genoese merchants frequenting the port and to determine whether or not the specified merchants dealt with Chaucer. However, the countries of origin for each person are not listed, making it difficult to determine which, if any, of the people listed were Genoese. The majority of the names are of English origin, though some names are clearly foreign. A search for some of the more prominent Genoese family names among those listed–including Spinola, Doria, Fieschi, Grimaldi, Adorno, Campofregoso, Cattaneo, and others–proves unfruitful, but this could be because the document lists merchants who were "sub"-officials, or merchants who acted as collectors.[28] It would have been common for Genoese merchants to use similar agents for the financial aspects of their opera-

tions. While the port books themselves, then, reveal little information concerning specific Genoese merchants, an examination of the Close Rolls, private documents written and sealed in the King's name, during Chaucer's controllership is more productive.

Various extracts from the Close Rolls during Chaucer's years as controller report a Genoese population in London; moreover, they document Genoese business at the port. While the majority of correspondence in the Close Rolls appears to relate to the merchants from Bruges or Hanse, granting them privileges in the city of London, there are numerous references to the Genoese. Between 1374 and 1377, while Chaucer would have been at the port, several requests for the protection of Genoese merchants and the release of their goods were made. One letter, dated 1 July 1374 and addressed to "William Latymer, constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports," requests the goods of "diverse merchants of Genoa of the king's friendship" to be brought to London "with the assent of the said merchants"(33). The goods mentioned, assumed to have been taken at sea, were evidently being held wrongly, and the writer of the request was attempting to rectify the situation. Another document, dated 10 January 1375, also references "goods and merchandise of Genoa," this time "taken out of their tarits [sic]" and assumed to be detained in the town of Rye; the goods were ordered to be returned to Genoese merchants or to the "bearer, Visolus de Janua their attorney by indenture"(33). These two excerpts merely represent a larger number of similar letters; in fact, several other requests indicate that Genoese goods were wrongly arrested or detained and that their circumstances had to be reconciled by outside parties. The reason for the difficulty the Genoese trades-

men encountered is unclear; however, piracy was common on the English coasts, and it is quite possible that the Genoese were victims.[29]

Whatever the cause for the Genoese merchants' difficulties, it is evident from other entries in the Close Rolls that London authorities made attempts to protect them. For example, on 13 January 1377, a letter was written in the King's name to the mayor and sheriffs of London, ordering protection for merchants of various Italian cities, including Genoa:

> Order not to do nor so far as in them lies to suffer wrong, trouble, hurt, violence or grievance to be done to the merchants of Luca, Genoa, Venice, Milan, Siena or other merchants of Italy or to any of them in their persons, goods or property, but to safe guard and honourably entreat them being under the king's protection [. . .]. (33)

Later in the entry, the writer refers to a major altercation, involving numerous Florentine merchants, that ultimately landed in the courts of Rome. Though the case is not fully described, its repercussions had shed a negative light on all Italian merchants. Apparently, several of the Florentine merchants in question had been residing in London, and the writer of this order strove to clarify that these merchants, along with their shady dealings, had been discovered and arrested:

> . . . as lately for particular causes, and because of particular processes issuing from the court of Rome against certain men of Florence it is said and now newly published in England, the king caused all those men comprised therein who were found in the city of London to be by the mayor and sheriffs arrested and kept in prison in safe custody in the Tower of London, and their goods and merchandise whatsoever to be seized into the king's hand and the king will cause the said men to be arrested from time to time when they come to England [. . .] (33).

Furthermore, the writer urges London's authorities to resist casting suspicion on other Italian merchants, including the Genoese, as they seem to have had no involvement in the Florentine merchants' offenses. The king had learned that a

considerable number of "other merchants of Italy, namely as well men merchants, tradesmen of Genoa, Siena, Venice, Luca, and Milan as others, [were] making their abode continually in the city of London," and were in no way involved in the proceedings in Roman courts. The writer recognized, however, that, because of the court case,

> grievous hurt and prejudice might easily arise; and because it appears to the council, after viewing and examining the said process, that no other merchants beside the said men of Florence are therein contained, and it is the king's will that all other foreign merchants in the realm should be honourably entreated and not unduly grieved, the king has taken under his special protection the merchants of Luca, Siena, Genoa, Venice and Milan whatsoever, and others not comprised in the said processes, their goods and merchandise. (33)

Merchants of Genoa are mentioned throughout the Close Rolls; they were attacked, mistreated, and offered special protection during their business dealings with the Port of London while Chaucer was in control. The Genoese were undeniably a factor in London's activity, both by residing in the city and by dealing business frequently at the port during Chaucer's appointment there.

In fact, Chaucer would have dealt with numerous cases concerning the cargoes of Genoese merchants, some of whom were living and working within the city. He facilitated the case of Barnabo Dantu of Genoa, for example, whose goods were detained during the Michaelmas term of 1386. Crow and Olson state that Dantu, along with another Genoese merchant, landed iron at the Port of London in 1386, during the Michaelmas term. His business at the port is specifically recounted because his customs payment for his iron shipment came into question. Soon after Barnabo's arrival, his goods were detained, and his case concerning the load was contested before the barons of the exchequer on 8 November. Philip Walwyn, a searcher for the king in the port of London, arrested

the 1500 rods of iron Barnabo had brought and appealed to the exchequer to consider the load of iron as forfeit to the king, believing that customs had not been paid. Barnabo claimed, however, that he had paid customs on the 1500 rods, but as a part of a larger load of 3000 he had brought in at Southampton. He swore an oath to this effect, and Gerard Lomelin, a merchant of Genoa who lived in London, joined him in the oath. Barnabo presented his cocket, or shipper's clearance, to prove he had paid on the larger load at Southampton, which, in the end, did cause the barons to release his shipment. Though Barnabo's story does not specifically include Chaucer, it does concern him. Chaucer had appointed one of his deputies, William Lamborne, to handle the security of Barnabo's goods. (It might have been Chaucer himself, except that he was representing the county of Kent in parliament at the time.) And such record of Genoese at the Port of London merely represents the great probability of interaction between Chaucer and any seafaring Genoese merchants or other noblemen.

