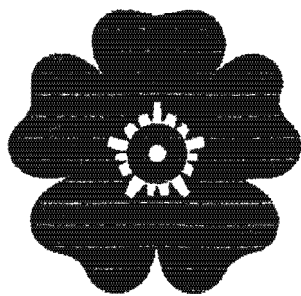


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The

ROMAN DE LA ROSE :

textual, codicological and

iconographical aspects of

MS. Grey 4C12



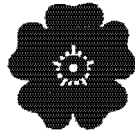
by
Angela Ashley

*Submitted in part fulfilment for the degree of
Master of Arts in M.St.
University of Cape Town
2000*



University of Cape Town

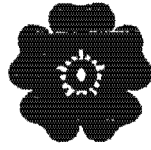
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ABSTRACT

The Grey Collection of mediaeval manuscripts held at the South African National Library in Cape Town is a unique resource for mediaeval scholars in South Africa and the African Continent. This study involves an examination of one particular Old French illuminated secular manuscript, namely MS Grey 4 c 12, a fourteenth century copy of the poem *Le Roman de la Rose*. It attempts to understand the relationship between its illuminations and the written text and to describe the unique features of its miniatures and marginalia, as well as including a codicological description of the manuscript.

Although the author was able to view other *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Library and John Rylands Library, the scope of the work did not make detailed comparisons possible, and the dissertation confines itself to the above-mentioned manuscript in the Grey Collection of the South African National Library, Cape Town.



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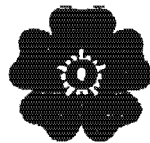
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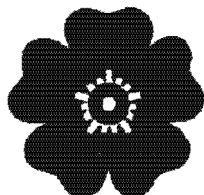
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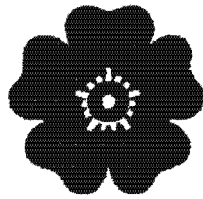




PREFACE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY IN CAPE TOWN HAS A UNIQUE TREASURE OF 115 EUROPEAN

mediaeval manuscripts. Nowhere else in Africa is such a collection to be found. As a student of mediaeval studies, therefore, I feel it a privilege and a duty to avail myself of such a rare opportunity to work on an authentic mediaeval manuscript instead of studying secondary sources. The course for which I am enrolled is, strictly speaking, concerned with mediaeval English studies, but the Grey Collection library does not include any mediaeval English manuscripts. Most are in Latin; others are in Italian, Dutch or French. Since one of the French manuscripts is a fourteenth century copy of the poem, *Le Roman de la Rose*, a poem which has influenced countless English writers from its inception in the thirteenth century, I felt justified in choosing this manuscript to study in part fulfilment of the course in Mediaeval Studies.

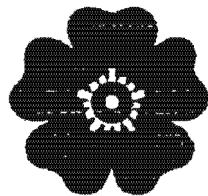


Acknowledgements

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK DR BRIAN LEE,
ENGLISH DEPARTMENT, University of Cape Town
and DR MARGOT MCILWAIN , Brown University, USA,
for their support, expertise and encouragement
during the course of this work.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff of the
following libraries for their assistance: the South African Library (in
particular Ms Jackie Loos and Ms Najwa Hendrickse;) the University of
Cape Town Library; the Bibliothèque Nationale (especially M. François
Avril, who not only provisionally dated the Grey 4c12 from photocopies but
also personally selected manuscripts that he felt would be most helpful for
comparison); the British Library and the John Rylands Library.

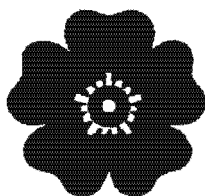
Last, but not least, I have to thank my husband who continued to encourage
me as I juggled my teaching job and my family with my academic pursuits.



Ainsy va des contraires choses
Les unes font des aultres gloses
Et qui lune en veust deffernir
De lautre luy doiht souvenir
Du ia pour mille intention
Ni metra definition
Car q/ lui/ des denry na cogoisance
Si il ny mettra difference
Sans qui ne peult venir e/n/ place
Diffinition que len face' (ll. 21573-82)



¹ Thus things go by contraries; one is the gloss of the other. If one wants to define one of the pair, he must remember the other, or he will never, by any intention, assign a definition to it; for he who has no understanding of the two will never understand the difference between them, and without this difference no definition that one may make can come to anything.



INTRODUCTION

The *Roman de la Rose* is perhaps the best known vernacular allegorical poem of the thirteenth century and had a great influence on later mediaeval writers. It was begun about 1230, purportedly by Guillaume de Lorris, who came from the small village of Lorris on the Loire River above Orleans in Northern France. He had completed 4058 lines before he died in 1237. This first part was well received even before the continuation. There followed a 78-line anonymous conclusion but nothing is known about its origin, and it provides only the barest dramatisation. Some forty years later Jean de Meun, born in the village of Meung on the Loire, undertook to write a vast amplification of approximately 17,000 lines. He had attended the University of Paris and was a scholar, a professional translator and writer. The two

parts have little in common: the first celebrates courtly love, whereas the second reflects the interests and tastes of a later generation. Of the three hundred copies still existing², only one omits the continuation of Jean de Meun but even that manuscript has its own continuation. In fact, many volumes contain not only Jean de Meun's continuation, but also other anonymous continuators.³ This may appear to lead to the conclusion that the first section was regarded as unfinished from the start. However, at least one scholar argues that it was originally intended to be complete although open-ended (a common strategy in mediaeval courtly lyrics).⁴

The courtly love convention had its origin in the eleventh century and was developed by the troubadours of Languedoc in Southern France which spread to Chrétien de Troyes and other poets in Northern France. It is a philosophy of love which includes an elaborate code governing the relations of aristocratic lovers. The courtly lover idealises and idolises his beloved, and subjects himself to her every whim. But whereas the earlier poetry dealt with the knightly adventures of romance heroes, the first section of the *Roman* established a new kind of vernacular narrative poem representing, in

² Lewis, S., Images of opening, penetration and closure in the *Roman de la Rose*, from *Word and Image*, Vol. 8, No. 3., 1992, p.241.

³ Walters, L., Mediaeval Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*, from *The Romanic Review* Vol 85, No. 1, p. 7.

⁴ Spearing, A.C., The Medieval poet as voyeur, P.199 and Hult, D., Self-fulfilling Prophecies, pp. 174-5

the form of a dream or vision, an allegorical or symbolical world in which the persons and events typically reflect aspects of the experience of love. The very title of the poem shows the change of subject: instead of wars and heroes, this romance is about a rose. The 'hero' is a dreamer who recounts his dream in the first person; there is no 'heroine'. Rather there is the heroine's character which is distributed among personifications.

Ever since its inception, the *Roman de la Rose* has stirred the critical imagination of its readers. Some interpreted it as a monument to human love; others read it as a philosophical work; yet others believed it to be a satire on society and sexuality. But it was not until the fifteenth century that the great debate, or "querelle" broke out. Among those who attacked it was Christine de Pisan in 1399 in her Epistle to the God of Love. One Jean Gerson denounced the *Roman* as "pernicious and immoral": it degraded women and made vice attractive. If he had the only copy in existence and it were worth 1,000 livres, he would not hesitate to consign it to the flames: "Into the fire, good people, into the fire!"⁵ But many admired Jean's *Roman* for his free-ranging thought. Jean de Montreuil^{sa. id} that he would rather do without his shirt than this book.⁶ By the end of the fourteenth century it had

⁵ Tuchman, B., *A Distant Mirror*, p. 480.

⁶ Ibid.

been translated into English, Italian and Dutch, and it was one of the few mediaeval literary works in the vernacular to be printed in both fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions. It influenced mediaeval and Renaissance works not only in France but in the rest of Europe, including Chaucer in England.⁷

There is evidence that the *Roman de la Rose* enjoyed a wide audience. Copies of the poem were in libraries of religious institutions and of the Sorbonne.⁸ Two surviving copies belonged to the Duc de Berry⁹ Another belonged to a Massiot Austin of Rouen, who says he bought his copy in June 1470 from a book dealer in Royen called Gautier Neron, and that if he loses it the finder who returns it to him shall be rewarded with a good pot of wine.¹⁰ There is a mediaeval note, attached to a liturgical manuscript with a thirteenth-century gloss, which says that its owner, a priest in Senlis, had exchanged it for a *Roman de la Rose*.¹¹ Annotations and interpolations show that the *Roman* was read in a scholarly context. However, it is probable that *Roman de la Rose* reached an even wider audience than the

⁷ The *Romaunt of the Rose* is a fragmentary translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, which although ascribed to Chaucer, cannot with any certainty be attributed to him. However, scholars have found much evidence of the *Roman de la Rose*'s direct influence in several other of Chaucer's works, such as the *Parlement of Foules*.

⁸ Huot, S., *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, p. 10.

⁹ Hamel, C., *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 152: Paris, B.N., mss. fr. 380 and 12595.

¹⁰ Ibid: Paris, B.N.,ms. fr. 2195.

¹¹ Ibid: Paris, Bibliothèque de Ste-GENevieve (ms. 75)

aristocracy, clergy or merchant class. Many *Roman* manuscripts are relatively shabby. Sandra Hindman noticed the same condition in works by Chrétien de Troyes and suggests this is due to their extended use not just by one literate aristocratic owner, but by many persons in his household or even by many other people in the feudal domain who were unable to read.¹²

Fleming has pointed out that illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages were more than merely decorative since the artist often attempted 'to weave the text and the gloss into one fabric'.¹³ The social messages, therefore, contained in the sub-text of the illustrations could be understood by the entire range of individuals in different social classes of society. The *Grey Roman de la Rose*, although not shabby, certainly bears signs of great use.

Even though there is evidence from the twelfth century and before, that literary themes had provided inspiration for artists, the illumination of French literary manuscripts does not begin until just before the middle of the thirteenth century, with the emergence of the lay craftsman. By this time, Paris had more and wealthier patrons of the arts than any other city in Europe.¹⁴ Not only were these the king and his court, but also they numbered those in religious institutions in and around the city, the university

¹² Hindman, S., *Sealed in Parchment*, p.8.

¹³ Fleming, J.V., *The Roman de la Rose*, p.12.

¹⁴ Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the reign of St. Louis*, p.1.

and its students and the middle class burghers. The massive demand for manuscripts led to the reorganisation of their production. They were no longer only the province of the monasteries; professional laymen specialised in the various tasks who hired out their labour. Parchment was prepared and sold by the box: professional scribes (or students) copied the texts; rubricators and illuminators added the initials and illustrations; the gatherings were stitched by binders. Ink and gold leaf could be purchased ready made, though painters probably ground their own colours.¹⁵ Even some monasteries employed men from outside to copy and illuminate texts. Moreover, the rapid development of universities, as well as the expansion of the Franciscan and Dominican mendicant orders who were charged to travel and teach, led to greater prominence of the trade of bookseller, and to the *pecia* system, whereby after university-approved exemplars of texts were divided into sections, they were hired out by stationers to scribes for copying.¹⁶

Numerous expensively illuminated manuscript copies were made, and although the choice of passages for illustration remained relatively unchanged, the styles varied. The earlier thirteenth century miniatures

¹⁵ Ibid, p.2.

¹⁶ Brown, M.P. Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts, p.97.

tended to be simple, unadorned representations which later became more ornate. The fourteenth century Grey manuscript, for example, has a relatively elaborate incipit illumination and marginal decoration but no further marginal illustration in the manuscript. Fifteenth century works became more fully decorated, marginalia more profuse, perspective and landscape were introduced and the style became more realistic.

The creation of the medieval book, then, involved a division of labour, and the textual scribe was only one out of a sequence of artisans. The illustrator and the scribe had distinct roles, as did the rubricator. At some point in the conception of the manuscript, however, a 'planner' would decide whether or not illustrations would be included, how many and how large they should be, which subjects would be included, and where they would be placed. Firstly the parchment was ruled in lines, and the text written with spaces left for the miniatures. There are a number of manuscripts, including the *Grey Roman de la Rose*, in which the marginal notes identifying the subject of the illustration destined to fill the blank have not been erased.¹⁷ These preliminary instructions would inform both the illustrator and the rubricator. Several surviving manuscripts contain blanks

¹⁷ Hult, D., Self-Fulfilling Prophecies, p. 77.

where miniatures were to be executed but for some reason were not, which seems to confirm that the illustrator was the last to execute his work.

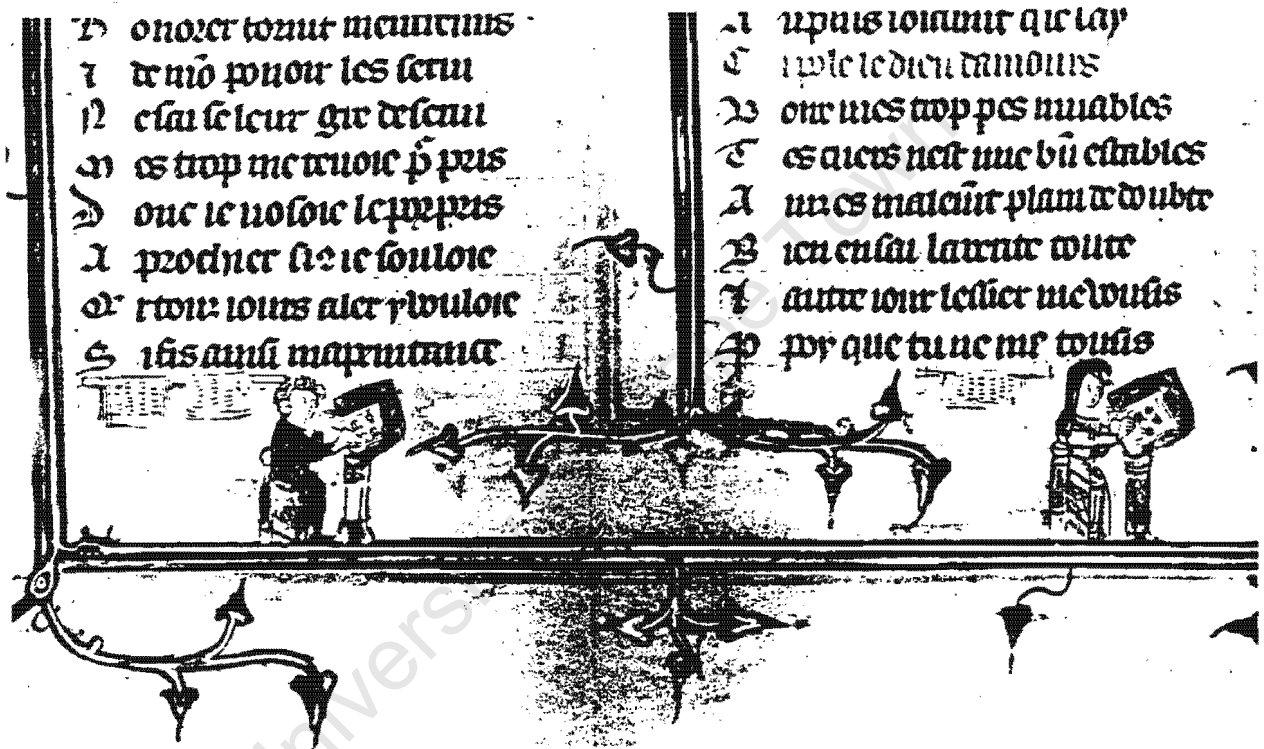
Developments in both the layout and the style of secular illustrations were closely related to those of liturgical or devotional books, and in many cases there is evidence that both were produced by the same workshops and artists.¹⁸ There is, however, a sharper division between liturgical and secular books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹ Although the illuminator had pattern books from which he could copy, the differences between the illuminations seen in the different manuscripts indicate that each limner executed his own interpretation of his brief to a greater or lesser degree. This can be seen by examining the difference between what is described in the text, and what appears in the illustration. It is possible the scribe could not read and he relied on either his own knowledge of the old stories, or on his memory of what he had been briefed on.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the illumination of secular texts was rare and often inferior to that in religious books; moreover, the illustrators of secular books often adapted patterns from liturgical illuminations. Later,

¹⁸ Stones, M. Alison, Secular Manuscript Illumination in France, p.92.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 92-3.

Fig. 1



Scribes at work. Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Fr. 25526,

however, not only were secular illuminations as splendid as liturgical, but the motifs take on an independence of the context of the text. There is, for example, a marginal scene of *Roman de la Rose* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which shows the copying of a manuscript by a man and a woman at work, with the leaves of a freshly written parchment hanging up to dry on the washing line (Fig. 1). The main difference between liturgical and secular manuscripts is in the use of the full-page miniature which was executed much more often in liturgical than in secular books. The closest approximation to the full-page miniature in most secular books already present at the beginning of the thirteenth century is found on the opening page which is frequently treated differently from the rest of the decoration of the book. By the fourteenth century, the opening page is usually marked out by a series of miniatures, two or four over two columns, or three or six over three columns. Alternatively, a single miniature could be divided into two or more compartments which is the case in the Grey *Roman de la Rose*.²⁰

Sandra Hindman argues that we can best recover mediaeval readings of a particular text from a close scrutiny of the actual manuscript and that the

²⁰ Stones, Alison, *op.cit.*, p.93.

illustrations, far from merely offering visual diversion from the miniatures, when read with their texts prompt distinctive and sometimes highly inventive readings.²¹ Manuscripts that have been dismissed as having little interest for the text tradition because of textual errors, could be of value for the reading their pictures offer, for, as Robertson has pointed out, the visual arts reflect the same figurative conventions that appear in literature.²² Unlike the printed book, each illuminated manuscript is unique. The text differs from one copy to another, sometimes due to scribal error, but occasionally the scribe altered the meaning where he saw fit. Similarly the illustrator, although copying from previous manuscripts using conventional designs, or employing pattern books, sometimes added his own details. The *Roman de la Rose* is further complicated because since the second part was written some 40 years after the first, the scribe often used more than one manuscript in copying the *Roman*, and so the two parts of the poem would not necessarily come from the same source even in late manuscripts. However, unlike the modern age, people living in the Middle Ages were accustomed to reworked or continued poems which might even have been a way of the reviser expressing admiration for a great poem.²³

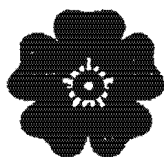
²¹ Hindman, S. *Sealed in Parchment*, p.4.

²² Robertson, D. W.. *A Preface to Chaucer*, p.x.

²³ Huot, S. *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, p. 9.

In my investigation of the *Grey Roman de la Rose*, I will consider diverse evidence including the physical characteristics of the manuscript, its pictorial content and relevant textual content. I propose to examine each illumination and relate it, where possible and where relevant, to the text, and then offer a cautious reading of the role played by the illustrations in the understanding of this particular manuscript by mediaeval people. However, as Robertson asserted, the cultural products of any age can be understood only in terms that would have been comprehensible at the time and therefore in any analysis of the miniatures it is necessary to bear in mind other primary sources.²⁴

The ROMAN DE LA ROSE (4 c 12)



1

CODICOLOGICAL ASPECTS²⁵

1.1. Physical Structure

The manuscript is made of vellum and contains 133 original folios each folio measuring approximately 290 x 210 mm.

1.2. COLLATION

The collation consists of seventeen gatherings of eight folios, but the first gathering has leaves which are out of place: the present folio 6 which was originally after folio 4 now follows folio 5; and the seventeenth gathering is missing the original folios 131-133 and have been

²⁵

A more comprehensively formal codicological description of the manuscript appears in Appendix One.

replaced by folios 131,132 and 133 inserted vellum. There are catchwords and signatures in Roman numerals at the end of each gathering except 2 and 7.

1.3. ARRANGEMENT

Each folio is arranged in two columns, recto and verso. There are mostly 41 lines in each column, but sometimes there are 40 or 42. The margin of the text is 25 mm on the left and approximately 40 mm on the right. The top of the folio to the text measures 15 mm, and the bottom of folio to the text is 45 mm. The written page measures approximately 155 by 225 mm. (Fig. 2)

1.4. RULING

The ruling is in plummet but it is not always visible.

