

ASPECTS OF IMAGES AND MEANINGS

IN THE

ROMAN DE LA ROSE

BY GUILLAUME DE LORRIS

AND

JEAN DE MEUN

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Avant-propos

A Resumé of the Thesis Preparation and Organization

The Purpose of the Thesis

*It has been my intent, in this thesis, to collect, as 35 mm slides, a number of illustrations from several manuscripts of the thirteenth-century poem, the **Roman de la Rose**, to examine these images from several points of view, and ultimately to leave this fascinating visual material in the Slide Library at McMaster University for future study of this Medieval work.*

*I have endeavoured to compare some aspects of the complete collections of images from three different manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**, especially to note how selected illustrations changed in number and in content over a period of about two hundred years. It has been my intent to ask what are some of the possible functions of the illustrations, and also to pose the question of whether these images are, or are not, an aid to understanding the basic intent of the poem. The more than 200 slides used in this project have been obtained from three different libraries, and they represent a number of different manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**. Twenty-seven of these 35 mm images are presented in this document as photocopies in colour.*

The three complete collections of illustrations which have been obtained for this thesis are as follows: the first series is from one of the two oldest existing texts,

made at the end of the thirteenth century¹, the second series is from a manuscript of a century later, from the end of the fourteenth century², and the third series is from a manuscript written in the late fifteenth century³. These three complete collections of illustrations have been augmented by illustrations selected from other manuscripts of this poem, which have been obtained from the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, and from the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

The Beginning

The graduate course in Medieval French Literature with Dr. Madeleine Jeay has provided me with the surprise of my life. What started as a straightforward academic exercise has proved to be an enchanted voyage of discovery⁴. The course

¹Charles Dahlberg, translation *The Romance of the Rose*, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971), 22. "The present translation offers, for the first time since Khun's early study, **the full schedule of illustrations from a single manuscript**, this series of twenty-eight miniatures, covering Guillaume's portion only, comes from one of the two earliest illustrated versions, the thirteenth-century Paris MS, B.N. fr. 378."

²MS. e Musaeo 65, *The Romance of the Rose*, French, c.1380. This text is part of the collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.

³MS. Douce 195, *The Romance of the Rose*, end of the fifteenth century. This manuscript is part of the collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.

⁴I have corresponded with and received slides from libraries in England, France and the United States. I have had an opportunity to visit the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and to examine personally, one of the two oldest manuscripts of the **Roman**, the B.N. 378 manuscript.

Most recently, in the autumn of 1992, I have had occasion to communicate with Dr. Lori Walters, a professor in the Department of Modern Languages at Florida State University. In recent years, this scholar has written several very informative articles regarding certain aspects of illustrations found in various MSS of the **Rose**. Her most recent work is contained in *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose* (1992). She has been

text was *Le Roman de la Rose*, a version in modern French of a 22,000 line poem, completed originally about 1275. The story is a secular one, told in vernacular French, in an age when many literary works had religious themes and were written in Latin.

The text predates Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*⁵, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*⁶, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*⁷. In the course of reading the background material for the exposé associated with the course, I discovered that a number of texts which were written about the *Roman de la Rose* contained illustrations from various manuscripts of this poem. The illustrations were enchanting, but virtually all of them were reproduced in black and white except for the one which appeared on the cover of our paperback prose edition. The cover illustration was in colour, beautiful vibrant colour which brought to mind immediately *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc du Berry* (1413-1416).

I looked at all the illustrations that I could find and I was struck by the many ways in which the reproductions from the earliest editions of the *Roman*, c.1275 differed from those taken from the texts of a century and two centuries later. The production of hand painted editions of the *Roman de la Rose* came to an end

kind enough to supply additional insights into the illustrations found in various manuscripts of the *Roman*.

⁵Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400), *Canterbury Tales* pub.1526.

⁶Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) *The Decameron*, pub.1350-1353.

⁷Dante (abb. Durante) Alighieri (1265 - 1321), *Divine Comedy*, pub. 1307-1321.

approximately two hundred years after the publication of the first edition (c.1275) with the advent of the printing press in the middle of the fifteenth century⁸.

*The question of a subject for a "thèse" or a "projet" surfaces frequently in the M.A. program. Since my twin disciplines are French and Art History, I wondered if a subject could be found which would permit exploration in both of these two areas of study. The hand-painted illustrations of the **Roman de la Rose** seemed to be a possible subject. If one could obtain colour reproductions (slides) of all the images found in three different texts, each one from a different century, it might be possible to discuss their numbers, their similarities, their differences, and their relationships to the text, as a suitable subject for my M.A. thesis.*

Guidance from Scholarly Texts

*A passage from the Introduction of Charles Dahlberg's 1971 English language translation, **The Romance of the Rose**, served as one source of inspiration for this venture, "There remains unpublished a great store of valuable and beautiful material that deserves presentation in color and in unbroken groupings from individual manuscripts."⁹. While Dahlberg was not able to present, in his book, colour reproductions, he did include the full program of miniatures from B.N. 378, the final*

⁸The first printing press was made by Johannes Guttenberg, c.1450 (World Book, 1968). Vol.15, p.706.

⁹Dahlberg, 22.

series of illustrations from Douce 195 (Bodleian) and several other images from the *Roman* as well.

One other scholar was a considerable influence on the choice of this subject for my thesis. From my first encounter with *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (1969), by John Fleming, I was enchanted by the number and variety of reproduced images from various manuscripts of the *Roman* which Fleming had employed as he attempted "to explain, guided by iconographic indications among others, what the *Roman de la Rose* is about"¹⁰. Twenty-four years have passed since the publication of this work, and even now, there is no book that I know of which incorporates in it, colour plates reproduced from various manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*. With the passage of time however, some scholars have worked with the illustrations found in manuscripts of the *Roman*, notably, Rosemond Tuve (1966) whose text, *Allegorical Imagery*, predated the work of Fleming, and David Hult, whose work, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies* (1986) included an early examination of the author figure. More recently, Lori Walters has examined certain aspects of images found in several manuscripts of the *Roman*. A recently published text, *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose*, has included two excellent articles about the "Illuminated *Rose*", one by Lori Walters and the other by Stephen Nichols. Recent work with these manuscripts has still produced miniatures in black and white, but the tendency now is to show whole pages of text. The images are not

¹⁰John Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969), x.

carved out of the text, a practice which Fleming deplored, even while he too did it, "Books about medieval illumination are as often as not monuments to the ruthless vandalism of photography which snips the illustrations out of manuscripts to be used in a way they were not meant to be used"¹¹.

Locating the Visual Material

All of the preliminary work took place in the spring of 1991 and it marked the beginning of an adventure which, two years later, has brought together all of the illustrations from three different manuscripts of the *Roman*, plus a selection of illustrations from several other manuscripts of the *Roman*.

The accumulation of the visual material marked the beginning of the work for the thesis, yet their acquisition took some time, effort and expense. In Charles Dahlberg's text, he reproduces "all of the illustrations from one of the two oldest versions of the *Roman de la Rose*"¹². The illustrations to which he refers (B.N. fr. 378) were obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris¹³. These colour versions of the images reproduced in black and white in Charles Dahlberg's text are

¹¹Fleming,13. Fleming added that, "It is of course impossible, practically speaking, to discuss medieval book illustrations without abusing them in such a manner, but the abuse should be conscious and reluctant.

¹²Dahlberg, 22.

¹³Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Jeay who arranged for their acquisition during a visit to Paris in the summer of 1991.

of excellent quality. In this series of slides both illustrations and text are reproduced, putting the image into its manuscript context.¹⁴

The second set of illustrations obtained for this undertaking was the complete set of images from MS. Douce 195 (from the end of the fifteenth century), a series which is reproduced in part in Charles Dahlberg's text. Initially, I had a set of these slides, which were from the Bodleian Library at Oxford in England, but their colour was unsatisfactory. I decided that a letter to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University in England, was in order, and this letter brought an immediate response. I was sent an outline of all the copies of the *Roman* which are part of the Bodleian collection. There are nine copies of it at the Bodleian and that library has reproduced the illustrations from a number of them.¹⁵ I was sent an information sheet with a list of all the editions of the *Roman* at the Bodleian. For each manuscript for which they have slide reproductions, I was sent additional information which provided slide numbers, folio references and slide descriptions. It was an impressive package of information.

Among the filmstrips available to be purchased from the Bodleian Library, there was one that contained a selection of illustrations from several different manuscripts

¹⁴Over the Christmas holidays, 1991/92, a colleague in the M.A. program at McMaster, Annette Johnson, was kind enough to spend a day at the B.N. in Paris. She was able to examine this text, and to measure the size of the pages and the images.

¹⁵It is unfortunate that the Bodleian, unlike the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, has, in general, reproduced as slides, only the miniatures and not the full pages of the manuscript. We have, however, been able to acquire the full initial pages of *e Musaeo* 65, and Douce 195, both manuscripts from the Bodleian.

of this poem. Included in this series were several miniatures from MS Douce 195. I ordered the filmstrip and discovered that the true colours of MS Douce 195 are as bright, vibrant and commanding as are the illustrations of other editions of the Roman. I ordered and received from the Bodleian the 128 images in this series.

*Also included in the **Roman de la Rose** collection at the Bodleian is one manuscript which was published at the end of the fourteenth century and for this text, e Musaeo 65, the Bodleian has two filmstrips, one contains forty-three images and the other contains thirty-six images. I ordered the one containing forty-three illustrations. They are excellent and the time period is just right. There were further questions, how many more illustrations are there in this text, how many of these are available as slides and could they be ordered? Another letter went off to the Bodleian. The answer came swiftly. Twelve images from that text, e Musaeo 65, were missing from the series and, given the reason for the request, the librarian ordered them on my behalf. Subsequently, I ordered and received a slide of the full initial page of this manuscript, e Musaeo 65.*

The material from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Bodleian Library in Oxford constitute the basic material for the thesis but supplementary material has been received from the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Some of their illustrations have been very valuable, especially the initial pages containing the incipit images. Their acquisition constitutes a separate story...

The request for slides from the Pierpont Morgan Library has also been a most interesting experience. During the summer of 1991, when the whole project with

illustrations from the **Roman** was taking shape, one other library which seemed to have several editions of the **Roman** was the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York city¹⁶. I called the Pierpont Library and I spoke to Roger Wieck who suggested that I start by looking at a text titled, **Masterpieces of Medieval Painting, The Art of Illumination**¹⁷. This text was available at the Pontifical Institute in Toronto and I went to look at it. The book is a small one which is simply a catalogue of some twelve hundred master slides taken of selected illustrations found in Manuscripts that are part of the Pierpont Library collection.

Accompanying the text there should have been microfiches of the twelve hundred slides but the visual material was not with the book. Thinking that we might somehow be able to obtain the microfiches through the resourcefulness of McMaster's Interlibrary Loan Service, I photocopied the catalogue. In the event that, when and if we could see the microfiches, we would have the catalogue to be a guide to the visual material. Subsequently our Interlibrary Loan Service¹⁸ was able to obtain the microfiches for a very brief loan period from Concordia University in Montreal!

After seeing the microfiches I was able to decide which slides might be useful for my project. I called the Pierpont Library again, this time to ask if the slides listed in the catalogue were the only images from their editions of the **Roman** which had

¹⁶Fleming, xiii. (List of Illustrations: black and white reproductions. Among the libraries that supplied images for Fleming's text was the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.).

¹⁷William M. Voelkle, ed., **Masterpieces of Medieval Painting, The Art of Illumination**, Chicago, 1980.

¹⁸Valerie Thomas was very helpful in obtaining the loan of this material.

been photographed, or did they have more **Roman de la Rose** visual material available? I received¹⁹ a list of illustrations (slides) which can be ordered from the Pierpont Morgan Library. I ordered a selection, based upon the information which I found in the little catalogue, **Masterpieces of Medieval Painting**.

One series of slides, "M132 French c.1380", contains thirty-seven slides and they may well be a full series for that Manuscript, since the Manuscript from the Bodleian, "e Musaeo 65" of approximately the same date contains fifty-five images. The material from the Bodleian is so well documented, however, that this project is greatly aided by taking advantage of the services offered by this impressive Library.

In order to prepare this thesis, it was essential to obtain the full schedule of illustrations from several manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**. That certain supplementary material was obtainable as well, made some further investigation possible. It is a tribute to the age in which we live that such reproductions can be obtained, as 35 mm colour slides from manuscripts that were produced between 500 and 700 years ago. At the end of the twentieth century these manuscripts are treasured works which are kept in rare book departments, and are seen only by a few privileged people. It is regrettable however, that not all illustrations are reproduced as full pages from the manuscripts, as is the case with the material from the Bibliothèque Nationale.

¹⁹Nancy Schmutge at the Pierpont Library was generous with her assistance. It was she who made a handwritten list of all the slides which are available for **Roman de la Rose** Manuscripts in the Pierpont Library collection.

*Today the various manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose** are located in libraries that are widely separated from each other and all are located some distance from the campus of McMaster University. It is therefore, quite remarkable that one can locate a number of different manuscripts of this poem, obtain material from certain ones and do all this from one location! While slide material is essential for this endeavour, the new technique of making colour photocopies from 35 mm slides, at a reasonable price, adds a dramatic visual dimension to this text which undertakes to discuss these very same images found in manuscripts produced so many years ago! The twenty-seven colour photocopies which are included as part of this presentation allow for immediate reference to the images in question.*



A Resumé of the Roman de la Rose

The Roman de la Rose is a poem which tells the story of a dream. Dahlberg outlines some background about its construction¹: the full length of the poem is 21,780 lines of which the first 4058 lines are attributed to Guillaume de Lorris and the remaining 17,722 lines are credited to Jean de Meun. It has been determined that the first part of the poem was completed by 1230-35, and that the second part was finished some forty years later, in approximately 1275².

At the very beginning of the poem the author, who is also the Narrator of the story, speaks of himself, five years earlier, as the central figure in a dream, "In the twentieth year of my life, at the time when Love exacts his tribute from young people, I lay down one night, as usual and slept very soundly. During my sleep I saw a very beautiful and pleasing dream."(l.21). He says in his text that he wishes to tell his story to make the reader's heart rejoice and that the event took place in the month of May, "the amorous month"(l.45). The author adds that,

a) "if anyone asks what I wish the romance to be called...it is the Romance of the Rose, in which the whole art of love is contained."(Dahlberg:l.21-45)

¹Dahlberg, 1.

²Dahlberg, 2.

b) "Et si quelqu'un me demande comment je veux que ce récit soit intitulé, je répondrai que c'est le **Roman de la Rose** qui renferme tout l'Art d'amour." (Mary: p.20)

c) "Et se nule ne nus demande comant je veil que li romanz soit apelez que je comanz, ce est li **Romanz de la Rose**, ou l'art d'Amors est tote enclose." (Lecoy: l.34-38)³

The Narrator writes that, "as he slept he became aware that it was full morning"(l.74-103). He arose, dressed, and set out to leave the town and walk beside a river. It wasn't very long before the Dreamer saw "a large and roomy garden, entirely enclosed by a high crenellated wall, sculptured outside and laid out with many fine inscriptions"(l.129). The Narrator undertakes to describe the images as well as he can remember them. It becomes apparent as we read, that the images he describes, though treated as if they are human beings, are in fact, human qualities, The qualities which are relegated to positions on the exterior wall, are those which are not permitted to be present within the confines of the garden itself, since they are those traits and conditions which the author of the poem considers to be antithetical to the Art of Love.

³When quotations from the **Roman** are employed, there are three reference translations, the English language version (a:Dahlberg), the modern French text (b:Mary), and the most often cited French version in verse (c:Lecoy).

Charles Dahlberg, trans. **The Romance of the Rose**, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971).

André Mary, pub. **Le Roman de la Rose**, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, (Paris, France, Gallimard, 1949 et 1984).

Félix Lecoy, pub. **Le Roman de la Rose**, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun. (Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, Editeur, 1965).

The Narrator/Dreamer describes the attributes; Hatred is mentioned first, then Felony, followed by Villainy. In succession we read the names of Covetousness, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, Hypocrisy and Poverty, all of which are forever destined to be excluded from the Garden of Delight. The wall of the garden had only a "little door that was very narrow and tight"(l.506-39), and when the Narrator/Dreamer knocked, it was the lovely lady, Idleness, who opened the door and permitted the Narrator/Dreamer to enter.

Once inside the confines of the Garden, the Narrator/Dreamer went immediately to find Diversion who owned the garden, because he wanted,

a) "to see how he carried on and what he was."(Dahlberg, l.701-27)

b) "je ne pus me tenir d'aller voir Déduit, car j'étais très curieux de juger de son maintien.(Mary,p.29)

*c) "Mes quant j'oi escouté un poi
les oisiaus, tenir ne me poi
qu'adonc Deduit voair n'alase
car a voair mout desirasse son contement et son estre.(Lecoy, l.707-711)*

Before long, Courtesy invited the Narrator/Dreamer to join the carol along with Diversion and his sweetheart, Joy. Among this animated group was the God of Love, and his special companion, Sweet Looks. It was Sweet Looks who was the keeper of "the two Turkish bows that belonged to the God of Love"(l.907), one made of a wood of a tree whose fruit tastes bitter and the other was his "golden bow"(l.1304). Sweet Looks also carried his master's two groups of five arrows, which were his arsenal.

A short time later the God of Love asked Sweet Looks for his golden bow, already strung, and the five golden arrows. At that moment, the Narrator/Dreamer noted that the God of Love began to follow him at a distance, but "he did not stop me in any place until I had been everywhere"(l.1304-23). One of the special features of the Garden of Delight was "a fountain under a pine"(l.1425). The fountain was placed "under the pine within a marble stone"(l.1425-38), and the stone was inscribed to indicate that there the "fair Narcissus died"(l.1438).

The Narrator recounts his version of the ancient story of Narcissus, and he comments that he dared not look into the fountain when it became clear to him that, "this was indeed the true fountain of the fair Narcissus"(l.1511). Here the Narrator draws only a partial parallel with himself and the unfortunate Narcissus. The Narcissus of long ago had spurned the love of Echo, who then prayed that he too, would one day experience unrequited love. The Narrator/Dreamer of the poem however, had not yet experienced love so that, as David Hult points out, "only in the fountain was there a common bond with Narcissus"⁴.

Certainly when the Narrator/Dreamer looks into the water of the fountain, he sees something, and he describes the experience, "At the bottom of the fountain were two crystal stones upon which I gazed with great attention"(l.1537). The Narrator contends that, "the crystals reveal the whole condition of the garden, without

⁴*David Hult, Self-Fulfilling Prophecies, Readership and Authority in the First Roman de la Rose, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.), 284.*

deception"(l.1537-70), and that they are a "perilous mirror in which proud Narcissus gazed "(l.1571), putting him "on the road of love"(l.1571-1603). The Narrator writes wistfully that he wished "to remain there forever, gazing at the fountain and the crystals...but it was a painful hour when I admired myself there"(l.1603-14).

From the fountain, the Narrator recounts that he went directly to rosebushes which he had noted in the mirror, and picked out one red bud which was especially beautiful and highly perfumed. At that very instant the God of Love shot the Narrator/Dreamer in the eye with the arrow called Beauty. He followed that action by shooting the remaining four golden arrows, Simplicity, Courtesy, Company and Fair Seeming directly at the eye of the hapless Narrator/Dreamer. From this point in the story the central figure of the poem becomes an aspiring Lover as well as the Narrator/Dreamer and the action of the story is directed toward the outcome of the love quest.

The God of Love demanded complete surrender of the novice Lover, an act of submission which was swiftly performed. He then delivered his commandments. The Narrator's voice appears before the commandments are delivered, to admonish the reader to continue reading, "for the end of the dream is very beautiful, and its matter is new. I tell you that he who will hear the end of the dream can learn a great deal about the games of Love...The truth which is hidden, will be quite open to you when you hear me explain the dream, for it doesn't contain a lying word"(l.2051-76).

When the God of Love disappeared, the hopeful Lover found that the rosebushes were surrounded by a hedge, but he was promised safe passage to his rosebud by a new figure, Fair Welcoming. Having made his way past the thorns and briars, the Lover approached his special rosebud. Suddenly, the way was blocked by Resistance, in the company of Foul Mouth along with Shame and Fear. Faced with such opposition the Narrator states that Fair Welcoming fled and that he too, retreated.

The aspiring Lover was next approached by Lady Reason, who "came down from her tower and came straight to me"(l.2971), and tried to dissuade the Dreamer/Lover from his attempt to reach and claim his rose. When she found that she could not prevail, she left, and Friend appeared on the scene. There followed several attempts to placate Resistance. Openness and Pity arrived to aid the Dreamer/Lover and they succeeded in returning Fair Welcome to comfort the Dreamer/Lover. The path to the rose was effectively blocked until Venus, the mother of the God of Love arrived with a blazing torch to warm the heart of Fair Welcome, guardian of the rose. The Dreamer/Lover "no longer had to wait, but straightway took a sweet and delicious kiss from the rose"(l.3473).

Chastity, who had forbidden Fair Welcome to grant the kiss, was overcome, and even though the Dreamer/Lover struggled afterward with Shame, it was not until Foul Mouth began to spread evil stories about the Dreamer/Lover and Fair Welcoming, that Jealousy was alerted. Jealousy proposed to build a tower around the rosebushes, and to imprison Fair Welcoming. Fear and Shame then approached Resistance to be

more vigorous in his protection of the roses in order to placate Jealousy. All of this effort was in vain for Jealousy erected a sturdy tower around the rosebushes, locked up Fair Welcoming, garrisoned the structure with her friends and placed Resistance, Shame, Fear and Foul Mouth to guard the four entrances to the prison.

The Dreamer/Lover bemoans the changeable nature of Love who had given him such encouragement, only to completely bar his path to the rosebushes. This state of affairs ends the section which was written by Guillaume de Lorris. David Hult makes a strong case for his view that the poem, though unresolved at this point is, nevertheless, a completed work⁵. The second part of the poem is a series of discourses, beginning with that of Reason, who is no more successful now than she was earlier.

The Dreamer is then comforted by Friend, and advised by Wealth, when the God of Love again appears. He briefs the reader about the change in authors, giving particular details about each of them before engaging in a long discourse with False Seeming, who is ultimately enlisted into the services of the God of Love. There is a planned assault on the Castle of Jealousy, but before it is successfully carried out there is much opportunity for discussion and a display of thirteenth-century learning. In the final section of the poem, when the battle is not going well for the forces of the God of Love, he calls for aid from his mother, Venus, who arrives ready to put the opposing forces to rout.

⁵Hult, "I would like to propose that Guillaume's poem is a finished work, 1-9.

Since the second part of the poem is composed of a series of digressions from the main body of the story, the outcome of the Narrator/Dreamer/Lover's quest of the rose is held in abeyance while the various debates take place. The miniatures, where they occur in Jean's continuation, are therefore illustrations of deviations from the main plot, and they often do not have a direct connection with one another or with the outcome of the rose quest. One exception to this generalization is the exemplum of the story of Pygmalion and its association with the aspirations of the Dreamer/Lover.

Just at the moment of the final battle, the Narrator draws a comparison between the story of the quest of the Dreamer/Lover and the mythological tale of Pygmalion. In this account of Pygmalion, Jean de Meun gives elaborate details about the original story, quite unlike the modest reference which Guillaume de Lorris made to the Narcissus story earlier in the poem. Jean is jubilant that unlike Narcissus, in love with his own face, who "could not possess what he saw in the fountain"(l.20,888), the hero of this story can at least "go to this image and take it, and kiss it"(l.20,859-88). This clever author is further able to have the same figure from the mythology of the past, Venus, intervene in both stories, bringing a successful outcome to both would-be Lovers.