In an exhaustive study of alien population in England between 1350 to 1377, Alice Beardwood investigates additional records regarding foreigners. Such records document numerous Genoese merchants in and around the city of London who would have frequented common areas of business with Chaucer while he held his customs position. For example, on 13 July 1368, two Genoese merchants acknowledged before authorities that they had smuggled goods into the city: Martin de Mere admitted to importing pearls without paying customs of 16s, 10 1/2d, and Martin Palvesyn paid a fine of 100s for smuggling 400 pounds worth of jewels into the country (13). Not all Genoese were out of favor with the law, however. As mentioned, Chaucer's own traveling companions on the Italian journey, Giovanni di Mari and Sir Jacopo di Provano, then residents of

London, were both from noble Genoese families and were both employed as royal diplomats to Edward III. Records also cite Anthony Pessaigne and Anthony and Francis Bache, all of Genoa, who spent most of their lives in service to Edward II and Edward III. Pessaigne was, in fact, knighted, and became the King's counsellor; Anthony and Francis Bache served both as diplomatic and financial agents; and all were extended special treatment, being exempt from specific taxes imposed on "average" citizens.[30]

An additional set of entries reflecting Chaucer's period as Controller of the Customs exists in the printed Calendars of Patent Rolls, a series of documents similar to the Close Rolls except that they were left open (instead of "closed"). As Chaucer was Controller for twelve years (1374-1386), his official duties spanned the final years of Edward III's reign and the beginning of Richard II's, and a comparison of the letters patent under each king reflects a change in the level of autonomy Chaucer enjoyed under the respective leaders. According to an entry dated 10 May 1377, Edward permitted him to appoint a deputy in his stead, as Chaucer was "often on the King's service in remote parts so he [could not] stay in person upon the exercise of his office" (33). Chaucer's terms of tenure altered upon Richard II's accession, however. Richard confirmed Chaucer's position as Controller "with usual fees," but he did so "on condition that he write the rolls with his own hand, abode [sic] continually there and do all that pertains to the office in his own person and not by a substitute [. . .] "(33). The change in Chaucer's terms of tenure makes it clear that Chaucer enjoyed special privileges under Edward III, but as soon as Richard II inherited the throne, Chaucer was forced to reside at the Port of London permanently. He was not allowed to use a deputy under Richard II until 1385, eight years into the reign.

Because he was required to stay "in post," it is therefore feasible that Chaucer had daily contact with merchants in London, including the Genoese.

Aside from official documents, there are indications of specific relations Chaucer had with Genoese individuals both before and after his diplomatic journey to Genoa. First, Chaucer's own travelling companions to Genoa in 1373, Giovanni di Mari and Sir Jacopo di Provano, then residents of London, were both from noble Genoese families. Second, Margaret Galway has suggested that Chaucer would have known of the Doria family, renowned Genoese merchants for centuries, through a highly publicized lawsuit brought against Payn Doria in London while Chaucer was Controller. In 1385, a group of merchants from Bristol, England sued Payn Doria for allowing a Spanish employee to attack one of their ships; since England and Genoa were at a truce, this was a matter of particular concern. The dispute was settled in favor of the merchants, but three years later the Bristol men were in court again, still unsatisfied with Doria's penalty. Galway states that, because of his official appointments, Chaucer certainly met Doria (508). First, as the Doria family belonged to a group of noble Genoese statesmen, we may assume that Chaucer would have met him on his diplomatic visit to Genoa. Second, anyone dealing with ships heard of the piracy that Doria ordered in 1385, and as Chaucer was still Controller, word of the case undoubtedly reached him. Third, Galway notes that, while in London, Doria would have frequented the Galley Quay, which served as the Genoese business headquarters and stood adjacent to Chaucer's Wool Quay (509). Finally, when Doria's case surfaced the second time, Chaucer had been appointed justice of the peace in Kent, which made him a colleague of Bealknap, one of the chief arbiters in the

lawsuit (508). Given the numerous connections between Doria's and Chaucer's positions, it would have been most difficult for them to avoid one another.

A careful examination of the available records and of Chaucer's professional activities at the Customs House points to numerous opportunities he had to come face-to-face with foreign merchants, and with the Genoese, specifically. The fact that Chaucer would have overseen, as Controller, his own set of port books leads one to consider how these records could, if more fully examined, reflect his relations at the Wool Quay. Moreover, such records lead to important considerations concerning literary works Chaucer produced during his journey to Genoa and his subsequent appointment at the port of London. Portions, if not all, of The Book of the Duchess, The Parliament of Fowls, The House of Fame, and The Canterbury Tales date from his Customs period. Notably, the Second Nun's Tale (1386), was composed before Chaucer's leaving his position at the wool quay. Although the attempt to read elements of Genoese culture into every line of such works would be inappropriate, a careful consideration of Genoese influence could shed additional light on the works he crafted during his controllership.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENOESE AND CHAUCER'S WORKS: THE INFLUENCE OF JACOBUS DA VORAGINE

Port records and other official documents indicate Chaucer's knowledge of Genoese noblemen, merchants, and other notable figures; furthermore, such documents suggest those relationships–professional and personal–that he had with them. Because the search for influence on Chaucer's works is ongoing, any established relationships Chaucer maintained lead to a question: Does Genoese influence surface among Chaucer's works? Although scholars have heralded the influence on Chaucer by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, they have left Genoese sources untapped. However, we know that Chaucer relied heavily on outside sources, analogs, and other medieval writings for his own texts; therefore, any Genoese influence deserves consideration.

A close reading of the Second Nun's Tale, the Retraction, and the Wife of Bath's Prologue reveals that Chaucer did, in fact, draw significantly from at least one Genoese author: Jacobus da Voragine (1228-1298). Ernest Richardson, author of Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine, calls Jacobus "one of the most fascinating figures" of thirteenth century Italy (ix). He also says, "Add to this that [Jacobus] was author of the first translation of the Bible into Italian, the distinguished head for many years of the Preacher Friars of Northern Italy, and afterward Archbishop of Genoa" (ix). Succeeding Obizzo Fieschi as archbishop of Genoa in 1292, Jacobus was visible to the public in his leadership and author-

ship. A Genoese citizen and leader, Jacobus composed several volumes of sermons, a chronicle of the city of Genoa, and his magnum opus, which was a collection of saints' lives. The collection, which came to be known as Legenda Aurea, or The Golden Legend, has been dated between 1251 and 1273. By 1300, it was translated into vernacular languages, as it was in demand by clergy and laity alike. It was the most copied text of its time, even including the Scriptures. In fact, the collection was called "golden" because of its widespread popularity, which lasted throughout the sixteenth century (ix). David J. Collins notes that for two and a half centuries, copyists and printing houses from London to Venice duplicated The Golden Legend. In total, 500 manuscripts remain, plus 150 printed editions (34), adding support to the belief that it was the greatest work produced by the city of Genoa and one of the most famous religious works of the Middle Ages.