There are treble bounding vertical lines at each column from the top to bottom edge of the vellum. Two horizontal lines stretch from the left to right edge of the page at the top and bottom of the text which contain horizontals within for each line of the text (Fig.3). There is evidence of pricking at the edges, but they are mostly trimmed off.

Par sentence espronuee & ferme
 Que qui se veult a vieille prendre
 N'oult e peult grant loyze attendre
 Tant a grant richesse aqoise
 Pour mener telle marchandise
 Mais bien se gard q' biculle prie
 Qu'il ne fasse riens ne ne die
 Qui puisse barat ressembler
 Quant il lay veult samon embler
 Du loyalement mesmes aquerre
 Quant amours en ses las l'enferre
 Car les vieilles dures chemues
 Quant de ieunesse sont venues
 Qui iadis ont este flatterees
 Et surprises & baratées
 De tant p' qu'ont este deceues
 Et plus tost sen sont apercues
 Des barateresses flanelles
 Que ne font les tendres puellles
 Qui des aguets point ne doubtent
 Quant les flatteries escoutent
 Ains andent que barat & guille
 Sont aussi vray q' lenangille
 Car onq' nen furent eschauldee
 Mais les vieilles dures ridées
 Malicieuses & recrites
 Sont e fait de barat si drites
 Quelles ont toute la science
 Par art & p' experience
 Et quant l'z flanelles la biennt
 Qui p' flanelles les detiennent
 Et aux vieilles leur tabourent
 Quant de leur grace auoir labourent
 Et souspriet & simillient
 Hoignent lez mains & meuz croient
 Et senclinent & sazenouillent
 Et plorent si q' tous se mouillent
 Et devant eux se courroient

Pourceq' p' en eulz se font
 Et leur promettent p' faimuse
 L'ame & corps auoir & seruis
 Et leur fiancant & leur iure
 Les faias q' sont seront & fure
 Et les dont ainsy deceuants
 Par paroles ou na que dient
 Tout ainsy comme loyseleur
 Prent loyse' comme conteleur
 Et lapelle par doutez sonneiz
 Musses dedans les barissonneiz
 Pour les faire a son Bray veni
 Tant q' plus les puisse tenir
 Le fol oyse' de lay s'opprime
 Qui ne peut respodre au sophisme
 Qui la mis en deception
 Par figure de diction
 Comme fait le caulleur la caille
 Pourceque dedans la roys aille
 Et la caille le son esconte
 Si sen approche & puis se boute
 Sous le roys que cil a tendue
 Sur l'herbe en printes fraiche & dure
 Se nest aucune vieille caille
 Qui na garde quant caille aille
 Tant est eschauldee & battue
 Quelle a ses roys autrefois veue
 Dont elle est bien eschappée
 Quant elle y deust estre happée
 Par entre les herbes petites
 Ainsy les vieilles deuant dices
 Qui iadis ont este requises
 Et des roquerens font surprises
 Par les paroles qu'elles oyent
 Et les contenancez q' voyent
 De loing leur agetz apercotaent
 Parquoy plus ennus les deçoient
 Du silz leur font ainsy a certes

1.5. HAND

The text is written in brown ink apart from the final folios (131-3) which are in black ink. (Fig. 4) The scribal hand is gothic textura, semi-quadrata - rotunda of medium to excellent grade; there is a biting of bows, and a flourish on s endings.²⁶ The first letter of each line of each column is separated from the word and is larger than the other lettering and often is decorated with a flourish. Folios 131, 132 and 133 are copied after an incunabulum printed at Lyons.²⁷

1.6. BINDING

The manuscript is bound in an eighteenth-century light brown leather with a stamped gilt shell- and- spray pattern on its inner and outer board edges and spine. (Fig. 5) The spine is bound on five raised bands, and an applied maroon leather label is between the first and second bands with the gilded title:

“LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE”.

²⁶ See Appendix Four for confirmation by Prof. T.J. Brown of the University of London, in 1965.

²⁷ Bourdillon, The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose, p. 212.

Fig. 5



Fig. 6.

Among the manuscripts of the fourteenth century, the earliest is perhaps that of the world-renowned "Roman de la Rose, ou l'art d'amour est toute enclose." This quarto manuscript (No. 20., fol. 133) is illuminated with beautiful miniature paintings, the costumes of which enable us to fix almost exactly its date. Mr. W. Tasker Smith has by these means ingeniously shown that it must have been written in the early part of the fourteenth century, say from A.D. 1300 to 1320, or, as the "Roman" was not finished before 1304, after this year. This copy, therefore, as written immediately after, if not contemporaneously with, the completion of the poem, may be considered as one of the earliest issued, and very likely the earliest at present in existence.* The readings of this manuscript vary greatly, almost in every line, from the printed edition, which has been compared with it.

* The oldest manuscript of this poem seen by Dibdin (Bibliographical Decameron, vol. 1, pp. ccxvii) is evidently of later date.

The folio edges are gilded on all three sides. There is a twentieth century cutting pasted to the front flyleaf describing the manuscript (Fig.6). See my comments regarding "*earliest ... in existence*" under 1.8. Date, below.

1.7. PROVENANCE

The provenance of the manuscript can only be traced back to 1857, when it appeared as an item for sale in the Wills and Sotheran catalogue on August 25 for £10.10.0. On April 2 1859, there appeared an entry in the Libri Sale catalogue ^{which stated that it had been} sold to Quaritch for £30. In 1859 Quartich advertised it, and then again in 1860 at £36, when it is assumed that Grey purchased it.²⁸ In 1861, when Sir George Grey was Governor of the Cape Colony (1854 - 1861), he donated it to the South African Library in Cape Town, it being one of about 112 manuscripts which he had collected. (Another collection of his, smaller, and considered less interesting, was given to the Public Library in Auckland, New Zealand, where he had also been twice Governor).²⁹

1.8. DATE

Mr William Tasker Smith in 1861 claimed that

²⁸ Casson, Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 14, p.30.
²⁹ Ibid

this manuscript was ‘one of the very earliest copies issued’, basing his opinion on an examination of the style of clothes depicted in the miniatures.³⁰ As it is known that Jean de Meun finished composing the manuscript in 1304, the manuscript must have been written sometime after this date, but if it is compared with other manuscripts of the same period (e.g. *Yvain*, by Chrétien de Troyes)³¹ it would seem that this manuscript could be dated in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and this has been confirmed by M. François Avril, Curator of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale after perusing a photocopy of the *Grey Rose* manuscript.³² It seems certain, therefore, that this manuscript was not “one of the earliest issued”, nor “the earliest at present in existence”.

1.9. TEXT

The text of the manuscript was written in Continental, standard literary Old French, possibly North Eastern, but more probably Paris or Ile de France, by two authors, the first part reputedly by Gillaume de Lorris in the early thirteenth century up to line 4058, and the rest (approximately 17, 000 lines, by Jean de Meun, some forty years later).³³

³⁰ Written notes on the *Roman de la Rose* held by the S.A. Library.

³¹ Busby, K., *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*

³² This was confirmed when I visited the BN in 1997, and showed M. Avril photostats of the *Grey Roman de la Rose*.

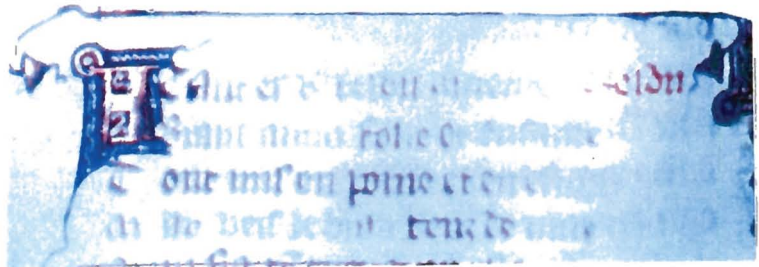
³³ See Appendix Five for letter of confirmation from David Ross, Birkbeck College,.

Fig. 7

Le peccat osent gronier
 Car bu seu deitrom contier
 Car sil perdent leur filles bestes
 Tiet copf leur touron sur loz restes
 Q' leur uferai tier boees
 Q' nul en perdout mirres & croces
 A nulli lesai tier contouerie
 Tant sui foer privilege
Quois se voit tant sans semblat
 Met a n' ne fer pas semblat
 Q' nul soit auoier de lou
 A nul d'ub pour ch esloit
 D' nous plus esferuimf
 A ment tu sero desloiaimf
 Se n' aiet par du dire honte
 Car si a ton habit nous cote
 T' u sembles entre .i. s. h' nites
 C' est uoir mes' le sin y po' ures
 T' u uat prech' al' nient
 D' our uoir mes' temple ma p'ce
 D' enres bouf m' g' sans & de vms
 T' icr ame il a' f'ice a demis
 T' u uat prech' au' pourte
 D' our riches a poete
 M' es' abien que pour me saigne
 R' ul pourte se ne gred' aigne
 J' ameroie unies la com' tante
 C' ay tan du roide se' tante
 Q' d' un pourte par n'ce dame
 T' our eut il a' nulli bone ame
 Q' n' se noi touz mis ces tr' uant
 T' rembl' sus ces faimier p'nant
 D' e frow de' f' am' ce' ce' b' a' nre
 S' emen' m'ier de' l'ens' a' l'ere
 S' il' d' ne a' l'ostel de' n' p'ce
 J' a' m'ere' p' moi' e' f'ice
 C' ad' d' un' a' u' n' s' ne' toute' d' e' l'ce
 R' e' m' en' p' a' r' o' i' e' t' a' la' g' u' e' n' d' e'
 J' l' n' ont' p' a' r' v' a' n' n' a' t' d' n' e' s' c' h' e'
 Q' d' ourra' q' u' d' o' n' c' o' u' r' t' e' l' e' c' h' o'
 C' a' e' s' d' un' r' i' c' h' e' d' a' n' t' e' s' m' a' l' a' d' e'

A distance est bone et sade
 C' elin nous se reconforter
 C' ar ien eut demer a' p'ce
 T' se lu male moer len oule
 B' ien le couoi nulli la bone
 T' sauc' u' vient q' u' me repugn
 P' our qu' du pourte me rest' a'
 S' a' u' e' s' d' a' m' e' n' t' s' e' n' e' c' h' a' p' e'
 J' e' f' e' r' e' n' t' e' n' d' a' n' t' p' m' a' c' h' a' p' e'
 Q' h' r' i' c' h' e' s' e' s' t' e' n' t' e' c' h' e' s'
 P' l' u' s' q' u' e' l' e' p' o' u' r' t' e' d' e' p' e' c' h' e' r'
 S' a' g' r' e' g' u' e' u' r' m' e' t' d' e' c' o' n' s' e' i' l'
 P' our ce' i' b' o' u' s' s' i' l' e' s' c' o' n' s' e' i' l'
Que pour que' a' u' r' e' n' t' e' s' g' u' e' p' r'
 P' r' e' c' o' r' l' a' m' e' e' n' t' r' o' p' g' u' e' p' o' u' r'
 Q' u' e' e' l' f' e' r' e' n' t' r' o' p' g' u' e' r' i' c' h' e' s'
 T' i' m' e' e' t' l' a' u' t' r' e' e' g' a' m' e' t' l' a' b' l' e'
 C' a' r' e' s' o' n' t' .ij. e' t' r' e' m' i' t' e' s'
 Q' r' i' c' h' e' s' e' t' m' e' n' d' i' e' r' e' s'
 L' e' m' o' i' e' n' a' n' o' s' o' u' s' t' a' n' c' e'
 L' i' g' n' e' d' e' s' v' n' s' l' a' b' o' n' d' a' n' c' e'
 C' a' r' s' a' l' e' m' o' n' t' o' u' r' a' d' e' h' u' r' t'
 R' o' u' s' a' e' s' t' p' o' e' n' .i. s' i' e' n' h' u' r' t'
 D' e' p' a' b' o' l' e' s' e' s' t' l' e' t' u' r' e'
 T' o' u' r' d' e' o' u' r' o' u' t' r' e' t' i' s' i' m' e' c' h' a' p' e'
 O' s' a' r' d' e' m' o' i' d' i' e' u' p' r' a' p' u' i' s' s' a' n' c' e'
 D' e' r' i' c' h' e' t' e' e' t' d' e' m' e' n' d' i' a' n' c' e'
 C' a' r' r' i' c' h' e' s' h' o' m' q' u' i' s' t' u' s' e' d' a' c' c'
 J' t' r' o' p' p' e' n' s' e' r' a' l' a' r' i' c' h' e' r' e'
 T' a' n' t' m' e' t' s' a' n' c' u' e' r' a' l' a' s' o' b' e'
 Q' d' o' n' e' a' t' e' m' e' n' e' n' o' u' b' h' e'
 C' i' l' q' u' e' m' e' n' d' a' s' g' u' e' t' r' o' e'
 D' e' p' e' c' h' e' r' a' m' e' u' r' l' e' g' u' e' r' e'
 E' n' i' u' s' a' u' i' e' n' s' q' u' i' l' n' e' s' o' u' b'
 T' p' l' u' s' e' d' e' d' i' e' u' m' e' n' d' i' e' r' e'
 S' e' s' a' l' e' m' o' n' d' i' r' d' e' p' l' u' s'
 L' a' l' e' t' t' r' e' q' u' e' c' i' n' o' u' s' p' h' i'
 S' i' p' i' n' s' b' a' h' u' r' e' s' s' a' n' t' d' e' l' a'
 Q' u' i' n' e' e' s' t' e' p' e' n' n' i' l' e' l' o' r'
 A' u' m' i' n' u' s' n' e' s' t' a' p' a' r' e' n' l' a'
 Q' i' h' u' e' r' n' e' s' i' q' u' e' s' t' e'

Fig. 8



1.10. RUBRICS³⁴

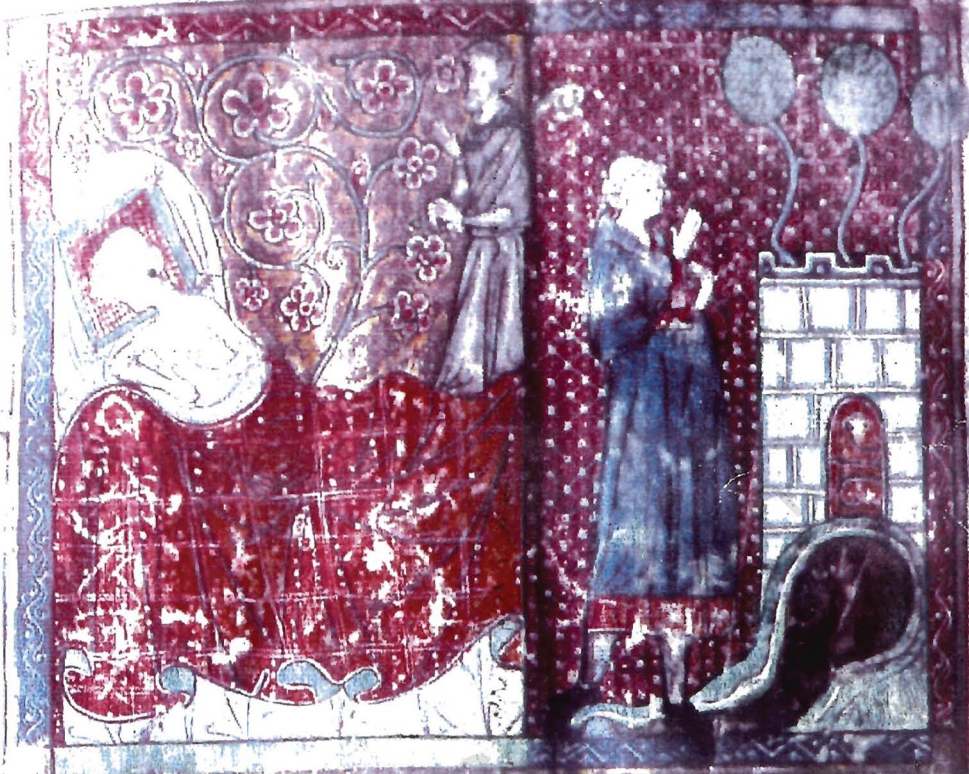
Numerous rubrics occur in red which identify the personifications in the miniatures and highlight the textual content or provide headings. Often the text of these rubrics is written in a very small handwriting in the margin, although sometimes the marginal notes occur without the rubrics. (Fig. 7) There are no rubrics after f. 68r but since the small marginal notes occur sporadically until the end of the manuscript, it seems that they were originally intended to be inserted.

1.11. ILLUSTRATION³⁵

There are 18 miniatures which are mostly framed within square borders of blue or red with geometric patterning, and ivy leaf sprigs at the outer corners. The backgrounds are either solid gold or tessellated in blue and gold, or red and blue. Apart from the incipit which measures nearly half the written page, and one other which takes up nearly a quarter of the written page, the miniatures measure approximately 50 by 70 mm. On f. 132 there is a pencil and ink copy of a woodcut from the Lyon incunabulum. There are also numerous initial letters usually indicating new paragraphs or sections, which are gold on a blue and/or red background with white decoration. (Fig. 8)

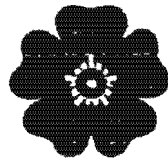
³⁴ See Appendix Three for a detailed list.

³⁵ See Appendix Two for a full list of miniatures.



Du lart d'avis de la voie
 n'avez gen, diens q' en songes
 la se fables ne a mensonges
 ce la pure tier songes songier
 m'as sont me recongier
 me une apes bien ayarant
 son plus bien traite a gararant
 andeai qui dit non macrobe
 a ne tait puz songes a lobes
 mes deid est launlon
 au d'avis du roy cyphon
Cu comes cunde ne qui dit
 ce son tait ne misardie
 d'avis que songe avegue
 a ne bonou pour fol mantiegnit
 de engout moi ai se creante
 iduges au senedance
 ce biens au gout et des amais

Du lart d'avis est taitte cunde
 E li pludent songent de mis
 a mures choide comuement
 a leu noir plus aprentier
Du vntisme au de moit rage
 au point que au plus pesse
 des isimes gen conche maitre
 E u mon lie si q' se souloie
 a me dormoie m'is formidie
 S i di i songe en mon dormif
 a m'is si biant et m'is me pte
 ay es en ce songe onq' rians sur
 a auerai trestout ne dit
 S i g le com' r'acoutou
Du veit ce songe rimoter
 a bac curer l'ero enuoiser
 a m'is le me puz et g'mande
 a se m'is ou nule remande



2

THE MINIATURES

2.1. THE NARRATOR/DREAMER (f.1r)

The *Grey Roman de la Rose* opens with nearly a half-page double miniature, framed by a square border in red and blue with a gold zig-zig pattern. (Fig.9) In the left miniature, a figure is sleeping in a conventional pose propped up against pillows. In the background is a swirling rose tree with many roses in full bloom. Towards the centre, between the roses in the background and the sleeping figure in the foreground, is a bearded man with a club over one arm; the club extends into the next miniature. The right miniature shows a young man basting his sleeve in front of a river which flows into a garden enclosed by a turreted

wall with a door. Three stylised trees show above the garden wall against a diapered background of red and blue and white patterns.

The sleeping figure in the left miniature portrays the third section of the text (marked by the illuminated initial O in the second column). These lines describe how the twenty-year-old narrator had a beautiful and pleasing dream one night but he gives the assurance that there was nothing in this dream which did not happen almost as the dream told it. He now wishes to tell this dream in rhyme since Love begs and commands him to do so and if anyone asks what he wished the romance to be called, it is

.....*le romans de la rose*
ou l'art dam\or/s est toute enclose (ll.37-38 f.1v.)³⁶

These words also appear rubricated below the incipit illustration across the two columns thus emphasising the poem's subject.

We are told that five years had passed since he had had this dream. By placing the time of his entire narrative within his related dream, the poet broke away from the traditional framework of situating narrative in an historical time and was able to position it in a time impossible to determine.

³⁶ ...the *Romance of the Rose* in which the whole art of love is contained.