In the final verses of the poem, the Narrator recounts how Venus was able to set fire to the castle with her "feathered brand, covered with burning fire"(l.21,251), thus freeing Fair Welcoming and ultimately allowing the Dreamer/Lover to possess his rose. The end of this second part of the poem is a delicately phrased account of a

personal conquest, sadly lacking even the voice, heard at the end of the Pygmalion exemplum, of the distaff side, saying "I am neither demon nor phantom, sweet friend, but your sweetheart, ready to receive your companionship and to offer you my love if it please you to receive such an offer"(l.21,154). Jean de Meun brings his story to a close with great violence, a fire in the castle which causes panic, and an assault on the sanctuary which ultimately results in the conquest of the red rosebud. The closing of the second part of the poem is handled in a manner which is very different from the subtlety and ambiguity of Guillaume de Lorris' final verses.

Aspects of Images and Meanings in the Roman de la Rose

*"Its matter is good and new"
Guillaume de Lorris¹*

*To the twentieth-century reader, the thirteenth-century **Roman de la Rose** presents a literary and a visual enigma. The text of the English language version translated by Charles Dahlberg (1971) is as much of a puzzle today as was the original poem written about 700 years ago. The story is told as an allegory, thus the meaning of the written text is hidden and the characters who populate the story are "meanings walking about in ordinary clothing"².*

*Those "meanings" are illustrated in manuscripts of this text which date from the earliest extant copies, c. 1300, to those which just predate the advent of the printing press two hundred years later. One wonders, however, if the delightful images which illustrate many of the extant copies of the **Roman** help the reader of the story to understand the underlying meaning of the literary text. From the very first line of the poem, the **Roman de la Rose**, one senses a puzzle in the making:*

*a)"Many men say that there is nothing in dreams but fables
and lies,"(Dahlberg:l.1)*

¹Dahlberg, 31: Mary, ("La matière en est bonne et neuve.") 20: Lecoy, ("La matire est et bone et nueve,") 1.

²Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery, Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity*. (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1966), 253.

b) "Maintes gens disent que dans les songes il n'y a que fables et mensonges." (Mary:p.19)

c) "Aucunes genz dient qu'en songes n'a se fables non et mençonges;" (Lecoy:1-2)

The reader immediately recognizes that there is a Narrator of the poem, and very soon he understands that the story to follow will be a personal account,

a) "During my sleep I saw a very beautiful and pleasing dream," (Dahlberg,l.21-44)

b) "je m' étai couché une nuit ...et je dormais profondément, lorsque je fis un songe..." (Mary,p.19)

c) "...couchier m' aloie une nuit, si con je souloie et me dormoie mout forment, et vi un songe en mon dormant" (Lecoy,l.23-26)

The first line does not read "I say...", but "Many men say...". It would seem that the story will be about a dream, but what kind of dream - a fable? - a collection of lies? The Narrator does say that,

a) "in this dream was nothing which did not happen almost as the dream told it." (Dahlberg,31)

b) "...dans ce songe, il n'y eut rien que les faits n' aient confirmé point par point." (Mary,19)

c) en ce songe onques riens n' ot qui tretot avenu ne soit si con li songes recensoit. (Lecoy,2)

Whose dream is it and what does happen in the dream? Several possibilities are suggested by the text and the incipit illustrations but what lies ahead? By the time the reader reaches the end of the forty-four line prologue³, he, as well as the Narrator/Dreamer/Aspiring Lover have embarked upon an adventure.

³Hult, 14.

*We are told that Old French allows for a juggling of perspective⁴ and the reader notes this technique at the very beginning of this poem when the roles of the Narrator, the Dreamer and the Lover are blended. Another attribute of ancient writers is that of speaking obscurely in the books that they wrote, "so that those who were to come after and study them might gloss⁵ the letter and supply its significance from their own wisdom"⁵. This characteristic too, is evident in the prologue of the **Roman de la Rose**, since the author/narrator seems to speak directly to the reader. He leaves many references open to personal interpretation, however, such as the question that the reader asks, which is: who is the "I" of the text?*

*It is evident too, that this story has intrigued many generations of readers since it is "the only major poem in the French tradition to have commanded a continuous readership from the Middle Ages to the present day"⁶. The recounting of stories in the Middle Ages was originally the domain of the **jongleur**⁷, who manipulated and adapted texts that came into his hands, and the person who was responsible for the promulgation of written texts was the scribe. This individual would copy and interpret⁸ already written texts so that the work could be circulated and receive a wider audience since, "before the fourteenth century we have little or no evidence of a*

⁴Hult,111.

⁵Hult, 96.

⁶Hult, 1-9.

⁷Hult,30.

⁸Hult,34.

vernacular author who had anything to do with book publication"⁹. The assumption is, that throughout the thirteenth century, the public, to whom such texts were aimed, was a listening, not a reading public¹⁰, and that it was a very fluid situation since "incessant borrowings and citations ...were a hallmark of pre-Renaissance literary and speculative writing."¹¹

The modern reader, who is seven hundred years removed from the completion date of the **Roman** in about 1275, must be constantly aware however, that,

"we know far too little about the actual ways in which copies of the **Roman** were commissioned and executed; the degree to which illustrators followed formal instructions, existing exemplars, and iconographic clichés from sources outside the **Roman** rather than simply their own reading of the text; and, in many cases, the kinds of people for whom illustrated copies were made"¹².

It is the illustrations found in many copies of the **Roman** which have so intrigued this reader, and one wonders if they function as an aid to understanding the meaning of a poem, which is described as an allegory¹³. What is an allegory? The root of the word is Greek which means speaking otherwise, and originally "God Himself was seen as the author of the relation between history's literally true events

⁹Hult,33.

¹⁰Hult,30. Note: Hult is not specific about the kind of "public" in this reference. However, since this poem was the first major work written in vernacular French instead of Latin, one would suppose that the intent was to make this poem available to an audience, financially capable of underwriting the cost, but not necessarily fluent in Latin.

¹¹Hult,64.

¹²Fleming, ix.

¹³Mary, 384.

*and the meanings they figure forth"¹⁴. The study of symbolic representation especially of the origin and meaning of Scripture types is referred to as Typology. Today, the accepted meaning of allegory is the description of a subject under the guise of some other subject of aptly suggestive resemblance, and in the **Roman** ideas are portrayed as the **personages**.*

Rosemond Tuve points out that "the reason for reading any piece allegorically is to come at meanings which are truly in the work-but hidden therein"¹⁵ which leaves "the responsible reader...to face the thorny problem of whether the allegorical meanings are "there"¹⁶, while keeping in mind that "some of the greatest allegories in the world's literature were not the consciously intended meanings of the original writers"¹⁷. An allegory therefore, "is synonymous with mystification, with not knowing, but it necessitates the assurance that the meaning or doctrine is there"¹⁸.

*The question of the presence or absence of meaning becomes central when the reader considers the illustrations found in various manuscripts of the **Roman**. It is John Fleming who "raises the larger question of the strategy and validity of iconographical analysis of a secular work of art"¹⁹ and he states in the Preface of*

¹⁴Tuve, 221.

¹⁵Tuve, 219.

¹⁶Tuve, 219.

¹⁷Tuve, 219.

¹⁸Hult, 168.

¹⁹Fleming, 76.

his text, "My book is...an attempt to explain, guided by iconographic indications among others, what the *Roman de la Rose* is about"²⁰. One wonders if, in fact it was possible for John Fleming to achieve his goal and if, indeed, the miniatures are an aid to understanding precisely what the *Roman* is about? The response to these questions will be addressed as this study progresses.

As with known historical events in the story of mankind, individual works of art are part of a continuum, whether they belong to the religious or to the secular world. Emile Mâle, begins the Preface of his perceptive text, *The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, with the sentence, "To the Middle Ages art was didactic"²¹. John Fleming elaborates upon this basic concept, "In the Middle Ages art was not its own excuse for being. It was a didactic and pedagogical technique, joining with a number of other techniques to explain and celebrate a divinely ordained and revealed world order"²². He notes too, that "the illustrations of secular texts are also meant to teach as well as to delight"²³.

We are reminded that, "the difference in the formal structure between a visual image and a literary text is the fact that the visual work is based upon "a simultaneous, totalizing perception" and that the literary work demonstrates sequential

²⁰Fleming, x.

²¹Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*. trans. Dora Nussey. (New York, Harper and Row Publishers, Reprinted 1972, originally published, 1913), vii.

²²Fleming, 11.

²³Fleming, 11.

progression dictated by the work itself, with a beginning, middle and end"²⁴. How does the viewer experience a "simultaneous, totalizing perception" of images which purport to illustrate a work where ideas are dressed as people, and participate in the action of the story?

The answer may lie in Rosemond Tuve's assessment of the text and its imagery, "instead of personality giving the abstractions life, the figure often works the other way around...we "conceive" the idea, the person suddenly then becoming charged with meanings of very great depth and extension...in a picture, it seems to depend on whether the action shows us, or whether an accompanying text of known significance makes us read in the images something about the relations of love or Mercy to the ultimate meaning of human life or about a divine source for them or their metaphysical ground"²⁵. When a subject is represented by means of drawings or figures, the various attributes, individually and collectively, are described as its iconography, and for Rosemond Tuve the "constancy of iconographical traditions is always astonishing"²⁶. She notes too, that the "**Roman** has a well-established iconographical tradition. It was early, firmly fixed and extremely popular, for the **Roman**, both in print and in manuscript is one of the longest-lived picture-books we have"²⁷.

²⁴Hult,112.

²⁵Tuve,26.

²⁶Tuve, 188.

²⁷Tuve, 322.

There is, however, a problem inherent in any attempt to portray certain underlying meanings. Irony, for example, is a literary technique in which the intended meaning is the opposite of the words used and "the recognition of irony can never depend solely upon the close examination of the text; it must arise from the acceptance of a set of values or assumptions that are necessarily implicit"²⁸.

Rosemond Tuve points out that "some storable concept or nameable abstraction is generally a key and an indication"²⁹ adding that "we apprehend a likeness, and from it a moral point"³⁰. She comments too, that irony "is Jean's chief instrument to indicate - as he constantly does, what is fallacious or absurdly inadequate about positions taken by the personae"³¹ even though "ironic qualifications are almost impossible of portrayal"³².

*From the earliest manuscripts to the ones which just predated the advent of the printing press, certain groupings of subjects within the **Roman** were often represented visually. Among the popular subjects are four which I propose to examine in a later chapter - they include the Dreamer asleep, the authorial portrait, the exemplum of Narcissus from the Guillaume de Lorris section, and that of Pygmalion from the part written by Jean de Meun. One notes that, "these different kinds of images offer*

²⁸Dahlberg, 5.

²⁹Tuve, 21.

³⁰Tuve, 12. ³⁰12

³¹Tuve, 327.

³²Tuve, 327.

different problems touching the transmission of allegorical meaning since they possess it in different degrees...images already abstracted from multifold experience find the task easiest".³³

*In each section of the **Roman** there is an episode which involves a well known figure from the tales of Greek mythology, where the figure in each section, serves as a metaphor for the narrator. In Guillaume portion of the poem it is the story of Narcissus, and in Jean's second part it is the account of Pygmalion. Both of these legends are well established even in our modern culture, witness the fact that we speak today of a Narcissus complex, and there is both George Bernard Shaw's version of the Pygmalion story, in addition to the transformation, in **My Fair Lady**, of Lisa Doolittle under the tutelage of Professor Higgins. How do these two stories from Greek mythology function in the context of the **Roman de la Rose**?*

*Rosemond Tuve examines at some length the possibilities of encompassing certain ideas as fixed entities in the individual consciousness, ideas which are then suitable as narrative devices. She concludes that from the wealth of material to be found in traditional mythology, and even out of mythology **moralisé**, "only a few images established themselves as commonplaces"³⁴. The one which is incorporated into Guillaume's story is Narcissus, and it is one of the often illustrated interludes of the poem. Hult states that "the Narcissus episode occupies an enigmatic and*

³³Tuve, 322.

³⁴Tuve, 219.

*privileged position in the Roman*³⁵. As Hult points out "Narcissus and Echo do not interact with the Lover or with any of the personified qualities. They are not present and their story is a discontinuous insertion. Narcissus assumes the function of a simple metaphor, with no psychological causality"³⁶.

It is interesting to follow Hult's reasoning as he points out that "we should expect the fountain, which supposedly brings death, to be eliminated from the idyllic eternal paradise represented by the garden of Deduit"³⁷. With Hult we note that "the fountain provides the single tangible link between the story of Narcissus and the Lover's experience...since the Lover's previous encounter with water did not have any special effect on him and neither did his initial experience with the garden"³⁸. Hult concludes that the "fountain here functions as a change or refinement in one's vision, and the garden is transformed"³⁹. The fountain, in Hult's opinion, permits the Lover to change from observer to participant in a courtly world⁴⁰.

Hult's interpretation of the Narcissus exemplum in the *Roman*, whatever its merits, is no more easily understood from the visual examples of Narcissus that appear in several texts (Fig. 14 to Fig.19), than is the traditional understanding of

³⁵Hult, 263-76.

³⁶Hult, 263-76.

³⁷Hult, 280-83.

³⁸Hult, 283.

³⁹Hult, 283.

⁴⁰Hult, 283-86.

self-love from the story of Narcissus. As Rosemond Tuve explains, "the eye can no more tell kinds of pride apart than it can see that Narcissus's self-love is idolatrous as he gazes at his image in the fountain"⁴¹. Both Hult and Tuve bring strong literary backgrounds to their interpretations of this traditional imagery and the reader begins to appreciate the nuances which are associated with a visual depiction of literary concepts and techniques.

After a close examination of the Pygmalion exemplum of the Rose poem, Rosemond Tuve comments, that this version of the Pygmalion story, which we will examine in a later chapter of this presentation, reduces "love" to a mere sexual obsession, and since Pygmalion himself creates the image which he proceeds to worship (Fig.24) - such behaviour borders on the blasphemous⁴²,

a) Then Pygmalion knelt, his face wet with tears, (Dahlberg, 20915).

b) Pygmalion alors s'agenouille, le visage tout mouillé de larmes, (Mary, p.350).

*c) Pygmalion lors s'agenouille
qui de larmes sa face mouille. (Lecoy, 20885-20886)*

In a society where, Fleming observes, "all art was religious art"⁴³, it would be difficult to imagine, as Rosemond Tuve notes, "a definition of love that omitted all

⁴¹Tuve, 319.

⁴²Tuve, 327.

⁴³Fleming, ix.

concern with Heavenly Love"⁴⁴. In the opinion of John Fleming, Rosemond Tuve has correctly identified idolatry as a principal controlling theme of the poem⁴⁵.

As important as the theme of idolatry is in this work, the question still remains, have the illustrations, in fact, helped the reader to come to this conclusion - or to any conclusion? It may be helpful to look again at what Guillaume de Lorris states in the Prologue:

a) "And if anyone asks what I wish the romance to be called, which I begin here, it is the **Romance of the Rose, in which the whole art of love is contained**" (Dahlberg, 21-44).

b) Et si quelqu'un me demande comment je veux que ce récit soit intitulé, je réponderai que c'est le **Roman de la Rose qui renferme tout l'Art d'amour**" (Mary, p.20).

c) Et se nule ne nus demande
comant je veil que li ramanz
soit apelez que je comanz,
ce est li **Romanz de la Rose**
ou l'art d'Amours est tote enclose. (Lecoy, 34-38).

Since Guillaume is about to describe the "art of love", a definition may well be helpful. The Oxford English dictionary defines "Love" as that state of feeling with regard to a person which arises from recognition of attractive qualities, from sympathy, or from natural ties, and **manifests itself in warm affection and attachment**. The Petit Robert states it somewhat differently in French: "Disposition à vouloir le bien d'un autre que soi et à se dévouer à lui". In the **Romance of the Rose**, Rosemond Tuve notes that "we find ourselves building a definition for love by

⁴⁴Tuve, 327.

⁴⁵Fleming, 97.

negatives"⁴⁶. She observes that "self-love and self-interest are anatomized time and again"⁴⁷, and she contends that the "great and shocking omission from (Jean's) book (is) any character who loves anyone...The world of the **Roman** is quite loveless"⁴⁸.

Now, to arrive at a definition of love by showing what it is not, is, in this reader's opinion, a very difficult task indeed. We have in this text, **personnages** who are ideas, and ideas which exclude "all presentation of Love as positive goodness of will, caritas, agape, beneficence, affection, misericorde, (and) sympathy"⁴⁹. Since "indirection is formally and by definition a trait of the figure of allegory"⁵⁰, Tuve contends that it was very difficult visually, to suggest the simplest allegorical intent of the author⁵¹. The result, she concludes, is that "it did not seriously enter men's understanding of the true possible content of the **Roman**"⁵².

In a later chapter we will examine, in some detail, images of the Lover/Dreamer which are usually presented in the **incipit** illustration (Fig.1-Fig.7). The imagery of the beginning of the story often features a series of miniatures that sometimes take the viewer/reader up to the moment of the Dreamer's entry into the garden. These

⁴⁶Tuve, 262.

⁴⁷Tuve, 261.

⁴⁸Tuve, 261.

⁴⁹Tuve, 272.

⁵⁰Tuve, 245.

⁵¹Tuve, 326.

⁵²Tuve, 326.

illustrations act as an invitation which tempts the reader to participate in the adventure which is about to unfold.

The illustrations which we have in this collection of the Author, be they of Guillaume or of Jean may suggest the succession of the second author after the death of the first or they may suggest authorship in some way, or they may indicate the place in the text where the second author takes over from the first. They do not, of themselves however, help the reader understand the meaning of the poem.

The two episodes which are taken from the world of Greek mythology, that of Narcissus and of Pygmalion, do not have any direct connection with the Lover/Dreamer. They are familiar subjects to the reader and they convey certain meanings from one's knowledge of Greek mythology just at the mention of the names. Do they however, help the reader to understand the poem? Although the reader understands something from these exempla is it the meaning which Rosemond Tuve suggests that the author has so carefully concealed from his readers?

What then is the function of the illustrations found in many manuscripts of the Roman? They certainly play a number of roles in the presentation of the poem. Initially, they act as an introduction, sometimes in an elaborate way (Fig.4), and sometimes in a simple one (Fig.1). In conjunction with the rubrics of the text, they serve as demarcation points, frequently marking the beginning of a new part of the story which is unfolding (Fig.1). In the case of the author portrait they act to indicate some change in the authorship of the work. The images also consistently reflect in some way the text which they accompany. They add an important component to the

visual presentation of a written text that often contains rubrics, elaborate initials, and a handwritten text, all of which is a combination that is a work of art in itself.

Once one has access to the glorious colours and varied images which are features of the illustrations of this text, one becomes quite enamoured of both the intricacies of the written text and the attempts which were made to visually interpret it. The many and varied images which illustrate the numerous manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose** have certainly captivated this reader, and since "the **Roman** produced enormous numbers of illustrated books"⁵³, one might assume that many other readers have also been charmed. David Hult comments that "Once one understands that Guillaume's poem works as a text of seduction... then one can see that seduction works on (at least) two levels. The most obvious is...the seduction of the Lady, but the other, no less significant, is the seduction of the reader"⁵⁴.

The illustrations ceaselessly "suggest" possibilities, encouraging the reader to continue the quest for the meaning, always hidden, within the many nuances of the text. With each century that passed the images reflected numerous changes in painting and depiction techniques, but the ability to define the "meaning" of this magic poem eludes the illustrators since, as Rosemond Tuve points out "ironic qualifications are almost impossible of portrayal"⁵⁵.

⁵³Tuve, 315.

⁵⁴Hult, 9.

⁵⁵Tuve, 327.

*In my opinion the durability of the **Roman de la Rose** is a tribute both to the subtlety of the story and to the inventiveness of the illustrators during a period in the history of art when the early Gothic style changed to the High Gothic and then to the Renaissance. Rosemond Tuve comments that "the **Roman** influenced the taste for allegory in the sixteenth century because of its history of translation, modernization, re-publication in printed form, wide circulation, (and) usually the development of an accompanying iconographical tradition"⁵⁶. She adds that, in her opinion, "the interest or charm in the iconography of the **Roman** assisted in its longevity"⁵⁷.*

*One scholar who undertook to examine the ironic qualities of this celebrated poem and the iconography which plays such a compelling role in many of its manuscripts, was John Fleming. His **The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography**, served to renew interest in this traditional work and to stimulate a fresh approach to the imagery found in a number of manuscripts of the **Rose** poem. The influence of John Fleming's text upon this present investigation will be the subject of the following chapter.*

⁵⁶Tuve, 232.

⁵⁷Tuve, 233.

The influence of
The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory & Iconography
by John Fleming, 1969

*upon my interest in the illustrations
found in numerous manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose,
and the reception of this text in the academic community*

John Fleming and the Miniatures from the Rose poem

*It is safe to say that John Fleming's book, **The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory & Iconography**, 1969, has had a considerable impact on those students, teachers, and researchers who are interested in the poem. It is of concern especially to those scholars who are currently studying the illustrations which are found in most¹ of the manuscripts of this poem. This work provided, for the first time in a contemporary text, a selection of illustrations from a number of different fourteenth-century manuscripts of this poem. They were appealing images, even though they were reproduced in black and white.*

¹Fleming, 14. "Ernest Langlois was able to list well over two hundred manuscripts which have survived to the twentieth century. Most of them are decorated to some degree. Many are lavishly illustrated, and the iconography of the **Roman** is far richer than that of the accumulated remainder of medieval secular literature."

*John Fleming states quite clearly in the Preface to his text that his book is "an attempt to explain, guided by iconographic indications among others, what the **Roman de la Rose** is about"². He elaborates upon this basic premise when he proposes to "outline that interpretation of the **Roman de la Rose** enjoyed by its urbane readers at the apex of its popularity in the fourteenth century"³, and he elaborates, "my book is an attempt to explain what the poem may have meant to its medieval readers"⁴.*

*For this student of the **Roman**, John Fleming's book was fascinating reading. The collection of illustrations taken from a number of manuscripts of this poem were remarkable in their diversity, from the simple image of the Dreamer in bed with another figure standing at the foot of the bed⁵ to the very complex figure of the Dreamer in bed where the Dreamer comprises perhaps twenty percent of the whole image and a number of other ideas are incorporated into the pictorial space that remains⁶.*

Since the illustrations found in Fleming's book were collected from a number of different manuscripts of this poem, the modern reader is immediately impressed to discover that a poem written so long ago would be illustrated in such diverse ways

²Fleming, x.

³Fleming, 3 .

⁴Fleming, 81.

⁵Fleming, xiii, Fig.10 (B.N. MS fr. 1561, c.1300).

⁶Fleming, xiii, Fig. 4 (B.N. MS fr. 1576, 14th century).

over the one hundred years following its completion. The version of this poem which we were considering in our class was a modern French prose text⁷ with only one illustration, shown on the cover, but it was rendered in magnificent colour. I wished fervently to have had access to a complete manuscript of this Medieval **Roman** complete with its full program of illustrations, rubrics, and marginalia.

But what about the interpretations which John Fleming attributes to the illustrations of episodes found in the **Roman de la Rose**? Early in his text he writes that his work "involves new formulations of historical materials...(but that) Such creativity, however, will not involve any ingenious explications of the allegory of the **Roman**"⁸. Fleming states that the poem is "indeed an allegory" pointing out that an allegory is, by definition, "saying something else", that is, something other than what the text contains and, adds Fleming enigmatically, "everybody knows just what else it is that the story is all about"⁹. The reader can expect a very personal interpretation of the miniatures which are used as examples in this work.

In the years following the publication of this text, several scholars wrote critical essays about this work. The reviews obtained from six literary journals are paraphrased in the following section.

⁷André Mary, pub. *Le Roman de la Rose, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun*, (Paris, France, Gallimard, 1949 and 1984).

⁸Fleming, 5.

⁹Fleming, 5.

The Reviews

Alan Gunn in *Modern Philology*¹⁰ (1971-72), felt that the work was "an important...contribution to the series of neo-patristic exegeses of medieval literature undertaken in recent decades...". He states that "The book before us is less a critical or historical treatise than a religious and moral homily". He continues, "To Fleming, the *Roman de la Rose* is an exhibition - and one so intended by its authors - of "the folly of a love pursued for the sake of something other than God."". However, Gunn notes that Fleming does not "offer any separate and systematic analysis of the poets' own statements of purpose". For Alan Gunn it is the text which is the ultimate authority, and he feels that this authority cannot be threatened by any excursus into iconography.