Jacobus's compendium enjoyed such immense popularity, in part, because of the demand for saints' lives as a genre. Collections of saints' lives, typically categorized among didactic and hagiographic literature, were written primarily for religious instruction. Though Thomas Garbáty notes that devotional works were often "strong in numbers and generally weak in qualities of entertainment" (755), saints' lives were an exception in many cases, as proven by Jacobus's work. In fact, saints' lives made up the most popular genre of devotional literature in the Middle Ages (Benson 19). Thomas Head argues that the popularity of the collections is linked to the fact that the stories of the saints emulated the "core of Christianity"; for saints were, in life and death, members of the Christian community (xiv). Furthermore, those deemed to be saints through their martyrdom, heroism, or good deeds could, by their holiness, perform miraculous actions

(xiv). Through prayer, pilgrimage, devotion, or donation, Christians believed they could receive advocacy or intercession from the saints; the intensity of their belief maintained their interest in the saints' stories throughout the life of the medieval Church. With The Golden Legend, Jacobus produced a collection of saints' lives unlike any preceding volume, creating a "new" kind of hagiography (Collins 33). Prior to Jacobus's work, saints' lives had mostly appeared as unedited collections or as independent manuscripts; as such, they were not easily circulated; furthermore, no previous collection was comprehensive or authoritative (33). Although Jacobus drew from independent sources–over 250 have been identified in The Golden Legend–the accounts of the lives themselves were his own doing; also, the chapters themselves are short, relative to other collections of saints' lives, making the volume easy to read. Collins notes that "the [Golden Legend] was the first collection of saints' lives at once thorough, accessible, and inexpensive" (33). With The Golden Legend, Jacobus compiled the only complete set of saints' lives, and it gained immediate popularity in Italy and beyond.

Though there has been much debate over Jacobus's intended audience, those who read The Golden Legend would find its arrangement simple and easy to follow. Jacobus presents the tales of approximately two hundred "official" saints of the Church, up to his time, who had been declared worthy of public veneration. William Granger Ryan notes that there were already readings about these saints in martyrologies and legendaries, but Jacobus's version added new material from outside sources (xv). Also, Jacobus arranged the tales within the framework of the Church's liturgical calendar. He then distributed the readings on the saints in accordance with their feast days and the seasons of Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Pentecost (Ryan xv). Jacobus placed the saints who

did not "fit" into a specific liturgical season in a chapter for the Feast of All Saints. As a result, he efficiently organized the stories of the saints, making the volume clear and accessible for both clergy and laity.

In addition, he prefaced most of the saints' lives with an etymology, or an interpretation of the saint's name. With these, Jacobus apparently took considerable liberties, essentially assigning his own meanings to saints' names. Ryan states that, though critics have "scoffed" at the etymologies, the interpretations actually reflect

> admirable examples of Jacobus's whole method. To him a name is the symbol of the person who bears it, and in its letters and syllables can be found the indication of what the person's life, with its virtues and its triumphs, is to be. (xvii)

For example, Jacobus says that St. Agnes's name comes from the word *agna*, which means "lamb." Then he says her name could also come from *agnos*, meaning "pious," because she was pious and compassionate. "Or," Jacobus adds, her name could derive from *agnoscendo*, or "knowing," because she knew the way of Truth. With this and other etymologies, Jacobus doesn't express one correct interpretation; Ryan says that instead, he seems to communicate that it is the hidden, or spiritual, meaning that must be sought in everything. Though more modern audiences have found his interpretations of saints' names lacking in precision, medieval listeners and readers probably accepted his method.

Chaucer obviously knew The Golden Legend first hand, and it is reflected, specifically, in the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale. The Prologue is comprised of three main parts: 1) four stanzas which discourage idleness and emphasize "feithful bisynesse," (line 24) or good works; 2) an "Invocation to Mary," based on Dante;[31] and 3) the interpretation of Cecilia's name. The first and third of

these divisions deserve attention, as they illustrate Chaucer's reliance on Jacobus's text. According to Florence Ridley, the theme of "bisynesse" reflected in the first stanzas of the Prologue is taken directly from Jacobus's introduction to The Golden Legend (qtd. in Benson 942). It is raised once again at the close of the Prologue, as the Second Nun declares, "Right so was faire Cecilie the white/Ful swift and bisy evere in good werkynge" (lines 115-116). In other words, Cecilia faithfully and constantly performed good works. Also in the Second Nun's Prologue, Chaucer references Jacobus's interpretation of Cecilia's name. And as he introduces the interpretation, Chaucer directly cites Jacobus da Voragine: "Interpretacio nominis Cecilie quam ponit Frater Jacabus Januensis in Legenda," which, translated, means "The interpretation of the name Cecilia that Brother Jacob of Genoa put in the Legend" (Benson 263). Here, Chaucer is signaling to the reader that the meaning of Cecilia's name offered in lines 85-119 of the Second Nun's Prologue imitates Jacobus's interpretation. Several aspects of this passage are significant. First, Chaucer names Jacobus specifically. Second, he mentions both Jacobus and The Golden Legend immediately after the "Invocation to Mary," a device he derived from Dante, thereby placing the influence of the two Italians, a Florentine and a Genoan, in the same text. Third, Chaucer indicates plainly that The Golden Legend directly affected the text of the Second Nun's Prologue. Clearly, Chaucer derived from Jacobus's text the etymology of Cecilia's name and the basic plot and theme for the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale.

Not only does Chaucer state that the interpretation of Cecilia's name is borrowed from The Golden Legend, but he goes on to copy Jacobus's etymology almost exactly. In his interpretation, Jacobus says that the name Cecilia

> may come from *coeli lilia*, lily of heaven, or from *caecitate carens*, lacking blindness, or from *caecis via*, road for the blind, or from *coelum* and *lya*, a woman who works for heaven. Or the name may be derived from *coelum* and *laos*, [heaven of] people (Ryan 318).

Benson notes that the meanings are incorrect, except that the name Cecilia could actually be derived from *caecus*, blind; however, he adds that etymologies were considered a "legitimate means of expressing the moral significance of words" (944). Accordingly, through the words of the Second Nun, Chaucer's communicates the same meanings as Jacobus does for the name Cecilia. Though the interpretation is transposed from Jacobus's prose to Chaucer's poetry, the wording in the Prologue is similar to Jacobus's, utilizing phrases such as "heaven's lily" (line 87), "the road for the blind" (line 92), and "the heaven of people" (line 104). Also, Chaucer employs Jacobus's method of presenting multiple meanings of the name; the Second Nun expresses one meaning, and then says, "Or elles" (or else) and introduces an alternate meaning, in the same way Jacobus's did in his etymology. By imitating Jacobus's content and structure, Chaucer clearly fashions his "Interpretacio" of Cecilia after Jacobus's interpretation in The Golden Legend.