The author simulates the conditions of autobiography but also signals the genre of the dream-vision which expounds the revelatory nature of the hidden truth of dreams declared in the opening words of the Roman.

Although:

*Maintes genz diens q\w/en songes
na le fables no\w/ et mensonges (ll.1-2)³⁷*

he asserts that one may have dreams which are not deceitful, whose import afterwards becomes quite clear: at night most men dream of many things

couverteme\w/t / que len voit puis ap[er]tement (ll.19-20). He offers as

his witness the testimony of Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*

which was a recognised authority in the Middle Ages on both the prophetic power and the truth of certain kinds of dreams. Dahlberg suggests that an

examination of Macrobius's doctrine on dream-allegory "leads to the

conclusion that Guillaume's citation indicates that he is using a fabulous

narrative (*narratio fabulosa*) to conceal, and reveal, an art or developed

doctrine of love"³⁸ The rose, of course, can be a symbol of sexual love.

But several scholars have argued that the *Roman* is a Christian allegory, or,

as D W. Robertson asserted, "a humorous and witty retelling of the story of

the Fall"³⁹ A mediaeval audience would not have been unaware of the

³⁷ Many men say that there is nothing in dreams but fables and lies..

³⁸ Dahlberg, C. *The Romance of the Rose*, p.4.

³⁹ Robertson, D.W., "The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens", from *Essays in Medieval Culture* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 34.

significance of the sleeper, for sleep was a common symbol for both sexual love and spiritual oblivion.⁴⁰

The importance attached to the truth of vision is emphasised at the beginning of the text where the decorated initial, M, has within its arms two loops displaying a pair of eyes which appear to be gazing from the page. Spearing has observed that in mediaeval thought both religious and courtly accounts of love regarded looking as the first stage in a process culminating in sexual union.⁴¹

Since the face and hair of the young men in the left and right panels are alike, one might assume that they depict the same person and as the text describes how in the twentieth year of *mon eage**couchie inestroie /en mon lit* (ll. 21,24) one might also assume that the sleeping figure illustrates the narrator.

Later, the narrator recounts the beginning of his dream:

*Avis m'iere q\ui/l estoit mais
 Il a v\ie/ .V.anz et V mais
 Q\ue/ du mont de may ce so\vn/joie

 En icelui tens deliteus
 De toute rien d'amer se sfroie
 Songai une nuit que je estoie
 De m'iere avis en mon dormant*

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 345.

⁴¹ Spearing, A.C., op. cit. p. 195-6)

*De matin estoit durement
De mon lit tantost me leve* [ll.45-7; 84-9]⁴²

As Hult has pointed out, there is a blurring of levels evident in these lines regarding the Narrator (the story-teller), the Dreamer (the past self of the Narrator who had the dream) and the Lover (the persona in the dream who experienced the various events). Although *avis m'iere* clearly refers to the Dreamer's perception of the original scene, while *il estoit mais* describes the dream story itself, the application of the following line to one or the other level is nearly impossible.⁴³ It is not clear whether the dream occurred more than five years ago when the Dreamer was twenty years old, or whether the Dreamer at the age of twenty dreamed of a period of five years earlier when he would have been at most fifteen, or whether the Narrator was alluding to the dream's fulfilment, which would have occurred five years before that time. One may surmise that the poet is deliberately being ambiguous to prepare the reader for the different levels of meaning which occur through the whole poem.

The Dreamer is shown by the side of the river flowing into an enclosed garden in the right-hand miniature, progressing like a modern-day cartoon

⁴² I became aware that it was May, five years or more ago; I dreamed that I was in May
And so I dreamed one night that I was in that delicious season when everything is stirred by love,
and as I slept I became aware that it was full morning. I immediately rose from my bed.

⁴³ Hult, op.cit., p.112.

strip. We can see that the dreamer is a beardless tonsured cleric who is basting the sleeves of his outer robe of blue under which is a red garment. The significance of these two robes is revealed in later miniatures where the shedding of the outer blue robe symbolises the revealing of the inner persona of the narrator/dreamer.

We are told that in this dream

.....*onques riens nur*
q\w/i avenu trestout ne soit
si q\ue/ le conte racontoit. (ll.28-30)⁴⁴

The sequentially framed images would prefigure the mediaeval understanding of a quest - in this case of a rose in an enclosed garden, but also with the added proleptic presence of *Dangier*. The opening page miniatures may be seen to illustrate the prophetic nature of the narrator's dream which was to foretell his personal history, a love-affair fraught with danger and desire. But, as Spearing has suggested, Macrobius' teaching also referred to a "statement of general truth", in that dreams employ personification and myth to define a universal truth belonging to the past and present as much as to the future.⁴⁵ Allegory only reveals general truth by concealing it. The truth of the dream in the first frame will not become

⁴⁴ ..nothing which did not happen almost as the dream told it.

⁴⁵ Spearing, ., op. cit. , p. 199.

aparant (l.5) till afterwards: our covert dreams prefigure what later occurs openly.

There is a passage in Macrobius' commentary which speaks of nature preferring to maintain her secrets veiled before men, much as she disguises her naked body.⁴⁶ The passage on May in *Roman de la Rose* with which the dream narrative begins reflects Macrobius' words where it repeatedly describes Nature's wish in spring to cover its winter nakedness:

*q\w/i en may parer ne se veille
et covrir de novele fuelle
Le bois recuerent lor verdure
.....
lors devient la terre si gove
q\ue/l velt avoir novele robe (ll.50 -60, my underlining)⁴⁷*

In the second frame, the Dreamer/Narrator is clothed, and, as narrated in the text, is stitching up his sleeves. This symbolizes his adoption of the garb of civilization, in which the repression of desire that makes civilization possible, enforces both the external clothing of the body and internal censorship that hides the latent truth of dreams.⁴⁸ The concept of covering, or concealing, is further illustrated in this frame by the walled garden. The high turreted wall with a heavily barred door (quite unlike the narrow and tight little door

⁴⁶ Hult, op. cit, p.123.

⁴⁷ "...when one sees no bush or hedge that does not wish to cover itself with new leaves....then the earth becomes so proud that it wants a new robe.."

⁴⁸ Spearing, op.cit, p.200.

described in the orthodox *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts, which presumably would have been written on the missing leaf of the first gathering in the Grey Rose) reinforces the forbidding nature of the quest. Like the walls of Jehan and Jericho, the wall is designed to keep unsuitable people out of the garden.

D.W. Robertson has expounded the significance of the garden image for the Middle Ages. All the features of a garden, such as trees, flowers and streams are symbolic of the most important doctrines of Christianity as it is contained in both the Old and New Testaments, particularly in Genesis and the Canticum.⁴⁹ Mediaeval gardens are often depicted containing wells or streams which water the trees and flowers, and are variously interpreted as baptism, wisdom, the true doctrine, Charity or the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰ Moreover, the fact that the narrator/dreamer is standing before the well of Narcissus, emphasises the importance of the Narcissus episode in the *Roman* which David Hult and Fleming see as a “central figure”.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Robertson, D.W., *The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach Through Symbolism and Allegory*, p.20.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 28.

⁵¹ Hult, D. Self-Fulfilling prophecies, p.8. and Fleming, op. cit. p. 93.

Kuhn has observed that the arrangement of the incipit illustration in many manuscripts was significantly like the iconography of the Nativity.⁵² It can be seen that the left-hand frame of the *Grey Roman* is no exception: the Dreamer corresponds to the typical position of the Virgin in her accouchement, while the figure of Danger resembles Joseph standing guard over Mary, his club reminiscent of Joseph's staff. Behind the bed, where the cradle is usually seen in the scenes of the Nativity, there is the rose tree. The tree occupies a significant position in mediaeval literature. In the Old Testament story of the Fall, it is the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; in the Gospels it the Tree of Life, the Cross of Redemption. Such tropological elaborations were very popular in the Middle Ages whether the tree symbolised virtue or vice, or both.⁵³ Thus the Rose-tree as an evil tree could represent idolatrous sexual love, an extreme form of cupidity and a reflection of the Fall, as well as a good tree. The *Grey Roman de la Rose* shows, in common with many other *Rose* manuscripts, a conventionalised rose tree growing upward behind the Dreamer's bed. It is derived from the Tree of Jesse, which has Christ at its summit. It is positioned behind the dreamer where the cradle is usually found in the Nativity scenes, thus emphasising its association with Christ.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Dreamer's position is reminiscent of the position of Jesse in some pictorial

⁵²

Kuhn, *Die Illustration des Rosenromans*, pp. 57 ff.

representations of the Tree of Jesse.⁵⁵ In contrast to Jesse trees which are tall, straight and bi-symmetrical, the branches on this rose tree are curving, sometimes downwards, which suggest spiritual corruption. As in the case of the tree, the rose flower also has both good and evil meanings. It is associated with charity, martyrdom or the Blessed Virgin Mary, but also with lechery and idolatry.⁵⁶ Moreover, flowers, which may be beautiful and fragrant, and associated with women's beauty, are transitory, in contrast to the green leaf which does not wither on the Tree of Life. Transient human glory is contrasted to spiritual eternity.

The roses all have five petals. This is symbolic of the five corporeal senses, which Saint Augustine ranked in the descending order of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch which link the body to the soul, just as the five spiritual senses link the soul to God through the medium of charity.⁵⁷ Saint Bernard classified five types of love corresponding to the five bodily senses, i.e., *amor sanctus*, the love of God (sight); *amor violentus*, the love of enemies (hearing); *amor justus*, love for all men, (smell); *amor socialis*, love between companions (taste); *amor naturalis*, love between parents and

⁵³ Robertson, D.W., *Essays in Medieval culture*, p.23.

⁵⁴ Dahlberg, C. *Love and the Roman de la Rose*, p.579.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.27.

⁵⁷ Dahlberg, *Love and the Roman de la Rose*, p.576.

children (touch).⁵⁸ Cupidinous love, on the other hand, also starts with sight, and proceeds through the other senses, hearing, smell, taste until it reaches its goal, by touch. Therefore, the five petals of the rose symbolise the path to either cupidity, natural love, or charity, love of God. The marginalia, as will be seen, also reflect both these aspects of love.

Although it has been argued that since the context is secular, any resemblance to religious iconography is purely coincidental,⁵⁹ other scholars such as Fleming agree that “in the [Gothic] book painting what we should call sacred and secular subjects are inextricably blended all art was religious art, or, what comes to the same thing, all art was secular art.”⁶⁰ However, as Huot warns, one must always be tentative in the conclusions one draws “since artists could have drawn on familiar patterns in designing new iconography without intending the new scenes to be associated with those on which they were modelled”.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the universal world view of mediaeval man was Christian, and theological influences were in every area of life. Biblical exegesis, developed by theologians such as St. Augustine, was seen as important because it was thought that if the great truths were

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Parmisano, F. *Medium Aevum*, xxv (1966), p. 279. (Review of *A Preface to Chaucer* by D.W. Robertson.)

⁶⁰ Collingwood, R.G., *Speculum Mentis* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 27-28, quoted by Fleming, J., Ibid, p. ix.

⁶¹ Huot, S., *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, p. 275.

stated too openly, the consequence might be to 'cast pearls before swine' or that people might simply reiterate without genuine understanding. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, Petrarch used such arguments to defend the obscurity of poetry.⁶² The opening words of *Roman de la Rose* assure the reader that the narrator is convinced that a dream signifies the good and evil that come to men since it may reveal things *apertement* that are there stated *covertement*; in the same way, the illustration may be expected to contain hidden truths.

⁶² Robertson, *op. cit.*, p.8.

2.2. MARGINALIA on the *INCIPIT* FOLIO

It is not unusual to find marginalia on the opening page of the *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts, but to my knowledge there are no other marginalia depicting the same imagery as that on *incipit* folio of the *Grey Rose*.⁶³ (Fig. 10) Often the opening page imagery of other texts besides the *Rose*, both Latin and vernacular, shows hounds pursuing rabbits or hunts for rabbits or stags.⁶⁴ Such images are, of course, appropriate to the *Rose* as a metaphor of love as a hunt, but precisely because they are so one cannot be sure that they had been specifically selected specially for the *Rose*. However, in some cases, the *Rose* opens with more unusual marginalia that evidently were intended to reflect on the text, as in this opening page. In order to provide a comparison for the *Grey Rose* *incipit*, I include a description of a manuscript I examined in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale which are examples of *incipit* page marginalia commenting on the text.

⁶³ I have examined approximately thirty fourteenth or fifteenth century manuscripts in the British Library, the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale and the Rylands library (Manchester), as well as Kuhn's facsimiles and illustrations in books by, for example, Robertson, Tuve, Fleming and Dahlberg.

⁶⁴ Huot, S. *The Romance of the Rose and its medieval readers: interpretation, reception, manuscript transmission.*, p. 275.

The first is MS British Library Stowe 947 (MS Lm³) which opens with a two-part miniature with marginalia (Fig. 11). As in the Grey Rose, the dreamer in bed is represented on the left, but on the right Oiseuse is seated inside the garden wall holding her mirror and comb and surrounded by the rosebush. The left-hand frame tells us that, amongst other things, the poem will be the story of a dream (as has already been shown above in the Grey Rose). The conflation of the rose, object of desire, with the sensuality and self-absorption of Oiseuse - a feminine figuration of Narcissus, in whose mirror the rose is first glimpsed - tells us that the dream is inspired by and focused upon erotic love. In the lower margin there are two animals, a lion and a beaver biting off its own testicles, which represent the possibility of a corrective antidote to erotic impulses since the lion here probably represents the nobility of heart often invoked in the *Rose*, and the beaver, according to bestiary tradition, knew that it was hunted for its testicles, and would bite them off when pursued in order to save its life; similarly, the man pursued by the devil should cast off temptations of the flesh.

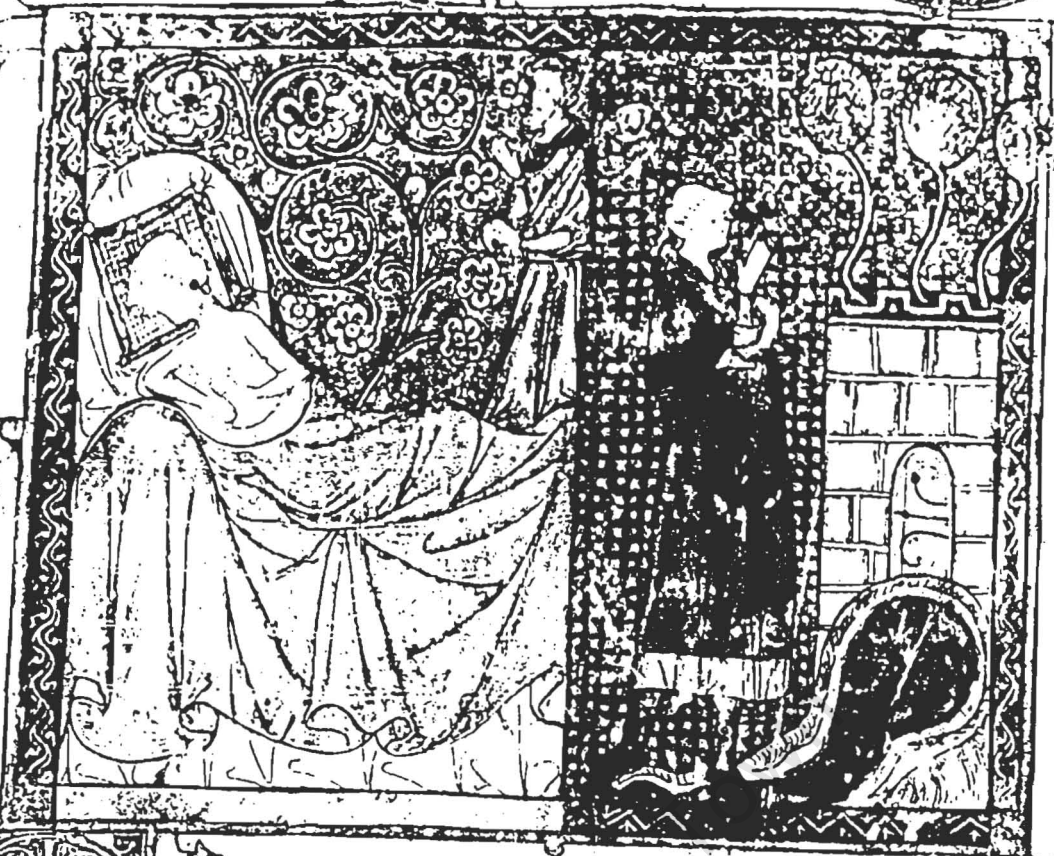
The second example of an opening page 'comment' is from MS Bibl. Nat. fr. 1561, MS Lb. Once again, the opening miniature represents the dreamer in bed; in the lower margin, two rabbits and a man extending a phallic staff

express the erotic impulses that motivate the dream. Off to the side is an asp, its tail plugging its ear which in bestiary tradition means that the asp prevented itself from being lulled to sleep by placing one ear against the ground and stopping up the other with its tail. In Christianising bestiaries, the asp is a figure for the obstinate sinner who closes his ears to chastisement, certainly an appropriate image for the Lover. It is also possible, however, that the image in MS Lb was inspired by Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amours*, a text sometimes bound with the *Rose* in anthology manuscripts, in which the asp represents a refusal to be seduced by the sweet appearance of the lady. Given the importance of aural seduction in the opening stages of the dream - the Lover is attracted first by birdsong, then by the song of the carollers, and the importance of verbal deception and manipulation in the erotic conquest, this asp closing its ears to the word could certainly be seen, like the beaver of MS Lm3, in opposition to the Lover.⁶⁵

The marginalia of the *Grey Rose* reveal a similarly rich iconography.

The whole *incipit* page is framed by a grotesque with a bird's head which tapers into a long snake-like border, interspersed with medallions. The bird

⁶⁵ Huot, S. *Op. cit.*, p.277.