In *English Language Notes*¹¹ (1971-72), Alfred David is less impressed with Fleming's approach to the poem than was Alan Gunn. Where Fleming saw the poem as a lesson in morality and uses the images to illustrate his points, David suggests that "Ultimately no amount of background, no matter where one takes it, can be a substitute for reading the poem itself. Mr. Fleming gives us a detailed analysis of the plot, notes David, but he quotes remarkably little of the poetry". John Fleming

¹⁰Alan Gunn, Review of *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* by John V. Fleming, *Modern Philology* 69, (1971-1972), 57-59.

¹¹Alfred David, rev. of *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* by John V. Fleming, *English Language Notes* volume ix (1971-1972) 134-139.

understands the **Roman** in quite a different way than does Alfred David who contends that this poem exhibits an "*esprit Gaulois*, which is a form of sympathetic irony...This is the comic spirit of Rabelais, and it reigns at every village wedding feast".

William Calin, writing in *Speculum*¹² (1972), notes Fleming's statement that, "There is an intimate relationship between the painted picture and the written text(12)". He then states emphatically that Fleming has "culled the manuscripts for illuminations that can serve to gloss the **Roman** and, of course, reinforce his own point of view". Calin goes on to say that, "In the space allotted me, I cannot possibly hope to refute Fleming's book *in toto*. (therefore) I shall deal with two points only". He then takes issue, for example, with Fleming's treatment of **Oiseuse**. As Calin says, "Fleming claims that the "notorious icon" **Oiseuse**, with mirror in hand and hair well-combed, is to be associated with *luxuria*"(312), the capital sin, lust. Calin points out that, "she can also be associated with the *vita contemplativa* and thus be a "good icon" ", a fact that Fleming himself acknowledges but doesn't discuss further. Calin also takes issue with Fleming's narrow interpretation of mediaeval life, which allocates a priority to the monastic and ignores the human and secular. He gives credit where credit is due, however, stating that "Fleming's book is extremely well-written. The style is vigorous and lucid, indeed a pleasure to read. His

¹²William Calin, rev. of *The **Roman de la Rose**, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* by John V. Fleming, *Speculum* 47 (1972), 311-313.

documentation is scrupulous. Fleming's command of mediaeval religious literature is extraordinary".

In a 1972 edition of *Medievalia et Humanistica*¹³, Francis Utley comments that "If Fleming had plainly called the study one confined to the illustrations we might go further along with him in his skilful analyses. Our hesitation comes when one is asked to accept such visual and lettered glosses, composed a considerable time after the text, as true to its spirit, and as better evidence of the intention of the poem than can be provided by scholars of Old French or historians of literature". This scholar notes that "illustrators then as now are notoriously capable of misreading an author...(and) since visual art is usually more explicit than literary art, it may destroy the ambivalences an author consciously or unconsciously wrote into his poem". Once again the reviewer suggests a return to the text, "The cure for such readings as Fleming's lies in a more painstaking reading of the poems these exegetes undercut".

By 1973, M.A. Grellner in *Medium Aevum*¹⁴, commented that Fleming was surely anticipating a spirited response when he suggested that "the vast bulk of recent scholarship" on the poem was "fundamentally wrong-headed". He made a note too, of Fleming's stated intention to "suggest some of the implications which the content of

¹³Francis Utley, rev. of *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* by John V. Fleming, *Medievalia et Humanistica, Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Culture*, New Series Number 3 (1972), 299-314.

¹⁴M.A. Grellner, rev. of *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* by John V. Fleming, *Medium Aevum*, Vol.XLII (1973), 69-73.

the illustrations have for the interpretation of the poem". Grellner writes that "Dr. Fleming states his case for using iconography as a gloss to the text in Chapter I, and devotes the other three chapters to expounding his thesis in detail". While Grellner is impressed with the "array of quotations from mediaeval poets and modern critics which Fleming employs to support his thesis", and he comments that his method too, is thorough, Grellner does not express an opinion as to the success or failure of Fleming's efforts.

*When John Fleming's book had been in circulation for six years, Lionel Friedman's critique appeared in **Romance Philology**¹⁵. He begins by commenting that this century has produced three major interpretive commentaries on the **Roman de la Rose**, none of them written by a Romance scholar. He concludes by saying that Fleming's book "contributes significantly to the understanding of the greatest monument of medieval French literature" and he wonders "could it prove to be the instrument that would release the **Roman de la Rose** from the prison of received ideas in which Romance scholarship has so long kept it locked up"? This scholar raises the question of the viability of any work which attempts to pursue authorial intent, but he refers to Tuve's "call for the use of all available tools, be they source studies, manuscript tradition, editions...".*

¹⁵Lionel J. Friedman, rev. of *The **Roman de la Rose**, A Study in Allegory and Iconography*, by John V. Fleming, *Romance Philology*, Volume XXVIII, (1975), 743-748.

Friedman does raise the question of a text as a means of communication and he posits that, "Joint comprehension presupposes a context outside the text, whether we construe this narrowly as the use of that social convention called language, or whether we extend it to include other shared systems as well: learning, symbols, social moral, or religious values, myths, literary conventions, etc. Explication in terms of a work's own historical moment implies that the author and reader participated in similar systems of codification. A critic tries to establish what falls within the confine of the reciprocal agreement". Friedman does not say whether or not he thinks that Fleming understands the medieval reciprocal agreement between writer and reader but he does say quite emphatically what he himself thinks about the practice of using individual illustrations from medieval texts and attributing certain attributes to them.

*Friedman writes, "few practices reveal more starkly the violence we do to medieval texts than our habit of wrenching these from their material moorings: their orthography, their script, their punctuation, their illustration. Having radically transmuted them, we still visualize some apparently independent, hypostatic entity which might survive and persist intact ...We lack a definitive edition of the **Rose** which can claim to embody the composition of either author...Each exemplar and its illuminations present one particular version of the text. Once we separate the written from the pictorial program, far from having restored it to a purer state by freeing it from a layer of dross, we run the risk of producing still another version, one in which perhaps less authority is vested as it is further removed in time from the original*

authors". Freidman has praised Fleming for approaching the **Rose** text in a new way, but he leaves open to question Fleming's method of using the images "wrenched from their material moorings".

Conclusion

John Fleming considered the **Roman** from the point of view of the individual illustrations that he had chosen - and out of context too, that is, he did not use all of the illustrations from one manuscript showing whole pages of text. Instead, he chose to show just individual images. In this way he manipulated the images to suit his point of view. I am particularly impressed with what Lionel Freidman had to say about this text, and since he is a Romance scholar, his opinion regarding the importance of the whole manuscript carries extra weight. I do not argue that John Fleming is in error per se, but that the provenance of the text itself and all of the images of one text should be considered if one wishes to establish a point of view for that text. For example, the Tournai **Rose** is described as having been commissioned as a wedding gift¹⁶, and among our collection of images are those from a text which was expressly given to François I of France as a gift.

¹⁶Lori Walters. "Illuminating the **Rose**: Gui de Mori and the Illustrations of MS 101 of the Municipal Library, Tournai" and "Appendix: Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the **Romance of the Rose**." In **Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, Text, Image, Reception**, 133-160. Brownlee, Kevin and Huot, Sylvia, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992). 179.

*The point is that this is a secular text, one of the first in the French language, and each copy of the poem was ordered by someone, paid for by someone and destined to be a gift for or special possession of someone. Examining individual images under these circumstances ignores a number of factors which are relevant to informed interpretation. The Tournai **Rose** manuscript, for example, displays a number of visual reminders of earthly love sanctified by the Church, and the manuscript which was a gift to François I is illustrated in an ornate style which was undoubtedly calculated to please a powerful monarch.*

*If, on the other hand, one is able to refer to numerous manuscripts and these over a period of time, say one or two hundred year periods, and if one is able to consider a certain page of text and imagery together, then some conclusions may be drawn about some of the intrinsic and enduring aspects of the illustrations. A good example might be a consideration of the first page of a number of manuscripts of the **Roman**, and this page would necessarily include the incipit image of the text. Under these circumstances certain qualities may appear to have been included in the iconography of the **Roman** from its beginnings, or to have appeared latterly, and so on.*

*Only with representative samplings of image and text over time can one begin to say that certain qualities are constants and that other qualities are peculiar to the provenance of the individual manuscript. Although I admire greatly the fact that John Fleming was the first modern scholar to consider the possible role of the images which he has taken from several manuscripts of the **Rose**, I am of the opinion that*

*John Fleming has not always used the caution which is warranted when he attempts to come to conclusions about the visual content of images taken from various manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**.*

Analysis of the Miniatures

Section I

A. Comments about **Roman de la Rose** illustrations by scholars

Some general comments concerning observations made by a number of scholars with reference to the illustrations found in a number of manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**.

B. Comments about this collection of **Roman de la Rose** images

Some general comments about the illustrations from a number of manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**.

Section II

Introduction

Analysis of the Miniatures

1. Dreamer(A)/Author(B)

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Analysis: Dreamer (A) i) Introduction
ii) Analysis

Author (B) i) Introduction
ii) Analysis

1.3 Conclusion

2. Narcissus

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Analysis

2.3 Conclusion

3. Pygmalion

3.1. Introduction

3.2 Analysis

3.3 Conclusion

Conclusion

Section I

A

*Rosemond Tuve, John Fleming, David Hult, Stephen Nichols and Lori Walters are scholars who have examined carefully certain visual aspects of the manuscript tradition of the **Roman de la Rose**, and Charles Dahlberg has written an English language translation of this poem which is a respected work and widely used as a text reference. In 1966, Rosemond Tuve considered the image of Pygmalion, which appears in the Jean de Meun section of the work. As has already been mentioned, John Fleming in his 1969 book, looked at many facets of the imagery and presented, in black and white reproduction, a number of illustrations from certain manuscripts of the **Roman**. David Hult, in 1986, studied several of the Author portraits which appear in various editions of the poem, and he also examined thoughtfully the figure of Narcissus which is employed by Guillaume de Lorris in his section, the first part of the romance.*

*In a collection of essays about the **Roman de la Rose**, published in the autumn of 1992, Stephen Nichols examines the relationship of text and image, while Lori Walters provides an extensive survey of Author portraits found in a chosen selection of fourteenth-century manuscripts of the **Roman**. In an earlier article, published in the **Princeton University Library Chronicle** in 1989, Lori Walters examines certain characteristics of the incipit image. She also considers images of the episodes of*

*Narcissus and Pygmalion and she discusses the nature and placement of the author portrait in individual fourteenth-century manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**.*

*Scholarly examinations of the illustrations found in many of the manuscripts of the **Roman** have not, to date, been very extensive. In John Fleming's text there is a collection of miniatures taken from numerous versions of the **Roman**. These images, and what Fleming has to say about them, have prompted other scholars to consider the visual aspect of the diverse copies of the **Roman**. In addition to his translation of the **Roman**, Charles Dahlberg has included the complete program of illustrations from one of the two oldest editions of this poem, the B.N. fr. 378¹, as well as the last section of consecutive images from MS Douce 195.*

*Together these two scholars have provided a tantalizing sampling of the wealth of visual material to be found in different manuscripts of the **Roman**. When one sees miniatures, and whole pages of the **Roman** reproduced in colour slides however, the viewer is captivated by their beauty, and fascinated by the ways in which they change with the passage of time - they are Art History capsules in miniature. One is constantly intrigued by what succeeding programmers of these works may be trying to indicate with the changing presentations of the visual material. In this illustrated poem there is a rich legacy.*

All of the images reproduced in these texts are rendered in black and white, whereas the original works were produced in vivid colours. It is Charles Dahlberg

¹Dahlberg, 22.

who comments that, "Of more than two hundred manuscripts that have survived, many are beautifully illustrated and exceptionally rich in iconographic materials, but modern critical editions have totally neglected these materials"². David Hult, writing some years later, echoes this sentiment with his comment, "a comprehensive iconographic catalogue of the **Rose** manuscripts is sorely needed"³.

The illustrations from the **Roman** which have been reproduced by such scholars as David Hult, Rosemond Tuve, John Fleming and Charles Dahlberg are not only all rendered in black and white, but they have all been "cut" from their manuscripts settings and are reproduced as individual units. There is no reference to the original size and no way to visualize how the miniature "fit into" its folio setting. Each page of a Medieval manuscript was a hand-made work of art. The image was the work of the illustrator and the text was written by the scribe, who added the rubrics which "guide the reader through the book"⁴. The importance of the presentation of the whole page of manuscript is now being recognized by present-day scholars, and in the new book of essays, **Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, Text, Image, Reception**, all the illustrations, although they are still shown in black and white, are now full page illustrations of the works under consideration.

²Dahlberg, 22.

³David Hult, 74.

⁴Sylvia Huot, **From Song to Book**. (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1987). 35. "Rubrication, in fact is the primary means by which the scribe guides the reader through the book, identifying and commenting upon the texts that he offers to us."

What do these scholars have to say about the images which are contained in this present collection of miniatures? In Section II their comments about the four categories, Dreamer/Lover, Poet/Author, the Narcissus episode, and the Pygmalion story will be examined along with my comments about the illustrations. This consideration of the work of various researchers will be augmented by some comments made by Stephen Nichols concerning the rapport of the image and the text.

B

In the first group of illustrations are the initial pages of eight manuscripts with their incipit miniatures. The Figures in this series are all reproduced in colour. As long ago as 1971 Charles Dahlberg noted that even though a great deal of beautiful and valuable material exists in manuscript form, it has yet to be published in continuous series from particular manuscripts⁵. While the material presented in this collection does not represent unbroken groupings, there has been an attempt in this study to offer whole pages where possible, and in the colours of the original works. The images in this offering date from the late thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, a two-hundred- year history of manuscript reproduction.

The illustrations in this series begin as unpretentious simple images, and finish as elaborate visual offerings which were literally fit for a king (François I of France). We are reminded of John Fleming's sentiment about our lack of knowledge concerning

⁵Dahlberg, 22.

*the provenance of individual copies of the **Roman**, including the social status of the original owners of the manuscripts, and whether or not the illustrators followed formal programs for the illustrations⁶. The enduring attributes are that some figure or figures representing the Dreamer/Lover/Poet/Author are ever present in the incipit image, and the elaborately decorated "M" of "Maintes gens disent...", the first line of the poem, is always shown directly below the incipit image. One is constantly aware that a story is about to begin.*

*For most of the images in this presentation of illustrations from several different manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**, we have received some written indication from the libraries of origin, of the figures portrayed in the miniatures. Only in the instance of slides received from the B.N. 378 from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was such information missing. However, image titles for these illustrations appear with black and white reproductions of them in Charles Dahlberg's English language translation of the poem, and it is his titles which we use here. The figures which appear in the incipit images have been given variously, the title of Dreamer/Lover or Poet/Author*

All of the initial pages and their incipit images are very interesting, but the first page of B.N.fr. 378 (Fig.1, from the end of the thirteenth century), which is one of the two oldest extant manuscripts⁷, is unique among the illustrations in this collection.

⁶Fleming, ix.

⁷Dahlberg,22.

*The miniature contains an illustration of the Dreamer asleep (Dahlberg), with another figure holding a club at the foot of the bed. Only in this manuscript does the incipit image appear as one small image (4.7 cm x 6.8 cm) at the beginning of the poem. On this page too, are three columns of text and one other miniature (4.7 cm x 7.1cm)⁸, which is recorded, by Dahlberg, simply as, "the author describes the images on the wall". The incipit image is preceded by a rubric (the text proper is written in black ink) which is unassuming and announces succinctly: "i y commence **Le roman de la rose**". This incipit image is set apart from the text by a margin decoration and an intricate and enlarged "M" both of which begin immediately below the image.*

*The second initial page in this series, which includes the incipit image, is MS Add. A. 22, c.1300. This is the oldest of the **Roman** manuscripts at the Bodleian Library⁹ and yet changes are already evident; the incipit image is already larger and it is the only image on the first page. There is less text than is found in the earlier manuscript - only a column and an half, there is the elaborate "M" under the image, and one notes, decorative marginalia around the page.*

From these two early manuscripts to the first pages of the final work in this series, the early sixteenth-century manuscript, M.948 from the Pierpont Morgan

⁸We have measurements of all the illustrations which appear in the B.N.378 thanks to a colleague among the M.A. students at McMaster, Annette Johnson. She visited the B.N. while she was in France during the winter of 1991/92 and measured all of the illustrations which appear in this manuscript.

⁹The Bodleian Library sent a list of the copies of the **Roman** in their collection, and this one bore the earliest date.

Library, there are progressively many and profound changes in the presentation of the first page and the incipit images. The first page of the poem ultimately is no longer the first page of the manuscript, the Dreamer has disappeared, only part of his bed remains, and the figure which appears in the illustration is described as, "the author writes the book". Stylistically, the changes in the presentation have been remarkable, the presentation of the figure in the incipit image has been radically altered, and very little of the text remains on the initial page. Much has been modified, but the elaborately decorated "M" of "Maintes" endures as a reminder that the words of the poem are a constant in a sea of ever changing visual interpretations.

There are examples of an Author portrait in each of the three manuscripts for which we have a complete series of images, the B.N. 378, the Bodleian MS e Musaeo 65 and the Bodleian MS Douce 195, in addition to the Author portrait in the Pierpont Morgan Library MS, M.948. One is struck by the dramatic change in the character and location of the Author portrait over the two hundred year interval of the illustrations in this collection. In the earliest poem of this series, B.N.378 it is presented at the end of Guillaume de Lorris's section of the poem in an unassuming image. In subsequent editions of this poem, the incipit image becomes bigger and bigger, until, in the edition of the poem which was given to King Francis I of France (P.M. M.948), the text of the poem is a very small part of the initial page, and only the author portrait is shown in the incipit image, replacing completely that of the Dreamer/Lover.

Section II

Introduction

The twenty-seven illustrations which comprise this analysis¹⁰ represent nine separate manuscripts. For eight of these manuscripts there are complete initial pages which include the incipit images. Portrayed in the incipit images are figures which are designated in the slide titles supplied by the library of origin, as the Dreamer, the Lover, the Poet or the Author. In all examples of this figure, the text which follows begins with the stylized letter "M" of "maintes...", which signals the beginning of the poem.

In addition to the eight incipit images there are seven images which make some reference to the act of writing and include figures which may be assumed to refer to one or both of the authors, or to the act of writing. In all three manuscripts for which we have complete sets of illustrations, there is a reference, in the titles for the incipit image, to "the Dreamer" or "the Poet" either dreaming or sleeping.

¹⁰Note: The **titles for all the illustrations, Fig. 1 through Fig. 27** are those which accompanied the slides from the various libraries.

Analysis of the Miniatures

1. Dreamer (A)/ Author

1.1 Introduction

*In this first series of images, there are eight complete first pages of the poem together with their incipit images. The word "incipit" has its origin in the written text in as much as the opening word of a medieval manuscript began frequently with the Latin word **incipit**. The Dreamer, the Lover and sometimes the authorial portrait appear in the incipit images of **Roman de la Rose** manuscripts. Alfred Kuhn in his early work with the *Illustrations of the Roman*, "noted that the **incipit** illustration in a number of manuscripts showed the Dreamer in bed, with Danger standing behind him, is strikingly familiar to the formal arrangement of one of the commonest scenes in the religious iconography of the Gothic centuries, the Nativity"¹¹. This is, in fact, the scene that is presented in MS Selden Supra 57, from the Bodleian Library, (Fig.3) and with a slight modification - Danger standing at the foot of the bed - it is the scene presented in the B.N. 378, (Fig.1). Fig.1 is, strikingly like the Nativity shown on the porch of Laon cathedral¹² and the first image of Fig.3 resembles the manuscript illustration, Bibl. Nat., MS. Lat. 17326, thirteenth-century¹³.*

¹¹Fleming, 37.

¹²Mâle, 187.

¹³Mâle, 186.

*One notes the fact that Danger is not mentioned in the prologue of the **Roman**, an is therefore, an anachronism in the context of this incipit image. Among the eight initial pages of this present collection, only in the oldest version of the poem in the Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 22, c. 1300, does the incipit illustration show the Dreamer by himself, which is the scene described in the words of the poem. John Fleming¹⁴ reminds the reader that, "The special case was the initial folio of the manuscript, the frontispiece...frequently the most carefully illustrated page of the book"¹⁵. We might note here the striking resemblance to the 'jacket' of modern books which suggest the contents to follow.*

*In Fig. 9, there is the eighth complete first page illustration, taken from a manuscript which was among the last of the hand-illustrated versions of the poem. This first page is quite different from that of B.N. 378, the oldest of the manuscripts in our collection. It was taken from M.948, c.1500, written and signed by Girard Acarce for Francis I, King of France, but this full page incipit illustration, unlike all seven others, is not the first illustration in the manuscript. It follows two other full page programs, the first being the arms of Francis I, King of France (folio 3v), followed by a view of the book being presented to Francis I, (folio 4), Fig. 8, by, one might assume, the scribe-interpreter of the poem, Girard Acarce. The first page of **Rose***

¹⁴Note: It was the variety of illustrations in Fleming's book, ***The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography***, that sparked my interest in the illustrations of the **Roman** even though his reproductions were all in black and white.

¹⁵Fleming, 40.

poem manuscripts is a study in visual interpretation of a written text, and it is endlessly fascinating to examine.

1.2 Analysis: Dreamer (A)

A. i) Introduction

*A depiction of the Dreamer is one of the most durable of the illustrated figures in the iconography of the **Roman de la Rose**. He appears in all of the early incipit images and is not displaced in that position until he is supplanted by a version of the author figure in very late manuscripts. We see him in the incipit image of B.N. fr. 378, and we continue to note his presence in all of the initial page illustrations, usually in bed, until, in a manuscript produced in the early sixteenth century he is gone, and the bed is only suggested. In his place, in MS M.948, c.1500 is the figure of the Author, perhaps representing Jean de Meun, who holds pen in hand over a half completed page.*

A. ii) Analysis

Fig. 1. is the incipit image of Paris MS, B.N. fr. 378. We are told that it is the "Dreamer asleep"(l.1). It is located above the first column of the text, followed below by the historiated initial "M" which is the first letter of the written text and the first letter of "Maintes" ("Maintes gens disent"). The Dreamer is in bed, his head is resting on his right hand, the arm is bent at the elbow. There is a standing figure on

the right hand side of the image, with a club in his left hand. John Fleming considers the figure to be Danger, already pictured guarding the rosebush which is painted on the wall behind the bed, this despite the fact that he, "does not appear in the poem for more than three thousand lines"¹⁶. His right hand is held out - palm up. Physically, this figure resembles the Dreamer. Both figures are young, beardless, and tonsured. The feet of the figure with the club extend past the frame (the outline) of the illustration, giving a simple image with little amplification, a sense of depth.

The bed resembles a canopy bed - the top area is white - the cover is red. The figure in the bed is presented lying horizontally across the picture plane, with the head propped up by the right arm bent at the elbow, and with a standing figure at the foot of the recumbent one. Painted on the geometric background behind the bed is a stylized tree, the trunk of which rises in a double arch from about the mid point of the reclining figure. Fifteen rose-like flowers are pictured at the ends of the branches. We cannot tell whether the scene is an interior or exterior one.

Three French manuscript illustrations of the Nativity¹⁷ illustrate a resemblance to this scene since the figures of Mary and Joseph are pictured in like poses. In these three illustrations there is also a column-like structure pictured in the background, rising from about the mid-point of Mary's body, and forming a double arch which, in

¹⁶Fleming, 22.

¹⁷Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis - A Study of Styles*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977), Fig.213, Fig.214, Fig.215, all from the Johannes Grusch Atelier (c.1230-1260).

turn, is the supporting base of the swaddled Christ child lying in his manger. The motif of the twin arches supported by a vertical column in the three Nativity scenes cited above, is echoed in the stylized tree in **Fig.1**.