In addition to referencing Jacobus's etymology in the Second Nun's Prologue, Chaucer also modeled the entire plot of the Second Nun's Tale after Jacobus's account of St. Cecilia. Though Chaucer also uses the work to give political and religious commentary (some critics see in it the reflection of the Great Schism), the Second Nun primarily sets forth the story of St. Cecilia, a beautiful, chaste, and aristocratic Roman woman. In an effort to preserve her virginity, Cecilia tells her new husband, Valerius, that she has an angel lover, invisible to the impure, who will retaliate if Cecilia is touched vulgarly. Cecilia tells Valerius

that if he wants to see the angel, he must seek forgiveness of his sins from Pope Urban; believing her, Valerius follows her instruction. He finds Urban, is baptized, and consequently joins Cecilia and her brother, Tiberius, in "purity." Soon after, Valerius and Tiberius are sentenced to death; during their execution, a Roman sergeant named Maximus claims he saw their spirits ascend into heaven. Consequently, Maximus is sentenced to death, and Cecilia buries him with Valerius and Tiberius. For this, and for expressed faith, she herself is sentenced to death by Almachius, a Roman prefect. This plot, though enhanced by Chaucer's own additions, provided the framework and most of the action in the Second Nun's Tale.

In the delivery of the Second Nun's Tale, Chaucer utilizes all of Jacobus's plot; the characters have the same names, and the story unfolds just as it does in Jacobus's version. With most of the Canterbury Tales, Chaucer relies on a source and then he alters it or adds to it, often "hiding" underlying meanings. However, Benson's explanatory notes to the Tale indicate that Chaucer makes only slight modifications to the Second Nun's Tale. For example, Chaucer is apparently the first to associate Cecilia with music, expressing that Cecilia sang to God in her heart "whil the organs [made] melodie" (lines 134-135). After Chaucer linked music with Cecilia, the art of the time followed suit, often depicting her with a harp or an organ. Also, Chaucer seems to have taken the opportunity to comment on the Great Schism within the Tale. Whenever Pope Urban is mentioned, the reference is positive; for example, he is called "goode Urban" in line 177, and "Seint Urban" in line 179; such references have been taken to express English favor for Urban of Rome instead of Clement of Avignon. Aside from these minor changes, though, Chaucer seems to have altered Jacobus's story very

little. Instead, he follows Jacobus's plot closely; moreover, Chaucer imitates Jacobus's major theme of "bisynesse," the quality St. Cecilia exemplifies to combat the idleness spoken of in lines 1-28 of the Second Nun's Prologue. For example, Chaucer compares Cecilia with the Biblical character Leah, for "hire lastynge bisynesse" (Prologue, line 98), indicating that Cecilia, like Leah, led an active life.[1] As the Tale opens, the Second Nun declares that Cecilia's prayer and love for God "nevere ceased" (line 124), and the story of Cecilia's evangelism proves the statement true. The theme is communicated once again as Valerius counsels with Urban. When Valerius tells Urban that Cecilia had encouraged him to believe in Christ and be baptized, Urban weeps, throws his hands in the air, and prays. He asks God to accept the "fruyt" of the "seed of chastitee" that was sown in Cecilia (lines 192-193); and he says that she is serving God "lyk a bisy bee" (line195), meaning that she is constantly influencing others to believe in Christ. Such references to Cecilia's "bisynesse," emerging repeatedly in both Jacobus's and Chaucer's tales, further illustrate Chaucer's heavy reliance on the story of Cecilia in The Golden Legend.

In addition, scholars believe that Chaucer composed the Second Nun's Tale during his Italian Period (c. up to 1387), which begs for Genoese analogs to be considered alongside Chaucer's other Italian influences. First, Chaucer refers to the "lyf of Seynt Cecile" in the prologue to the Legend of Good Women, and this has been taken as proof that the Second Nun's Tale was written before 1386. In the years immediately preceding 1386, Chaucer was in direct contact with the Genoese at the port of London; therefore, he apparently interacted with Genoese people and read Genoese works simultaneously. Also, Chaucer employs rime royal (a poetic device associated primarily with Boccaccio)[32] in the Second Nun's

Tale, suggesting further that the tale belongs in Chaucer's Italian Period. Previously, scholars have associated his Italian Period with the influences of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio; however, the primary source for the Second Nun's Tale is The Golden Legend, an exclusively Genoese source. This strongly suggests that Jacobus da Voragine and other Genoese authors be considered among Chaucer's Italian influences.

Furthermore, Chaucer refers indirectly to The Golden Legend in his Retraction, found at the end of the Canterbury Tales, which says that he revokes all of his works except for those that reflect devotion to Christ, including "bookes of legendes of seintes" (line 1081). Though Benson notes that Chaucer was not the first great writer to express regret for his works (where authors record that in the end, salvation is more important than literature), the sincerity of his Retraction has been debated critically and interpreted in various ways. It is unclear whether Chaucer is truly expressing regret for works such as "the tales of Caunterbury, thilke that sownen into synne" (lines 1089-1090), or if he composed it out of a perceived obligation. However, whether or not he truly regrets the works that he retracts, it is certain that he is still content with his delivery of devotional works. He says he regrets all

> But of the translacion of Boece de Consolacione, and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitee, and devocioun,/ that thanke oure Lord Jhesu Crist and his blisful Mooder, and all the seintes of hevene [. . .] . (lines 1079-1084)

We know nothing of Chaucer's books of "omellies" or "moralitee." But we do have one extant saint's life, the story of St. Cecilia in the Second Nun's Tale, taken directly from Jacobus da Voragine's collection.

Chaucer's work was influenced not only by Jacobus's volume of saints' lives, but also by his sermons. Like The Golden Legend, Jacobus's sermons were known as "golden" sermons, and they were preached all over Europe (Richardson ix). Though his saints' lives were immensely popular–in readership, they were second only to Jerome's Vulgate–above all, Jacobus was a preacher. In fact Jacopo's career spanned the "age of the revival of preaching" (24); to promote this revival, the two Orders of the friars were founded, and during this time, the sermon comprised its own didactic genre. A religious mood pervaded much literature–secular or spiritual–in the Middle Ages (largely due to the massive influence of the Church), but the sermon, like the saints' lives, combined religious themes and the art of letters most potently. At least twenty-two collections of Jacobus's sermons remain from late-medieval England, and additional copies are listed among books owned by clergy, indicating that his messages enjoyed a significant circulation in their day.[33] Moreover, the number of copies still extant in England alone indicates that Jacobus's sermons likely reached Chaucer and his audience.