Duntres gen; diens q̄ en songes
 a se fables nē et mensonges
 es len pure vier songes songier
 q̄ in ne sont nūc meacongier
 a ins lons apces bien aparant
 s i en puis bien traire a garant
 f audecar qui out non macrobe
 a in ne tūt p̄z songes a lobes
 a neois d̄idrist lamilion
 a in auzint au roy cyphon
Conques cūde ne qui die
 ce dit lūc ne inusardie
 d e rōne que songe auuegue
 a in d̄ vōudin p̄ut fol manitregue
 s ar en d̄roit uoi ai ie creauce
 a iduges d̄ur senefiance
 d es biens aue gōur et des muis

q̄ li plūdent songent de muis
 a) nūtes choide courtemēt
 a len uoit puis aprenieut

Qu vintisme au de moi eage
 au pont que aū p̄ra peage
 d es ieunēs gen; conestie inestose
 e u mon lit si q̄ ne souloie
 z me dormoie m̄lt formāde
 s i vi i songe en mon dormāt
 a in m̄lt su b̄ant et m̄lt meplec
 ay es en ce songe onq̄ riens n̄ut
 a aucun n̄eout ne v̄it
 s i q̄ le come raconou

Qu v̄il ce songe rimōre
 a) vos cueit q̄re enuōiser
 a m̄ys le me p̄ue et ḡmanāe
 a se m̄it ou n̄ule demāde

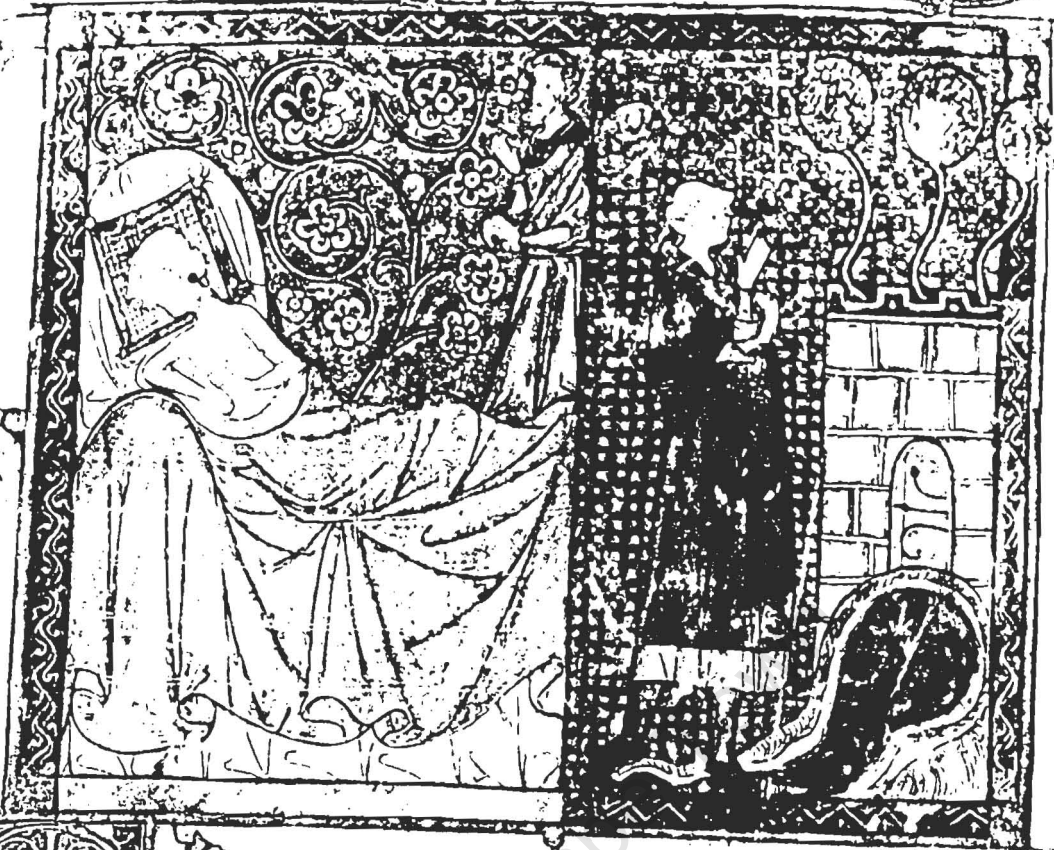
has a long beak in which it holds, or swallows, several golden balls. It is wearing a bishop's mitre. (Fig.12) This is probably an iconographic reference to the hypocritically religious who are criticised in the second section, those

.....*seculier ou de cloistre*
Les desloiaus gens les maudites
Que/ len apele ypocrites (ll. 15262-4)⁶⁶

They destroy people (symbolised by the swallowing of the golden balls) through their corruption, both literally and figuratively like *Faus Semblant*, a questionable ally of the Dreamer much later in the text.

There are five medallions along the body of the bird which frames the *incipit* page: one next to the lower left column, two at the bottom of the folio and two next to the right column. They correspond to the five senses, already mentioned above regarding the five rose petals. The medallion on the left border depicts a person touching the face of a grotesque wearing a fool's hat, (touch); the left bottom medallion shows a figure plugging his ears (hearing); the medallion at right bottom displays a small figure pointing to the nose of the figure facing him (smell); the lower medallion on the right border portrays a small figure pointing to the mouth of the facing figure (taste); and the last at the upper right border illustrates a person gazing at a

⁶⁶ ...those in the world or cloister, the unlawful people, the cursed ones who are called hypocrites.



Duntres gen; diens ij en songes
 La se fables nō et mensonges
 es len pure tict songes songiev
 m ne sont mie meacouger
 A ins lous apces bien aparant
 i en puis bien traite a garant
 Andear qui dit non macrobe
 m ne tuit puz songes a lobes
 neois d'icrist l'antion
 m auint au roy cyphon
Qui conques cūde ne qui die
 ce soit lūie ne inusardie
 d'etore que songe amegue
 a m de voundu prut fol mantregue
 S'at engout uoi ai ie creaute
 a idiges d'ur senestance
 d' es biens que gōuz et des muis

et li plusent songem de muis
 ay nutes choide come tement
 et len uoit puis apremier
Qu'untisme au de moi eage
 du pont que aū p'ra peage
 d' es ieunēs gen' conchie inestie
 E u mon lit si q'ie souloie
 et me dormoit m'ist formidie
 S' i vi i songe en mon dormit
 Q' m m'it su' hant et m'it meplei
 ay es en ce songe onq's riens n'ut
 et aucun treitout ne soit
 S' i g'le come racouon
Q'u' v'el ce songe rimorer
 y vol eueit b're enuisher
 d' m'ors le me pue et g'mande
 a se m'it ou nule demande

rose (sight). Depending upon which one 'reads' first, touch is the goal of cupidity or the starting point of charity.

In the lower margin, there are three figures balancing on the margin frame above ivy fronds, all facing to the left. (Fig. 13) The first is a grotesque which has a bird body with a human head (with a long nose) and sporting a fool's hat. The second is a hound with a pointed beard and pronounced testicles. The third is a small red fox with a bushy tail. Each of these grotesques represents an important theme in the *Roman*. The large hound, in the middle, symbolizes the hunt of sexual love. The figure of a hunting dog is common in marginal illustrations which represent the pursuit of love; indeed in a digression in the second part of *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun addresses himself to all "loyal lovers", and promises that his "hunt" is nearly done and one can hear the baying of the hounds:

*En ce bois ci poirez oir
Les chiens glatir a mente\w/dez... (ll. 15138-39)⁶⁷*

The fox, on the right, stands for the hypocrisy of false preachers, since the fox as an anti-fraternal image was employed in many mediaeval exegetical texts.⁶⁸ According to Fleming the anti-fraternal material has too been too often considered peripheral in the *Roman de la Rose* which he believes is a

⁶⁷ ..in this wood you may hear the dogs barking

⁶⁸ Fleming, J. *The Roman de la Rose*, p. 25-7.

major issue. The second part of the *Roman* makes several references to the hypocrisy of the friars, particularly in the person of *Faus Semblant*, which is not surprising since opposition to friars in France was rife in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁹ The bird body, with the human head and dunce's hat, represents the foolishness of the Lover's descent from Reason into a bestial state.

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⁶⁹ Fleming, J. *The Roman de la Rose*, p.25 and 160.

2.3 ILLUSTRATIONS on the MISSING LEAVES

There are two leaves missing from the first gathering of the manuscript which means that folios 2 and 4 have been lost. If a comparison of the text is made with the Lecoy edition, one may assume that approximately 106 lines are missing between the present folio 1v and 2r. Since a full leaf would have contained 160 lines, the amount of space taken up by missing miniatures would have been approximately 54 lines. Most miniatures measure approximately 10 lines, so there could have been space for 5 miniatures of ten or eleven lines each. The missing lines describe the dreamer coming to a large garden enclosed by a high wall covered with paintings of various personifications which the speaker proceeds to describe. The missing personifications would have been Hate, Felony, Villainy, Covetousness and Avarice.

2.4. ENVIE (f.2r)

Folio 2 r has an 11 line-space miniature which is placed midway down the folio in the first column immediately before the decorated initial A in gold with an azure background which starts: *Après refu porteite envie* which announces the section describing Envy. (Fig.14) There are three figures in the miniature, but we might assume that Envy is on the right since the word *envie* is rubricated in red at the bottom right of the miniature under the male figure dressed in a bright red robe. On the left are two figures. We may assume the figure on the extreme left to be the Dreamer since he is the same tonsured cleric wearing the same blue robe depicted in the right half of the *incipit* page miniature. He is embracing a lady who is wearing a chaplet of rose buds, and dressed in a robe of vermilion:

...une color l'enlumine....si vermeille et si fine (ll. 1659-60)⁷⁰

The lady foreshadows his loved one, for when the Dreamer is in the garden facing the array of rose buds, he could not believe that there were such beautiful ones anywhere and very much wished to possess it:

*il le devoit avoir trop cher
se chapel en peuse avoir
je nen prendre nul avoir* (ll.1652-3)⁷¹

There is another aspect to the figure of Envy. Envy in the miniature is depicted as a male figure which we may deduce from his robe and his hair, yet in the text

⁷⁰it glowed with a colourso bright red and so pure..

⁷¹ ... if I could have a chaplet (of the buds), I would love nothing more..

There is another aspect to the figure of Envy. Envy in the miniature is depicted as a male figure which we may deduce from his robe and his hair, yet in the text she is referred to as a female. The dual aspect of the figure is further emphasised if one compares the figure Envy to the *incipit* page illustration. The Dreamer dresses in two robes, the outer garment azure and the under garment, red. When the dreamer takes off his outer robe, he reveals his red under garment which symbolizes his psychological vice persona, in this case, envy. There is another occasion later in the manuscript when the miniature presents the dual persona : in the miniature showing the dreamer at the Well of love, the figure has cast off his blue robe, to reveal his red robe.

Envy's voyeurism is emphasised by his right heel protruding out of the frame. We can only see one eye, but his look appears to be direct.

The folio highlights the narrative by its use of decorated initials. The beginning of the ekphrasis, *Apres*, is signalled by an illuminated capital "A" that serves as a bracketing frame for text column and the illumination above. The shift within the text from the description of the portrait to a description of Envy's qualities evokes a second illuminated initial, the "E" of "*Envie est de tel cruauté.*" The illuminated initials and rubrication of the miniature

both link the visual system to the poetic text and indicate the dual narrative systems as well as the separate stages of manuscript production.

The miniature is almost independent of literal reference to the text except for employing a gold and azure colour motif as specified later by the text (although there are also other colours used):

*car si q\uo/me le devisai
furent a or et a azur
de toutes p\ours/ peintes ou murs (ll. 463-6)⁷²*

Envy is not especially ugly as specified (*avoit trop laide regardure, l. 280*).

However, only one eye is to be seen, which suggests that the illustrator has attempted to portray the lines:

*Ele ne regardast neant
Fors en travers en borneant
Et le avoit t\rop/ mauvais vissage
Quele ne pouvoit en visage
Regardez rien de plain en plai\w/
Ainsi clot .l.oiel p\our/ gr\an/t desdaing (ll. 281-6)⁷³*

Most interesting is that the text does describe the conduct of an envious person:

*quel fondoit dire et ardoit
q\an/t quacun quele regardoit
estoit ou biaux ou preuz ou gens
ou loez ou amez des gens (ll. 287-90)⁷⁴*

⁷² ...for, as I have described, they were done in gold and azure, painted all along the wall.

⁷³ she looked at everything obliquely and she had this bad habit because she could not look anything straight in the face, but closed one eye in disdain.

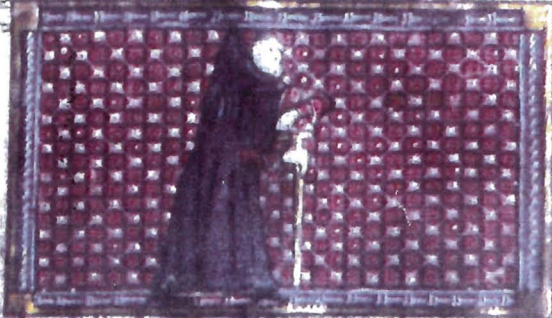
⁷⁴ ..for she burned and melted with rage when anyone at whom she looked was either wise, fair, or noble, or was loved or praised by men.

D'antrecce painte en un manistee
 A le auoit un cuer grant dolor
 Et un paroit a sa couloz
 Et sembloit auoir la manite
 Et un feust tres malade
 Et paleur ne de un grece
 Et leuue et la titee
 Et la pesance et si amuo
 A nel soustout de iour et de nuys
 Et amorent fete nule manie
 Et maigre et pale ceuenu
 D'us mes nul autel n'auoit
 Et si ne uoe si tres grant ue
 Et me el sembloit que ele eust
 Et eust que nul ne le feust



Aue tiens qui li port piete
 Et ele ne se vouloit remuer
 Et reconfer a nul fier
 Et il d'iel quele auoit a son cuer
 Et roy auoit son cuer controuie
 Et son duel peunt quence
 Et le sembloit un que fut dolere
 Et n'el n'auoit pas este leure
 Et est' emes toure si chiere
 Et le nauoit pas si robe chere
 Et n'auoit len lano et desiere
 Et cele qui n'el iere nee
 Et ichanel tant est'age d'ireur
 Et espandu yloucal iurent
 Et le les auoit touz d'ore
 Et e multalent et de con'ouie

Et il l'achet certainement
 Et uole pl'ouir n'ou' r'ou' d'ou
 Et il n'ou' tant d'ou' n'ou' r'ou'
 Et il n'ou' p'ite n'ou' r'ou'
 Et nel se de' au' p'ou' et b'ou' r'ou'
 Et ses p'ou' eust' amble l'ou' r'ou'
 Et le ier au' duel fete eust' am
 Et d'ou' l'ent' la chet'ue
 Et uel' r'ou' de' mou'ier
 Et d'ou' l'ent' ne de' b'ou' r'ou'
 Et au' le cuer d' bien d'ou' l'ent'
 Et n'ou' de' uo' n'ou' n'ou' r'ou'
 Et d'ou' l'ent' ne de' b'ou' r'ou'
 Et nul ne se pou' r'ou' molle
 Et au' duel eust' a iou' fete
 Et au' duel et iou' sou' r'ou' r'ou'



Et n'ou' si' b'ou' l'ent' d'ou' l'ent' b'ou' l'ent'
 Et au' eust' un' p'ou' r'ou' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et d'ou' l'ent' quele sou' l'ent' eust'
 Et p'ou' quel se pou' r'ou' p'ou' r'ou'
 Et au' eust' b'ou' l'ent' et r'ou' r'ou'
 Et ien eust' un' b'ou' l'ent' g'ou' r'ou'
 Et le eust' laide d'ou' l'ent'
 Et ou' r'ou' la r'ou' d'ou' l'ent'
 Et b'ou' l'ent' a fete l'ou' r'ou'
 Et ne f'ou' n'ou' g'ou' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et ele m'ou' r'ou' ne g'ou' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et au' tou' son' eust' l'ou' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et d'ou' l'ent' et d'ou' l'ent' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et ou' eust' un' b'ou' l'ent' r'ou' r'ou'
 Et l'ou' r'ou' l'ou' r'ou' et p'ou' r'ou'
 Et eust' tou' r'ou' r'ou' r'ou' r'ou'

2.5. TRISTESCE (f. 2v)

The narrator tells us that next, quite close to Envy, Sorrow was painted on the wall. On folio 2v, a miniature depicts a woman sitting on a bench with bookshelves containing books (Fig. 15). There is no rubric under the miniature probably because the first word at the top of the left column is *Tristesce*. The text says that her troubles had made her grow yellow and lean and pale, but her complexion, although pale, is white in colour, and she is not thin:

*Dele Envie auques pres iere
Tristesce painte en la maisiere
Que/le avoit au cuer g\ra/nt doulor
Et b\ie/n paroit a sa coulour
Et sembloit avoir la jaunice
Si ni feist riens avarice
De paleur ne de maigreice (ll. 291-7)⁷⁵*

We are told that she had not been slow to scratch her whole face, and had torn her dress in many places until it was practically worthless:

*Quele navoit pas este lente
Desg\vr/atiner toute sa chiere
Et le navoit pas la robe chiere
En maint leu lavoit desciree
Que/ cele qui m\ou/lt fu iree (ll. 314-8)⁷⁶*

⁷⁵ Next, quite close to Envy, Sorrow was painted on the wall. Her colour seemed to show that she had some great sorrow in her heart. She looked as though she had jaundice, and Avarice was nothing like as pale and gaunt as she.

⁷⁶ She had not been slow to scratch her whole face, and she had torn her dress in many places until it was practically worthless, as though she had been in a violent rage.

Yet her robe in the miniature is certainly not in rags , and it appears to be made of a rich dark red fabric with generous folds and no lacerations. It is, however, open to her waist suggesting that she had ripped it open. The illustration's only adherence to the text is in the gesture of her tearing at her hair:

*Si chevel tuit estrige furent
Et expandir p\ar/ son col jurent
Que/le les avoit tour derone
De maltalent et de courone. (ll.319-22)⁷⁷*

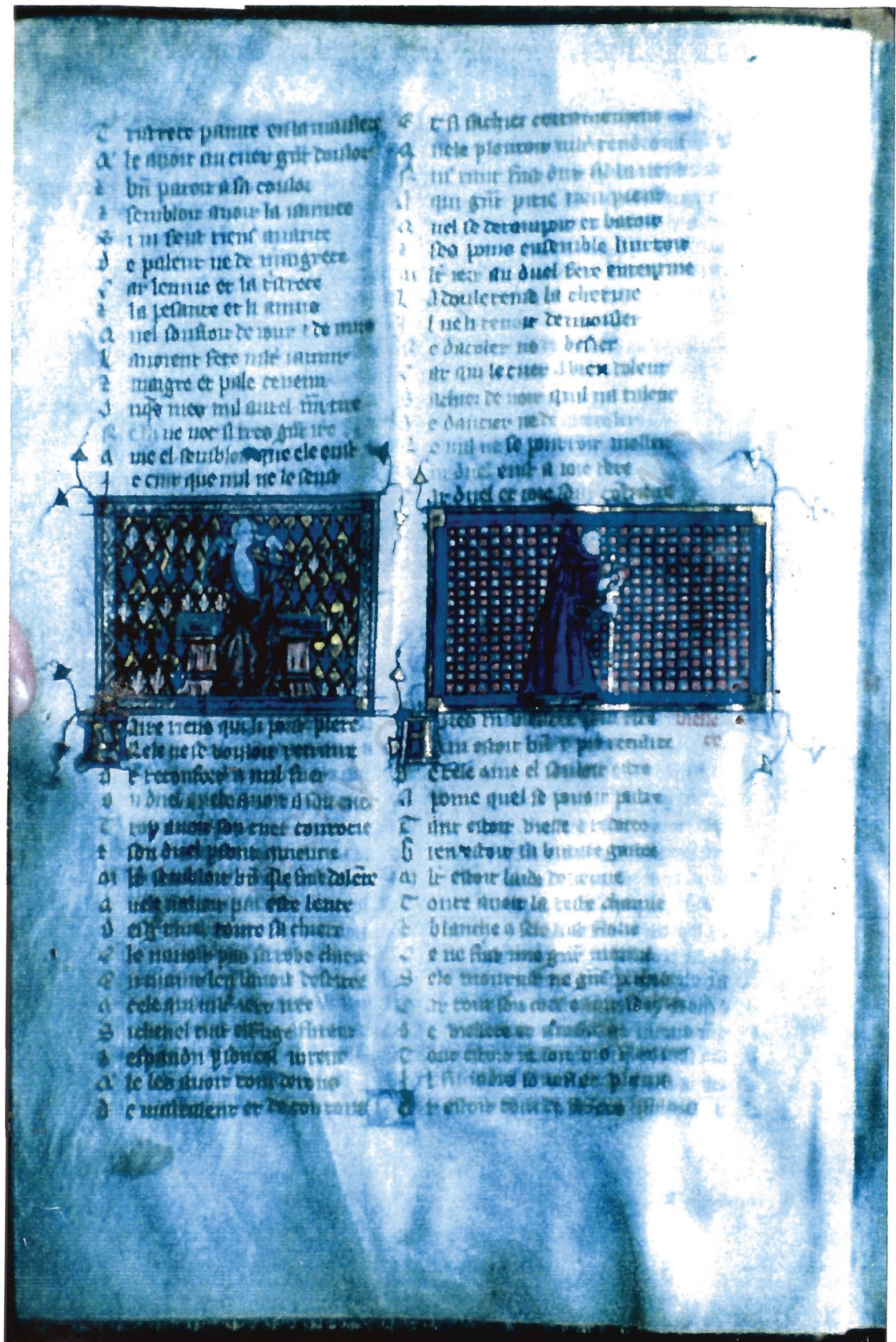
Perhaps the illustrator is attempting to depict the anguish of the personage portrayed in the text, rather than her more unattractive qualities:

*Et si sachiez testamement
Quele plouroit m\w/lt rendement
Nus tant fust durs nen veist
A qui gr\an/t pitie nen preist
Quel se desciroit et batoit
Et ses poins ensemble hurtoit. (ll323-8).⁷⁸*

⁷⁷ Her hair, which she had torn out in bad temper and anger, was all unplaited and lay straggling down her neck

⁷⁸ And know truly that she sobbed most profoundly. There was no one so hardhearted who, seeing her, would not not have felt great pity as she tore and beat herself and struck her fists together.