This first image with the stylized rose tree pictured on the background wall reminded John Fleming of artistic renditions of trees of Jesse which Emile Mâle stated were numerous in the thirteenth-century¹⁸. Fleming wrote, "The Dreamer in bed with the swirling rose-tree - the substance of his dream - behind him is obviously formally influenced by the tree of Jesse motif, in which a tree swirls up from Jesse's reclining body"¹⁹. When one considers examples of the Jesse tree theme found in Medieval manuscripts²⁰ and in the facade of Gothic churches²¹, one can agree that the artist may well have been influenced by this motif, replacing the figures who represented the forebears of Christ with roses for the *incipit* image of the **Roman**.

We have, in this slide, the whole first page and it is delightful. There is a decorative design down the left hand side of the page, with a little creature beside the bottom left hand corner of the *incipit* image (the top left hand corner of the "M").

¹⁸Mâle, 166.

¹⁹Fleming, 37.

²⁰Branner, Fig. I. Note: One such example is found in the decorated "Initial for Matthew" from the Bible which had its origin in the "Almagest" Shop (Additional 15253, f.265) (1213).

²¹Mâle, 166. Fig.90 - Tree of Jesse (window at Chartres).

Another little creature is seen at the bottom of the page, seemingly running along the line of margin decoration.

The illustrations in this manuscript of the poem are small²² and they are carefully placed at the beginning of certain sections of the poem, with a decorated capital letter beginning the text immediately following the illustration. On this initial page there is a second illustration, "The author describes the images on the wall, Hatred first"(l.139), which is followed by a rubric.

A rubric to the text announces the title of the story. Immediately following the second miniature on this page (see Fig.1) there is another rubric which is then followed by a decorated capital letter. There are also, other capital letters on this page which are enlarged and presented in colour, but are not decorated. Even in this earliest of editions of the Roman therefore, it is evident that the illustrations act as text markers and as visual guides to the reader, just as the rubrics, where they occur, provide written guidance for the section of the poem that follows. Each page of the Guillaume de Lorris part of the poem in this manuscript has some page decoration, except for one page which does not have any illustration at all. Frequently, the decoration consists of an elaborate bracket-like design located in the outer margins of the text. For example, it may be placed in diagonally opposite corners (folio 13R), or just at one corner (folio 13V), or along the right hand margin

²²The image of the "Dreamer asleep" measures, 4.7 cm X 6.8 cm, and the image of "The author describes the images on the wall, Hatred first" measures 4.7 cm X 7.1 cm.

including the upper and lower corners (folio 14V), or along the left hand margin including the upper and lower corners (folio 18V).

Fig. 2 is the incipit image of MS. Add. A. 22, c.1300, one of the oldest manuscripts of this poem in the collection of the Bodleian Library. It is titled, "The Lover in bed". The only person in this scene appears to be asleep with an ample blue cover over him, but we cannot tell whether this is an interior or an exterior scene. There is no easily recognized bed as there was in Fig.1. This is, in fact a depiction which accords well with the text,

- a) *"In the twentieth year of my life...I lay down one night, as usual, and slept very soundly"(D.31).*
- b) *"A la vingtième année de mon âge...je m' étais couché une nuit comme à l' accoutumée, et je dormais profondément"(M.19).*
- c) *"El vintieme an de mon aage...couchier m' aloie une nuit, si con je souloie, et me dormoie mout forment"(L.21-25).*

No bed is mentioned and none is shown in this image. The background features what seems to be a stylized rose motif depicted in the manner of the Jesse Tree, a motif with a well established iconographic tradition. This sleeping figure depicted in this image is not given a specific location. The "M" of maintes on this page is an elaborately decorated letter that is situated below this incipit image. There are two other enlarged capital letter "A"s which serve as text markers. As in Fig. 1 there is a margin decoration on the left side of the page, under the base of the text, and there is a leafy margin decoration on the right hand side of the page. In this manuscript, the

title of the poem is prominently displayed in block print at the top of the page. Again, we have the whole page shown in this illustration with decoration in the margins of this first page.

Fig.3 is the first of more complex imagery to be found in the incipit illustrations of the **Roman**. This image is the first page of MS Selden Supra 57 (folio 1), 1325-49 in the collection of the Bodleian Library. In this illustration there are four separate individually framed miniatures described as, "Lover in bed, Lover dressing, Lover meditating and Lover in garden". The full first page is shown in this illustration, with a title rubric shown between the incipit illustration and the intricate "M" of *Maintes*. There is also an elaborate capitol "Q" on this page, and there is a wide vertical separation between the two images on the left side and the two images on the right side of the four-part incipit miniature. The impression of the page is that the colour blue has been used liberally. In the present series, this is the first example of **four-part encadrement**, a technique of the Gothic period²³, where each framed image is a separate unit, which finds its modern counterpart in cartoons. John Fleming notes that "...encadrement blocks were in fairly common use in various kinds of book illustration in the middle of the fourteenth-century"²⁴. Typically, four-part

²³There is an example of this same technique in *La Miniature Française du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle* by Henry Martin, (Paris et Bruxelles, G. Van Oest & Cie., Editeurs, 1923), C1 - Page des *Grandes Chroniques*, Pl.76 (c.1379).

²⁴Fleming, 41.

encadrement is a series of four images, shown as a unit, as in this example, where each picture is individually framed (see also Fig.4 and Fig.5). Also, the four framed images may be separated, as in this illustration, or share common borders, as shown in Fig.4 and Fig.5. Fleming concludes rightly, that this technique "devalued movement and suggested static abstraction"²⁵.

In the first image of Fig.3, the Lover, who is tonsured, is in bed. Again the locale is ambiguous. He seems to be awake with clothes draped over his bed covers. He appears to have eye contact with a bearded figure at his feet, a figure with red hair and a club. The bearded figure quite resembles the figure of Joseph in Gothic images of the Nativity²⁶ The background of the first image again seems to be a rose tree motif, as noted in Fig.1 and Fig.2, with six blossoms visible.

We note that these four images seem to read L→R (top) and L→R (bottom) in spite of the vertical separation between the images on the left and those on the right. The text following however, reads top to bottom (first column) and top to bottom (second column). The page is highly decorated, with plants, a fanciful dragon, an elf blowing a horn and even a rabbit²⁷ tucked into the foliage at the base of the page.

²⁵Fleming, 41.

²⁶David M. Robb, *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript*, (New York, A.S.Barnes and Co., 1973), 217. Fig. 145, Nativity (c.1260).

²⁷The rabbit is a feature of another first page of a *Roman* manuscript, Garrett 126. Lori Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*." (*Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 51 no.1 (08/89), 31-55.), 34 Rabbits in the marginalia of Medieval manuscripts seems to be a recurring motif. Three examples are: Robb, i)

*In the second image, the Dreamer dresses, going through the motions described in the text, "I got up from bed straightway, put on my stockings and washed my hands"²⁸. Washing materials are indicated to the right of the Dreamer, who seems to be putting on his stockings. There is a blue field background with a fine gold pattern drawn on it. In the third image the Lover is meditating. This is possibly a scene in the first garden - before he reaches the walled garden. There is a tree on each side of the Lover and he seems to be pointing with a finger of his right hand to his left arm, perhaps a visual depiction of the sewing of the sleeves described in the text, "I stitched up my sleeves in zigzag lacing"²⁹. There is a brown field background here with a fine gold pattern drawn on it. The Dreamer's feet extend past the border of the picture frame. This technique is one which John Fleming noted in other manuscripts of the *Roman* observing that it pushes the rest of the image "into the background without the techniques of linear perspective"³⁰.*

In the fourth image the Lover is in the garden. The garden appears to be enclosed in a medieval castle with turrets. More important than any other feature of the garden, the Lover is given a great physical presence in it. He is taller than the walls of the garden and almost as tall as the corner tower! The towers at the top of

Fig.158, p.235, ii) Fig.175, p.259, iii) Fig.163, p.240.

²⁸Dahlberg, 32.

²⁹Dahlberg, 32.

³⁰Fleming, 39.

the image are smaller in size than the one in the foreground and this aerial perspective gives a feeling of depth to the scene. There is a stylized "M" and a stylized "Q" on this page.

*Fig. 4 is composed of four miniatures, the Dreamer asleep, rising, listening to the birds by the stream and entering the garden gate. This four-part image is the incipit image of the initial page of M.324, c.1350 which is part of the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This is a beautiful incipit page (folio 1), highly decorated with four images, each enclosed in the inner frame of a **quatrefoil**, which is a typically late Gothic framing device³¹*

*John Fleming has commented upon the practice of using the architectural detailing technique of quatrefoils in various manuscripts of the **Roman**, an established practice which was so often employed in the wall decoration of Gothic cathedrals³². The quatrefoils are enclosed in a four-part **encadrement** where each image is enclosed in two frames not one, and the four images are held together by a solid common frame. Fleming comments that the addition of the quatrefoil frame was commonplace after the middle of the century, and this technique further inhibited the pictorial space*

³¹*There is an excellent example of four images enclosed in **quatrefoils** in, **Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, the Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)**, by François Avril, (New York, George Braziller, 1978), 105. Plate 33.*

³²*Fleming, 38. "Even more common is the practice of framing the illustrations in quatrefoils of various kinds, a device strikingly reminiscent of one of the most popular forms of decoration in the Gothic cathedrals, the quatrefoil medallions."*

because the miniatures now fit together like tiles³³. With an artistic tradition so elaborate and detailed, the overall impression is one of individual vignettes, arresting the eye and implying a deliberate staging of events. Fleming states that this approach "devalued movement and suggested static abstraction, a style...which clearly did not prize complex exemplification and verisimilitude"³⁴. There do not appear to be rubrics on this page.

In the first image the Dreamer is asleep, and the background is a stylized tree (rose ?), and one notes six blooms. In the second image, the Dreamer is pictured seated and dressing, as in the second image of Fig.3. Again, his washing materials are at hand. The background is a blue field with a fine gold pattern drawn on it. The third image portrays the Dreamer listening to the birds by the stream, which is in accordance with the words of the poem, "I...set out, quite alone, to enjoy myself listening to the birds who were straining themselves to sing because the gardens were bursting into bloom"³⁵. The Dreamer stands **between two trees**, as in earlier images, and we note that the artist has given equal importance to both Dreamer and trees by making them all the same height. There is a very light brown filling in of the background here. In the fourth image the Dreamer enters the garden by the gate. One notes the tree, the Dreamer, the castle and the figures on the wall, and a fine pattern

³³Fleming, 41.

³⁴Fleming, 41.

³⁵Dahlberg, 32.

geometric design in the background, tiny squares in alternating red and possibly green. The tree and the castle are of equal height and they fill the vertical space of the miniature. It is the dreamer, however, who dominates the scene because he is dressed in a full length red gown and the artist has portrayed him almost as tall as the wall of the castle.

*On this page there a leafy decoration around the outside margin of the text, and surrounding the incipit illustration and the text of the poem, there is a very interesting framing decoration. It is one that is considerably more elaborate and detailed than those of earlier incipit pages. At expanded points along the bar of the frame there are portraits of what appears to be real people shown in little round frames. These do not appear to be the **personnages** of the text. They have a "look" of actual portraits, with inquiring eyes and expressive faces. The figures in the quatrefoils on the other hand, do not engage the eye of the viewer, which makes them remote - perhaps dreamlike. The contrast between the appearance of these two kinds of figures suggests that the artist was making a deliberate attempt to portray two different worlds.*

One wonders if perhaps we are beginning to see pictures of the people who commissioned the reproduction of the poem, that is, the patrons? There are six of them, and these figures wear special headgear: for example, there are two crowned

heads, there are two heads wearing ecclesiastical tall caps, and there are two heads whose hats seem to indicate exalted rank³⁶.

Several scholars have comments to make about these framed marginal portraits. Lori Walters, for example, states that "The outstanding characteristic of manuscripts of this group³⁷ is a four-compartment initial miniature depicting the dreamer in bed, dressing himself, setting off on his journey, and arriving before the walls of the garden. The first pages of these manuscripts have other similarities: An ivy-leaf border is marked by medallions figuring the heads of kings and prelates"³⁸. Stephen Nichols refers to the six medallions of heads in the margins of a manuscript of the *Roman*, as "key male and female characters in the right and bottom margin of the page"³⁹.

³⁶Note: Dr. Tresidder feels that the two church figures are bishops and that one of the other two is a cardinal (the figure with a flat top red hat). For very similar head-dress which would bear out this opinion, see "The Great Litany Procession of St. Gregory", from the *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth, The Glories of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Text by Raymond Cazelles and Johannes Rathofer, (New York, Harry N.Abrams, Inc., 1988), 110,111 .

³⁷Lori Walters, " A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*." (*Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 51 no.1 (08/89)), 33. The reference is to Kuhn's Group vi, which were manuscripts produced in several Parisian workshops from about 1325 to 1375.

³⁸Lori Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript", 33.

³⁹Stephen Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire." In *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, Text, Image, Reception*, 133-160. Brownlee, Kevin and Huot, Sylvia, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992), 156.

Whoever the heads may represent, Stephen Nichols suggests that they, appearing as they do on the initial page, play a significant role, as the reader begins the text, "By translating the descriptions of gazing into the act of gazing, the illuminations oblige the reader to perform the actions of the Lover, described by the text as looking at the portraits"⁴⁰. Even before completing the first page of the text therefore, the reader of this manuscript is already doing what the Lover does as the story unfolds. We are reminded of the words of David Hult, when he comments that,

*"Once one understands that Guillaume's poem works as a text of seduction one that attempts to elicit an appropriate response from its reader, then one can see that seduction works on (at least) two levels. The most obvious is, of course, the seduction of the Lady, but the other, no less significant, is the seduction of the reader, the call to contemplate, to perpetuate, and possibly to continue the poetic journey"*⁴¹.

At the lower corners of the page, but inside the framing, there are drawings of small animals. Such fanciful figures in the margin program are often seen in Medieval manuscripts⁴²

Fig. 5 is the initial page (Folio 1) of M.132, c.1380 in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. The incipit images are separated from the text by two sets of rubrics which are a contrast to the dark ink used in the text. There is

⁴⁰Nichols, 151.

⁴¹Hult, 8.

⁴²Robb, 259, Fig.175; 235, Fig.158.

an elaborate "M" of *Maintes* and an enlarged and decorated "Q" on this page. In this **four-part attached encadrement** there is the Dreamer asleep, rising, following a stream, and listening to the birds singing. This series of images follows the text of the poem, "I dreamed one night...I got up from bed straightway, put on my stockings and washed my hands. Then I drew a silver needle from a dainty little needle case and threaded it...I stitched up my sleeves in zigzag lacing and set out, quite alone, to enjoy myself listening to the birds who were straining themselves to sing..."⁴³.

In the first two images we see the same canopy bed. In the first image the Dreamer is in bed. Again there is a rose tree motif behind the bed, and on the tree there are six blooms (roses?) pictured. In the second image the Dreamer sits at the foot of his bed and dons his footwear, and we note that the rendering of the figure in action is now more easily recognized than in earlier manuscripts. In the third image, the stream is stylized, and is shown on a diagonal! The viewer might guess that here the artist has paid close attention to the text,

a) "Happy, light-hearted and full of joy, I turned toward a river that I heard murmuring nearby, for I knew no place more beautiful to enjoy myself than by that river, whose **water gushed deep and swift from a nearby hill...The wide beautiful meadow came right to the edge of the water.**"(D.32)

b) "Ce cours d'eau dévalait d'un tertre voisin...Une belle prairie s'étendait jusqu'aux bords"(M.21)

c) "D'une tertre qui pres d'ilec iere descendoit l'eve grant et roide...La prairie grant et bele tres qu'au pié de l'eve bastoit;"(L.108...123)

⁴³Dahlberg, 32.

and has attempted to show that the "meadow came right to the edge of the water" and that it "gushed...from a nearby hill".

There are several trees pictured in the upper right hand corner of the miniature. In the fourth image the Dreamer is again pictured *between two trees*, in a garden which contains three birds, perhaps those mentioned in the poem, "It is then that the nightingale is constrained to sing and make his noise; that both parrot and lark enjoy themselves and take their pleasure"(l.74). In these illustrations, the Dreamer seems to be wearing the costume of a monk, but he is not tonsured here. In the last image he appears to point to himself with his left hand bent at the elbow while his right hand points to his left arm, quite possibly stitching his sleeve as described in the poem(l.100).

There is a solid frame outside the images and text of this page with a fine leaf motif design all around the margin⁴⁴, a motif which is also present in Fig.4 and Fig.5. There are two stylized letters: the "M" and a "Q" which is less ornate. The colours of this page are more monochrome than those of Fig.5, although the two manuscripts were produced within thirty years of one another. One could speculate that one manuscript has had better care than the other but in a book of colour plates

⁴⁴This type of margin design is often seen in manuscripts from this period, for example: Avril, (103, Plate 32): (98, Plate 30).

from the fourteenth century, one notes that some works are very colourful, and others are, like **Fig. 5**, almost monochrome⁴⁵.

Fig. 6(A & B) is the initial page (Folio 1) of *e Musaeo* 65, c.1380⁴⁶, and is part of the collection of the Bodleian Library. This *incipit* image is composed of an elaborate two-part *encadrement* which is ornate and detailed. There are notable changes evident in this manuscript. Instead of strong geometric frames as in previous versions of the poem, these illustrations are remarkable for their pictorial space using an inclined plane. Here in **Fig.6A**, we are told that "the Poet is sleeping under a white coverlet", and we note that the figure is tonsured. There is an elaborate canopy bed (white/grey) with two canopies! The upper unit may well be a structural part of the room. The scene includes a fireplace on the left hand side, which would indicate more creature comforts in the lives of the people. The rose motif behind the bed is now a blue wall composed of a fleur-de-lys motif, enclosed in a diagonal geometric design. The Poet has definite, if impersonal facial features, both in bed and in the garden image which is placed to the right of this scene. This bedroom scene and the garden scene which follows to the right of this image, together form the two part *incipit* illustration for this manuscript. These two images are intimately joined, the

⁴⁵Avril, (107, Plate 34 - many vivid colours), (99, Plate 30 -elegant and delicate rendition, but the overall impression is of few and muted colours.)

⁴⁶Lori Walters questions this date. She prefers Kuhn's 15th C. date for this manuscript. (Letter from Lori Walters: November 30, 1992)

bedpost of the first image abuts a wall of the garden scene which follows. The garden stream of the second image seems to flow into or out of the wall between the two scenes.

For the second part of the incipit image, Fig.6B, we are told that it is the "Poet standing in walled garden, dressed in white robe, beside stream". Dividing the two locations of this two-part encadrement is not the framing we have seen before now, but a post-like structure which could be part of the sleeping room and which separates the bed from the garden. A garden scene is shown to the right hand side of the image of the sleeping Poet. In the walled garden, shown in tones of grey, blue and white, a figure is portrayed with his left hand raised at the elbow, and his right hand held at right angles to the body, with the thumb and forefinger forming an "O". Two birds are pictured in trees located at the edge of the wall but outside of it. One bird is inside the garden. These elements remind the reader of the dreamer lacing his sleeves, and speaking of the songs of the three different birds mentioned in the description of Fig.5. A stylized stream can be seen inside the garden as well as numerous plants and trees at the garden wall. The background design is composed of a flower inside a geometric design. One notes an intricate program of decoration in three margins, but the left hand manuscript margin is not visible. What we see in the three margins is a very fine leafy design which is exterior to a solid bar framing the sides of the two-part incipit image and the text of the poem. The top of the incipit image serves as the frame for the upper margin of the page. This incipit image

demonstrates the stylistic changes of increasing detail and more elaborate pictorial space, such as one notes in the *Très Belles Heures* of Jean de Berry⁴⁷.

Fig. 7(A & B) are two parts of a very beautiful and ornate initial page of the *Roman de la Rose*. Together they form the *incipit* illustration of MS Douce 195, from the end of the fifteenth century, in the collection of the Bodleian Library. This page is composed of a two-part encadrement at the top of the page, followed by a rubric announcing the title of the poem. Produced one hundred years later than *e Musaeo* 65 (*Fig.6 (A & B)*) when the artistic period had changed from High Gothic to Early Renaissance, there are, consequently, a number of changes in the presentation of the manuscript.

This page is a very organized work of art; the margin decoration and the written text are very flat, with the two-part *incipit* illustration functioning as windows. There is also the illusion of depth to this scene. In *Fig.7A* the eye of the viewer is drawn to the left, to the corner where the converging lines of the floor meet the vertical wall line. In *Fig.7B* it is the head of the sleeping figure that attracts the view's gaze, to the point where the diagonal line of the sleeping figure intersects the diagonal line of the pillow roll. The reader is thus captivated by the *incipit* images, before beginning to read the story of the poem.

⁴⁷Robb, 281. *Fig.191: Très Belles Heures de Jean de Berry, The Visitation by Jacquemart de Hesdin, c.1402.*

Located in the right hand and lower margin is a very elaborate floral motif, and in the left hand margin there is a more simple floral design. On the left hand side, in the first of the two incipit images, a man is seated beside a window and on the right side, in the second scene, a man lies sleeping, his right hand holding a rolled scroll. This page marks the first example in this series of manuscripts, of the sleeping poet⁴⁸ pictured subsequent to an image of a man shown pointing to the writing in a book.

In the first image (Fig.7B) a man is seated reading by a window. He is sitting in a canopied chair - a possible artistic echo of the earlier canopied bed. He is wearing a blue hat, a blue cape with a white draped lining, and a red undergarment. There is a line of white at the wrist and the show which shows is black. The man points to the writing in an unfinished text - his book rests in a stand which contains another book (green) lying flat. The top of the book stand is like a three tiered church with a steeple⁴⁹. The room is blue, the floor is a brown square pattern.

⁴⁸This is the title from the Bodleian Library.

⁴⁹This style of book stand appears once more, in **Fig. 11**, again in a portrait of the Author figure.

*At a window on the left of the scene are shown two faces⁵⁰. One might speculate that these faces represent that of the client and possibly the scribe, since there was, by the end of the fifteenth century, a tradition, in works of religious art of including a portrait of the donors, or the public interested in the artist's work. The viewer might also guess that the seated man with the open book in front of him might represent the second author, Jean de Meun, since he is pointing to the unfinished text. This seated figure is wearing much the same clothing as does the person who is asleep on the bed in the second of the two images of this **two-part encadrement**, shown to the right of the first image. The major differences in the clothing of the two figures is the blue cape and blue hat of the figure on the left whereas the figure shown in the second image wears just the long red garment plus a black head covering. The Bodleian Library titles the pictorial space on the left side "Man", and the one on the right side "Poet".*

In the tradition of the iconography of this poem, the reader expects to see the sleeping Dreamer in the incipit image, and in this manuscript the sleeping figure is still portrayed. What is different in this first page illustration, is the presence of the author figure, which appears in the incipit image for the first time. Given the addition

⁵⁰Howard Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. (New York, Harrison House, 1980), 227, Plate 404. "Portrait of a Man and a Woman". We are reminded of this work by Filippo Lippi, located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. We see the profile head of the man appearing through the window casement looking into the picture space, and a side view of the upper body of a woman facing left, who appears to reciprocate his gaze.

of the extra garments worn by the figure in the left-side image, one could imagine that this figure has "taken on" the responsibility of adding to the poem, and that his hat and cape indicate his new responsibility.

The second image, **Fig. 7A** is located on the right side of the first one, a decorative post marking the division of the two spaces. A sleeping figure lies on top of the bed, fully dressed, a rolled up scroll held in his right hand, and his left hand folded under his head. One might easily conclude that the two figures are the same person so alike are they, except that the head covering on this reclining figure is a black and scarf-like. The bed which has a green cover, a green rolled pillow, and green head board, all with a gold, star-like pattern, fills much of the pictorial space. A green object can be seen hanging down into the scene and the wall is blue. A small chair beside the bed, and a little white dog, alert and watchful which engages the eye of the viewer completes the scene. Danger with his club in the thirteenth-century version of the **Roman** has been replaced now by a small dog, most probably a symbol of fidelity⁵¹. The eye contact of the dog with the viewer-reader suggests that the dog is stating his position. We can only surmise that he is perhaps protecting his sleeping master - or the work held in the sleeper's hand. The Gothic Dreamer has been altered quite considerably over a period of two hundred years.