Andrew Galloway[34] has argued for a direct connection between Jacobus's sermons and the Wife of Bath's Prologue, indicating not only that Chaucer had read Jacobus's sermons, but also that he had used them as a source.[35] In the Prologue, the Wife recounts the stories of her marriages to five different men; in the process, she explains the tricks of her "trade" (marriage), and defends, although humorously, a shocking lifestyle. Categorized in the genre of an "apologia" (or explanation of one's own life or occupation), the Prologue defends marriage, the Wife claiming that that Christ never specified how many times a woman should marry. As she tells her stories, she primarily addresses the clerks, challenging

their theologies on marriage. In doing this, she reflects sermon style and content reminiscent of Jacobus's published treatises (Galloway 9). First of all, Galloway states that the very nature of the Wife's orations in her Prologue clearly relates to preaching, as indicated by the clerical pilgrims who are listening. The Wife harshly criticizes the clerks, and she challenges outright their practice of glossing Biblical commentaries. She herself takes on the identity of a preacher, attempting to convict the hearts in her "congregation" of their wrongdoings. Ironically, the Pardoner comments, "Ye been a noble prechour in this cas" (line 165). In addition, the Wife repeatedly debases those who have "preached" to her; she recalls that she once addressed a former husband by saying, "Thou . . . prechest on thy bench" (lines 246-7). Galloway notes that while some scholarship has called the Wife's Prologue a mere parody of contemporary sermon delivery,[36] the substance of her "preaching" reflects actual sermons more closely (7); he states that the Wife's oration reflects a "serious realm of preaching and learned discourse" (5). Previous scholarship has linked the Wife's Prologue to methods of rhetorical discourse and even religious texts (such as the treatises on marriage by Jerome and Theophrastus), and Galloway does not counter these arguments. Instead he adds to them, saying that the Wife's discourse closely reflects a medieval tradition of sermons addressing marriage; specifically, he asserts that the Wife's speech reflects a series of three marriage sermons by Jacobus da Voragine.

Those who read any of Jacobus's sermons must consult manuscripts and manuscript editions, as they have not been translated or reprinted in modern languages.[37,38] Though his sermon material has been overshadowed by The Golden Legend,[39] Jacobus's messages circulated widely from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries; consequently, multiple manuscripts and early

printed editions remain. Jacobus wrote one collection, for example, in the thirteenth century that was "by far the most popular and widely disseminated sermon cycle in late-medieval England" (Galloway 9). Jacobus organized the volume with three sermons for each Dominical Sunday (in honor of the Trinity, the Virgin, and of God the Father), and the collection features a three-sermon cycle on marriage. These three messages follow in the tradition of medieval marriage sermons, as they are based on John 2, which describes Jesus's attendance at a wedding at Cana and a miracle he performed there; the frequency with which this passage was used, in fact, indicates a strong interest in the institution and problems of marriage (9). Notably, the Wife raises John 2:1 as her first Biblical reference in the Prologue, using the passage to introduce controversy over the "appropriate" number of times a woman should marry:

> "But me was toold, certeyn, nat longe agoon is,
> That sith that Crist ne wente nevere but onis
> To weddyng, in the Cane of Galilee,
> That by the same ensample taughte he me
> That I ne sholde wedded be but ones." (lines 9-13)

Peter Beidler notes that Christ's attendance at only one wedding was commonly interpreted by medieval clergy and laity to mean that a person should only marry once (22). The Wife goes on to argue, however, that Christ's interaction with the multiple-married Samaritan woman, spoken of in John 4, creates complexity in the issue. "What that he meante [. . .] I kan nat [say]" (line 20), the Wife comments, and she continues by referencing Genesis 1:28, expressing God's wish for humankind to "[increase] and multiplye" (line 28). She ushers in controversy with her use of the Cana passage, accusing the pilgrim clerks who are listening of wrongly glossing the Scriptures on marriage; nevertheless, her reference to the

passage and her explication of it draw a direct connection between the Wife of Bath and Jacobus's popular marriage sermons.

In addition, the Wife presents appeals in the Prologue that are strikingly similar to the ideas Jacobus presents in his first and third sermons on marriage (Galloway 10). His first sermon defends marriage, explaining that Jesus's presence at the marriage at Cana indicated that it was a sacred institution; then he divides marriage into "grades of chastity, marriage, widowhood, and virginity, the first and last being the ones the Wife of Bath most utilizes in her prologue. . ." (10). She declares, in fact, that she will not be "[chaste] in all" (line 46), recalling the words of the Apostle Paul, who said "that to be wedded is no synne" (line 51) and that it is better to be married than to burn in lust (line 52). As for virginity, the Wife cannot find among the Scriptures where God commanded it; she argues that God, in fact, put the matter "in oure owne juggement" (line 68). Though the motives of the Wife's argument may be questionable, her reasoning falls in line with Jacobus's own supportive arguments for marriage.

The Wife also communicates "zeal" of marriage, a quality Jacobus features in his first marriage sermon. After the Wife expresses her distaste for the clerks' methods and her support of marriage, the eager Pardoner interrupts, imploring her to "Telle forth [her] tale [. . .] / And teche us yonge men of youre [practice]" (lines 186-187). In prompt response, the Wife launches into a "sermon" addressed to "wise wyves, that kan understonde" (line 225), describing in detail her relationships with her five husbands, three of which were good and two bad. As she progresses, she describes instances in which she displayed zeal, or challenged her husbands for their wrong behavior. Jacobus claimed, as most preachers did in the Middle Ages, that Cana means "zeal" (10). Drawing from St.

Augustine's "Fifty Homilies," he distinguishes between excessive, tepid, and discerning zeal, and in his section on tepid zeal, Jacobus presents the vocalization of women in a basically positive light. Though he encourages even temperament, Jacobus insists that wives should not be passive or silent in the face of their husbands' sins:

> For wives ought to restrain their fornicating husbands by four means, as Augustine says in the book FiftyHomilies. The first is by admonishing them. The second is by rebuking them, so that if loving admonitions do not succeed, let her make harsh rebukes. (Columns 51-52)

According to these instructions, Jacobus is certainly sympathetic to the Wife of Bath's methods of rebuke; the Wife tells, for example, how she chided Janekyn, her third and favorite husband, recalling that she would "byte and wyne" like a horse (line 386). If a husband did not respond to this, Jacobus said wives should follow the next appropriate means of recourse:

> The third of these means is by intercession. For if he does not wish to retreat either because of admonitions or abstain because of rebukes, a wife ought to throw him out or invoke the bishop's help, especially if the sin is widely known. The fourth means is by retreating to the Lord. For if none of the other methods works and he persists in his obstinacy, a wife ought to flee to spiritual men and to prayer. (Columns 51-52)

While the Wife never fled to "spiritual men and to prayer," the course of action she describes encourages and exemplifies a vocal approach by married women; consequently, she communicates the instruction of Jacobus, who encourages the voices of women, at least in a domestic setting.