Fig. 16



2.6. VIELLECE (f. 2v)

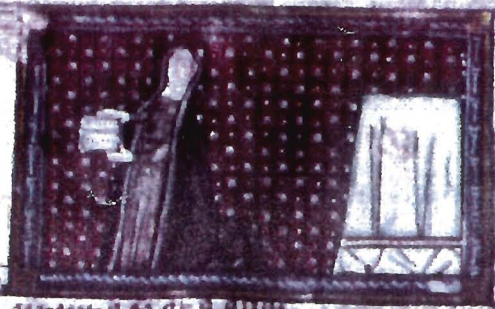
Placed next to Sorrow, in the right hand column, is a miniature under which is the rubric *Viellece*. (Fig.16) Her depiction conforms to the text in that she leans on a crutch and she is warmly dressed, albeit severely, in long black robes. However, there is no sign of the other physical details referred to in the text, such as a head of white (her hair is covered with a cowl), or a face full of wrinkles, an emaciated body, mossy ears and no teeth:

*Bien estoit sa biaute gaste
 Moul't estoit laide devenue
 Toute avoit la teste chanue
 Et blanche a cele fust florie
 Ce ne fust mie gr'an't mornie
 Sele mourant ne gr'an't pechies
 Car tout ses cors estoit sechiez
 De viellece et aneantis.
 Tout estoit va son vis floris
 Il fu jadis sones et plains
 Or estoit tous de fronces plains
 Les orelles avoit menues
 et toutes les mancis si perdues
 Que ele ne navoit neis une
 Tant p'our/ estoit de gr'an't viellune
 Quel naloit une sanz doutante
 Et mis toises sanz potance

 Bien fu vestue et chaudem'en't
 Car ele fut morte aut're/ment(ll. 344-400) ⁷⁹*

⁷⁹ Her beauty was spoiled and she had become very ugly. Her entire head was white with age as if it had been decked with flowers. If she had died, it would have been neither a great loss nor a great wrong, for age had already dried up her body and reduced it to nothing. Her face, once soft and smooth, was now withered and full of wrinkles. She had mossy ears, and she had lost so many teeth that she had none left. Her age was so great that, without a crutch, she would not have gone far....she was dressed warmly, for otherwise she would have died.

L ne fu gait ne ioinie
 mo fu par semblant euecune
 n tout a hōnes ceutes fere
 si auoir vestu la hure
 i miches quel uestor par gra
 ms sembloit bñ de ieuu laie
 auoir la colleur palee
 li et aus siens ier la po
 eues de paradit
 ar icette gent four leur bi
 maigtr cedir leu angille
 our moui lor y mi la vil
 pour i pou de gloire vaine
 aut il pōiour dieu et se regne
H ou n ante etour au derent
 bourete qui a seil demer
 Anoir pas sei se deint pendre
 aut seut bñ si robe beu
 uele estour une que vers
 ele teut fent pome d'uers
 e cur quele acourait de si
 nel nauoir qum vier sac estour
 our plam de meuis palemus
 stour si cote e des mou
 l nauoir plus que assubier
 on lous mouir de trembley
 es autres fu i pou loigret
 chren hontent en i quigne
 se trouper et se rapidit
 ar poure chose aut q note sōr
 se toute hontent e despar
 l cur pūse euec maudie
 a poure hōne si coure
 a ml ne sera in bien pūse
 se bñ vestu ne vñ chau
 se in amez ne crūuies
 les ymaget bien amū
 ar si que le deuisin



urent a or et a auir
 e toutes yf paures au mur
 aut fu le mur et bñ quatre
 l en estour elos i barre
 n len de hares bu veig
 n our nauoir euec bergier
 e bg en trop bñ len sub
 m deden men me dousit
 n pechuel on y degre
 e h en seuse ml bou gre
 nen tel ne pūse rel deunt
 enna hōne si a se cur
 me il auoir en se veng
 ar le ten dousant herberg
 estour ne desdaigneut e chiches
 ur miel ml len ne si riches
 abies ne dousillone chancie
 a ml auoir dousant trou ranc
 en tout le romme de siuce
 le estour bete in cordance
 e leur pūse cham a ou
 our si mont se deub estour
 e enquire moi men enai
 s i dūent qū les
 a ne prese pas e l
 s e li paubges fut dousue
 a re nentit en er velle
 l assemblée qū dieu greisse
 d es dousie am iouen euec
 a emoussent chancie
 l es dances d'ant et les netes
 p leus com touds i ungueres

2.7. PAPALARDIE (f. 2r)

The next two miniatures have been transposed.

After *Tristece*, the text describes *Ypocrite* which is followed by *Povrete* but the miniatures have been reversed, with *Povrete* portrayed where *Ypocrite* should have been, and vice versa. *Ypocrite* (or, as she is also described in the text, *Papalardie*) is conventionally depicted as a nun (*Et fu chaucie et cestue/Tout ausi a fame rendue, l. 421-22*) kneeling and carrying a book, specified as a psalter in the text (*En sa main un sautier tenoit, l. 423*)⁸⁰. The fact that she is facing away from the altar on the right emphasises the hypocritical nature of her feigned prayers to God in the text (Fig. 17), and reinforces the duplicity insinuated in the text, for example: *en recelee/Quant nus ne sen puet penre garde..fer dehors le mauvaiteur (ll. 408-9)*⁸¹ *..sembla seinte criature ...sachiez que mout se penoit/ De fere a dieu prieres faintes/Et d'apeler et sains et saintes....Ains fu pas semblant ente\w\tive/Du tout a bones oevres fere.... Ainsi sembloit b\ie/n de ieune\w/ lasse (ll. 425-432).*⁸²

⁸⁰ ...In her hand she held a psalter..

⁸¹in secret, when no one watches her, she will commit any evil.

⁸² ... she seems a saintly creature...she took all kinds of pains to make feigned prayers to God and to call upon all the saints.....she appeared to be completely occupied in doing good works....she seemed worn out from fasting..

2.8. POVRETE (f. 3r)

Povrete is wearing only a short, rough dress, full of holes. (Fig 18) She has no stockings and no shoes. This to some extent corresponds with the text which describes her wearing a patched sack:

*Quele estoit nue come vers
 Sele tens fust point divers
 Je cuit quele acorast de froit
 Quel navoit qun vies sac estroit
 Tout plain de menus paletiaus
 Estoit sa cote et ses mantiaus (ll. 445-50)⁸³*

But instead of cowering and shivering like a poor dog in a corner according to the text, she is sitting on a bench. Although not mentioned in the text, to the right of the miniature the narrator/dreamer is walking away as he turns to throw her some coins from his purse, thus both illustrating his comment that she is a figure to be shamed and despised:

*Des autres fu un pou loignet
 Que/ chiens hontent en un quignet
 Se croupoit et se tapissoit
 Car povre chose ou quele soit
 Est toute honteuse et despite
 Leure paise estre maudite*

⁸³ ..she was as naked as a worm. I think that if the weather had been a little bad she would have perished of cold, for she had only an old thin sack, full of miserable patches, as her coat and her mantle.

*Q\ue/ povres hom fu conceus
 Quil ne sera va bien peus
 Ne b\ie/n vestuz ne b\ie/n chauciez
 Ne la amez ne essauciez. .(ll.453-62)⁸⁴*

and also establishing the fact that he, the Dreamer, is not poor and thus worthy to enter the garden:

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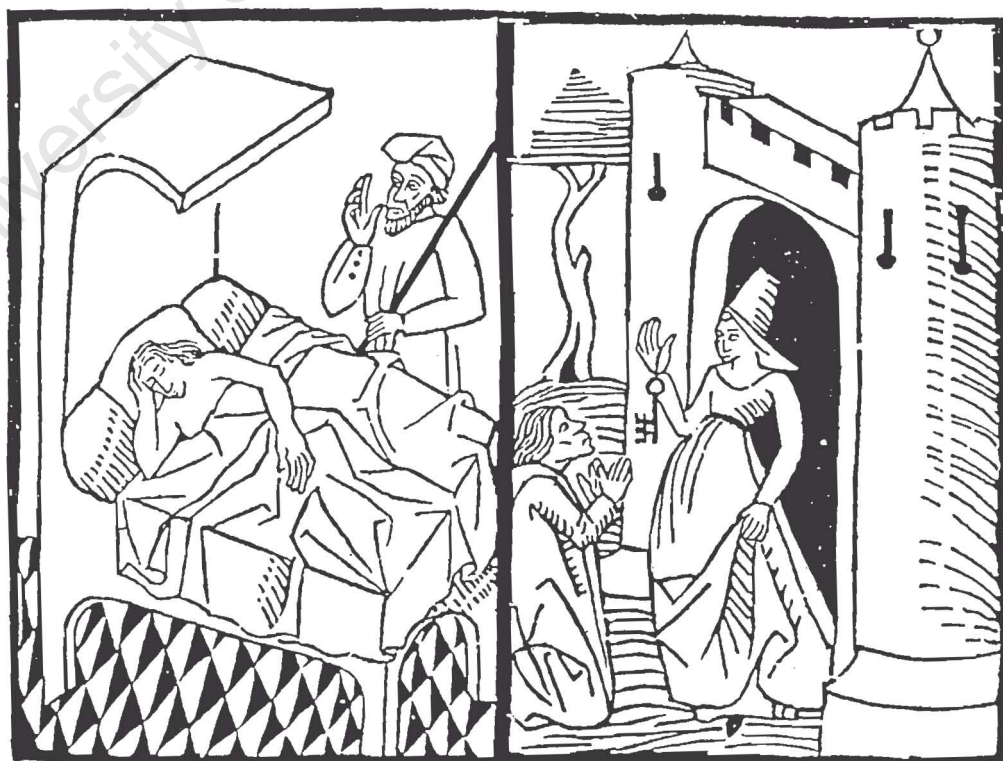
⁸⁴ *She was a little apart from the other. She crouched and cowered like a poor dog in a corner. Anything poor, wherever it may be, is always shamed and despised. Cursed be the hour in which a poor man was conceived, for he will never be well fed, well clothed, nor well shod. He is neither loved nor advanced in fortune.*

Fig. 19



(French. 14 c.). Oxford.
Bodleian Library. see Selden supra 57. fol. 10

Fig. 20



Series L.i. : Lyons, Ortuin & Schenck, c. 1481 Plate 1.

2.9. OISEUSE (missing)

There is evidence that there is space for a 9-line miniature on the missing folio between the present ff. 3v and 4r⁸⁵, and since the section recounts the invitation extended by *Oiseuse* to the dreamer to enter the garden, it is likely that the subject of the miniature would be *Oiseuse* and the Dreamer.

Idleness was regarded as a major enemy of the Christian spirit,⁸⁶ and was usually depicted iconographically with a comb and a mirror to indicate vanity and self-love (Fig. 19). This would prepare the reader for the Dreamer's gaze into the Well of Narcissus, an important theme already seen emphasised in the incipit illustration. In fact, in at least one manuscript *Oiseuse* shares the incipit diptych with the Dreamer. (Fig. 20).

⁸⁵ Present f. 3v ends at l. 496 and present 3r begins at l. 647, indicating that 151 lines are missing. If there are usually 160 lines on a folio, it follows that there is space for a 9-line miniature.

⁸⁶ Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, p. 92.

2.10. THE CAROL of DEDUIT (f. 6r)

The Grey Rose, in common with most manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*, places the illustration of the carol of *Deduit* after the allegorical figures painted on the wall. (Fig. 21) The miniature is the only illustration in the Grey Rose (apart from the *incipit* page) to stretch across the folio's two columns. It depicts ten figures which the illustrator has attempted to compose in a circle by placing the backs of three young men to the viewer although their feet are pointing the wrong way out of the frame. The text lists an array of musical instruments, but this illustrator has chosen to represent them by one instrument not mentioned, probably a 'rebec' or bowed lute, played by a young lady at the left of the frame. The Dreamer is next to her in his blue outer robe over a red garment as shown in the *incipit* page. The Dreamer probably faces *Deduit* since he is painstakingly described in the left column. However, only his back is presented to the viewer and he cannot be distinguished from the other young men in the carol since it is impossible to accurately identify him from the text because the illustration does not depict any of the text details such as the colour of his eyes and his face, the shape of his mouth, the colour and design of his robe which was in several places cunningly slashed away (*decoupez*) (ll. 807 - 830). We are also told that he wore a chaplet of roses made for him by his girlfriend:

Fig. 22



London. British Muscum. ms Yates Thompson 21, fol. 165

*Par druerie e par soulaz
Li ot samie fait chapel
De roses qui m\ou/lt li fu bel. (ll.828-30)⁸⁷*

but this is not a distinguishing feature since all the other young men wear chaplets. In fact, it is impossible to identify with certainty any of the other figures in the carol using evidence from the text. The illustrator seems to be content to give a general representation of the carol. Fleming has discussed the emblematic significance of the carol to the *Roman de la Rose*: he has shown that the carol in the Middle Ages was associated with sinfully frivolous behaviour, often leading to illicit sexual relations, and although not everyone who took part in a carol was 'sinful', in the light of the subsequent behaviour of the carollers described in line 1284:

*Les queroles va remenoient
Car tuit li pluseur sen aloient
Quel leur amis ombroier
Souz ces arbres pour donoier
Dieu m\oul/t anoient bone vie (ll.1291-5)⁸⁸*

it seems that this is a legitimate interpretation here.⁸⁹

A later manuscript illustration of the carol actually identifies the dancers in terms of the vices in the following order: pride, wrath, lechery, sloth, avarice, envy, and gluttony. (Fig. 22) The sexually implicit nature of the garden carol is further

⁸⁷ His sweetheart had, with loving care, made for him a chaplet of roses, which suited him beautifully.

⁸⁸ The carollers were stopping for most of them were going off with their sweethearts to shelter under the shade of the trees in order to make love. God! What a good life they led!

⁸⁹ Fleming, J.V., *Op. cit.*, p. 82-3.

reinforced by the birds' songs, which, although pleasant to listen to, are nevertheless compared to the songs of the Sirens :

*Tant estoit cis chanz douz et biaux
 Q\ui/l ne sembloit pas chant doisiaus
 Ains le povoit ou aesmer
 En chanz de seranie de mer
 Q\ui/ par les voir queles ont saines
 Et ont il apelees seranies. (ll.667-70)⁹⁰*

⁹⁰ *It was so sweet and beautiful that it did not seem the song of a bird. One could compare it rather with the song of the sirens of the sea, who have the name 'siren' on account of their clear, pure voices.*

2.11. NARCISSUS (f. 9r)

The rubric for the miniature on 9r reads: *Qui narcissus mourut en la fontaine.*

A kneeling narrator/dreamer dressed in his blue outer robe gazes into a well, framed by a tall tree on the left, and another tree at the head of the fountain.

(Fig.23) This is representing the text which tells how the

Narrator/Dreamer found a fountain under the tallest pine in the garden, and how he read an inscription cut on a marble stone under the pine which said that there the fair Narcissus had died (the marble is not shown in the illustration). The poet then recounts his version of the Narcissus myth. In spite of knowing Narcissus' fate, the dreamer overcomes his apprehension, and gazes into the fountain and sees two crystals. The narrator explains that, like a mirror, the crystals reveal the whole garden.

*Si ni a si petite chose
Tant repose ne tant enclose
Dont demo[n]strance ne soit faite
A sele ert ou cristal portraite.(ll.1567-70)⁹¹*

The fountain and the pine tree could have both positive and negative connotations. They could symbolise the redemptive *fons vitae* and the Tree of Life, or the destructive power of self-love hidden from the sight of God. Moreover, David Hult argues that as well as altering and /or

⁹¹ *There is nothing so small, however hidden or shut up, that is not shown there in the crystal as if it were painted in detail.*

highlighting the individual's perception, the fountain "is the image of fiction itself".⁹² Thus the Narcissus episode may have represented for mediaeval readers a deceptive surface reflecting deeper truths. In the text, as the dreamer looks into the well, he discovers that he can see the garden through two *pierres de cristal* (l. 1538). Robertson suggests that these represent the dreamer's eyes which function like a mirror, because through them the entire garden is visible to the dreamer, including the many beautiful roses.⁹³ But there is a curiously different image in the *Grey Roman* Narcissus miniature. There is a silver cross in the fountain. Whether or not this was executed by the illuminator, or later by a revisionist, is not clear. If authentic, it would seem to confirm that the *Roman* could be read as a Christian allegory as well as a sexual quest. The truth apparently being revealed by the crystals is that the true quest should be for the love of God, rather than indulging in self-love. Perhaps the illustrator wishes to foreshadow the sermon of Genius in the second part of the *Roman*, where he refers to another fountain from which flows a threefold but unified stream of the Trinity, *...mes touz jours troiz et touz jours une..* (l.20477).⁹⁴ It lies not beneath a pine tree, but beneath a fruitful olive tree (a traditional symbol of Christ)⁹⁵ which *porte le fruit de salu* (l.20523).⁹⁶ In this fountain there

⁹² Hult, D. *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, p. 287.

⁹³ Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, p.95.

⁹⁴ *..but always three and always one...*

⁹⁵ Dahlberg, C. *The Roman de la Rose*, p. 419.

⁹⁶ *...which wears the fruit of salvation..*



shines a carbuncle which is round with three facets. The virtue of the stone is that each facet is worth as much as the other two. We are told that unlike the perilous fountain of Narcissus which makes the living drunk with death, this fountain makes *de mort en vivre* .(l.20624) ⁹⁷

There is no doubt that the well of Narcissus is regarded by the 'planner' to be a central concept of the poem since it is prominently illustrated on the *incipit* folio. In another *incipit* page, B.M. MS Egerton 1069, the well is at the centre of the garden and is the source of the river which the Dreamer has crossed to approach the gate. (Fig.24) The Dreamer, having convinced himself that he was foolish to be frightened of it, is convinced

*De la fontaine cest la fins
En tout le monde na si bele
.....
Ne/ en yver ne puet mourir
Ne/ que lamer ne puer tarir (ll. 1528-1536)⁹⁸*

Here the dreamer sees the crystals which are so marvellous and have such force that everything that adorned the garden *I pert tot a orne* (l. 1552)⁹⁹

Furthermore, we are assured

*Que li cristaus sanz decevoir
Tout lestre du verg\ier/ dencusent*

⁹⁷ ..mskes the dead alive...

⁹⁸ ...it is the fountain of fountain: there is none so beautiful in all the world ... in winter it cannot die, nor can the water stop flowing...

⁹⁹ ..appears all in order..