⁵¹George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 15.

James Hall, *Subjects & Symbols in Art* (Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay Ltd., 1974), 105. "In allegory the dog is the attribute of FIDELITY personified."

*The framing of these two images has the appearance of brown wood and resembles an ornate door-frame of a room. The whole of this first page of Douce 195, is a beautiful, fanciful work of art. The two-part incipit image is situated at the top of the page. An initial rubric under this image precedes the first verse of the poem. The vertical sides of the two part illustration and the text are framed with a continuous brown line. An impressive and elaborate "M" of *Maintes* begins the text of the poem. On this page too is a "D" followed by a "Q", both of which are enlarged and decorated capital letters. One other smaller capital is also decorated. The free spaces at the end of lines are filled in with coloured bars.*

*Around the page on three sides is an elaborate flower design: on the top right hand side are red carnations, underneath which is an archer in armour with a cross bow. Below him are five blue columbines. There is a rooster below the columbines. In the bottom margin is the top of a naked lady with her lower half in a snail shell, an image which may be intended to be a siren. There is also a blue butterfly at the bottom of the page as well as four red flowers, possibly roses, and one flower which may be a thistle. On the lower left hand side is a narrow column of brown flowers and green leaves, above which is the elaborate "M", shaped like a medieval shield. The letter is rendered in blue with a red background above which are blue flowers (forget-me-nots?) with green leaves. Only now, in *Rose manuscripts*, is the identification of specific flowers possible and this marks a turning point in the presentation of new versions of the *Roman*.*

One is impressed by the great innovations which have taken place over a one hundred year period and these changes were also noted by John Fleming; he too remarked that there has been "a striking change of style"⁵². Now the images are simple ones and they are clearly presented, the pictorial space has become the illusionistic world of the Early Renaissance. This page in its entirety is magnificent.

Fig.8 and Fig.9 are taken from M.948, c.1500, written and signed by Girard Acarce, for Francis I, King of France (1494-1547) who became king in 1515. This manuscript is in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. The dating of this manuscript is perhaps open to question. Francis I was born in 1494 and, at the age of twenty-one, he became king in 1515. He is shown in Fig.8, already king, dressed in royal costume, receiving the gift of the book from the Roman's most recent interpreter. He is pictured here as a young man, no sign of grey hair, although the artist might be flattering the king, thus the date might be even later than 1515, the earliest possible date. One might reasonably add five to ten years to the given date, since the king is pictured as a mature adult. I think, therefore, that the date of this manuscript should read c.1520, and not c.1500 as published by the Pierpont Morgan library.

The first page of the text of the poem is preceded by two full page illustrations which have everything to do with the recipient of the finished work, and little to do

⁵²Fleming, 46.

with the poem itself. The first page is an illustration of the Arms of Francis I presented in a highly stylized and decorative manner, the whole is framed with an ornate brown frame⁵³ and there is no text on this page. The second page of this manuscript is shown in Fig.8 and is a scene in which the king is presented with the **Roman**. Only on the third page of this manuscript does one find the beginning of the poem, but in the *incipit* image of this version, there is a surprise - the appearance of the author figure and not that of the Dreamer. This change in the presentation of the poem recognizes the importance of the patron for a work which is ornate and beautiful.

Fig. 8 is a full page depiction of the book being presented to the king. From other portraits of Francis I of France, one recognizes this portrayal as one which is a likeness of the king. The presenter might well represent be Girard Acarce. The presentation of a document to a patron is a standard Renaissance image⁵⁴. Present here is the same brown ornate frame as was noted in the illustration of the Arms of Francis I. For the first time in this series of illustrations the use of one point linear

⁵³It is "very Italianate", commented, Dr. Warren Tresidder.

⁵⁴Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue*, (London, Phaidon, 1971), Fig.127 & Fig.129. One famous example is the Justice Wall of the *Stanza della Segnatura*, where Raphael painted Gregory IX Handing the Decretals to Raimondo of Penaforte (Fig.127) and Justinian Handing the Pandects to Trebonianus (Fig.129).

Robb, 319. Fig. 211. This is also an example of a patron receiving the manuscript. *Philip the Good receiving the book, by Roger Van der Weyden(?)*, from the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, trans. by Jean Wauquelin (1448).

perspective is employed in the floor pattern. This is a different type of linear perspective than that employed in Fig.7 (A & B) and we note that this technique produces a greater illusion of depth. The King and the presenter are seen in the foreground as well as eight courtiers, overlapped to indicate depth. The room is given a very Italianate walls and a five column classicizing support for rounded (not pointed Gothic) arches at the back of the room. A deep landscape in aerial perspective is visible beyond the columns, which features a castle, a body of water and ships. The King and the presenter look pleased, the courtiers look anxious.

Fig. 9 is the full initial page of the poem and the library has titled the illustration, "The Author writes the book". Only when the royal protocol is complete, as noted in the introduction to Fig.8 and Fig.9, does the viewer see the incipit image of the poem, a version of the authorial portrait, the poet at his desk. The Dreamer is no where to be seen, although there is a bed on the left hand side of the scene. The writer sits on a bench seat and appears to be writing in a book which rests on a lectern on top of a desk/table. The figure wears a black hat (like a scholar?), a red cape, a blue garment of which the sleeves can be seen. Books are casually arranged on a shelf above. A two-part window and a landscape of considerable depth beyond, is shown behind the figure of the seated writer. The viewer can see through the window a mountain with a tree at the top of it. A canopied bed with a blue cover can be seen on the left hand side of the room. A red curtain with gold trim has been

wound around the bed post. The whole page is framed with an elaborate brown frame (in the same style as Fig. 8). The floor is a green tile pattern rendered in linear perspective. The image plus the text are included within the frame, and this marks a further development in the presentation of the first page of this poem. A rubric in dark print under the illustration announces the title of the work, and precedes the first verse of the text which begins with an elaborate "M".

There is one constant in all of these incipit images, and that is the historiated letter "M". It is the first letter in the word "Maintes" which is followed by "gens disent", the first phrase of the poem, and it provides assurance that, in fact, one is looking at the first image and the beginning of the poem. It does become, however, somewhat less elaborate as the images increase in complexity. We note here that the pictorial image has become more important than the illuminated letters. This is accompanied by the abandonment of Gothic ornament in the framing of the page.

1.2 Analysis: Author (B)

B. i) Introduction

In the following series of images, the Author figure is depicted in several ways and in several locations in the text of the poem. David Hult states that, "In a perusal of nearly 100 illuminated **Rose MSS**, I have been able to locate some 40 miniatures portraying one or another of the authors. It seems to have been one of the most

popular iconographic motifs, rivalled only by the initial portrait of the Lover sleeping..."⁵⁵. In the early manuscripts he is shown as a figure which is illustrated separately from the *incipit* image, but in the editions of the **Roman** which were published some two hundred years after the original publication, the author figure is placed before that of the sleeping figure (Fig.7), and in the latest ms in this series, the author figure supplants that of the sleeping Dreamer/Lover completely in the *incipit* image (Fig.9). Several scholars have worked extensively with these visual references to the process of authorship of the poem. Their comments are of great interest and reference is made to some of them throughout this section.

B. ii) Analysis

Fig.10 is an image of the "Poet at his desk", taken from MS B.N. 378 and it is rendered in the same manner as other miniatures in this manuscript (see also Fig.1). It is a simple image of the poet wearing a brown cape over a blue garment, and on his head there is what appears to be a crown - perhaps a laurel wreath (?), the traditional sign of the poetic muse⁵⁶. He sits on a bench **between two trees**. The background is a deep blue, perhaps indicating the open air. David Hult comments that

⁵⁵Hult, 77.

⁵⁶Although it is an anachronism in the context of this thirteenth-century manuscript, one thinks immediately of Raphael's depiction of the **Parnassus** (1510-1511) and the laurel-wreathed Apollo surrounded by the Muses, on the wall of the Camera della Segnatura, in the Vatican.

some manuscripts "show the author in a "natural setting", before a tree, almost as if his text were a linguistic transcription of a visual perception...a figurative portrayal of authorial imagination"⁵⁷. This image is situated in the poem at the end of the part written by Guillaume de Lorris and at the beginning of the text by Jean de Meun. There follows a rubric which refers to both authors⁵⁸.

While it seems usual for the illustration to precede the text and thus this image would be the incipit image of the second section of the poem, there is, in this instance, the reference to both authors in the rubrics, which are placed after this miniature. In this particular text, only the Guillaume de Lorris part contains illustrations, and apart from this author portrait there are no illustrations in the Jean de Meun section⁵⁹. The style of the image moreover, is consistent with that of the other illustrations in the Guillaume de Lorris section of the poem. One might conclude that the figure of a seated man writing is placed here simply to indicate the change from Guillaume de Lorris to Jean de Meun and to pay tribute to the concept of authorship.

⁵⁷Hult, 80.

⁵⁸Lori Walters, "Appendix: Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the *Romance of the Rose*." In *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, Text, Image, Reception*, Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992). 366. Please note also the text of B.N. 378, Fig.10.

⁵⁹This lack of imagery in the Jean de Meun section of the MS B.N. 378 was noted by David Hult, "There are even manuscripts, for example, B.N. 378, in which Guillaume's poem is illustrated in the usual fashion, while no illustrations at all were planned for Jean de Meun's section." Hult, 77.

There is also, on this page, a decoration in the lower left hand corner of the margin beside this illustration. This decoration is quite like other marginal ornamentation in first section of this text, again tying it to the Guillaume de Lorris part of the work. The style of the writing for the second section, that of Jean de Meun, does not change in this manuscript however, nor does the style of the historiated initials, so that one might presume that the scribe for the first part was the scribe for the second part of this manuscript. This page thus presents at least one question - since the rubrics refer to both authors of this work, one wonders why there are no further illustrations of the Jean de Meun section of this very early version of the poem.

Fig. 11 and Fig.12 are both designated as images of "Jean de Meun dressed like a clerk". These two images are illustrations that are part of the manuscript, MS e Musaeo 65, c.1380 (see also Fig.6), found in the collection of the Bodleian Library and a striking feature of each of them is a bold and striking abstract pattern in the background. In Fig.11 this pattern is an alternating design of white and peach open squares, outlined by three bold black horizontal and vertical lines. Where the lines intersect, there are white dots in the resultant tiny squares. It is a dramatic and charming design. In Fig.12 the background once again is impressive, and but this motif is quite different. It is a vibrant swirling leafy design executed in brilliant gold.

The effect quite dazzles the viewer and mutes the impact of the three figures in this miniature⁶⁰.

*In Fig.11, the figure of the author is again placed where one author finishes and the other begins (4059). His chair is canopied, just as originally the bed of the Dreamer was canopied and here the author figure points to the open text with a wonderfully elongated index finger of his right hand. David Hult suggests that this figure "depicts not a writer but more likely a reader seated at a desk with an open and completed book"⁶¹. Hult thinks also, that the finger pointing to the text may be "a reading guide and perhaps as an admonishing or instructive act...fulfilling an underscoring function equivalent to the scribal *NOTA*"⁶².*

Dressed like a monk, he is tonsured and his facial expression indicates bemusement. His feet seem to be covered with a slipper made of light coloured fabric. There is also in the illustration a two-tiered book rack, containing several volumes⁶³

⁶⁰Millard Meiss, *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), Fig.416 and Fig.417. Such impressive backgrounds are a feature of Gothic manuscript illustration. These two colour plates from the *Belles Heures* are excellent examples of the geometric of Fig.11 and the elaborate design of Fig.12.

⁶¹Hult, 81.

⁶²Hult, 81.

⁶³See also Fig.7B.

Fig. 12 is described as "Jean de Meun dressed like a clerk". There are two figures on the right hand side, which by their garments and hair styles might be women. The figure at the extreme right seems to have breasts but the figure in the centre appears to be male. The author figure sits apart pointing to a written text with, once again, the delightfully expressive index finger of his right hand. His elevated bench here includes a lectern for the book but there is no back to his seat, possibly so that there is no interruption of the magnificent background pattern. There is however, a canopy behind the figure of the author, which frames his position in this scene. The author figure here is dressed like a monk and his head may be tonsured. The background here is unusual. The blue field is heavily decorated with a leafy design in gold, which is executed in swirls. This depiction may indicate an outside scene in sunlight. The position of this author portrait in the text at line 8561 is curious, since it is not situated where Jean takes up the telling of the story at line 4059, nor at the mid point of the poem (10465-650)⁶⁴ where Jean describes both Guillaume's role and his own. It does occur, in fact, at about the mid point of the Advice of Friend (8615).

⁶⁴Walters, *Author Portraits*, 359. Dr. Walters here refers to the "justly famous passage situated near the middle of the combined *Rose* texts (vv 10465-650)".

We note here, that in **Fig.7B** and **Fig.9**⁶⁵, the two portrayals of the Author figure which chronologically follow that of **Fig.12**, the placement of the portrait has now changed. Its location in the poem has been moved from the end of the Guillaume section of the poem, or from a passage in Jean's section, to a prominent position in the *incipit* image of the poem, thus giving more emphasis to the idea of writing and authors.

Fig.13 has been titled, "Guillaume de Lorris, (laurelated?) lies dead and naked on a table" (Folio 44)⁶⁶. This miniature is in M.948, c.1500, written and signed by Girard Acarce, for Francis I, King of France (see also **Fig.8** and **Fig.9**). In this illustration there is a very Italianate room with a square tile pattern on the floor (red, green and white alternating tiles). The technique of one point perspective is employed here but it is different for each of the five sections of this pictorial space, and the table position is at odds with the floor pattern. The eye of the viewer must therefore, spend time in each section of the miniature. If the vanishing points were coordinated,

⁶⁵Chronologically the next two figures in this series of Author portraits are those found in **Fig. 7B** and **Fig. 9**. In **Fig.7B** we see the portrayal of the Author figure from MS Douce 195, from the end of the fifteenth century (Bodleian) and in **Fig.9** there is the Author portrait from M.948, c.1500 (Pierpont Morgan) written and signed by Girard Acarce, for Francis I, King of France (1515-1547).

⁶⁶This is the text which accompanied these illustrations, **Fig.13, Fig.8 and Fig.9**, from the Pierpont Morgan Library.

the eye would travel very quickly back to the foreground, foregoing a leisurely examination of the scene.

In the central portion of the picture lies a figure, naked on a table. We are told in the library titles that "Guillaume de Lorris lies dead, and laurelated (?)". He does appear to have a laurel wreath on his head. His arms are folded and his hands cover his genitals. The body is stretched out as corpses were, on a table, ready to be prepared for burial.

The room is portrayed in a very Renaissance design, with attached pilasters defining the three background sections behind the bare table. The pilasters are surmounted with arches which contain a shell-like design, in the Italian Renaissance manner. In the second section of the room there are three shelves of books seen on the left hand side of the illustration. They are situated behind the head of the naked body. The one text on the middle shelf is open. In the first of the arched sections of the background there is a sleeping alcove with an empty canopied bed, a possible visual reference to the iconographic tradition of the Dreamer's canopied bed. The bed-cover is red as is the canopy and there are books beside the bed. In the middle section of the background alcoves there is an open shuttered window, with a deep landscape visible beyond.

In the fourth section there is a figure of a young man wearing a red coat and a red hat, in the Renaissance style. He wears dark hosiery and black shoes. We note that he is pictured in an outdoor landscape with a mountain, appearing behind his

head. The figure is hurrying into the central space, but he does not engage the viewer's eye. One might surmise that the dead author is being replaced by the new one, given that the placement of this image in the manuscript would accord with the changeover of authors (folio 44). Does he hesitate so that the first author might be decently buried?

Each page of this sumptuous text seems to be "framed" with the same ornate framing design as that of this image. It is not surprising that a book prepared for François I of France would contain many visual Italian references. He was known to have very strong Italian connections, since it was he who offered sanctuary to Leonardo da Vinci, and it was at this king's chateau at Amboise that Leonardo spent his last days.

We are not given a line location for this miniature, but since it follows an illustration of "Danger drives the Lover and Fair Welcome from the Rose Garden" (l.3736) and "Reason shows Dame Fortune and her Wheel to the Lover" (l.5894) (Titles from the P.M. Library), we can assume that this illustration appears at the juncture between the two parts of the poem, (l.4059).

1.3 Conclusion

*With this first page illustration, we note that there have been many changes over the more than two hundred years since the first written version of this manuscript. The first image was described as the **Dreamer** asleep, then the literature*

*indicated that the **Lover** was sleeping. Subsequently, the first part of the story was told pictorially in four-part encadrement, then in two part encadrement. After one hundred years, in the late fourteenth-century, it is the **Poet** who is sleeping. Finally in the early sixteenth century in the manuscript prepared for the King of France, it is the **Author** who writes a book who appears in one single image on the first page of text. Only the foot of the bed is shown and no occupant is seen. One notes that the first page of the sixteenth century text is only shown after two preliminary illustrations, that of the arms of François I, and the scene depicting the presentation of the book to the king. The Dreamer/Lover has disappeared from the place of central importance, giving way to the figure representing authorship of the poem. Even though the author figure is depicted in a number of different ways, he is not shown actually **writing** in any of the author portraits in this modest collection of author portraits, but he often points to the text, thus referring to the printed word.*

*In at least one portrait of the author figure, that shown in our earliest MS, B.N. 378, we note that he is shown sitting **between two trees**⁶⁷ while he appears to be in the act of composing the text (see **Fig.10**).*

*We note that a figure appears **between two trees** not only in the author portrait of MS B.N.378 (**Fig 10**) but in several of the incipit images as well: in **Fig.3** (MS Selden Supra 57, Bodleian), the third image, in **Fig.4** (M.324, Morgan, c.1350) the third image, and in **Fig.5** (M.132, c.1380, Morgan) the fourth image. Since the Dreamer is, after all, the author of the poem, it would seem possible that, in these **incipit** images, we have an additional reference to the authorship of the poem.*

*David Hult has examined extensively the authorial portrait and states that "one of the principal ways in which the **Rose** is partitioned within the manuscript is by means of the illustrations and most especially by the inclusion of an authorial*

⁶⁷The presentation of the two trees seemed to be a recurring image, and prompted a question to Dr. Tresidder regarding their possible significance. He suggested that they might be a reference to Mount Parnassus, the laurel-covered mountain in central Greece, anciently sacred to Apollo and the Muses. The Oxford English dictionary adds that Parnassus is used allusively in reference to literature, especially poetry.

Dr. Tresidder recommended a text, **Die Ikonographie des Themas Parnass vor Raffael**, by Elisabeth Schröter (**The Iconography of Parnassus before Raphael**), wherein we note a number of visual references to Parnassus, first as a single mountain (#29), then as a mountain with two peaks(#36), and also as a mountain with two peaks each bearing a tree (#50). One thinks of Helicon, the twin-peaked mountain of poetic inspiration. In her series of illustrations the author finishes with the depiction of **Parnassus** by Raphael (1510/11) at the Vatican. In this version, Parnassus is a hill with Apollo seated at the base of a group of four laurel trees, with two other groups of laurels shown, one on each side of the scene.

portrait"⁶⁸. He refers to Alfred Kuhn's conclusion that the authorial portrait was an echo of the portraits of the Evangelists which appeared in religious texts⁶⁹. Hult contends that the portraits are not a verisimilar portraits after a living model, but imaginary ones and he feels that "the theme of authorship is being exploited in some way through the illustrations"⁷⁰. Hult states that the motif of the authorial portrait is one of the most popular, rivalled only by the initial portrait of the Lover sleeping, the vices on the wall, and Narcissus at the fountain⁷¹.

It is Hult's opinion that 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...the author's most common setting is within a room⁷². We note that, in all of our 'author' images the figure is seated with a book, not writing but pointing at the text. Hult suggests that this may be "an admonishing or instructive act"⁷³. In one image, the oldest one of this series, (Fig.10) the author is seated among several trees, in an otherwise very simple

⁶⁸Hult, 74.

⁶⁹Martin. Pl.20 (vers 1297). There is an example of portraits of the Evangelists, with their symbols, in Fig. XXIV, from the *Bréviaire de Saint-Etienne de Châlons-sur-Marne*.

⁷⁰Hult, 75.

⁷¹Hult, 77.

⁷²Hult, 80.

⁷³Hult, 81.

setting. Hult feels that this may be "a linguistic transcription of a visual perception - again a figurative portrayal of authorial imagination"⁷⁴. Hult comments too, that the figure is frequently portrayed as a monk, and tonsured, and he is often alone.

In our series of authorial portraits, the author is shown in a natural setting in the earliest version (**Fig.10**). In the fourteenth-century version (**Fig.12**) he is in the presence of, but detached from, other **personnages**. In the fifteenth-century version (**Fig.7A**) he is alone but with observers outside the window and alone with his books in two versions (**Fig.9** and **Fig.11**). The theme of authorial succession is shown in our series in the sixteenth-century version where the figure representing Guillaume lies dead and the figure of Jean is standing astride the path, just outside the doorway, arms akimbo and waiting (**Fig.13**). This limited series of authorial portraits is sufficiently varied to suggest that the role of the author was viewed differently from one century to the next. There was a change perhaps in the perception of the roles of the two authors of this text, or possibly the roles of authors generally were viewed differently as the years passed. In any case the authorial portrait is another aspect of the complex history of the **Rose**.

In the **Roman de la Rose**, it is difficult for the reader to distinguish between the voice of the Narrator, the wishes of the Dreamer and the aspirations of the Lover. So too, does the intent of the Author become obscured by the language of the Poet. In a like fashion the visual depictions of the Dreamer/Lover and the Author/Poet become

⁷⁴Hult, 80.

interchangeable. From very simple visual depictions of a sleeping figure in the incipit image, a figure who may be called *Dreamer or Lover* (B.N. 378 - **Fig.1.**), to a figure in the initial miniature who undoubtedly represents the act of writing the poem (P.M. M.948 - **Fig.9**), one can appreciate the many changes that have taken place in the visual interpretation of the figure who is called *Dreamer or Lover* in early versions of the poem and who is shown subsequently as a figure which represents the Author. In all versions we are taken back to the poem itself, and the words,

a) "In the twentieth year of my life ..I lay down one night, as usual, and slept very soundly". (Dahlberg, 21)

b) "A la vingtième année de mon âge...je m'étais couché une nuit comme à l'accoutumée, et je dormais profondément". (Mary, p.20)

c) "El vintieme an de mon aage,
...si con je souloie,
et me dormoie mout forment, (Lecoy, 21, 24,25)

2. Narcissus

2.1 Introduction

There is a reference to the Narcissus story in each of the three manuscripts for which we have complete sets of illustrations. In the B.N.378 MS. there is one image, in the *Musaeo 65* there are two images and in MS *Douce 195* there are two images. There is also a Narcissus reference in one image of M.245 from the P.M. Library. David Hult comments that, "Narcissus and Echo do not interact with the Lover or with any of the

personified qualities."⁷⁵. He adds that they are clearly not present and that their story is a discontinuous insertion. Hult further points out that the fountain in the garden of Déduit is "the single tangible link between the story of Narcissus and the Lover's experience"⁷⁶, and it is Hult's contention that, "The fountain here functions as a change or refinement in one's vision, and the garden is transformed, just as the encounter with the garden transforms the natural universe to an allegorical one"⁷⁷. Hult concludes by saying that, "The Lover's admission into the courtly world, his passage from observer to participant follows, not his entry into the garden but his fountain experience"⁷⁸.