Furthermore, the Wife's Prologue contains an element of contradiction concerning the position of a married woman, an element that can also be observed by comparing Jacobus's first and third marriage sermons. Medieval marriage sermons often reflected contradictions, reflecting feelings for and against

women, often in the same sermon (Galloway 8). For example, while Jacobus's first marriage sermon seems to encourage a moderate equality between husband and wife, at least by medieval standards, his third sermon on marriage presents a score of misogynistic views inspired by the antifeminist authority of the Middle Ages, "Aureolus" Theophrastus, who, in his book on marriage, presents a "hoary list of reasons why a man should not marry" (14).[40] Based on Theophrastus's views, Jacobus structures his third sermon to emphasize six considerations for potential husbands: "what sort of wife should be married, how a good wife should be recognized, how she should be loved, how she should be guarded, how she should be punished, [and] what sort of life she should choose after her husband's death" (14). Likewise, in her Prologue, the Wife addresses such a list, referring to the "standards" by which husbands chose wives:

> "Thou seyst som folk [desire] us for [riches],
> Some for oure [shape], and somme for oure fairnesse,
> And som [because] she kan outher synge or daunce,
> And som for gentilesse and [socializing]" (lines 257-260)

Clearly, this formulaic approach to choosing a wife is distasteful to the Wife of Bath; moreover, her presentation of the list underscores the antifeminist material Jacobus presents in third sermon. Also in the Prologue, the Wife says that her husband, Janekyn, read to her from the "book of wikked wives" (line 691); in response, she tore a page out of his book. The "book" is Theophrastus's treatise; and the Wife expresses her opposition to it. However, when the Wife tears from the book, Janekyn hits her, causing her to be partially deaf. Jacobus's third sermon speaks of this kind of reprimand, stating, essentially, that when dealing with an unruly wife, a husband should first teach her (as Janekyn attempted to do with the book). If he saw no result, he should punish her "like a servant since

she does not know how to feel shame like a free woman (col. 58). The Wife debases these kinds of lists, reasonings, and views in her Prologue. And the reason she must argue against this kind of "logic" is largely due to material such Jacobus's third marriage sermon, which contradicts material from his first. On the one hand, Jacobus encourages the voices of women; on the other, he says it is permissive for husbands to inflict physical punishment on their wives. Through the Prologue, the Wife forces her audience to observe such contradictions.

While some scholars have "connected" religious works to the Wife's Prologue, they have not recognized the direct influence of Jacobus's sermon cycle on marriage; moreover, scholars have yet to point to the significance of Chaucer's modeling the Prologue after the work of a Genoese author. In fact, not only does the Wife's Prologue resemble Jacobus's marriage sermon, but she also appears to invoke women to attack their husbands verbally in the exact way that Jacobus says they ought; the Wife, then, can be taken to briefly assume the authority of Jacobus, a preacher and a Genoese citizen. By such "authority," the Wife invites the audience–her own and Chaucer's–to examine contemporary thought further, even preaching, on the wife's role in marriage.

Epilogue

Drawing from the saints' lives and sermons of Jacobus da Voragine, Chaucer relied on the work of a Genoese author for the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale, the Retraction, and the Wife of Bath's Prologue. And he did so while he had numerous contacts with Genoese citizens in London. The sum of Chaucer's personal interactions with the Genoese -- whether through diplomatic negotiation, port authority, or otherwise -- is noteworthy. Clearly enough, he dealt

personally and professionally with Genoese people, even outside of his journeys abroad. We can conclude, then, that the possibility of Genoese influence surfacing elsewhere in his works is strong. To date, no apparent evidence among English records connects Genoese sources to Chaucer (exclusive of Jacobus da Voragine). However, further examination of Genoese sources -- perhaps some not as widely recognized as Jacobus's text -- could lead to additional insights.

In the Dictionary of the Middle Ages, Robert Lopez presents a list of notable Genoese citizens and works that, if dissected, could reveal more about Chaucer and Genoese influence. Lopez first notes municipal annals, chronicles of the city of Genoa, which were government sponsored and were maintained by prominent Genoese citizens for at least two centuries. The annals document the relentless progress of medieval Genoa, the city reaching a peak of success in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By 1154, the Genoese had also produced what Lopez calls the "earliest specimen of another invaluable source: notarial minute books" -- records kept for noble families by notaries--"reflecting through thousands of deeds and contracts every aspect and detail of social and individual life" (384). Lopez also lists political and love poems in Provençal, popular poems by an anonymous Genoese citizen who wrote affectionately about his home town, legal works, maps, a polyglot dictionary, and of course the chronicle and hagiography of Jacobus da Voragine.

It is tempting to speculate that Chaucer relied on these other Genoese writers; however, little is known about them. For example, it is possible that Chaucer knew of the Genoese poet Lopez regards as writing affectionately about the city of Genoa, but few facts have been recorded concerning the writer's life. Often referred to as The Anonymous, this Genoese poet composed a book of 146

poems which reflects events from the 1290s; he was literate in Latin and he spoke knowledgeably of church authors, which Epstein has taken to suggest that the poet was "aiming for the priesthood" (167). Editors of The Anonymous's works agree that his poems illustrate his strong moral and religious outlook, wisdom, practicality, industry, experience at sea, and pride in Genoa. While such themes were popular among the Genoese, they limited the demand for his poems; only one manuscript, not The Anonymous's original, remains. Nevertheless, as Chaucer's 1372 journey to Genoa kept him there for a considerable stay, it is possible that he knew something of The Anonymous's poems.

The polyglot dictionary Lopez refers to is probably the work of John of Genoa. Commonly called Balbi, or Balbus, John of Genoa entered the Order of St. Dominic in his old age and was known for his generosity among the poor of the city. He composed treatises on etymology, orthography, rhetoric, grammar, and prosody to create his noted work, Summa Grammaticalis. More often referred to as the Catholicon, his work exists in many manuscripts and editions, and for more than a century, it was highly esteemed as a textbook and etymological dictionary of the Latin language. Although Balbi's death in 1298 predates Chaucer's initial visit to Genoa, his fame continued and Chaucer probably would have heard of him. And as with Jacobus da Voragine, it is likely that circles of educated citizens, perhaps some of the very noblemen Chaucer met in Genoa or in London, would have been influenced by Balbi's treatises and would have discussed them socially.