Fig. 25



Fig. 26

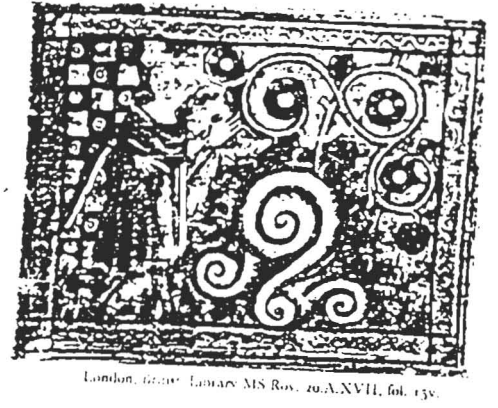
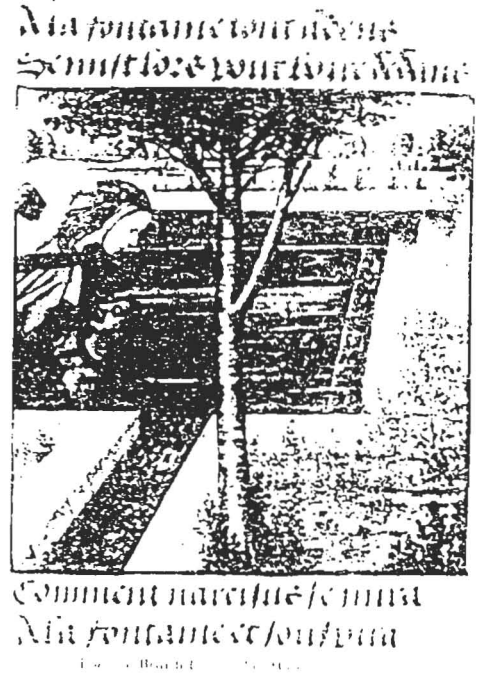


Fig. 27



Fig. 28



a ceus qui dederat leve musent (ll. 1560-2)¹⁰⁰

The Dreamer describes the fountain as a *miroire perilleux* (l.1571).¹⁰¹ In the second section of the poem, Nature discusses the characteristics of mirrors:

*Et qu'an/t ainsi sont deceu
Ca qui tier choses ont veu
Par miroierz ou p\ar/ distances
Qui leur ent fer tier demonstrances
Si bont p\uis/ au peuple et le vantent
Et ne dient pas vont amiz mente\vi/t* (ll.18231-6)¹⁰²

Moreover, the God of Love says that this book, because of the good seen in it, should be called *The Mirror for Lovers* provided that Reason be not believed (l. 10650- 54). It is clear, then, that the fountain symbolizes vision, both as secular and spiritual knowledge.

I have noticed that in most of the manuscripts I have examined, there are many different images illustrated in the well of Narcissus. (Figs. 24-34)

Some keep strictly to the text and portray Naricssus' reflection; others

¹⁰⁰ ..the cystals reveal the whole condition of the garden, without deception, to those who gaze into the water

¹⁰¹ ..a perilous mirror..

¹⁰² (mirrors), if they have no impediments, made many miracles appear. Different distances, in fact, with mirrors, create great deceptions.....as a result many things are judged to be quite other than they are...

Fig. 30



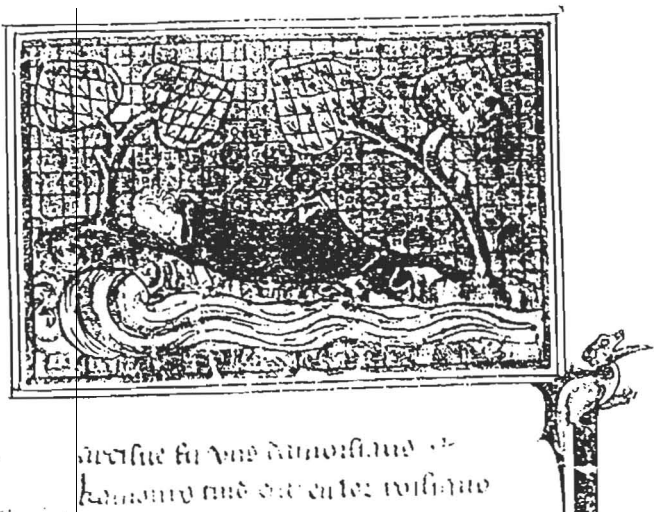
B.M. Royal MS 20 A XVII, fol. 14^v

Fig. 31



B.M. Ms Stowe 947

Fig. 33



B.N. fr. Ms. 378



Coment il ot pduc lalame
 Et il vint ala fontaigne
 Reli pins de ses mains couru
 I neosa ke il leuroit

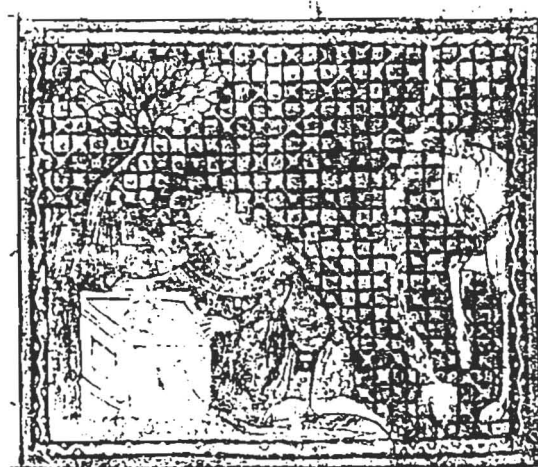
London. British Library. MS. Roy. 20.A.XVII, fol. 14^v.

Fig. 32



London. British Library. MS. Roy. 20.A.XVII, fol. 14^v.

Fig. 34



B.N. Ms 12593

depict a swirling rose which illustrates the reference to the crystals revealing the whole of the garden; others show nothing at all which symbolizes the fact that since the Dreamer cannot attain what he most desires, he can see nothing on the surface of the water.

Perhaps the cross illustrates the lines at the end of the second column of the folio which ascribes Narcissus' death to his great pride and resistance to

Love:

*Lors se sot am\or/s b\ie/n venchier
Du gr\an/t orgueil et du dangier¹⁰³*

¹⁰³

Then Love knew how to avenge himself for (Narcissus') great pride and resistance...

et ses yeu veu
 par ne' moit tout emie
 de la seune
 que mon gaitant ne n'ait
 de la ver ne d'ait
 ten
D parait ho'n par agage
 de moier que n'plus lige
 par et aguerie
 de par er eue respit
 de tout sur gen: nouuele rage
 de d'ayen li coupage
 de ne fet conseillem: nuy
 de de cupido le fil: venio
 de en la damoise la graine
 de m'oue n'ouue la fontaine
 de fit les lai: enuou: rendie
 de ses eue: v'unt pour: yudie
 de amoules: 2 damouillans
 de moa'ne veur aine' oulans
 de oue la graine qui in' s'ence
 de n'esse: v'unt: elamee
 de la fontaine d'auis: e' or
 de out plume: out enuou: eudis
 de le en romant: 2 en lime
 de ou' ainer noure: unce: delere
 de d'ite et la matiere
 de d'it: d'it: d'it: le m'itne



Der me plout a demouier
 la fontaine 2 seunier
 pour les e'hauf qui me mostroie
 ay choses qui illec estoient
 ay es de for eue me nuy
 L'at taut en ai plus d'uspire
 C' u' m'ouer ma decen
 S' e' leuse auant couen
 Q' le ier la force et la vus
 R' e' m' fuisse pas embatus
 C' ai maintenant es laz chui
 Q' maint ho'me ont par et n' d'
 O u' m'ouer entre ay choses
 C' ho'm' v'ollet chargie de roide
 Q' u' estoient en un destou
 C' loz d'une hate tout entour
 L' oies me parit a g'it enu
 Q' ne le m'it pour paue
 P' e' pour parit q' m' alant
 L' non se vi la gregii' malle
Dit cele roide mor seunier
 dont maint ont eite en' par
 D' es les v'ollet tantost me tres
 2 l'achet que q'it se fin pres
 L' outeur des v'ollet s'auourees
 ay enra m'it em' et corces
 Q' pour ment fuisse embatus
 S' e' a' d'it d'it d'it d'it
 S' e' e' d'it eue se' retemise
 d' u' mouit vne que se temise
 C' n' ma uam pour d'it d'it
 ay es paou: ay du repent
 C' ar len ne puet par de legier
 p' aller au seigneur du neigier
 D' es v'ollet yout g'it monciau
 S' i beles ne vit on s'om' c'it
 b' outons ior petu et elor
 2 tier que un petu plus gros
 S' i en ya d'aitre mondu
 Q' se' r'ient en lem' se'lon

2.12 THE DREAMER at the WELL of LOVE (f.10r)

The lines immediately preceding the next miniature (Fig.35) tell us that it was here that Cupid, son of Venus, sowed the seed of love which resulted in this fountain being named the Fontaine d' Amors, of which many have spoken in numerous passages in books and romances, but which refer to the mystery to be revealed:

*Mes james noirez miels desc'rive
La verite de la matere
Quant avre eponz le misterre (ll. 1599-1602)¹⁰⁴*

The experience is so powerful for the Dreamer/author that at that moment he wished to remain there, and afterwards he was to be haunted by this lost vision:

Las tant en ai puis soupire (l. 1608)¹⁰⁵

He is overcome, however, by a desire, a madness, for the roses reflected in the fountain. Indeed, we are told that not even a visit to Paris or Pavia would have deterred him from his determination to advance towards the roses. The choice of these particular cities is significant, for both were reputed places of lechery in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ Eventually one particular bud draws him, and the miniature portrays the dreamer at the fountain singling out one beautiful rosebud out of many. An interesting feature of this illustration is that the dreamer/narrator has

¹⁰⁴ .. but, when I have revealed the mystery, you will never hear the truth of the matter better described.

¹⁰⁵ Alas! How I have sighed since then because of that deceiving mirror.

¹⁰⁶ Riverside Chaucer, p. 885, note 1246.

bud draws him, and the miniature portrays the dreamer at the fountain singling out one beautiful rosebud out of many. An interesting feature of this illustration is that the dreamer/narrator has shed his outer blue robe which can be seen hanging from the trunk of the tall pine on the left. Perhaps this symbolizes the Dreamer's willingness to open himself to this new experience by shedding his inhibitions. This could also symbolize the vulnerability of the dreamer who is thrown into relief against a gleaming gold background. His vulnerability is illustrated in the following miniature.

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Et se apicteur despaun-
 cil ne soit pas a ban
 Les roses omises et lees
 Sur en un iour toutes allees
 Or li bouton dument tuit
 A to it le moins n'oum
 Cil bouton n'ist men beirent
 Or n'os si bel nul leu ne crurent
 Or en pourroit un acrochier
 Il le demort auow trop chier
 Se chapel en jadis auow
 Se neu pense nul auow
 De ces boutons. J'en est
 A nul si me tans veis celui
 Nul des autres riens ne pense
 Plus que lon bien auste
 Car vuc couleu lenlumine
 A m' est si merueille
 A nature la puer plus fine
 De ces suelles iour n'oum
 A nature p'gile matiere
 J'our a l'ides t're a t're
 La queue est droite que vnt iour
 P'p' est li bouton
 Si quel ne chine ne ne j'ou
 L'oudeu delu p'tout se'pau
 La soueure qui en est
 Toute la place t'emplut
 A n'ist ion s'entne le f'leier
 J'e noi talent du rejerier
 A mo' maprochane pour le j'ou
 Se ie iouide la main tendre
 Or es chardon ornel et poignant
 Or en aloient n'ist aloignant
 Or p'mes trenchant t' croques
 Or arres et ronces creues
 Se me lendient auant fire
 Or que me tontore nul fire



Le dier d'asit qui lair tendu
 Auow toute iour atendu
 A moi pour s'uire et espier
 Siere s'este les bu' s'ier
 Et que il ouy s'p'ereu
 Or la uoie s'ustis esleu
 Ce bouton qui plus me p'leu
 Or nul des autres ne se'ou
 J'la s'untost pas vuc s'ioche
 A n'ist la corte si nul en coche
 J'le creu' s'indana loche
 J'ait qui estoit sou' a n'uche
 Et trait a moi p' s'ente
 Or p'mi luel am' en s'ente
 L'as'iere p' s'ente
 Et dont me pas s'ente
 J'ont se' d'ont ch'ant p'ente
 P'm' s'ente n'ist s'ente
 N'ist ion auant este be'ente
 A s'ente s'ente v'ente

2.11. THE GOD OF LOVE SHOOTS THE DREAMER (f.10v)

At the very moment the dreamer (who is now dressed in his outer blue robe), had singled out the rosebud (represented by a single thorny branch), the God of Love emerges to shoot the dreamer through his eye then into his heart:

Le dier dam]or/s qui larc tendu

.....
*Il a tantost pris une floiche
 Et q\uan/t la corde fu mise en coche
 Il entesa jusqua loreille
 Larc qui estoit fors a mervoille
 Et traute a moi par tel devise
 Que/ par mi lueil ma ou cuer mise
 sa saiete p\ar/ gr\an/t roidor (ll.1681-94)¹⁰⁷*

Although the arrow remains in Love's bow, there is no mistaking the passage of the arrow because a black line has been drawn from the bow to the Dreamer's eye. (Fig.36) Suzanne Lewis argues that it is not literalism alone that motivated these striking images of eye penetration, but a "desire to focus the reader's attention on the centrality of vision in the discourse". The illustration emphasises that the Dreamer's desire for the Rose was aroused not by what he felt but by what he saw There is no mention of the God of Love being up a tree in the text, and it is not a usual depiction, if at all, in other manuscripts. Not only does this illustrate the covert stalking operation

¹⁰⁷ a *The God of Love with drawn bowtook hold of an arrow and when the string was very tight, he pulled it up to his ear, shot at me in such a way that with great force he sent the point through the eye and into my heart...*
 107b Lewis, S., op. cit., p.227.

he had been involved in, but the tree is a reminder of both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Babylon. Thus ambiguously, Amor can either represent the agent of good or evil, God or Satan. As depicted in many miniatures in other mediaeval manuscripts, he has wings and is wearing a golden crown symbolic of spiritual authority. The path of the arrow displays a new power relationship, with the reversal of its direction. The Dreamer now becomes subject to the will of the God of Love, who then, according to the text, reinforces the initial activation of desire by driving it further into his heart.

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C ar il n'est pas r'ordon ne d'ois
 V' puez ce que v' voudrois
 F aire de moi pendre ou tuer
 F ien sai que ie ne puis mer
 E ur nul vie est en ure main
 E puis vivre duques demain
 E n'est p' v're volente
 A irent p' vous loie et s'inte
 A ne m' par autre nelatie
 S e v're main q' ma nature
 R e me done la guerison
 E se de moi v're pason
 V oulez fere ne ne daignez
 R e men riens par d' eugnez
 E s'achez que ne nau p'nt due
 T aur ai de v' b'n oi due
 Q' metre veil tout a deint
 C uer et cois en v're de serinte
 E ar se sai fer v're donlan
 E ne me puis de riens toulou
 Q' n'etoz coi ie que aucun reus
 A un la m'ra que iatens
 P ce auenaur me venue
 A ce mor li bause le pie
 A co il ma p' m' la main par
 E ma dir lenez sus auus
 Q' n' tu mas respondu ainsi
 Q' n'q' man tel venon nisi
 D'ome vilain mal endegne
 E si iat taur gaigne
 E ie veil pour ton mariage
 E tu mo fices et homage
 S i me beidas en la bouche
 A qui nul vilain lion na touste
 J e m' leste une touchier
 E hasten vilain chasteil beidi
 A m' touz estre courtois t'gen
 L' honr que ie ainsi aprens
 S auz fille il e pome et fait
 A ar m' moi mes ie te fait

H' onem m'le g'it
 ai le liez q'le tu as
 E legueur de si h'it rendu
 E mille poire le d'ustion
 D e courtois et si b'ameie
 S i est de si bone manere
 H' i d'ois si f'iant et g'ent
 Q' ne q'm aques en ent par
 A lui seruir et ionorer
 D edem lui ne p'ut demouer
 D'ome ne mesp'and
 R e m'le manere d'achordn



A un deming les hor manit ionit
 E s'achos q' m'le me ho comco
 A ne si bouche b'aus la moie
 C e fu ce tout ion gregu ion
 J l' ma r'aurat reams onages
 A mis fer il ion manis homages
 A dunt et d'aus ream
 D ont puis ai este decem
 L i felon plus de f'aussee
 A ont p' manies f'ous b'erec
 D ont m' oi manie noie
 A co il s'aimour aue il m'e poue
 S e ie les puis en mon d'our g'it
 J e lein donq' chierem' b'ade
 R' veil ie pour ce que ie t'aus
 E e roie de si b'n ce'ainu

2.14. THE DREAMER BECOMES THE LOVER (F.111v)

The miniature on 11v shows the Dreamer on his knees gazing at the God of Love who is literally 'locking his heart':

*et ferma mo\ n/ cuer si souef
qua g\ ra/ nt poine senti la clef* (ll 2009-10)¹⁰⁸

For the first time (apart from the *incipit* page), the rubric proclaims *Lamant*.

(Fig.37) No longer is he merely the Dreamer. Henceforth he will be known as the Lover. The locking of his heart symbolizes the Dreamer's surrender to his emotions, and his single-minded pursuit of love. The strength of the God of Love's power over the Lover is visually reinforced by a white line connecting their eyes. The God of Love proceeds to deliver a long speech in which he gives his commands to the Lover.

¹⁰⁸

...and locked my heart so softly that I hardly felt the key



2 si conqui
 1 que voi
 1 e ta gues
 1 ar mil' t
 1 angier b
 1 u ne las
 1 de dangu
 1 nuit que
 1 ui ces re
 1 cele qui
 1 ieu doit
 1 m' a tou
 1 nec ces
 1 in ne sic
 1 uant qu
 1 il ia eu

E tant et v' redou amence Redou
S iant nimo fohe et enfance
 T ont mis en poine et en esmai
 m ar veif le biam tenz de may
 Q ui fut to' enev trop eslor
 a ar talal onques on idroier
 O u uergie cono oue use porte
 L a clef. donb ele oimra la porte
 F oit est qui s'aconite donseme
 S a courance est trop palleuse
 S i tu tui et deceu
 A mors ne reuit ia deu

1 ar a fer
 1 2 garde
 1 u du lesse
 1 e qui te fe
 1 cit li ma
 1 u il na se
 1 Lamant
 1 olie. si m
 1 ont qui
 1 a unil pre
 1 il est clez
 1 se il fer
 1 ne puet

2.15. THE LOVER LECTURED BY REASON (f.17v)

After being instructed by the God of Love, befriended and then abandoned by Fair Welcoming, and threatened by Dangier, the next miniature on 17v depicts the Lover talking to a lady wearing a crown at the door to her tower. (Fig.38) The rubric under the miniature is *reson*, and the text's conventional description of a lady:

*El ne fu joine ne chanue,
Ne fu trop haute ne trop basse
Ne fu trop maigre ne trop c'ra/sse
Li oiel qui en son chief estoient
Qune chandeles reluisoient
Si out ou chief une corone
Bien resembloit haute p'er/sone (ll. 2978-84)¹⁰⁹*

is meant to suggest to the reader the moral and philosophical qualities associated with reason rather than construct a realistic portrait. Her shining eyes, for example, which the illustrator has attempted to portray by making them darker with shadows, are not meant to reproduce her beauty, but to represent her wisdom, just as her crown denotes authority.¹¹⁰ The fact that she is not too thin or fat, nor too tall or short, characterises the objectivity of

¹⁰⁹ She was neither young nor white with age, neither too tall nor too short, neither too thin nor too fat; the eyes in her head shone like candles, and she wore a crown on her head. she looked like a person of high estate.

¹¹⁰ Fleming, J.V., *The Roman de la Rose*, p.113.

her argument. The illustrator has also attempted to reproduce the text by making Lady Reason shorter than the Lover by placing her on higher steps leading to her tower. The lover holds up one hand to his face apparently indicating annoyance and his feet protrude on to the frame demonstrating his desire to leave which is not surprising considering the substance of Lady Reason's admonishment and suggestion that he should curb his heart. The lover carries a large glove, of which there is no mention in the text. There is no one iconographic explanation for the glove; instead it was employed with a variety of meanings. It could signify a challenge or, if held in the right hand, it could mean the approach to a higher rank. It could be a symbol of authority or submission; or represent passion or lust.¹¹¹ Most of these meanings could be relevant to the text. We know from that the Lover thought she:

Bien ressembloit haute persone. (l. 2984)¹¹²

The glove is held in his right hand, so it could represent his respectful approach to higher rank. Moreover, the lover declares

*Que Dieu la fut merviellement
A sa semblance et a symage
et li dona tel avantage
quele a pover et seignorie
de gard'er/ home de folie
Pour quil soit tier quil la croie. (ll. 2990-5)¹¹³*

¹¹¹ Fleming, J.V., *The Roman de la Rose*, p.86.

¹¹² ..looked like a person of high estate.