2.2 Analysis

Fig. 14 This illustration is found in the MS B.N. fr. 378, end of the thirteenth century (from which are reproduced **Fig.1** and **Fig.10**), and it is titled, "The Fountain of Narcissus". In the poem it immediately precedes Guillaume de Lorris's account of the Narcissus story. There is only one illustration on this page which contains three columns of text. The image is situated almost at the top of the third column, followed

⁷⁵Hult, 265.

⁷⁶Hult, 284.

⁷⁷Hult, 284.

⁷⁸Hult,286.

by a *rubric*. The illustration employs little page space. At the lower right-hand side of this postage stamp size (4.8 cm x 7.2 cm) illustration is a fanciful figure which forms the top of a charming margin decoration. The amiable creature, just mentioned, is situated atop a vertical post-like design which is continued delicately below the text to a point at about the beginning of the second column of text.

A blue-gowned figure is shown lying horizontally on the brown earth above a stream that is laid out parallel to the reclining figure of Narcissus. The stream is depicted much like a green and white candy cane lying with the curved end at the left hand side of the image. There are two green-leafed trees sprouting from the earth at the head and foot of the resting Narcissus. Each tree is shown branched in two directions with the green tops shown in a hatched design. The trees presumably are pine - since the text states "one day when Narcissus was returning from hunting he came by chance to rest at the clear pure fountain under the pine"⁷⁹. The remaining background is shown as red, again with a hatching pattern. Such abstract background patterns are typical of Romanesque and early Gothic manuscript design ⁸⁰. The vertical perspective here shows each element of the picture in ascending order: earth foreground, river, earth under the figure of Narcissus, then tree trunks and finally at the top of the picture the green of the tree foliage.

⁷⁹Dahlberg, line 1439, p.50.

⁸⁰a) Robb, 194. Fig.129 (1130)(Romanesque);b) Martin, Pl.14, Figure XVIII (vers 1285)(Gothic).

Of all of the illustrations which are here under consideration, only this one shows a simple figure asleep beside a pool of water, in the manner of the original story. We presume that the figure is the Dreamer/Lover. All of the remaining miniatures of the Narcissus episode have been "taken" from the texts of their manuscripts and are shown as "details" lifted out of the context of the full page of the manuscript.

Fig.15 & Fig.16 are miniatures from the MS e Musaeo 65, c.1380 (see also Fig. 6, Fig.11, & Fig.12), Bodleian Library.

Fig. 15 In this miniature we are told that "Narcissus kneels by pool, dressed in tunic and pointed shoes and pointed hood; behind him stands (a) charger with large golden bit. On right stands Echo in long white dress praying.(l.1439)

This illustration of Narcissus is a very animated scene. Narcissus appears to be communicating directly with his image in the water, while the figure of Echo seems to have eye-to-eye communication with God in heaven. The figure of God is shown with a gold nimbus and he views the scene from a pocket of blue sky in the top portion of

the picture⁸¹. This literal view of God is consistent with the text of the **Roman**, "But just before she died, she prayed to God..."(Dahlberg,l.1450).

Of the five figures in this image none expresses his feelings better than the horse, seen on the left hand side of the picture. He has been given very human feelings. Obviously angry and impatient, his hoof is raised as if to paw the earth and there is the appearance of steam around the nostrils and mouth bit. This is a wonderful grey horse, and very lively.

Since the scene is shown in a very ornate fashion - gold is used liberally throughout the MS e Musaeo 65 series, one is reminded of other works of the Late Gothic period⁸². The two full figures shown here, Narcissus and Echo wear garments of the late fourteenth century in France⁸³. Both Narcissus and his horse wear gold decorations.

⁸¹The motif of God in the sky communicating eye-to-eye with a figure on the ground is one found in other manuscripts from the Gothic period. An example is shown in Fig.157 from Ms. Douce 180 (Robb, 232). There are several images in the **Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry** which resemble closely the treatment of this motif as we see it in e Museo 65, (Cazelles and Rathoffer, 102: folio 61 and folio 61 verso). Since the **Très Riches Heures** dates 1413-16 (ibid.229), this might augment the contention of Langlois and Walters that e Museo 65 is a fifteenth, not a fourteenth century manuscript (see letter from Lori Walters at the end of the Bibliography in this document).

⁸²Meiss, Fig.417: Jean de Limbourg (1405-08), **Belles Heures**. The background design and the dresses of the two female figures closely resemble these same elements of Fig.15 of this text.

⁸³The clothing of the figures which appear in the miniatures of the e Museo 65 program of illustrations is described in detail by E.M.Rutson in the text which accompanied the colour filmstrip (Roll 175F) from the Bodleian Library.

The scene is one in which the figures are set against a brilliant and beautiful two dimension abstract design. Narcissus is kneeling on land which has a blue tone, and the impressive background is a modified geometric design of gold on an orange field. Although the text indicates a pine tree, there are three trees in this image and they only vaguely resemble pine trees. In the late Gothic period, specific trees were not clearly recognizable⁸⁴ and that is true of the three in this miniature. The illustration is followed by a highly decorated "N".

Fig. 16 In this illustration we are told that it is "Lover kneeling by pool. On right, God of Love crowned and wearing long tunic and holding bow and arrows. Trees and a climbing rose in background."

In this image the pool has the same appearance as in the previous image. The figure of the Lover is simply dressed (the figure of Narcissus in the previous image was dressed very ornately). The God of Love on the right hand side is pictured as female, dressed as a contemporary princess with wings, and crowned with a gold crown. The background is a light overall brown with a climbing rose bush in the centre of the illustration. There are two trees here. Again the earth seems to be blue in colour. In this image the Lover does not have an image in the water of the pool. Following this illustration is a highly decorated letter "A" (?). Both of these two pages seem to have much decoration in the margins.

⁸⁴Robb, 232 (Fig.157 - 1271).

Fig. 17 Titled "Two Lovers at the Fountain of Narcissus", this miniature is from M.245, c.1405 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. In it, two figures embrace. The male is wearing a red cloth head cover and a green short cape, while the female is wearing a long blue gown decorated with flowers. We see here the rhythmic flow of soft draperies, a feature of the late Gothic and International Gothic style. There is an intriguing face peering out of a tree which rises above a low red structure on the ground - a highly stylized fountain. The head in the tree is crowned with a gold crown and the face in the pool seems to be a reflection of this crowned head visible in the branches of the tree. One might speculate that the crowned head is intended to be the God of Love. The background is a black field decorated with flowers and greenery, and the ground at the base of the image is a brownish grass. In this garden there is little feeling of depth, but the vegetation is no longer a geometric pattern, there is now a quality of organic growth. The margins of the page are decorated - on the right hand side there seems to be a scroll inscribed in Latin, part in red ink, part in blue ink. The highly decorated "N" is situated directly below this image, but it is less important than the miniature.

*This image is very ambiguous. Who are the "Lovers" here? Who is represented by the crowned head in the tree - the head which is reflected in the pool? This reader wonders if the Lovers on the left might be Narcissus and Echo. We might then wonder if the head in the tree is that of the Dreamer/Lover of the **Roman**, since that is the head which is reflected in the pool of water? None of this speculation*

however, accounts for the fact that the head in the tree is crowned as is the reflection in the pool.

Fig. 18 and Fig 19 are both taken from MS Douce 195 of the Bodleian (see also Fig.7 (A and B) and these images are much less ambiguous than those of earlier manuscripts.

Fig. 18 bears the title from the Bodleian of "The Lover comes to the fountain". This image of the Lover and the Fountain presents an image which employs the Early Renaissance drawing technique of empirical linear perspective, which gives the viewer the impression of seeing a considerable depth into the picture, while the artist makes a compromise with the two dimensions of the page. Here we see the Lover in an elegant but relatively simple costume. He is wearing a red tunic top, which has a boat neckline and a navy collar. The sleeves are long and are very wide at the wrist. The lower edge of the tunic top is scalloped and there seems to be a belt at the hip level. Around the waist there is a dark cord, which seems visible also wound around his left arm. He carries a bar-like object stuck in his belt, and in his right hand he carries a delicate red stick. He is wearing dark blue stockings. His hat is round and two-tiered with a jaunty red feather decoration.

The garden is a green lawn contained within a blue stone wall. Two trees are seen outside the wall and here one pine-like tree rises behind the fountain. The fountain here is very ornate, and quite Italianate in style below and French above,

with water pouring from the mouths of animal heads on the sides of the fountain. The sides of the fountain are like pillars with figures above the capitals. The roof of the fountain is a blue dome-like structure which seems to be covered with overlapping tiles. We do not see any water in the fountain, nor do we see any reflection.

Fig. 19 bears the Bodleian title, "The story of Narcissus". Here the fountain and the garden appear like the images in the previous slide but Narcissus is dressed like a huntsman of nobility, and one can see his hunting horn as he bends over the fountain. We do not see any water except that being spewed out by the animal heads on the fountain sides, but the grass of the garden is visible as is the grey stone wall. Here however, we see an attendant in a red costume on a white and impressively decorated horse. The attendant holds the bridle of a richly outfitted black horse which has its hoofs raised as if he is well trained but very impatient to be away. The eyes of the horses are impassive but the attendant's eyes are closed. The action here is very static - like a tableau.

2.3 Conclusion

*The depiction of the Narcissus episode, inserted as it is into the story of the Dreamer/Lover in the Garden of Déduit seems to have been a difficult, though popular, subject for the illustrators of the **Roman**. This may possibly be so because the connection between the exemplum of Narcissus and the presence of the Lover at*

*the well of Narcissus in the Garden of Déduit is somewhat tenuous. The story of Narcissus and that of the Dreamer/Lover have only the fountain, as David Hult points out, as a common link. The illustrators frequently present the fountain of Narcissus allowing the reader to make the necessary mental connection between the figure from Greek mythology and the central figure, the Dreamer/Lover, of the **Rose** poem. It is a difficult transposition for the reader of the poem, and visually it often seems to be ambiguous.*

3. Pygmalion

3.1 Introduction

*There are no illustrations of the Pygmalion story in the Jean de Meun portion of the B.N. 378, the earliest version of the poem in this series; therefore we do not have any images of the Pygmalion story. In the e Musaeo 65 ms there are two images illustrating the Pygmalion story and in the MS Douce 195 ms there are nine images recounting the story of Pygmalion, **four** of which are included in this series of illustrations. In one other manuscript from the Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.245 there are two miniatures which illustrate the Pygmalion episode.*

Lori Walters observes that, "The related episodes of Narcissus and Pygmalion often receive illustration in manuscripts of the **Rose**."⁸⁵ She contends that Jean invented his rewriting of the Pygmalion myth both to complement and to undermine Guillaume's retelling of the myth of Narcissus and that in his dual roles as lover and as poet/artisan, Pygmalion succeeds where his predecessor failed, this in addition to representing the author's pride in bringing Guillaume's unfinished narrative to completion⁸⁶.

3.2 Analysis

Fig. 20 is an illustration of the Pygmalion episode reproduced from *e Musaeo* 65, c.1380, Bodleian Library, and bears the description, "Pygmalion, in a very short tunic, leaning over a table; he is working with a long chisel-like instrument on a small nude statue of a woman (Note pointed shoes). Other tools lie on the table. Red and gold background (l.20,817).

The overall colour tone of this image is of muted colours, an orange-red abstract background with a leafy design in gold overlay. The page has been damaged especially along the right hand side. The figure of Pygmalion has short hair, is wearing a short tunic with - in all probability long hose. He is working with a chisel-

⁸⁵Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript", 41.

⁸⁶Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript", 41.

like tool on the figure of a nude female. The material that he is using is difficult to determine. He appears to be working on a table of modest thickness, yet the figure of the female remains an outline, all the while being portrayed as lighter in colour than the field around her. The table is set at an angle, and there is some foreshortening of it. The base of the picture is a grey indeterminate substance. This image is a simple one, which, when compared with other illustrations from the same manuscript (**Fig.6 (A & B), Fig.11, Fig.12, Fig.15, Fig.16**), leaves the viewer with the impression that the illustrator found it a very difficult subject to portray. Below this illustration on the left side is a beautifully decorated "P".

To Rosemond Tuve the illustrations of this episode are graphic evidence of the "denigration through images"⁸⁷ of "all presentation of Love as positive goodness of will, caritas, agape, beneficence, affection, misericorde, sympathy"⁸⁸. She notes that we see Pygmalion "chiselling away at an obvious lay-figure (**Fig.20, & Fig.23**), and with small space find him kneeling in worship before his cold naked goddess (**Fig.24**)"⁸⁹. The visual portrayal of love only as an expression of sexual gratification, and of what borders on blasphemy is, to Rosemond Tuve, a concept that was scarcely

⁸⁷Tuve, 327/28.

⁸⁸Tuve, 272.

⁸⁹Tuve, 328.

possible to a thirteenth century audience⁹⁰. This may account for the visual expansion of this episode to nine images only in a very late edition of the *Roman*, the MS Douce 195 (Bodleian). Rosemond Tuve further contends that the various illustrations in the *Roman* completely obscure the possible true meaning of the *Roman*⁹¹.

Fig. 21. In this manuscript, e Musaeo 65 (Bodleian), c.1380 there is a second illustration of the Pygmalion story, that of the "Outline of Pygmalion embracing the statue which has come alive. A tree on either side, several groups of flowers in the grass" (l.21,151). There is an orange and gold geometric pattern background, with a tree on either side of the embracing couple. The figures have been badly defaced, but because it illustrates an important point, that a pictorial rendition of nude human forms embracing, was a difficult subject for artists and viewers alike in medieval times, this miniature has been included in this collection. John Fleming suggests that such text mutilation may have been carried out by "a pious post-Reformation monastic librarian"⁹².

⁹⁰Tuve, 327/8. Dr. Tresidder concurs, and comments that, at this time, certain things can be expressed in language or literature that cannot be depicted in the visual arts. He adds that there is little tradition for such a subject, prior to the thirteenth century.

⁹¹Tuve, 326.

⁹²Fleming, 136. Dr. Warren Tresidder does not agree with this opinion of John Fleming. He feels that in the late Gothic period, there was little artistic tradition for the portrayal of nudity as an expression of eroticism, and adds that, "it was not only the

Fig. 22 & Fig.23 are illustrations of the Pygmalion episode from the Roman de la Rose which appear in M. 245, c.1405 in the Pierpont Morgan Library (see also Fig. 17).

Fig. 22 is titled, "Pygmalion falling in love with his sculpture". This illustration presents an elegantly dressed female in a gorgeous long green gown decorated with gold. There is a blue garment visible underneath at the bottom of her dress and at the wrist. She is bending but she does not show any emotion and her eyes seem closed. This statue is very alluring, more seductive than the female forms in Fig.20 and Fig.21. Possibly the fact that she is clothed in this portrayal enabled the artist to express this sentiment, one that was difficult to portray with nude figures in the late Gothic period.

Pygmalion in a long blue gown with a green neckpiece and pointed shoes is kneeling before the lady. His head is turned back and his eyes are open. Pygmalion's role as a sculptor is indicated by what he holds in his hands. The right hand is held out toward the lady with perhaps his gage in it, since the words of the poem are,

a) "Then Pygmalion knelt, his face wet with tears, and offered his gage as amends to her. But she cared nothing for the gage; she neither heard nor understood anything, either of him or of his present." (D.l.20,915)

b) "Pygmalion alors s'agenouille, le visage tout mouillé de larmes, lui offre son gage et répare, mais elle n'a cure de l'amende! Elle n'entend l'amoureux ni ne voit son présent, de sorte qu'il craint d'avoir perdu sa peine." (M. 350)

illustrator who found such images difficult".

c) *"Pygmalion lors s'agenoille,
 qui de lermes sa face moille.
 Son gage tant, se li amande;
 mes el n'a cure de l'amande
 n'ele n'antant riens ne ne sant
 ne de lui ne de son present
 si que cil craint perdre sa peine" (L.l 20,885)*

Other implements are visible in his left hand, and there is what might be a short sword in a sheath at his waist. The background is an attractive orange-red with a fine geometric design in gold. Against this the blues and greens of the figures stand out. Because the lower part of the figure of the lady on the right hand side extends past the frame of the picture there is some feeling of depth to the picture, but there is little interest in portraying space. There is considerable decoration around this illustration, and on the left hand side are two scrolls, which contain writing, in red ink above (Pygmalion and his image) and blue ink below. An elaborate "P" is situated below the illustration on the left side. There is a rubric in red ink immediately preceding the picture. Once again, however, the illumination is now overshadowed by the illustration.

Fig. 23 is titled "Pygmalion embracing his sculpture". In this illustration Pygmalion embraces his now living statue, but she is still a very rigid form, her head is tilted back slightly and her cupped hand holds Pygmalion's face, but she shows no emotion with this embrace. Pygmalion seems to wear a crown on his head (of laurel?), his short cape is white, his footwear is red and his undergarment seems to be green.

His facial features are well defined but he too seems unemotional. To the viewer this is nevertheless, a passionate embrace, one which indicates that the artists in the early fifteenth century were becoming more comfortable expressing human emotions, especially those between the sexes.

*The background is a red-orange field with a modified geometric design in gold. The figures stand on a green space. Overall, the lovely orange background harmonizes with the burnt orange of the dress. Around the image is a leafy decoration, and on the right hand side are two scrolls with writing in blue on the top one and lettering in red on the bottom one. The dress of the lady extends beyond the lower frame thus giving the illustration some feeling of depth but, as in **Fig.22**, the portrayal of space is not of great importance. A decorated letter is located below the illustration on the left hand side.*

***Fig. 24, Fig.25, Fig.26 & Fig. 27** are images from MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century, Bodleian Library, (see also **Fig.7(A & B), Fig.18, & Fig.19**) which illustrate the Pygmalion episode in the **Roman de la Rose**. The line references in these illustrations are to the Langlois translation. There are a total of nine miniatures in this manuscript which illustrate the Pygmalion episode. In this series are reproduced four of them.*

Fig. 24 *This miniature depicts "Pygmalion carving the statue" (20,817). This image has considerable feeling of depth since the picture space is controlled by linear perspective. The floor of the room is covered with alternating light and medium brown tile-like squares. The back wall is grey brick with a set-in window which contains a cross hatched window pane. There is a brown workbench on the left hand side and on it are several sculptor's tools. the sculptor is seen from the back, at work on an image which is emerging from a white block of what appears to be stone. The text says "ivory" as Pygmalion's material but this piece of material is too big to be ivory. The sculptor wears a red hat, a light coloured shirt (blue? grey?) a white apron, red pants, and black shoes. His hair is short and black. The illustration here is more decorative than it has been in earlier manuscripts and it takes precedence over the other elements of the manuscript such as margin decoration, and an elaborately decorated capital. It is evident that by the end of the fifteenth century the artist is much more at ease depicting the nude female body than he was a century earlier (Fig.20 and Fig.21), and yet, even here, he avoids being too specific about the female form.*

Fig.25 *In this image "Pygmalion kneels before the statue" (20,937). Here Pygmalion has removed his hat revealing a balding head with fringes on hair on the sides of his head and a tuft on the top. Pygmalion is kneeling, with his hands held up as if in prayer, and his eyes, big and dark, are full of longing. His wish is evident.*

We note the great contrast in these two figures; he is older, rather heavy, and balding, and she is young, slim, and nude. Although the eyes of the statue are closed, the hand is held out in a very welcoming gesture. Even at this time, when the artist and his audience are more comfortable with the nude female form, than was the case a century earlier, there is drapery placed discretely over the lower part of her torso. Worthy of note here, is that the text of the poem refers to, "Venus, who heard the young man's prayer" (Dahlberg, l.21,109), but it makes no mention of Pygmalion in an attitude of prayer before his statue. The artist has thus interpreted the poem in his own way.

Fig. 26 This miniature bears the title, "Pygmalion's statue comes to life" (21,127). In this illustration we see a closed room, dominated by two large expressive figures. Pygmalion is standing on the left, dressed in a red short tunic, with a black belt and money pouch(?). He wears a large green hat, his hands are raised in amazement and delight and he wears a happy look on his face. He seems to be moving toward his now alive lady. The lady looks apprehensive, and somewhat defensive, with her arms crossed in front of her. She wears a white head covering over her long blonde hair, and even her hair seems to be quivering! She is dressed as a lady, in a long blue gown held up to reveal a red undergarment. The two figures seem to be standing in a small room.

Fig.27 *This image is titled, "Pygmalion and Galatea give thanks" (21,251). In this illustration, the statue has come to life and she is shown, on the left side of the picture, again as a lady. She has a very lively facial expression, and she is shown glancing enigmatically, toward the priest-figure on the right hand side of the picture. She is wearing a long red dress with a square neck, and she is kneeling, her hands held in a prayerful stance. Pygmalion too, is kneeling. Now pictured as a coarse-featured young man with short brown curly hair, he is shown wearing a short blue tunic and long dark hose. The bishop, on the right, wearing a mitre, is elegantly costumed with a gold embroidered red cope. His right hand is raised in a benediction, his left holds back his gown and his eyes are downcast, as if to dissociate himself with the couple in front of him. The covering of the altar behind the figures is a deep blue trimmed with gold fleur-de-lys. The windows in the background have cross hatched panes, and there are carved figures in the panel behind the altar.*

It is interesting also, that the documentation which accompanies the nine illustrations for the Pygmalion episode in the MS Douce 195 manuscript mentions for the last image that, "Pygmalion and Galatea give thanks". Galatea is the name of the statue in the ancient story of Pygmalion, but that name is not mentioned in Jean's text. Notable here too, is the placement of Pygmalion and his now-alive statue in what appears to be a Christian church setting with an altar lacking proper accoutrements, when the text of Jean's poem mentions Pygmalion thanking "the gods who had granted such a favor to them, especially to Venus, who had aided them more than anyone"

(Dahlberg, l.21,175). *The visual interpretation of the Pygmalion exemplum in this manuscript takes a number of liberties with the letter of the text.*

3.3 Conclusion

The Pygmalion episode seems to have been a topic which the illustrators initially did not choose to illustrate extensively. In the very early B.N fr.378 there were no miniatures in the body of Jean de Meun's section of the poem. When, in our collection of miniatures, this exemplum is illustrated (Fig.20 and Fig.21), it is represented with hesitation. The expression of sensuality is handled with more assurance when the figures are clothed (Fig.22 and Fig.23), where glance and gesture express the underlying emotion. Depictions of nudity and sexuality are tentative, and the artist handles the expression of emotion more capably when the figures are clothed. Only at a later date could such concepts be shown more openly (Fig.24 to Fig. 27).

Rosemond Tuve considers this episode thoughtfully. She notes "how difficult it was to suggest visually the simplest allegorical intent of the author...with his psychological and physiological double meanings couched in metaphor"⁹³. To Charles Dahlberg, however, the long sequence of nine images from the MS Douce

⁹³Tuve, 326.

manuscript "illustrates both Jean's use of the material and the miniaturist's sensitivity to the ironies involved in its use"⁹⁴.

John Fleming comments that none of the materials which are shown in the miniatures follows the letter of the text regarding the material from which the statue was made⁹⁵. The text reads:

a) "Pygmalion, a sculptor who worked in wood, stone, and metals, in bone, wax, and in all other materials suited to such a craft, wished to divert himself in producing a likeness that would prove his skill...and gain him great renown. He therefore **made an image of ivory** and put into its production such attention that it was so pleasing, so exquisite, that it seemed as live as the most beautiful living creature.(D.1.20,817)

b) "Pygmalion, tailleur renommé en bois, en pierres et en métaux, comme en os et en cire et autres matières propres à ce métier, voulut un jour, pour éprouver so génie...autant que pour recevoir de grandes louanges, **façonner une image d'ivoire**, et il mit à l'exécuter tant de soin at tant de talent que jamais il n'en réussit de plus admirables, car elle semblait aussi vivante que la plus belle créature." (M.348)

c) "Pygmalions, uns antaillierres,
portreanz an fusz et en pierres
et metauz, en os et en cires
et en toutes autres matires
qu'an peut a tele euvre trouver,
por son grant angin esprouver,
car onc de li nus ne l'ot meudre,
ausint con por grant los aqueudre,
se vost a portrere deduire.
Si fist une ymage d'ivuire,
et mist en fere tele antente
qu'el fu si plesant et si gente
qu'el sambloit estre autresint vive" (L.1.20,787)

⁹⁴Dahlberg, 23.