Just as the texts of Balbi won a popular audience, so did Genoese lyric poetry. Lyrics by Genoese authors seem to have circulated less widely in the Middle Ages than those by more prominent Italian poets such as Boccaccio; never-

theless, Chaucer could have been exposed to the lyrical works of a handful of Genoese troubadours, lyric poets, or poet-musicians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One particular lyricist, Bonifacio Calvo, enjoyed a degree of popularity and over time, his works have proven successful enough to have had two critical editions written about them. Little is published in English concerning the biography or works of Calvo; in fact, scholars know few facts about his life. What is sure is that he came from a noble Genoese family, called Calvi or Calvo, and wrote around 1250. It is assumed that he spent his early years in Genoa, but there is no record of him until 1253 when he arrived in the court of Alfonso X, King of Leon and Castille from 1252 to 1284. It was there that Bonifacio composed most of his works, and he came to be praised by contemporary poets for his unique verse. He wrote successfully in Provençal, and the political and love poems mentioned by Lopez probably belong to him. He was popular, and he remained a beloved troubadour at Alfonso's court for approximately thirteen years; after that he is thought to have returned to Genoa. Though historians can report little on Bonifacio's life, his popularity is reason enough to investigate Chaucer's knowledge of him.

What do we know of Bonifacio's poetry, then, and how can we relate his lyrics to Chaucer's? First, it would seem appropriate to compare the structure the two authors employ in their poetry. William Horan states that Bonifacio divided his lyrics into three distinct categories: the love poems, the sirventes (moral and political poems), and the tensos (primarily reflecting individual dialogues between Bonifacio and others); four extant manuscripts record the collection of his poetry, each presenting them in the same order (17). In contrast, Chaucer's lyrics are regarded by some as miscellaneous in theme and organization and

seem to represent different periods in his life. However, because many of Chaucer's short poems have been lost, we cannot take Chaucer's so-called lack of structure for granted; it is still possible that organizational similarities may exist between the two author's poems, but that Chaucer's missing lyrics hide the connection.

Comparing the themes used by Chaucer and Bonifacio is more productive. Benson calls the complaint Chaucer's "favorite lyric genre," as Chaucer has the complaint appear in the form of a ballad (as in "The Complaint of Venus"), a lyric (like "A Complaint to His Lady"), a lyric introduced by a narrative (as in "The Complaint of Mars"), or a verse incorporated into a narrative (like the complaints of Troilus in Troilus and Criseyde) (632). While Chaucer incorporates the ballad into a variety of forms, he communicates a common, courtly theme through each of them -- the circumstance of unrequited love. Likewise, Bonifacio's love poems demonstrate a preoccupation with unrequited love, the lover often expressing a willingness to serve the desired lady in hopes of winning her affection (Horan 15). Numerous troubadours and medieval lyricists dealt with such love, but it is clear that Chaucer and Bonifacio shared both the common experience of courtly life and the common influence of courtly themes. Though other poets may have shared these experiences, it is possible Chaucer and Bonifacio looked to some of the same sources for inspiration -- such as Boccaccio and Dante--and perhaps further research will reveal that Bonifacio's lyrics directly influenced Chaucer's.

Preliminary study on Balbi and Bonifacio reveals that they both were well-known Genoese authors. Their works, previously unexplored in

relation to Chaucer, stand as potential influences on Chaucer's writings, particularly those he composed after his journey to Genoa and during his controllership at London's port. And so do the remainder of the Genoese works listed by Lopez. The Genoese annals, for example–Do they record Chaucer's visit? And the notary records–Do they "speak" of Chaucer or his meetings with specific Genoese citizens, in Genoa or elsewhere? Can any Italian records connect Chaucer further with Jacobus da Voragine or any other Genoese writers? It is difficult to say. However, the fact that Chaucer specified Jacobus da Voragine's saints' lives as a source for the Second Nun's Prologue and Tale, and relied on Jacobus's sermons for the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale is significant. It is evidence that he relied on two Genoese sources during his Italian Period, and it serves as ample warrant to search his text for more.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, George B. Parks. "The Route of Chaucer's First Journey to Italy." ELH 16 (1949). See also J.S.P. Tatlock. "Boccaccio and the Plan of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales." Anglia 37 (1913): 69-117.

[2] See Hobday, Charles. A Golden Ring: English Poets in Florence from 1373 to the Present Day. London: Peter Owen, 1997.

[3] Boitani has written extensively on the ways Chaucer's works reflect Italian influence. For the article referenced in this chapter, see, "What Dante Meant to Chaucer." in Piero Boitani, ed. Chaucer and the Italian Trecento. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983 (pp. 115-139). For Boitani's argument concerning Italian influence on the "Monk's Tale," consult "The 'Monk's Tale': Dante and Boccaccio." Medium Aevum 45 (1976): 50-69. Furthermore, Boitani suggests a significant influence on English literary traditions by Boccaccio in "Chaucer e Boccaccio da Certaldo a Canterbury: Un Panorama." Studi sul Boccaccio 25 (1997): 311-29.

[4] See Paul G. Ruggiers. "The Italian Influence on Chaucer." Companion to Chaucer Studies. Beryl Rowland, ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.

[5] Over the years, various scholars have eagerly considered ways by which Chaucer could have consulted with Boccaccio or Petrarch, both still living at the time of Chaucer's visits to Italy. Real evidence is lacking, however.

[6] For the documents on Chaucer's travels to Italy, see Chaucer Life-Records, ed. Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson from materials compiled by Edith Rickert, with the assistance of Lilian J. Redstone and others (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). Crow and Olson report that "the records indicate nothing as to the itinerary Chaucer followed in going to Italy and returning. Because of the military situation in France at the time, he might have gone from Calais by way of the Rhine, the Great St. Bernard Pass (or Mont Cenis), and Piedmont, a journey of about 1000 miles (Calais to Genoa)" (p. 40).

[7] Donald Howard states, as fact, that Chaucer could speak Italian fluently, and cites a "colony of Italians living along the waterfront," in Chaucer: His Life, His Works, His World (New York: Ballantine, 1987), 171.

[8] See, for example "Chaucer's Life" in the introduction to The Riverside Chaucer, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), xix. Benson takes information concerning John and Robert Chaucer's business dealings with Italians for granted, mentioning such interactions as fact. Donald Howard does the same in Chaucer: His Life, His Works, His World. See also Stow's Survey of London (vol.

1), which details the arrangement of the Vintry ward, enumerates its halls, churches, and other structures, names several vintners, and explains how wine was merchandised. (London: Oxford Press, 1908), 238-250.

[9] Nothing to date has been uncovered among public English records to indicate a travel itinerary for Chaucer on his Genoa mission. If such records are extant among Genoese historical documents, they, too, remain unexamined.

[10] See Strohm, Social Chaucer, p. 20.

[11] England's royal court esteemed Chaucer as one of its members, and it would have made good use of Chaucer's facility with foreign languages; see Donald Howard. Chaucer: His Life, His Works, His World. New York: Ballantine, 1987. Others support this presumption, based on the belief that Chaucer's fluency was required for another Italian trip as well. A few months after Chaucer's return from Genoa and Florence, Edward called upon Chaucer's experience with the Genoese again. After the English port authorities had over-enthusiastically arrested a Genoese ship at Dartmouth, the king sent Chaucer to have it restored to its master, who was a merchant of Genoa and an associate of Giovanni di Mari. Such records indicate that Chaucer was called upon more than once to communicate with the Genoese.