¹¹³ ..that God made her personally in his likeness and in his image and gave her such advantage that she has the power and the lordship to keep man from folly, provided that he be such that he believe her.

thus indicating that the glove could be a recognition of Lady Reason's authority, or the Lover's intention to submit to her authority. But at the same time, Lady Reason's speech makes it clear that the Lover is consumed with :

*...li maus qui amors a non
Ou il na se folie non. (ll. 3041-2)¹¹⁴*

The glove, therefore, could symbolise the Lover's lust and passion.

Perhaps the illustrator intended the glove emblem to be ambiguous. The Lover does not carry a glove in his next interview with Lady Reason, (folio 43v) which significantly is when he finally rejects Reason.

114

...that sickness called love, in which there is nothing but madness.

2.16. SHAME AND FEAR AWAKE DANGER (f.21v)

Despite the Lover coming into contact with several more personifications, i.e.

Friend, Openness, Pity, Fair Welcoming, Foul Mouth, Jealousy as well as Venus,

there are no miniatures until Folio 21v under which the rubric reads:

*Avez ci si \comm/me honte et paour
vindrent a dang\ier/ et le suellierent*

Shame and Fear are shown looking down on Danger with their hands held up in

reproach. (Fig.39) Danger is depicted lying on a grassy mound, under a just

discernible hawthorn tree, corresponding to the text:

*si ont trouve le peisant
desoiz un aubespın gis\an/t.
Il ot en leu de chevecel
a son chief derbe un gr\an/t moncel
et commancoit a someillier (ll. 3671-5)¹¹⁵*

His club is at the ready over his left shoulder, recalling the *incipit* folio miniature.

Although there is no mention of his club either here or anywhere else in the poem,

Danger was usually depicted with his club in mediaeval texts which obviously

symbolises his violent nature.

¹¹⁵ "They found the peasant lying beneath a hawthorn. Instead of a pillow, he had, at his head, a large heap of grass, and he was beginning to sleep"

2.17. THE AUTHOR PORTRAIT (f.24r)

After three more folios, at the end of Guillaume's section, there appears a miniature in the second column of f. 24 r: a seated figure writing in a book at a lectern, with the rubric:

Ci \com/mence mestre iehan de meun

There is, however, no reference to the end of Guillaume's section in the text (in common with most continued *Roman*). Where miniatures occur at this point, most are seated, either writing or reading. The rubric does not indicate whether the author is Guillaume or Jean, but two pieces of evidence suggest that the portrait represents Guillaume: first, the scribe, a beardless young tonsured cleric dressed in blue, looks exactly like the figure portrayed in the incipit; second, he appears to be writing at the end of the folio of a bound manuscript which could symbolize the end of his story. (Fig.40) This is a further indication that the narrator/dreamer/lover/author are different representations of same actuality.

Since it is commonly believed that mediaeval books were first transcribed on large parchment leaves and only later folded and bound into volumes, Hult suggests that to show the figure writing in a book is a way of giving a visual, figurative and fundamentally unrealistic image of the authorial imaginative faculty; scribes

produce sheets and authors produce books.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the figure is sitting on a bench which contains shelves with books indicating the erudition of the writer.

Although one does not assume a verisimilar portrait of the living model, that does not mean that the theme of authorship with the *Rose* text is not being exploited in some way through the illustrations. The seated author portrait was a conventional motif in religious works, as, for example, the illuminated gospels where the evangelists were portrayed sitting at a sloping desk at their work writing with a quilled pen in one hand and scraping knife for erasures in the other, so this is perhaps an ironic overturning of what had been strictly a theological iconographic motif.

¹¹⁶ Hult, D. *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, p.80.

REASON LEAVES THE LOVER (f.43v)

The next miniature, occurring some three thousand lines later at the end of folio 43v, marks the end of a long discourse by Lady Reason in which she is unsuccessfully trying to convince the Lover of the folly of Love., but

*Quant reson mot si sen retourne
se me relet pensis et morne* (ll. 7299-300)¹¹⁷

The miniature shows Lady Reason, slightly bowed as she leaves the lover, who gazes after her *pensis et morne*, l.7300 (Fig.41).

The illustration marks the end of a long speech by Lady Reason to convince the Lover of his folly. Her last attempt is to exhort the Lover to read the poets in order to discover the truth:

*...qui b\ie/n entendroit la leitre
Le senz verroit en lescriture
Quil esclarcist la chose obscure.
La verite tetenz reposte
Seroit clere sele iert esposte
B\ie/n lentengras se b\ie/n repetes
Les integumenz aus poetes
La vrai vue gr\an/t p\ar/tie
Des secrez de philosophie* (ll. 7162-68))¹¹⁸

But the Lover is not to be deterred; he will only try to interpret the poets when he has been rewarded by Love:

¹¹⁷ "When Reason heard me, she turned back and again left me pensive and sad."

¹¹⁸ He who understood the letter would see in the writing the sense which clarifies the obscure fable. The truth hidden within would be clear if it were explained. You will understand it well if you review the integuments on the poets. There you will see a large part of the secrets of philosophy.

*Mes des poetes les sentences
 Les fables et les methafoices
 Ne beie pas a gloser ores
 Mes se ie puis estre gueris
 Et li servise miert meris
 Dont a gr\an/t guerredon atens
 B\ien/ le glosere tout a tens.. (ll. 7190-96)¹¹⁹*

That Reason has lost all authority with the Lover is illustrated by both her lack of a crown, and the absence of her outer robe, as well as the fact that the Lover does not carry his large glove in this encounter with Lady Reason. The only other miniature to show him carrying a glove is on Folio 62v.

¹¹⁹ *But as for the sentences, fables, and metaphors of the poets, I do not now hope to gloss them....if my service, for which I expect so great a reward is meritorious, I shall gloss them all in time..*

2. 19. THE LOVER reiterates loyalty to the GOD OF LOVE (f.62v)

Approximately three thousand lines later, there is a miniature of the Lover and another figure (not immediately recognisable) each brandishing a glove.

The miniature occurs at the end of a section where the God of Love is admonishing the Lover for having listened to Reason earlier (Fig.42). The lines immediately preceding the miniature, which is placed at the end of the second column, read:

*Ton cuer nest mie b\ie/n estable
ainz est malem\en/t plain de doute*

.....
Et tacordoies a reson

Nestoies tu pas mauves hom (ll. 10325-6, 10336-8) ¹²⁰

The lines which follow the miniature in the next column are the Lover's contrite reply and reiteration of his vows. The miniature therefore appears to illustrate the lover asking the God of Love's pardon for having wavered in his oath of fealty. This is symbolised by each of them holding an over-sized glove, the lover appropriately holding the glove in his right hand (an approach to higher rank), and the God of Love holding his in his left hand, indicating authority. But at the same time, the glove emblem also has the connotation of lust. All these different levels of meaning were present in the

¹²⁰

"Your heart is not very steadfast, but unfortunately full of doubt.....and you agreed with Reason. Weren't you indeed a wicked man?"

miniature on 43v, which illustrated Reason leaving the Lover. Thus the glove emblem emphasises the diametrically opposed positions presented to the Lover by Lady Reason and the God of Love. But if the figure on the right is the God of Love, the question must be asked as to why the person does not wear his crown or possess wings. Instead of a crown he wears a small hat. This figure is dressed like the Lover except that the Lover is wearing a blue robe with yellow stockings, and this figure wears a yellow robe with blue stockings. Both have a dagger at their belt. A possible alternative interpretation of this miniature, therefore, is that the two figures represent the Lover's internal struggle between reason and love, the rational and the irrational. The figure on the left, with his outer robe of blue representing the presence of his inhibitions, portrays Reason, who points an accusing finger at Love on the right who makes a gesture of repudiation. Their daggers symbolise internal conflict, while the gloves could be emblematic of features already mentioned, i.e., submission, authority and lust.

2.20. THE ASSAULT ON THE TOWER (f. 65r)

There are two rubrics on Folio 65r. In the middle of the first column, at the end of lines 14, 15 and 16, there is written:

comment / les bar/ons au dieu dam\or/s sacord

and in the second column above the miniature:

*Delit et b\ie/n cler vont v\anque/rre honte desto\nt/
les baronnes v\anquerre destituer piege.*

The miniature shows Delight and Skillful Concealment on either side of a tower, dressed in armour and aiming hatchets against the turrets. (Fig. 43) A third figure attacks from the left rear with a spear which protrudes out of the frame over the tower. This baron is difficult to identify since the text names False Seeming and Abstinence attacking the rear gate, as well as Courtesy, Generosity, Boldness and Security taking part in the siege. A silhouette at the barred window indicates the incarceration of Bel Accueil. There is a blue robe lying at the entrance to the tower. This could suggest the struggle of the Lady against her incarceration, but it also recalls the shedding of the Dreamer's outer blue robe at the Well of Love where he was overcome with a desire for the rosebud. It was suggested that the cast-off robe in that miniature (Folio 10r) might have symbolised the shedding of

his inhibitions which could be relevant in this instance in that the Lover has wholeheartedly given himself to Love and is battling against Reason. It is significant that this tower resembles the tower of Lady Reason on folio 17v.

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Et for auez des riches homes
 nul est a des riches homes
 e riche home v' font homage
 l ne feront nuz que sage
 ar n' ne v' en parur rez
 a la poine ne nen durrez
 a piment en lessez a bouure
 ames leur b'nerot lor poine
 a pueur en leur la choier
 a l' leur en dema melhoer
 a amez si cour tous seour
 a v' en aqurteront
 a m' quezot auez vitaires
 a ar taur de blanche et de noires
 a eur duour ne v' estant
 a v' en tendrez a pmer
 a ne v' en mellez sem eles
 a an leur confont de nouvelles
 a tant leur monour de restes
 a flateries de honestes
 a leur dourour a q' colces
 a e bestues d'acoles
 a il les croient ceatruent
 a e leur demoura tenement
 a ne veisse le mueble enflant
 a onr il seront p'ime delant
 a r' amandez qui q' voudrois
 a onr le sero' lor tout ou drois
 a es amusembles de cete chose
 a pour v' entremette ne l' de
 a ar a dir que v' le huc
 a e ser la homr le bac
 a v' p'rouc trostut bian sire
 a v' li p'donez vostre ne
 a dit de v're barone
 a ner d'amente s'anne
 a est m're acor cent m're otroi
 a for dit amoi re lortoi
 a es or veit qui l' soit en maton
 a a viengne amat e al acour
 a l'is plo a fausembiant



Insemblement p' tel quenant
 Seres o moi touz manrent
 a maton nos amuz aiders
 a que n'amer uen guerans
 a m' pensers deu' alener
 a de nos anemis greuer
 a cer touz h' pouous e h' baur
 a n' me sernt touz des ribans
 a n' amuz le uen n're chapitre
 a m' faille tu et mauf' n' m're
 a lieure trop de mesuiz
 a ar fouz tes pit' m'z
 a ar es toutes vois en audier
 a pour nos gen' n' de toutaure
 a mauf' re q' tu leur ensegues
 a n' moit p' ge' n' r' au' en l' guere
 a n' quel len m'ez te trouuer
 a e du trouit m'cher a mouz
 a q' ment len te auout a
 a ar g'at sen' en ton anouit
 a d' moit en quel len tu queues
 a ure m' mansions d' m'ez
 a a ne v' quev' reciter
 a il v' pleit a mon requere

2.21. THE GOD OF LOVE speaks to FALSE-SEEMING (f.66v)

A rubric appears at the bottom of column 1 on Folio 66v: *Am\or/s p\ar/le a faussemlant* which is followed by the miniature at the top of column two, depicting the God of Love with wings and crown remonstrating with False-Seeming. (Fig. 44) The miniature has been slightly damaged at the top right-hand corner making it difficult to clearly see the face and wings of the God of Love. False-Seeming is dressed in a black outer robe over a white cassock and wears a rosary at his belt which illustrates his own description later in the text when he declares that

*Cest la celeet la plus seure
Souz la plus hu\m/ble vesteure
Religieus sont m\ou/lt couvers
Li seculer sont plus ouvers (ll.11013- 6)¹²¹*

and

*Pour les genz aveugler y habit
Je ne quiers sans plus q\ue/ labit
Quel/ que vous diroie en mise guise
Comme il me plect je me desguise (l. 11217-20)¹²²*

and

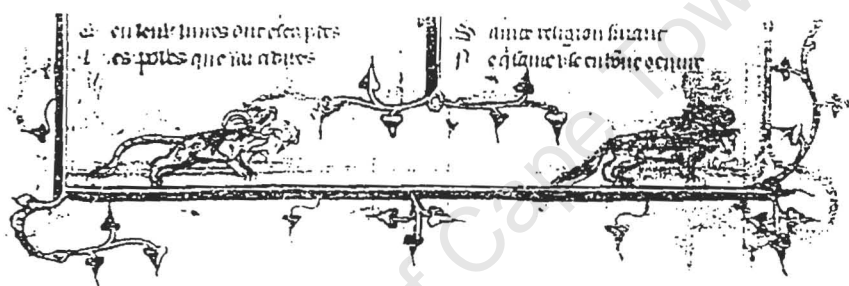
*Et affubler ma renardie
Du mantel de papelardie (ll.11523-24)¹²³*

¹²¹ The safest hiding-place is under the most humble garment. The religious are very covert, the worldly more open.

¹²² I dwell in religion to trick people. What can I tell you? It pleases me to disguise myself..

¹²³ I prefer to cover my fox-like nature under a cover of holiness.

Fig. 45



Bibliothèque Nationale MS n. 10060. fol. 100v.

The reference to False-seeming's 'fox-like' nature is reminiscent of the fox figure in the marginalia on the incipit folio, which fore-shadowed this theme of hypocrisy. The prominence given to False-seeming's digression, (some two hundred lines), also bears witness to its importance in the poem. In BN MS fr. 25526, there is a marginal representation of a fox and a wolf, both emblematic of *Faus Semblant*.

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Le fait ores & la maniere
 Pour ce besoyn que bonz rapneze
 Quand la douce saison viendra
 Seigneuz galans qui conuie dra
 Que bonz allies cueilliz les roses
 Et les omertes & closez
 Qui se singement y allies
 Que bonz au failliz ne faillies
 faillies comment mortes retraire
 Se miculx nen saues a chief traire
 Car se bonz plus leuierement
 Du miculx ou plus subuientement
 Pourz le passauze passer
 Sans bonz destrandre ne laisser
 Si le passés a vostre guise
 Quand bonz auez la moye prise
 Tant oues au moins dauant laige
 Que ie vous appris mo' usage
 Sans rien prendre de vostre amorz
 Si men deues bon gre samor
 Quand ie fus illec empeschie
 Tant suis du rosier approchie
 Qua mo' voulor peus la mai tédre
 Au p' rinceantiz pour le bouton prédre
 Bel accueil mouli sou me prioie
 Que nul oultraige faice ny ait
 Et ie lay mis bien en connent
 Pour ce quil men prioit souuent
 Que ja mille riens ny seroye
 fors sa volente & la moye.

¶

La conclusion du rommant
 Est que bonz voyez cy lamant
 Qui prent la rose a son plaisir
 En qui estoit tout son desir]



Par les rains saisle rosier
 Qui est franc & nul osier
 Et quant a deux mains ny ioin
 Tout souefuement sans moy point
 Le bouton prins a eslochez
 Car enuis leusse en sang hochez
 Toutes en fis par esconber
 Les branches crolez & mouber
 Sans ia nul des rains desreer
 Car ny bouloye rien hiescer
 Et sy ie men conuint il a force
 Entamer un peu de l'esorce
 Autrement auoir n'en scaouye
 Li dont si grand desir auoye
 En la fin fis tant vous en diz
 Qu'un peu de graine y espandez
 Quant ieus le bouton eslochie
 Ce fut quant dedans laut touchie
 Pour les feuilletes rederechez
 Car ie bouloye tout cherechez
 Jusques au fond du boutonner
 Comme il me semble q' bon est
 Si fis lors si meslez les graines
 Qu'ils se demelassent a peines

2.22 THE LOVER PLUCKS THE ROSE (f.134r)

As already noted, the original last gathering is missing and presumably the last illumination. We do not know why the original leaves are missing. Perhaps it was due to damage or loss; but there is a possibility they were destroyed, since the content could be read pornographically, and there were sharp critics of the *Roman* who attacked the text on these grounds.¹²⁴ There has been no attempt to match the style of the earlier miniatures. Instead, on Folio 134r, there is a black and white miniature which is a copy of a woodcut illustration from an incunabulum in the Lyons series L.ii. (Fig.46) This series comprises eighty-five separate cuts which have, in turn, been freely copied from earlier illuminated manuscripts. Bourdillon comments that these woodcuts, although technically superior, show no sign of having consulted the text of the work.¹²⁵ (Figs. 47-51) For example, the garden wall has become a wooden paling fence, and on the outside of the fence there is a rough structure which resembles a well-head.

¹²⁴ Huot, S., *Op. Cit.*, p.12.

¹²⁵ Bourdillon, F.W., *The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose*, p.83



§ 112. L'Amant gathers the Rose.

Cuts from Series L.i.

Fig. 49



§ 112. L'Amant gathers the Rose.

Cuts from Series V.i.



§ 112. L'Amant gathers the Rose.

Cuts from Series L.ii.

Fig. 50



§ 112. L'Amant gathers the Rose.

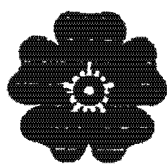
Cuts from Series V.ii.

Fig. 51



§ 112. L'Amant gathers the Rose.

Cuts from Series P.V.i.



CONCLUSION

IT CAN BE SEEN THAT THE the miniatures
 in the *Grey Roman de la Rose* are
 unequally distributed. Fourteen of the
 existing eighteen are located in the section attributed to Guillaume de
 Lorris. If one includes the miniatures which should have occurred on the
 missing folios, and the miniature which was replaced by the copy of the
 woodcut twenty would have been in the the first section, as opposed to five
 in the second. The following diagram shows the layout of the miniatures
 (including those presumed lost):

Folio 1	Dreamer in bed/ Dreamer basting sleeves
↓	Hate/ Felony/Villainy/Avarice/Covetousness
↓	Envy/Sorrow/Old Age/Pope-Holiness/Poverty/Idleness
6	The Carol of Deduit
9r	Narcissus
10r	Dreamer at Well of Love
10v	God of Love shoots Dreamer
11v	Dreamer becomes Lover
17v	Lover lectured by Reason
21v	Shame and Fear Awake Danger
24r	Author Portrait
.....	<i>END OF FIRST SECTION</i>
43v	Reason leaves Lover
62v	Lover reiterates loyalty to God of Love
65r	Assault on Tower
66v	God of Love and False-Seeming

134r Lover plucks rose

In common, then, with most *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts, the density of illustrations devoted to Guillaume's poem is much higher. Some manuscripts have no illustrations at all in the second section. It therefore seems probable that the first section was presented by the first author as a finished work although there is only one existing manuscript which occurs by itself.¹²⁶ The fact that in the majority of cases the *Roman de la Rose* is presented both with the first and second sections points to the popularity of the continuation rather than the possibility that the first section was

¹²⁶

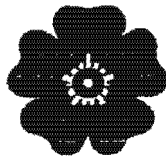
Hult, D., Op. Cit., p.77.

unfinished, which many scholars have suggested.¹²⁷ Planners appear to have 'inherited' a group of illustration patterns which had been employed to illustrate Guillaume de Lorris' poem. Then, to a greater or lesser extent, they added miniatures to Jean de Meun's section. Although there are manuscripts which have extensively illustrated the second part, such as the Pygmalion diversion in MS Oxford, Douce 195, most *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts have few, if any, illustrations after the end of Guillaume de Lorris' poem, yet share a similar picture cycle for the first section. However, although many of the illuminations are conventional in their arrangement, by their very nature no two manuscripts are exactly alike in either their text or illumination, and it is in their differences that the researcher may be able to find some significance to contribute to the meaning of the *Rose* and its meaning for its mediaeval readers. I have attempted to indicate where each miniature appears to add to or deviate from the text of 4c12, which may point to a particular interpretation of the work by the planner or illustrator of the Grey *Roman de la Rose* manuscript.