⁹⁵Fleming, 233.

We note too, as did John Fleming, that the material which Pygmalion used in the illustrations does not ever appear to be ivory⁹⁶.

*If Rosemond Tuve's understanding of the implications attendant upon this episode are correct, and her assessment of thirteenth-century morality parallels that of Emile Mâle, then early programmers of illustrations for the **Rose** might well have eschewed making *undo* reference to the Pygmalion analogy. While a literary description of the story was possible even in the thirteenth century, it would seem that a lack of an artistic tradition for the depiction of nudity and sexuality in the Gothic period would contribute significantly to the reticence and unease on the part of manuscript artists to illustrate the Pygmalion exemplum even a hundred years after the poem was completed. In the fifteenth century, with the appearance of the ideas of the Renaissance in the artistic community in Italy and later in France, there was perhaps more of a willingness to depict human nudity in other than a Christian religious context. Only then were illustrators willing to expand upon this theme, which might explain why the illustrators of MS Douce 195 provide an amplified program of this story, that is, nine images in total.*

⁹⁶Fleming, 233.

Conclusion

One always gains something from looking at a picture, but what is the process when one looks at pictures which are incorporated into a written text? This depends upon a number of things. The written text requires not only that the reader understand the language of the text in question, but also the meaning of the text in relation to the intellectual thinking of the age in question. The interpretation of the words is left to the reader. When a picture is supplied with any text however, medieval or modern, a first step has been taken toward some interpretation of the written text by the author or by someone else.

*One is reminded of the words of Stephen Nichols in his perceptive essay, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire" (1992), "Often dismissed as "mere" illustrations, the miniatures do much more than simply repeat visually the textual elements. In the illuminated manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**, one discovers that the presence of the illuminations in the textual space creates two contrasting narrative systems"⁹⁷. He explains that, "visual perception combines with aural experience to generate meaning"⁹⁸.*

⁹⁷Stephen Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire", in **Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, Text, Image, Reception**, Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot, eds.(Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1992), 151.

⁹⁸Nichols, 151.

*One can state that ALL pictures everywhere and in every circumstance require some interpretation, and pictures which accompany written texts must be approached very carefully. One must constantly ask: who is saying what, and why? If the illustrations are produced at or about the date that the written work is published and if the author can be assumed to have some connection with them, the intent of the illustrations may be one thing - but, if the author is long departed, the meaning of the illustrator can be quite another matter. Ultimately, if no one really understands the purpose of the author of the story, as Rosemond Tuve suggests is quite possibly the case with the **Roman**, "But indeed, it did not seriously enter men's understanding of the true possible content of the **Roman**"⁹⁹, then conclusions about meanings to be gleaned from viewing the illustrations of the text may indeed, not be what is at first assumed.*

*One must be aware too, that artistic tradition in the medieval period only permitted visual depictions of certain ideas, and those were circumscribed by the techniques employed by artists in the Gothic period. This meant that ideas could only be presented visually within very strict limits, and the relative freedom to explore concepts already present in literary material would not be available to artists for two centuries after Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun wrote their poem. The many changes in form and content that appeared with the Renaissance period in the art world blossomed in **Roman** manuscripts at the end of the fifteenth century.*

⁹⁹Tuve, 326.

The role of the illustrations in Medieval manuscripts is perhaps more extensive too, than their perceived function as a possible aide or guide to understanding the written text of the poem. They were positioned to indicate textual developments, either as initial impressions of the text yet to be presented, or as guideposts along the way. Together with the rubrics, decorated capital letters, frequently elaborate margin decorations, and ornate framing of the miniatures or of whole pages, the highly colourful miniature illustrations played an important part in attracting and keeping the reading public interested in the work at hand. These readers ordered many copies¹⁰⁰ of this very popular and individually produced work for a period of 200 years. It is an impressive record that might well be envied in the contemporary literary world.

¹⁰⁰Lori Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript", 33. "About 300 manuscripts of the **Rose** survive today, testifying to the immense popularity of the poem in its time."

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NOTES CONCERNING THE ILLUSTRATIONS:

*It has been possible to obtain colour slides of all of the individual illustrations found in three manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose**:*

- *Bibliothèque Nationale fr.378, end thirteenth century, twenty-eight illustrations*
- *Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 65, c.1380*, fifty-six illustrations*
- *Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century, one hundred and twenty-eight illustrations*

Only in the instance of the Bibliothèque Nationale fr.378 do we have slides of the full pages on which all the illustrations appear, but we do have full page slides for all of the illustrations of the incipit images.

*In addition to the full collection of illustrations from these three manuscripts of the **Roman**, a number of additional illustrations (colour slides) from several other manuscripts of this work have been obtained from the Bodleian Library at Oxford in England and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.*

ALL OF THE SLIDES COLLECTED FOR THIS THESIS (200+) WILL BECOME THE PROPERTY OF THE McMASTER UNIVERSITY ART AND ART HISTORY SLIDE LIBRARY AND THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR STUDENT USE. (SEE APPENDIX OF THIS THESIS FOR A COMPLETE LIST OF THESE SLIDES, AND THE LINE REFERENCES FOR THREE TRANSLATIONS OF THE POEM.)

Permission must be obtained from the library in question for any reproduction of these slides.

** In a letter from Lori Walters (30.11.92) she refers to a later date for this manuscript; she has used the fifteenth century for this text (from Langlois, p.157 of his **Manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose**), and not the late fourteenth century date which is given by the Bodleian Library for this manuscript.*

Twenty-seven Illustrations
chosen for this Text from
Roman de la Rose Manuscripts
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Fig. 1

Dreamer asleep

Second miniature on this page:

The author describes the images on the wall, Hatred first

B.N. fr. 378, end thirteenth century

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Fig. 2

The Lover in bed

MS Add. A.22, c. 1300

Bodleian Library, Oxford



Dantes gens die:it
 que en songes
 Na se fables non
 z menconges
 Des len puet tel sôge songier
 Et ne font mie mencongi'er
 z n'iz sont aps bien apuans
 S'ieupus bien tute agarant
 P' auteur qu'a non macrobes
 Et ne me pas songes aïoles
 E neois esent la uision
 Et aint au roy cypuon
 Et aïs an de ue qui die
 Et soit folenr ou mulardie
 D'ecoure q' songes auiegne
 Et ce uonda p' fol mentiegne
 Et arendroit moi n'ie fiance
 Et songes soit iene fiance
 Des biens au gès a des annz

Car li plusieurs sôgent de nuz
 Et dantes choses coute nuz
 Et len voit puz apremet
Avintaine fin de mo' aage
 Et têt amours p'ent le page
 Des ieunes gens couchies meïoie
 En mon lit si con ie souloie
 Et nie dormoie mit forment
 Lors vi- i- sôge en n'is dormier
 Et ep'ubiaï z mit me plot
 Et es cece sôge ouq's v'ent not
 Et t'out auenuz ne soit
 Si ton li songes recensoit
 Or ueil ce songe rimoier
 P' vos euers fere plus esgaler
 Et mouz le me pue z comande
 Et semus ne male demande
 Comât ie ueil q' li romanz
 Soit apeler que ie comanz
 Et cest li romanz de la rose
 Et aïart d'ampore est toute en i'loie
 Li amature eue est tout i'acume
 Et aïoit dieu que gie la reueue
 Li aïele la uallume de pris
 Et ele p' qui ie le empus
 Et est cele qui tant a de pris
 Et tant est digne des amee
 Et l'oit est rose elance
Ains meïoit q' l'oit mo' a
 Et li bien v'ant ou mo' a

Fig. 3

Lover in bed, Lover dressing

Lover meditating, Lover in garden

MS Selden Supra 57, 1325-49

Bodleian Library, Oxford



Comme le roman de la vie
Quantes gens vien
 que en songes
 La se fables non
 et men songes
 es es len puer telz

Songes songier
 Qui ne sont mie men songier
 Mais sont apres bien aparant
 Si en puis bien fiance againt
 .i. aucteur qui ot non macotes
 Qui netur ins songes aloles

Qui lare ar nous ar toute eude
 A insois elcupt la iustou
 Qui abut au roy cypron

Quantes gens vien
 que en songes
 La se fables non
 et men songes
 es es len puer telz

Qui se roudia pour fol me teneuer
 Car en droit mot ai ie fiance
 Qui songes son legue fiance
 Des biens ans genz ou tes amans
 Que li plusieurs songent demans

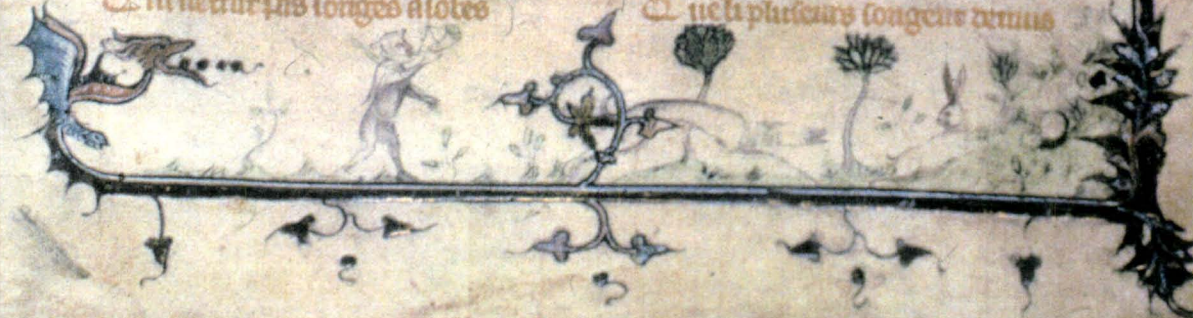


Fig. 4

*The Dreamer asleep, rising,
listening to the birds,
and entering the garden gate*

M.324, c.1350

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.



N

autres gens di
 cur q'en songes.
 Na se tavles n'ot
 menonges.
 mais len puet tel
 songe songier
 Qui ne soit mie
 menongier.

A ms sont apies bien apparuit.
 S iempus vien nunt a gainit
 V n auteur qui ot non ma coites
 Q ui ne tuit pas songes a lotes
 Al mois de sept l'ambion
 Q u'auant au son appion
 Q u'onques tude ne ne die
 Q ue soit folcur ou mufardie

D

ave que lores
 amengne.
 Qui se vudia p'm
 fol me tiengne
 Car endunt mal
 ai re h'ant
 Q ue songe sont
 senchant.

es biens au gens et des amurs
 ar li pluscur songent de nuis
 m amtes choses couveitement
 Q ue len voit plus apertement
 N u vntieme au de mon age
 Q u'unt quantours puent le page
 Q e iones gens couche mestore
 V ue nunt si cu re fontore



Fig. 5

*The Dreamer asleep,
rising, following a stream,
listening to the birds singing*

M.132, c.1380

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.



Ci comence une vrac hystorie
Quen nome romans de la rose

Qm est de mlt haute memoire
On lart daunours est touz edose



Antes gens dient
Que en songes
A se flates non
Et men songes

J. acteur; qui ot no manobles
Q ne tint pas songes alotes
A moirs descript laulsion
Q u auint au roy cepion

Mais leu puet tel songe song
Q ne sont me men songier
A ms sont apes bien apant
S i en puis bien trane aqant

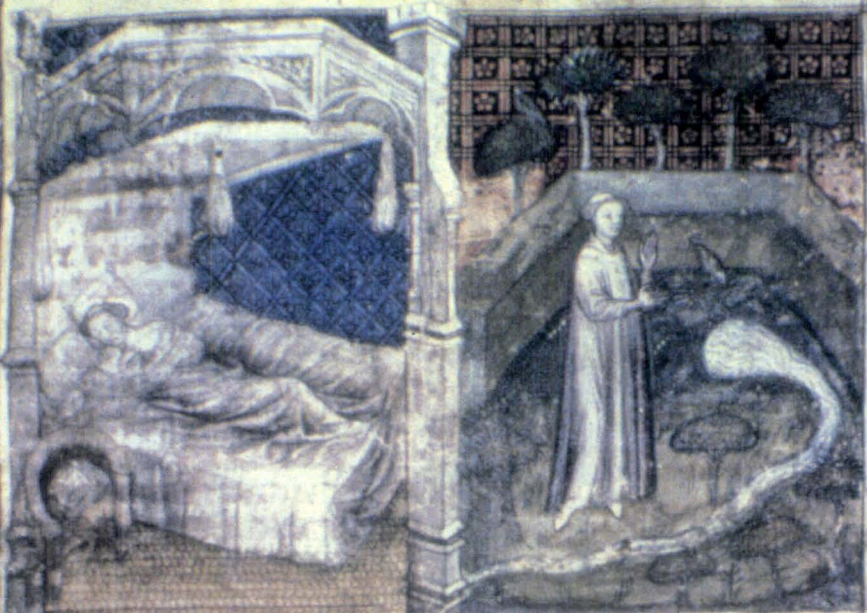
Qm conques caide ne quidie
Q ml soit folour ou mlt die
D e cione que songe aduicque
E t qui uould a p fol me tieque

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Fig. 6 (A & B) (A) *Poet sleeping under a white coverlet,*
(B) *Poet in a walled garden*

e Musaeo 65, c. 1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford



Damees gens dient que
en songes.
Na se nō fables et
men songes.

Mais on peut tel songes songer
Qui ne sont mie men songes
Ils sont apres bien apparant
Si en plus bien encre a gaine
Vne dūc qui ce nom macobes
Qui ne me pas songes albes
Ils sont de lūc lausion
Ain adūc au for capion

Quiconques encre ne qui die
Qu'il soit feur ne misadie
D'ecore que songes adūcraie

El ro. m. *Curve nūc*
Mise se boudra pō fol me encre
Ar encre mor ar se fiance
A ne songes sont se fiance
Des biens aux gens des emun
A ue li plusieurs songent de min
Mancos choses couuement

Que on voit plus appertement
Qu'au dūc hie an de mon gace
Du poie q'ans pōt le parre
Des lūc gens touche mestore
Vne lūc si com se boudre
Et me dormore moult formant
Si v'v' b'n songe en mon dūc
Qui moult se dūc v'v' m'le me p'lor
Mais en ce songe onques biens not

Fig. 7 (A & B)

(A) Man seated reading by a window,

(B) The poet dreaming

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford



C

Et p' commencer le rommans de la rose.

Ames mes dieu qu'en toutes
 La se saluez nos mensores
 Mais on en peut de tels foies
 Qui ne font que mensores
 A me font avec bien apurint
 Si en puis bien faire a garant
 Qui n'est que et non marceles
 Qui ne les tint que a folie
 A moie deservt l'adulcion
 Quel adurint au roy tyron
 Qui congneut que ne qui die
 Que soit folie ou misfaydie
 Et croie a l'ouge aduengue
 Qui le voudra p' fol me tene
 Car ardeur mon au re fiance
 Que l'ouge est l'antifiance
 Des biens aux gens des amies
 Car le plusieurs loget de l'ouge
 Mantes d'ouge conuientement
 Que son doit pur auctement
 Jour au vil an de mon d'ouge
 Qui soit d'ouge pur le d'ouge
 Que l'ouge non d'ouge melior
 Que n'est la com' le l'ouge
 Et qui d'ouge moule romans
 Si a d'ouge l'ouge en mon d'ouge

Qui n'est fu beauz: most me die
 Car en se foie on ne voit
 Qui adurint tout ne soit
 Si com' s'ouge se recou
 Amiel se foie romans
 Qui vos die pl' soit elgance
 A moie men p' et amand
 Et se nuls ou mille demand
 Comment se die q' tel romans
 Soit apelle q' le romans
 Que est le romans de la rose
 Qui tout fait d'ouge est onse
 La matiere en est l'ouge: neustie
 Si dont dieu qu'en se la recou
 Elle soit qui se lay amie
 C'est celle qui tant a de vie
 Et tant est digne d'ouge amie
 Quel dit est de rose change
 D'ouge melior que l'ouge maie
 Si a l'ouge d'ouge maie
 Qui n'est l'ouge de man l'ouge
 Qui se adurint en l'ouge de l'ouge
 Que toute chose se l'ouge
 Et nuls qui d'ouge ne l'ouge
 Qui en man l'ouge se l'ouge
 Et l'ouge de d'ouge l'ouge



Fig. 8

The book presented to Francis I

M.948, c.1500

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.



Fig. 9

The author writes the book

M.948, c. 1500

written and signed by Girard Acarce

for Francis I, King of France

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.



Cest le rommant de la rose
ou tout l'art d'amour est enlose

Mamtes gens dient que en songes
ne sont Que fables & mesonges
Aus on peut le reth songes songier
Qui ne sont mie men songier
Ames sont apres bien apparant
Si en puis bien trouver parant

Qu'acteur de nome macrobes
Qui ne tient pas songes a lobes
Incis & script la vision
qui adunt au cor cepron
Quiconque cur de nequidie
que ce soit bne misardie
de croie que songe aduengne
Et Qui voudra pour fol mentigne
Car endoit mor a pie fiance

Fig. 10

Poet at his desk

B.N. fr. 378, end thirteenth century

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Fig. 11

Jean de Meun dressed like a clerk (4059)

e Musaeo 65, c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Q u e s t i o n e s

De rege francie



De rege francie

Fig. 12

Jean de Meun dressed like a clerk...(8561)

e Musaeo 65 c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Mais ne furent mariez



De se chanfrate creusse
La femme espousee neusse
I ne tieng pas hōe pō sage
Q u femme prent a mariage
S ort belle ou laide pour ou fische

Fig. 13

Guillaume de Lorris,

(laurelated?) lies dead and naked on a table

M.948, c.1500

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.



Sue tous autres me mist et tue
 Lor de vielles puant maissue
 Qui de si pres le doit garder
 Que il noise nul regarder
Ques or mon deul si enforca
 Quant le dieu d'amoire confra
 Amort trois dons si me mercy
 Et donna mais ic les percy
Couste pencez Qui point ne maide
Couste parler me d'effraide
Les tiers avoit nom d'ouls regard

Perdue les arse dieu me gard
Sans fille beau don me fist mais
 Ilz ne me veuendront ramars
 Se bel acuel mist de prison
 Qu'on tient sans nulle mes prison
 Pour luy mourray car me st adus
 quil nen ystra ce cor quen vis
 Ytra non voir par quel proesse
 Ytra il de la forteresse
 Car bray voir ne serace mee
 de sens nay goucte ne demre

Fig. 14

The Fountain of Narcissus

B.N. fr. 378, end thirteenth century

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

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 e. l. t. a. n. t. l. e. f. i. t. p. l. o. u. e. r. e. e. t. p. l. a. n. d. e.
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 e. l. a. r. a. q. u. o. v. i. n. e. b. e. l. e. d. a. m. e.
 e. l. a. n. o. u. r. p. l. u. s. a. m. i. c. q. u. e. n. o. s. n. o. e. s.
 e. l. f. i. u. p. l. u. s. f. i. m. a. l. t. e. m. e. t. e. c.
 e. l. l. e. t. d. i. c. t. q. u. i. l. i. d. e. m. o. n. s. t. r. e.
 e. l. a. m. o. u. r. o. u. e. l. e. l. e. n. d. o. u. i. t.
 e. l. m. a. s. q. u. i. f. u. p. u. r. l. a. g. i. t. i. b. i. a. n. e. s.
 e. l. p. l. a. n. d. e. d. e. d. e. d. a. n. g. e. d. e. f. i. c. t. i. v. e.
 e. l. f. i. e. l. v. e. l. t. p. i. n. o. m. o. u. e. r. e. s.
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 e. l. l. a. f. o. n. t. a. i. n. e. n. e. r. e. e. p. u. r. e.
 e. l. e. v. i. n. e. s. o. u. s. l. e. p. i. n. o. m. b. r. i. e. r.
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 e. l. q. u. i. l. v. i. n. t. a. l. a. f. o. n. t. a. i. n. e.
 e. l. h. p. i. n. s. d. e. l. e. s. t. i. f. i. c. t. i. v. e. s.



Fig. 15

Narcissus kneels by pool...(1439)

e Musaeo 65, c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Et uidi forent vni dessus
Et mourut le biau narcisus



Narcisus fu vns damoiseaux
Qu'indes tint en ses foiesiaux
Et tant le fist amors destruire
Et tant le fist plorer et plaindre
Et uil...

Fig. 16

Lover kneeling by pool...(1604)

e Musaeo 65, c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford

En ces jans noires meo destruite
L'aberte de la matiere
Et n'it sauoir de voir le mystere



Des me plot ademouuer
A la fontaine esjouner

Fig. 17

Two Lovers at the Fountain of Narcissus

M.245, c.1405

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.