[12] Life-Records, p. 39. Evidence of shaky relations between the two governments lies in the fact that Chaucer's mission rested upon two or three years of prior negotiations.

[13] See Alice Beardwood. Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377: Their Legal and Economic Position. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1931. See also Benjamin Z. Kedar. Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.

[14] For example, see Kedar, p. 4.

[15] See Beardwood, Alice. Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377: Their Legal and Economic Position. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1931. Also, Life-Records suggests that one possible reason for Chaucer's having extended his trip to include Florence was a negotiation over a "notarial certificate dated at Florence on 18 December 1371 recording an agreement between Jacothus Provano of Carignano, agent of Edward III, and Antonio de Flischo and Marco de Grimaldis, whereby the latter agreed to provide eight or ten vessels for the service of Edward III on certain specified conditions" (p. 40).

[16] For an exhaustive, contemporary view of medieval Genoa, see Epstein, Steven A. Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528. Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1996. Also of interest is Steven A. Epstein and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., eds. Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

[17] Carmel Jordan has asserted, in fact, that Chaucer could have heard from Genoese merchant travelers about a Russian region called Sarai. Artisans in this region crafted mirrors and rings, and its warriors covered their horses with armor. Jordan suggests that Chaucer created his "horse of brass" from knowledge of Sarai. It is possible, then, to imagine that Chaucer met in 1373 with gentleman with similar business experiences and travels abroad.

[18] My thanks to Steven Epstein, who offered the suggestion, via written correspondence, that Chaucer probably met with the Genoese mercanzia.

[19] For a detailed analysis of the Genoese merchants' crisis, see Kedar, Benjamin Z. Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.

[20] See Diane Owen Hughes. "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa, Past and Present 66 (1975): 3-28.

[21] Several accounts of London city life mention Genoese citizens who were residing in the city. The members of the London Survey Committee, for example, cite Genoese families living in the parish of All Hallows Barking-by-the-Tower, which was also the parish where the Wool Quay was located. See London Survey Committee. The Parish of All Hallows Barking-by-the-Tower . Country Life: London, 1929-34.

[22] See Pearsall, pp. 47-51.

[23] Though it has been nearly a century since his book, Chaucer's Official Life (New York: Phaeton Press, 1912) was published, James R. Hulbert devotes a chapter to Chaucer's years at the Customs House and, perhaps, offers the most thorough examination to date.

[24] The first evidence of such dues were recorded as early as the twelfth century in the Pipe Rolls, the accounts kept by the Exchequer which recorded the royal income for each financial year.

[25] Though Mabel Mills suggests this arrangement of the Customs House as early as 1933, few scholars concerned with Chaucer appear to have added to her scholarship.

[26] Excerpts from The Calendar of Patent Rolls indicate that Chaucer was allowed, at times, to appoint a deputy at his post when he was called to other duties; therefore, some customs records would have been written by a substitute.

[27] Mary Flowers Braswell notes that Chaucer had a "broad, eclectic knowledge of the legal workings of his day;" furthermore, she analyzes legalities embedded in Chaucer's texts, demonstrating his intention to have his readers examine his writings from a legal standpoint. See Chaucer's "Legal Fiction:" Reading the Records. London: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2001.

[28] I am grateful to PRO archivist, Dr. Nick Barratt, for his thorough examination and close analysis of both port records and excerpts from the printed Close Rolls and Calendars of Letters Patent. Page numbers referenced in text reflect the imposition of contemporary pagination.

[29] Scott Waugh says Edward III's war efforts are largely to blame for the interruption of international trade, asserting that where there was war, there was piracy, especially in the English Channel.

[30] In 1352, however, Anthony Bache claimed exemption to the subsidy tax on moveable goods because he paid customs as an alien. Beardwood asserts that this claim provides an important clue into the problem of the status of alien merchants in the fourteenth century. The fact that Anthony Bache is held as an example over this issue can denote Genoese representation in alien issues.

[31] Chaucer's "Invocacio" is based on Dante's "Invocacio ad Mariam," or "Invocation to Mary," Par. 33:1-51.

[32] Boccaccio is particularly noted for his use of rime royal, a rhythm consisting of seven iambic pentameter lines, rhyming *ababbcc*. Chaucer employs rime royal most notably in Troilus and Criseyde.

[33] Galloway notes that there is record of several clergy owning and using Jacobus's sermons. As one example, he states that "At fourteenth century Exeter, where Bishop Grandisson ordered sermons to be preached 'to the populace in the cathedral every Sunday from Advent to Septuagesima,' a collection of [Jacobus's] dominical sermons is listed among books being lent by one Exeter canon to another. See Nicholas Orme, "Education and Learning at the English Cathedral," in Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England. London: Hambledon Press, 1989, pp. 202, 205.

[34] I am most grateful to Andrew Galloway for sending to me, via written correspondence on 20 February 2002, helpful insights and research suggestions concerning the influence of medieval sermons and Chaucer's works.

[35] While various scholars have argued convincingly for other influences on the Prologue, namely Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun's Roman de la Rose and Jerome's letter Adversus Iovinium. (For example, see Beidler, pp. 17-27); Galloway, however, is the first to discern and discuss Chaucer's use of Jacobus's sermons. For a more general link between Chaucer and sermons, Scripture, and the Church of England, see, for example, W.A. Pantin. The English Church in the Fourteenth Century. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980; and G.R. Owst. Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1933, and Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.

[36] Lee Patterson, for example, links the Wife's prologue and tale to sermons joyeaux, parodic literary sermons. See his article "'For the Wyves Love of

Bathe:'" Feminine Rhetoric and Poetic Resolution in the Roman de la Rose and the Canterbury Tales," 1958.

[37] Galloway, for example, transcribed and translated from a Latin manuscript of Jacobus's marriage sermons, Lambeth Palace MS 43, by permission from Lambeth Palace Library.

[38] I am grateful to the helpful personnel in the Special Collections Reading Room at the Newberry Library for their permission to view one fifteenth-century manuscript, and one early printed edition of Jacobus's Sermones di Sanctis (Inc 1753 BOX and Inc 5619 BOX.)

[39] Apart from The Golden Legend, many of Jacobus's sermons cycles, too, are interspersed with saints' lives, making the saints' stories the most prominent feature of study.

[40] His work, The Golden Book on Marriage, attacks the institution of marriage and is probably one of two books the Wife references, the other being by Valerius, the supposed author of the Dissuasio (or Epistola) ad Rufinum (Benson 114).

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