It is the Grey *incipit folio* illustration which prepares the viewer for the themes of the work to follow. Although conventionally opening with an illumination of the sleeping figure of the narrator/dreamer/lover which establishes the genre of the

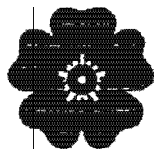
prophetic dream vision, with a swirling rosebush behind the sleeping figure representing the topic of the dream, love, it is the second frame, linked by *Danger*, depicting the *Poet/Dreamer/Lover at the Fountain*, which emphasises the Fountain's central importance in the poem, a deceptive surface reflecting deeper truths, further developed by the unique image of the cross in the fountain on folio 9r, and the discarding of the lover's cloak/inhibitions on folio 10r. What is unusual about this opening page, is that the marginalia also contribute to the foreshadowing of the poem's theme: on the lower border, the hound representing the lover's hunt; above the stork, with its mitred head symbolizing the hypocrisy of the friars as does the fox below; the foolishness of the lover rejecting reason depicted by the grotesque, half bird, half man; and the five medallions which foreshadow the stages of the Dreamer's ambiguous pursuit of erotic or spiritual love. The illustrator of MS 4c12, then, has not only enriched the work for mediaeval readers, but has provided the modern reader with clues as to how the poem was interpreted.





Before ending this dissertation, I wish to express my concern about the future of the manuscript on which I have worked. In a country such as South Africa which is beset by so many pressing social problems and where European cultural influence is certain to diminish, serious thought needs to be given to the Grey Collection's destiny. Changes in South African Universities mean that research and teaching priorities have already moved away from mediaeval Europe, so that scholarly interest in the Collection will inevitably decline. Given the likely development of national library policies stressing new priorities, as they must, the position of the Collection will become increasingly precarious, with possibilities of loss through theft or neglect. I believe that strategies for the preservation of this unique asset need to be developed, including the possibility of re-location to an institution which has the resources and commitment to care for it properly.



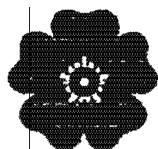


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APPENDIX 1: Codicology

Med. MS. 4.c.12. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose*. Central French.
North-Eastern France. s. xiv (c.1325 - 1350)

Vellum. 135 leaves. c. 290 x 210 mm. Collation: i6 (ex 8, lacking 2 and 4; after ff. 1 and 3; present f. 6 originally after 4, now follows 5); ii8; iii7 (ex 8, lacking 19 after 18); iv - xv8 (present ff. 111, 112, 115, 116, originally after 112, 110, 114, 116, respectively); xvi-xviii8 (ff. 126 -130 original; 2 bifolia, 131-2 and 133-4, apparently added to replace last three leaves of original gathering). Double column, line numbers varying from 40-42 lines, but mostly 41, ruled in plummet (not always visible). Three vertical lines at left of each column from top to bottom of folio. Evidence of pricking at edges. Main text written in brown ink in Gothic textura, semi-quadrata - rotunda. Capitals, often decorated with flourishes, written on each central vertical line separated from word. Catchwords and signatures in Roman numerals at end of each gathering, except ii and vii. Headings in red which identify the personifications in the miniatures or highlight the textual content. Often the text of rubrics is noted in minute (contemporary) handwriting in margin. Sometimes marginal notes occur with the rubrics. Bound in eighteenth-century light brown leather with stamped gilt shell and spray pattern on inner and outer border edges and on spine which is bound on five raised bands and with applied maroon leather label between first and second bands with gilded title LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE. Folio edges on all three sides gilded.

Decoration: 18 miniatures, (14 situated in Guillaume de Lorris' section and it is probable that at least a further five miniatures would have occurred on the missing ff. 2 and 4), within rectangular borders of blue and red bands with geometric patterning, framed at outer edges by strips of gold or blue; ivy leaf sprigs at the outer corners. Backgrounds are either solid gold, or diapered in gold, blue and/or red with white tracery. Apart from first miniature, which measures nearly half the written page, and one other which takes up nearly a quarter of the written page, the miniatures measure s. 50 x 70 mm. On f. 132, there is a pencil and ink copy of an illustration from one of the early printed editions of the *Roman de la Rose*. There are numerous initial letters usually indicating new paragraphs or sections which are gold on a blue and/or red background with white tracery.

The half-page double miniature (130 x 115) on the opening folio, divided vertically down the middle, is in a square border of red and blue with a gold zig-zag pattern. In the left miniature, the dreamer (the poet Guillaume de Lorris) is sleeping, with a background of a rose tree bearing many roses, and the figure of Danger with a club over one shoulder. The club extends into the right miniature where the dreamer is basting his sleeve in front of a river which flows into an enclosed garden out of which are growing three stylized trees. An initial M ends in a straight border which extends at right angles along the lower and outer margins, ending in a stork's beak in which there are three golden balls. Five medallions interrupt the border. The first four each contain the head and shoulders of the dreamer facing a grotesque. The grotesques point to the lips, eyes, ears, and nose of the dreamer respectively. The last medallion depicts the dreamer as a grotesque with a single rose. At the top of the lower border there are three small droll figures: a bird, a dog and a fox. Sprigs of ivy leaves branch out from the border. The remaining miniatures depict personifications of Sorrow, Old Age, Hypocrisy, Poverty, Courtesy, and figures such as Narcissus and the God of Love.

Text: The Roman de la Rose, one of the most widely read works of the Middle Ages, was composed by two authors at more than a forty-year interval. It was begun about 1230 by Guillaume de Lorris who completed 4058 lines and the second, longer portion of approximately 17,000 lines was composed by Jean de Meun. Briefly it tells of a lover who falls in love with a rose he has seen in an enclosed garden. Various allegorical gods and personifications seek to prevent him from winning his love until he finally succeeds. The two poets have little in common: Guillaume de Lorris' work celebrates "courtly love", whereas Jean de Meun reflects the interests and tastes of a later generation, and his continuation created a furore. Over two hundred copies still exist, and the condition of the manuscript in the Grey Collection reveals that it was used a great deal.

Provenance: The manuscript was listed during the nineteenth century in the following catalogues: Wills & Sotheran, Aug. 25, 1857, p.8., No. 202; £10.10/-; Sotheby & Wilkinson, Apr. 2, 1859, p. 200, Lot 880. Sold to Quaritch, £30. The auction catalogue of the MSS. of Guglielmo Libri.); Quaritch Cat. 146, April. 15, 1859, p. 42, No. 606; £36; Quaritch Cat. 156, Feb. 15, 1860, p. 56, No. 606, £36. Donated to the South African Library by Sir George Grey in 1861.

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 2: Miniatures

- F. 1 r. Occupies nearly half of written page; a double miniature (130 x 115mm) in a square border in red and blue with a gold zig-zag pattern. In the left miniature, the poet (Guillaume de Lorris) is depicted as sleeping in a conventional pose propped up against pillows. In the background a swirling rose tree with many roses; Also the figure of Danger with a club over one arm; the club extends into the right miniature which shows the dreamer basting his sleeve in front of a river which flows into an enclosed garden out of which are growing three stylized trees, with a background of tessellated red and blue with white patterns. The incipit has the only marginea in this manuscript. The initial capital M ends in a straight border which extends at right angles along the lower and outer margins, ending in a stork's beak in which there are three golden balls. Five medallions interrupt the border. The first four contain the head and shoulders of the dreamer and a grotesque. The grotesques point to the lips, eyes, ears, and nose respectively of the dreamer; the last medallion depicts the dreamer as a grotesque with a single rose. At the top of the lower border there are three small droll figures: a bird, a dog and a fox. Sprigs of ivy leaves branch out from the border.
- F. 2 r. 1st column, after 13 lines of text; miniature measures 70 x 50 mm with a square outer border in blue and gold, with ivy leaf sprigs at each corner. Three figures: The dreamer in blue, a lady in green (Envy) and another figure.
- F. 2 v. 1st column, after 15 lines of text; in square border of blue and gold with ivy leaf sprigs at each corner; diamond geometric background in blue and gold; female personification: Tristrece (Sorrow).
- F. 2 v. 2nd column, after 16 lines of text; female standing with crutch; Viellece; background: square geometric design in red, blue and white.
- F. 3 r. 2nd column after 12 lines of text; two figures: dreamer (?) and female figure, Popelardie (Holy Pope or ypocrite). Background, blue and gold tessellation, with square border and corner ivy leaf sprigs.
- F. 3 v. 2nd column at top; figure of a nun kneeling with back to altar: Poverty.
- F. 6 r. After 16 lines of text, miniature extending over two columns; nine figures against square geometric background of blue and gold and corner ivy leaf sprigs; Dreamer second from right, back to viewer but feet pointing opposite way; Courtesy leading Dreamer into the garden to join in dance.
- F. 9 r. 1st column, after 16 lines of text; Narcissus gazes into the well where there is an image of a cross; two stylized trees on either side; background of red, blue and gold squares, and usual square border in red and blue with ivy leaf corner sprigs; corner squares of gold.
- F. 10 r. 1st column after 28 lines of text; Dreamer at the Well of Love where he falls in love with the rose; gold background with single tree; square blue border on three sides and one gold and red border on remaining side with gold ivy leaf sprigs.
- F. 10. v. 2nd column at top; three sides blue border, fourth side gold; ivy leaf corner sprigs; tessellated red and blue background; the God of Love shoots Dreamer with arrows from the branches of a tree.

- F.11 v: 2nd column after 12 lines of text; two figures: Dreamer becomes 'Amant', the God of Love's man. Square blue border with ivy leaf corner sprigs; tessellated blue and gold background.
- F.17 v. 1st Column from top taking up 18 lines of text; two borders blue, and two gold with zig zag patterning; two figures, one standing at entrance of a tower; background squares of red and blue; Reason advising Lover against God of Love.
- F.21 v: 2nd column, after 9 lines; blue and gold square border; blue and gold background; Shame and Fear awake sleeping Danger.
- F.24 r: 2nd Column, after 6 lines; square blue border with zig zag pattern except under figures feet which is red and gold; background red and blue; Jean de Meun seated on a bench under which are manuscripts, with tonsured head, writing at a desk. Ivy leaf corner sprigs.
- F.43 v: 2nd column at end; square gold with zig zag patterned border with corner ivy leaves; background tessellated blue and gold; Reason leaves Lover.
- F. 62 v. 2nd column at end; square blue border with gold squares and corner with ivy leaf sprigs. Blue and red squares background; discourse between the God of Love and Lover (?).
- F.65 r: 2nd column at end; two border sides blue, two gold, all with ivy leaf corners; two figures beside tower with gold background; the attack on the tower of shame.
- F.65.v. 2nd column at top; blue square borders edged in gold with ivy leaf corners; God of Love with False-seeming.
- F. 136r. 2nd column at top: facsimile pen on pencil outline; Lover plucking the rose.

APPENDIX 3: RUBRICS

Folio	Column	Line	Rubric
1r	1 + 2	23	<i>Romans de la rose / ou lart damors est toute enclose</i>
1v	2	21	<i>Lamant</i>
2r	1	24	<i>Envie</i>
2v	2	24	<i>Viellece</i>
3r	2	21	<i>Ypoc\ri/te</i>
5v	1	33	<i>Ri</i>
		34	<i>chece</i>
9r	1	30	<i>Quit narcisus mourut en la fontaine</i>
15v	1	39	<i>Lamant</i>
16v	2	19	<i>Lamant</i>
17r	1	24	<i>Lamant</i>
17v	1	18	<i>Reson</i>
17v	2	23	<i>Lamant</i>
17v	2	24	<i>Reson</i>
18r	1	13	<i>Lamant</i>
18r	2	23	<i>Amis</i>
18v	1	6	<i>Lama\n/t</i>
18v	2	26	<i>Amis</i>
18v	2	37	<i>Lamant</i>
19r	1	37	<i>Franchise</i>
19r	2	25	<i>Pitie</i>
19v	1	18	<i>Dang\ier/</i>
19v	1	25	<i>Franchise</i>
19v	1	40	<i>Lamant</i>
20r	1	18	<i>Belacueill</i>
20r	1	33	<i>Lamant</i>
20r	2	25	<i>Venus</i>
20v	1	6	<i>Lamant</i>
20v	2	13	<i>Malebouche</i>
20v	2	38	<i>Jalousie</i>
21r	1	15	<i>Belacueil</i>
21r	1	30	<i>Honte</i>
21r	2	23	<i>Jalousie</i>
21v	2	25	<i>Avez ci si \com/me honte & paour</i>
		26	<i>vindrent a dang\ier/ lesuellierent</i>
22r	1	30	<i>paor</i>
22r	2	6	<i>Lauct\eur/</i>
22r	2	12	<i>Dangier</i>
22r	2	30	<i>Lamant</i>
24r	2	22	<i>Ci \com/mence mestre iehan de meun</i>
25v	1	12	<i>Reson</i>
25v	1	13	<i>Lamant</i>

25v	1	13	<i>Reson</i>
25v	1	14	<i>Lamant</i>
25v	1	15	<i>Reson</i>
25v	1	15	<i>Lamant</i>
25v	1	18	<i>Reson</i>
25v	1	19	<i>reso\w/</i>
25v	1	22	<i>Reson</i>
25v	1	32	<i>lama\w/t</i>
25v	1	37	<i>Re</i>
		38	<i>son</i>
26r	2	13	<i>Reson</i>
27r	2	21	<i>Lamant</i>
28r	1	24	<i>Reson</i>
32r	1	15	<i>lama\w/t</i>
32r	1	20	<i>Reson</i>
32r	2	29	<i>La</i>
		30	<i>mant</i>
32v	2	7	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	7	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	1	13	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	14	<i>Lama\w/t</i>
33r	1	18	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	20	<i>lama\w/t</i>
33r	1	23	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	27	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	1	27	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	31	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	1	32	<i>Reson</i>
33r	1	39	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	1	40	<i>Reson</i>
33r	2	2	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	2	4	<i>Reson</i>
33r	2	10	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	2	14	<i>Re</i>
		15	<i>son</i>
33r	2	23	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	2	25	<i>Reson</i>
33r	2	33	<i>Lamant</i>
33r	2	35	<i>Reson</i>
33v	1	15	<i>Lamant</i>
33v	1	16	<i>Reson</i>
34r	2	35	<i>Lamant</i>
34v	1	4	<i>Lamant</i>
34v	1	23	<i>Reson</i>
34v	2	11	<i>Lamant</i>
34v	2	12	<i>Reson</i>
35r	2	19	<i>Lamant</i>

35r		2	23	<i>Reson</i>
40r	1		8	<i>Li rois cresus</i>
41v		2	20	<i>Lama\vn/t</i>
42r	1		21	<i>Reson</i>
42r		2	17	<i>Lamant</i>
42r		2	25	<i>Reso\vn/</i>
43v	1		25	<i>Lamant</i>
44r	1		11	<i>Lamant</i>
44r	1		13	<i>Amis</i>
44r	1		14	<i>Lam\an/t</i>
44r	1		17	<i>Amis</i>
44r	1		31	<i>Lama\vn/t</i>
44r		2	10	<i>Lamant</i>
47r		2	31	<i>Lamant</i>
47v	1		15	<i>Amis</i>
47v		2	22	<i>lamant</i>
47v		2	27	<i>Amis</i>
47v		2	33	<i>lama\vn/t</i>
48r	1		1	<i>Amis</i>
49r	1		18	<i>Amis</i>
49r		2	27	<i>Amis</i>
50r	1		33	<i>Amis</i>
50r		2	27	<i>Amis</i>
51v	1		17	<i>Amis</i>
51v		2	28	<i>Amis</i>
52r	1		20	<i>Amis p\ar/le</i>
			21	<i>de ma</i>
			22	<i>riage</i>
52r		2	14	<i>Amis</i>
52v	1		34	<i>Am</i>
			35	<i>is</i>
53r	1		26	<i>Amis</i>
53r	1		36	<i>Amis</i>
54r	1		19	<i>Amis</i>
54v	1		5	<i>Amis</i>
55r	1		5	<i>Amis</i>
55r	1		28	<i>Am</i>
			29	<i>is</i>
56r		2	33	<i>Amis</i>
56v		2	39	<i>Amis</i>
57r		2	15	<i>Amis</i>
57v		2	8	<i>Amis</i>
58r	1		13	<i>Amis</i>
			14	<i>p\ar/le de</i>
			15	<i>povre</i>
			16	<i>te</i>

58r	2	35	Amis
		36	p\ar/le por
		37	quoi leu
		38	fût roi pre
		39	mier
58v	2	14	Amis
59r	1	12	Amis
59r	2	23	Amis
59v	1	32	Amis
60r	1	12	Amis
60r	1	39	Amis
60r	2	18	Amis
60r	2	34	Amis
60v	1	18	Amis
60v	2	20	Le douz
		21	Amant
61r	1	28	Lama\n/t
61r	2	12	Dame Richece
61v	2	15	Riche
		16	ce
62r	2	6	le douz
		7	aman\t/
62r	2	37	Richece et lamant
62v	1	37	le douz amant
63r	1	1	lama\n/t
63r	2	4	Amo\rs/
63r	2	34	Amors
63v	1	19	Lamant
63v	2	7	Lamant
63v	2	14	Faus
		15	semblant
65r	1	15	\com/me\n/t
		16	ba
		17	rons au dieu dam\or/s sacord
65r	2	24	Delit et
		25	b\o/n cler vont \com/rre ho\n/te desto\n/
66r	2	36	les ba
		37	ronn\es/ au dieu damors
66v	1	41	Amis p\ar/le a fausseblant
67r	2	6	faussem
		7	blant
67v	2	6	Amors et fausseblant
68r	2	4	faus
		5	sembla\n/t

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON KING'S COLLEGE

TEMPLE BAR 5454

STRAND, W.C. 2

DEPARTMENT OF PALAEOGRAPHY

Professor T. J. Brown, F.S.A.

13 Mar 65

Dear Casson,

I've had a good look at your photos etc.

1) I'm sure the MS. is French. The small miniatures seem very typically French; and ~~if~~ although the opening page is not very smart, I don't think any of the decoration there is English.

2) I think f. 1r is by a different hand to any of the rest you have sent me. He looks to me like a man who was more used to cursiva, but who was doing his best to produce textura: witness his open g; r at the end of l. 3; a and r in l. 12; looped l (e.g. l. 8), looped h (e.g. l. 24); s (l. 9)

unless Avez is omitted. Grey reading is satisfactory.

P. 305. cf. P. 99. hamplois li is wrong unless we read li.

P. 307. post is hypometric (two syllables are not read li. cf. l. 284).

P. 311. read. Corvoicé
 P. 317. reduction of ice to ee is normal in Central France (Francien) in C14
 P. 325. cf. C. 99. I shall note no more of these.

P. 342. I read porail.

P. 349. OE has both forms in -i- and in -u- the -u- form triumphs in Middle French, as here.

General conclusion on

Language

The language of this manuscript is perfectly normal literary French of C14. The declension system is disappearing. Syntax is being modernised e.g. imperative indicative is tending in some circumstances to replace imperfect subjunctive.

There are a very few North Eastern forms fewer than in Henry 1's whole basic manuscript - appears to have contained a number of such forms. There are

no Anglo-Normanisms (except Cui 28 as a mere scribal peculiarity). On the whole I would say a manuscript from the central (Paris) region rather than the North East and in my view this would also not be inconsistent with the style of illustrations but by second quarter of C14 (a date I would accept) the dialect characteristics have been so largely eliminated or professionally produced vernacular MS of this kind that it is really not possible to localise them on linguistic characteristics alone. The spelling is very generally modernised by comparison with Henry 1's edition and the same is true to some extent of the syntax. Such changes in syntax have sometimes upset the metre as in RR. P. 307.

In a word I would say: certainly Continental, not Anglo-Norman, standard literary Old French of second quarter C14, possibly North Eastern but (suspect) more probably Paris or Ile de France.

The Sobsey catalogue is sales-talk. The hand is good and clear but not particularly handsome, and I would call the illustration and decoration distinctly mediocre. D.R.