Au bout amont très petites
Qu'en disoient illeuc dessus
Où ors estoit Libianus nartus



Nartus fu en Samor si aux
Qui amours tuit e ses remans
Et tant li sout amours de staudre
Et tant li fist plourez & plaindre
Qu'en lui comint a rendre l'ame
Quez requie vne harte dame
L'avoit ame plus q'riens nec
Et fu porz lui si mal menee
Quelle lui dit qui lui devoit

Fig. 18

The Lover comes to the fountain (1425)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

De l'Espérance de l'Esprit

De l'Espérance de l'Esprit

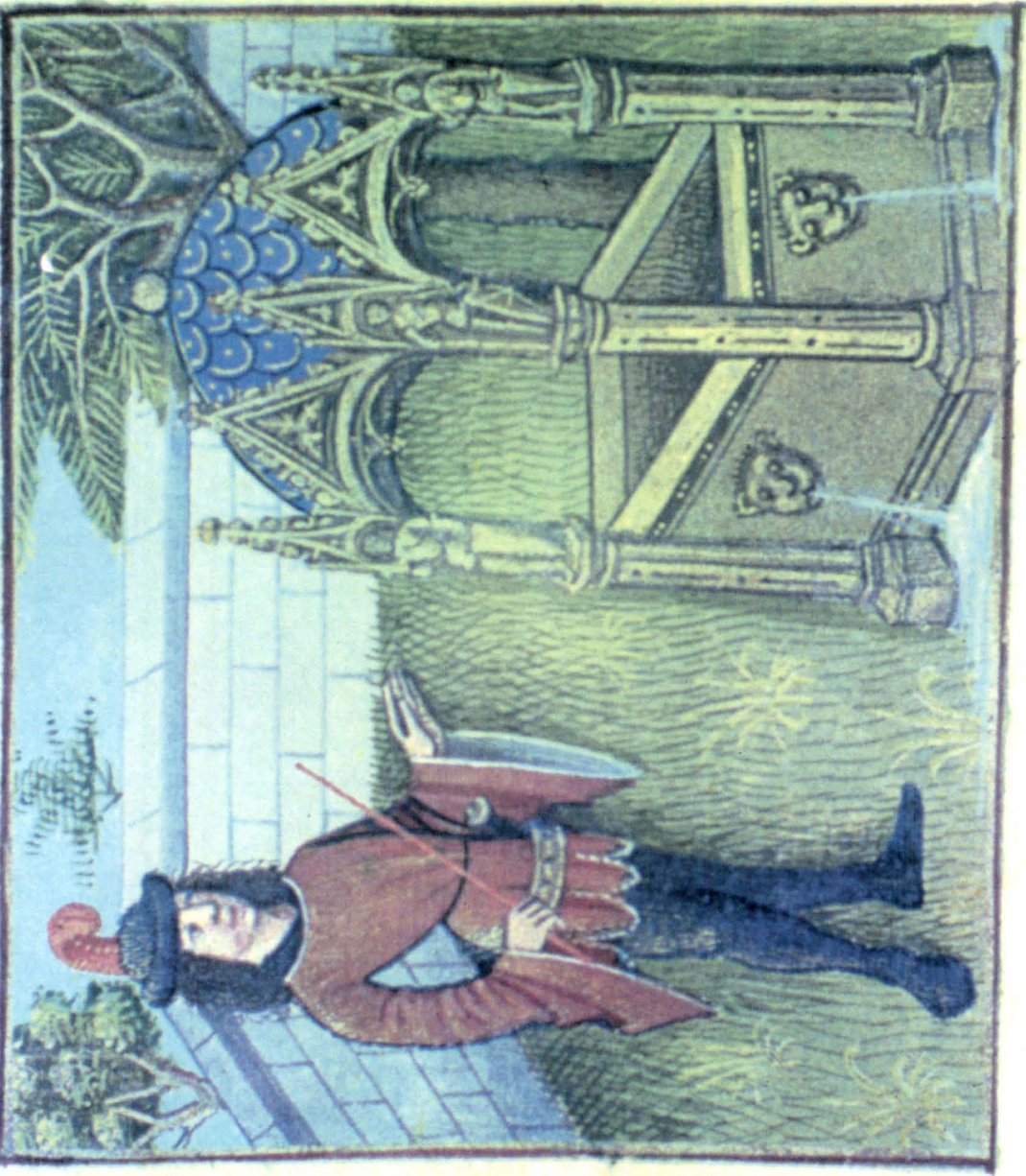


Fig. 19

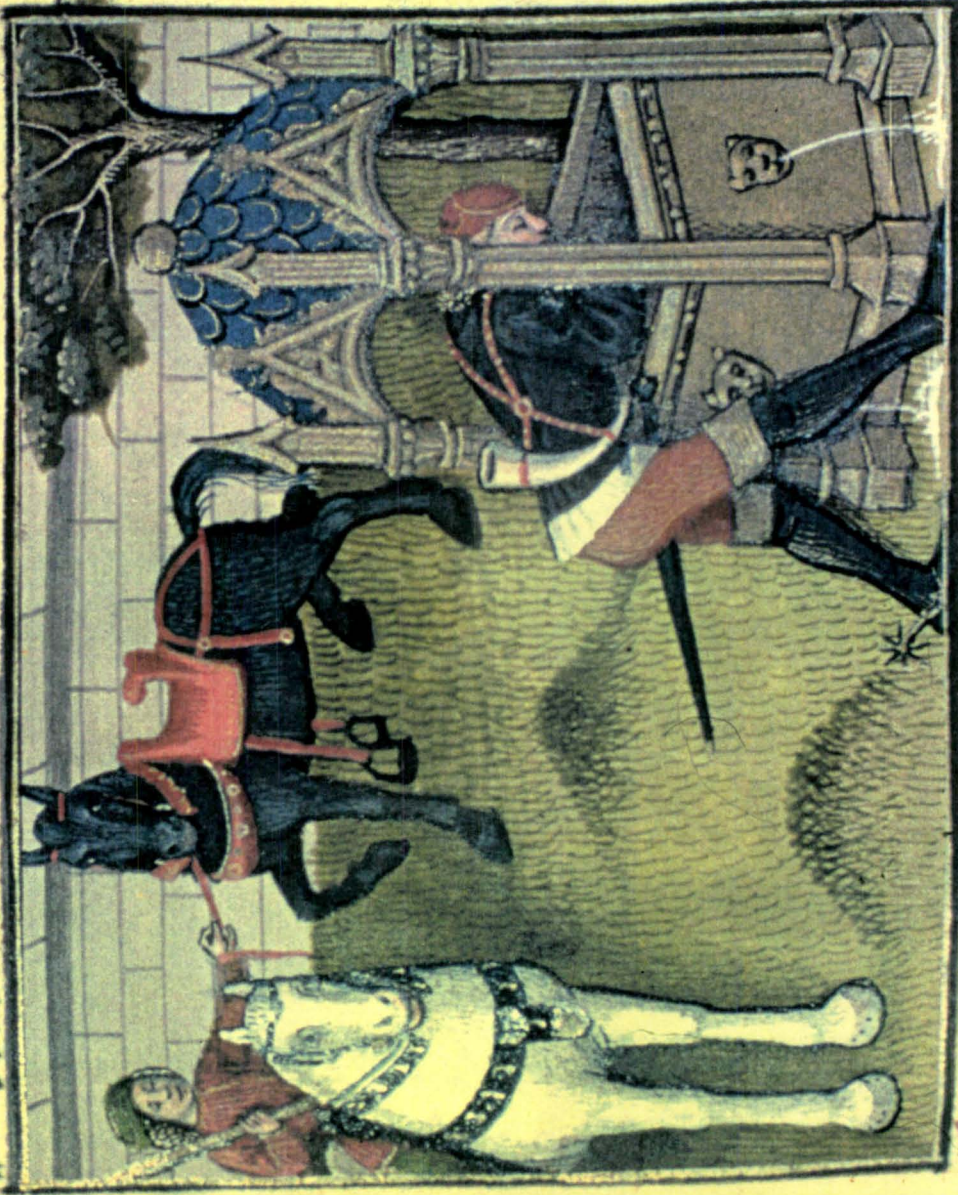
The story of Narcissus (1467)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

ESSE DE HEROS

Et uat sont restules si uilmāt.



Historie de marquis.

Fig. 20

Pygmalion in a very short tunic...(20,817)

e Musaeo 65, c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford



vous

vous

dace

s compte

u monte

ins tuez

me

me

ne fudee

e peuret

ofite

malion fu en l'illier
pbernyas en fust z en pres
En fez z en oe z en d'ing

F. X. m. d. c. l. i. j. j. R. u.

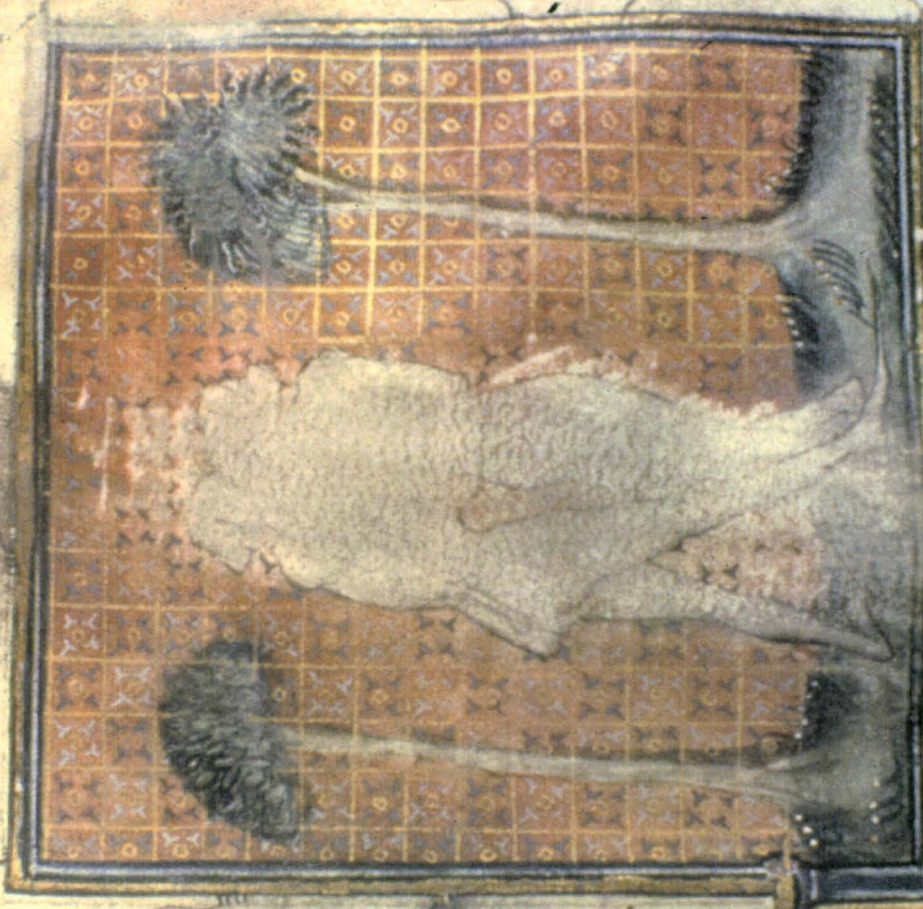
Fig. 21

Outlines of Pygmalion embracing...(21,151)

(Much defaced at the centre)

e Musaeo 65, c.1380

Bodleian Library, Oxford



ame
me
ntre
contre
leignes
vaines
sint haste
queste
le tader
der
e memuz
es la benuz

... la d'amon
... la d'amon
... la d'amon

Fig. 22

Pygmalion falling in love with his sculpture

M.245, c.1405

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.

Et de loz biaux yeux amouyeux
Doulcement regarder. A vive
Et en me doit bieu ce coy suffire
Car doulz regard & vis piteux
Sont as amans mont deliteux

*Comme ymalhon sageuouille devant
son ymage fait come bue fame.*



Dymalhon lors sageuouille
Qui de larmes sa face mouille
Son gage teut si lui ameude
N'es el uacue de fameude
Car elle ne teut riens ne sent
Ne de lui ne de son pnt
Ne ce creut perdue supame

Fig. 23

Pygmalion embracing his sculpture

M.245, c.1405

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.

Dout vient donc ceste miracle

Est ce fantosme ou auenu

Qui s'est en mon ymage mis

Come par les priers de pyndion son
ymage vit en vie . qui parla de lui



Drs li respondy la pucelle
Qui tal vert auent & belle

Et tant auoit blonde lacosme

Et eust ans me fantosme

Doulz ans ans fins bre amie

Dreste de bre compaignie

Recevoiz & manons bons offre

Et il bons plect Receuez ceste offre

Cil ot que la chose est a certes

Et sont les miracles apertes

Fig. 24

Pygmalion carving the statue (20,817)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Tant a biaulte & plus alles.



Cō p̄mation fait vng p̄maige.

Ca
ft
Ri
Si
Al
Mo
L
M
A

Fig. 25

Pygmalion kneels before the statue (20,937)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Et oute nre retrouidit la bouche.



Et oī p̄malis̄o request̄ n̄ca s̄o p̄m̄te

o.

at

e.

Fig. 26

Pygmalion's statue comes to life (21,127)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

B
T
O
B
O
B
T
B



Et p̄ p̄mation su treuve en bre.

Fig. 27

Pygmalion and Galatea give thanks (21,251)

MS Douce 195, end fifteenth century

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Gothic or similar, running horizontally across the top of the page.



APPENDIX:

Roman de la Rose

*Textual References for the
Slide Collection Base
of this Thesis*

<i>SERIES I.....</i> <i>Illustrations from B.N. 378,</i> <i>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris</i>	<i>18 slides 158</i>
<i>SERIES II.....</i> <i>Illustrations from MS e Musaeo 65</i> <i>Bodleian Library, Oxford University</i>	<i>56 slides 162</i>
<i>SERIES III.....</i> <i>Illustrations from MS Douce 195</i> <i>Roll 157A, Bodleian Library,</i> <i>Oxford University</i>	<i>128 slides 179</i>
<i>SERIES IV.....</i> <i>Illustrations from Three MSS</i> <i>(MS.Douce 195, MS.Selden Supra 57, MS.Add.22)</i> <i>Roll 182C, Bodleian Library, Oxford University</i>	<i>11 slides 196</i>
<i>SERIES V.....</i> <i>Illustrations from Four MSS</i> <i>(M.132, M.245, M.324, M.948)</i> <i>Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.</i>	<i>26 slides 198</i>

Appendix

Roman de la Rose Textual References

For the Slide Collection Base of this Thesis

*The Slide Collection Base of this Thesis consists of two hundred and thirty-nine slides, collected from nine separate manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose** which are held by three different libraries, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England, and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.*

From the Bibliothèque Nationale there are:

1) - all of the illustrations from B.N.378, full pages - eighteen slides - twenty-eight images.

From the Bodleian Library there are:

2) - all of the miniatures from e Musaeo 65, fifty-six slides, end of the fourteenth century according to the Bodleian - or later: see reference to the letter from Lori Walters.

3) - all of the illustrations from MS Douce 195, one hundred and twenty-eight slides, end of the fifteenth century.

4) - a selection of illustrations from three manuscripts in the Bodleian collection, eleven slides: MS Douce 195, fifteenth century, MS Seldon Supra 57, second quarter fourteenth century, and MS Add.A.22, about 1300 and about 1370.

From the Pierpont Morgan Library there are:

5) - illustrations from four manuscripts in the Morgan collection (twenty-six slides) M.132 (c.1380), M.245 (c.1405), M.324 (mid XIV century), and M.948 (c.1520).

In this appendix the information supplied by the different libraries about each of the slides in this collection has been assembled, along with the page or verse references for three different versions of this poem, the 1920 translation by Ernest Langlois, the 1965 translation by Félix Lecoy and the 1971 English translation by Charles Dahlberg.

SERIES I

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM B.N. 378

Figs. 1-28 reproduce the complete schedule of illustrations from MS Paris B.N. 378. End of the thirteenth century.¹

	<u>Langlois</u>	<u>Lecoy</u>	<u>Dahlberg</u>	<u>Slide Title</u> (Dahlberg, xiii)
1. Fol.13 R col.1 (slide #1) Thesis text Fig. 1	1	1	p.31	<i>The Dreamer asleep</i> (6.8mm x 4.7mm)
2. Fol.13 R col.3 (slide #1)	139	139	p.32-33	<i>The author describes the images on the wall, Hatred first</i> (7.1mm x 4.7mm)
3. Fol.13 V col.1, top (slide #2)	155	155	p.33	<i>Felony</i> (6.8mm x 4.8mm)
4. Fol.13 V col.1, middle (slide #2)	169	169	p.33	<i>Covetousness</i> (6.8mm x 4.8mm)

¹Charles Dahlberg, trans., *The Romance of the Rose* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1971), p.xiii.

5. <i>Fol.13 V col.2, top</i> (slide #2)	195	195	p.33	<i>Avarice</i> (6.2mm x 4.7mm)
6. <i>Fol.13 V col.2, bottom</i> (slide #2)	235	235	p.34	<i>Envy</i> (6.6mm x 4.8mm)
7. <i>Fol.14 R col.1</i> (slide #3)	291	291	p.34	<i>Sorrow</i> (6.7mm x 4.7mm)
8. <i>Fol.14 R col.2</i> (slide #3)	339	339	p.35	<i>Old Age</i> (6.1mm x 4.7mm)
9. <i>Fol.14 R col.3</i> (slide #3)	407	405	p.36	<i>Pope-Holiness</i> (7.4mm x 4.9mm)
10. <i>Fol.14 V col.1</i> (slide #4)	441	439	p.36	<i>Poverty</i> (6.4mm x 4.7mm)
11. <i>Fol.14 V col.3</i> (slide #4)	582	580	p.38	<i>The Dreamer meets Idleness</i> (6.9mm x 4.7mm)
12. <i>Fol.15 V col.1</i> (slide #5)	801	799	p.41	<i>Diversion</i> (6.6mm x 4.7mm)
13. <i>Fol.17 R col.3</i> (slide #6)	1439	1437	p.50	<i>The Fountain of Narcissus</i> (7.2mm x 4.8mm)

Thesis text Fig.14

(slide #7 - no illustration - text only)

14.Fol.18 R col.1 (slide #8)	1681	1679	p.54	<i>The God of Love shoots at the Dreamer-Lover (6.4mm x 4.8mm)</i>
15.Fol.18 V col.3 (slide #9)	1881	1879	p.56	<i>The Lover kneels to the God of Love (6.3mm x 4.8mm)</i>
16.Fol.18 V col.3 (slide #9)	1995	1993	p.58	<i>The Lover performs the act of homage to the God of Love (7.2mm x 4.8mm)</i>
17.Fol.21 R col.2 (slide #10)	2797	2781	p.69	<i>Fair Welcoming and the Lover (6.0mm x 4.7mm)</i>
18.Fol.21 V col.2 (slide #11)	2943	2927	p.72	<i>Resistance and the Lover (6.2mm x 4.7mm)</i>
19.Fol.21 V col.3 (slide #11)	2998	2982	p.73	<i>Reason and the Lover (6.8mm x 4.8mm)</i>
20.Fol.22 R col.2 (slide #12)	3123	3107	p.75	<i>Friend and the Lover (6.4mm x 4.7mm)</i>
21.Fol.22 R col.1 (slide #13)	3255	3239	p.77	<i>Openness and Pity speak to Resistance (6.3mm x 4.5mm)</i>
22.Fol.23 R col.2 (slide #14)	3442	3424	p.79	<i>Venus and Fair Welcoming (6.4mm x 4.7mm)</i>

23.Fol.23 V col.1,top (slide #15)	3535	3517	p.81	<i>Jealousy and the Lover</i> (6.4mm x 4.8mm)
24.Fol.23 V col.1,bottom (slide #15)	3568	3550	p.81	<i>Shame and the Lover</i> (6.4mm x 4.8mm)
25.Fol.23 V col.3,bottom (slide #15)	3568	3550	p.81	<i>Shame and Fear waken Resistance</i> (6.8mm x 4.8mm)
26.Fol.24 R col.2 (slide #16)	3669	3651	p.83	<i>The Lover and Resistance</i> (6.5mm x 4.9mm)
27.Fol.24 V col.1 (slide #17)	3755	3737	p.84	<i>Tower of Jealousy</i> (6.7mm x 4.7mm)
28.Fol.25 R col.1 (slide #18)	4059	4029	p.91	<i>The Poet at his desk</i> (6.2mm x 4.8mm)
Thesis text Fig.10				

SERIES II

The Romance of the Rose (Le Roman de la Rose): from MS e Musaeo 65

Bodleian Library, Oxford - Roll 174F - 43 frames - c.1380

- A) = *MS e Musaeo 65 - from Roll 174F - Reference from the Bodleian French costume, from a manuscript of **The Romance of the Rose** French, c.1380*
- B) = *MS e Musaeo 65 - from Roll 175F (6 supplementary slides - received as part of "C" below) - Reference from the Bodleian French illumination: grisaille miniatures in a copy of **The Romance of the Rose**, c.1390*
- C) = *12 frames which complete the illustrations of MS e Musaeo 65 -Reference (and description of each image received) from the Bodleian*

<u>Frame</u>	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Langlois</u>	<u>Lecoy</u>	<u>Dahlberg</u>
1	1a	21 ff.	21	p.31

- A) *Poet sleeping under white coverlet.*
- B) *The poem opens with a reference to Macrobius' account of "King" Scipio's Dream. Thus furnished with a suitable classical precedent the poet goes on to recount a dream he had five years or so earlier when he was twenty. His intention is to write in verse the Romance of the Rose containing the whole art of love, or rather of courtly love. (line 21)(#1 - 175F)*

2	1b	103-128	103-128	p.32
---	----	---------	---------	------

- A) *Poet standing in walled garden, dressed in white robe, beside stream. He believes that dreams come true, and will tell one, which he dreamed when he was twenty years old, one May five years ago.*

6 5v 1689 1687 p.54

- A) *God of love, with wings, dressed in long dress, before him stands lover in grey tunic and long pointed shoes. (line 1689).*
- B) *The Lover makes his way towards the roses he has seen reflected in the crystal. He selects one red bud, fairer in his eyes than all the rest; but, despite his desire to possess this rose, he cannot reach it because of the thorns. As he stands there helpless the God of Love fires his first arrow into the Lover's eye. Four more follow in quick succession. (line 1689) (#8 - 175F).*

7 6 235 235 p.34

- A) *Envy, a female, in long grey dress seated on pedestal, chin resting on hand. (line 235).*

8 6v 291 291 p.34

- A) *Sorrow, a female with long hair, seated on pedestal, wearing long dress and beating her breast. (line 291).*
- B) *On the wall of this garden are a series of figures representing all that is banished from the courtly world. Each is described in turn: a curious company of vices and misfortunes, Hate, Wrath, Villainy, Covetousness, Avarice, Envy, Sadness, Old Age, Hypocrisy and Poverty. (line 291) (#3 - 175F).*

9 7 527-574 525-572 p.37/38

- A) *Idleness, a female holding a mirror and comb stands in front of the lover, both dressed in long robes. (lines 527-574).*
- B) *After seeking in vain for a way into the garden, the Lover finds the only entrance, a small door in the wall, at which he knocks. The door is opened by the beautiful Lady Idleness. In one hand she holds a mirror, in the other a comb with which she combs her golden tresses. she explains to the Lover how Delight, her lord, enclosed the garden and banished from it all that is ill-suited to courtly society. The Lover is then admitted to the garden. (lines 527-574) (#4 - 175F)*

- 10 8 339 339 p.35
- A) *Old Age, an old woman wearing long gown and cloak, with crutches. (line 339).*
- 11 8v 407 405 p.36
- A) *Hypocrisy, a female in long dress and veil kneels before cloth-covered altar. (line 407).*
- 12 9 - - p.36
- A) *Poverty, a bare-footed figure in rags seated on mound.*
- 13 10 1191 1189 p.46
- A) *Franchise, a female wearing long dress and shallow "chapel d'orfroi" stands before man in tunic and pointed shoes. (line 1191).*
- 14 10v 1229 1227 p.47
- A) *Courtesy, a seated man; lady kneels before him in flowing dress holding goblet; page in tunic stands behind her holding jug and goblet. (line 1229)*
- 15 11 1251&1859 1249&1857p.47/p.56
- A) *Two young maidens in long white dresses, in garden; one left seated holding something, one right standing with outstretched left hand, right hand behind her holding hood to strike butterfly above her head. Three trees in background (line 1251).*
- Three trees in background. Jonece (youth) in long dress kissing man in long robe and feather in hat. (line 1859).*

16 12v 1439 1437 p.50

- A) *Narcissus kneels by pool, dressed in tunic and pointed shoes and pointed hood; behind him stands charger with large golden bit. On right stands Echo in long white dress praying. (line 1439)*
- B) *As he strolls along he comes to a fountain under a pine tree, the very fountain where Narcissus died. After recounting the story of Narcissus and Echo, Guillaume de Lorris goes (on) to describe the fountain which contains two crystals which mirror the beauty of the entire garden and in it the rose-plot. (line 1439?) (#6 - 175F)*

Thesis text Fig.15

17 13v 1604 1602 p.52

- A) *Lover kneeling by pool. On right, God of Love crowned and wearing long tunic and holding bow and arrows. Trees and climbing rose in background (line 1604).*
- B) *As the Lover gazes into the water at the "Fontaine d'Amor", the God Love, who has followed him, looks on. (line 1606) (#7 -175F).*

Thesis text Fig. 16

18 15 1881 1879 p.56

- A) *Lover in long robe kneeling before God of Love who is winged and crowned, and holding sceptre. (line 1881).*
- B) *The God of Love then calls on the Lover to yield. He readily agrees to submit and does homage to the God of Love by placing his hands between those of his new master. (line 1881) (#9 - 175F).*

19 15v 1955 1953 p.57/58

- A) *God of Love winged and crowned, with gold belt and wallet, embracing lover wearing long robe. (line 1955).*

B) *Having embraced his new vassal and locked up his heart, the God of Love addresses him on his duties, gives him advice on what is expected of anyone in his service and warns him of the pains and torments such service brings with it, for love is best, when hardest won. To comfort him and alleviate his suffering Love promises him Sweet Thoughts, Hope, Fair-Speech and Sweet Looks. (line 1955 and line 1999) (#10 & #11 - 175F).*

20 16 1999 1997 p.58

A) *God of Love, winged and crowned, holding large key, locks heart of lover, who is wearing long robe.(line 1999).*

B) *see B of Frame no.19 above.*

21 22 2787 2771 P.69

A) *Lover and Bel Accueil, both in long robes, stand next to hedge protecting rose garden. (line 2787).*

B) *Once the address is over, the Lover's thoughts turn again to the Rose. While he is standing wondering whether to climb into the rose-garden a handsome youth comes towards him. This is Fair-Welcome, Courtesy's son, who bids him climb the hedge into the garden to smell the rose. (line 2787) (#12 - 175F).*

22 22v 2824 2808 p.70

A) *Dangier, dressed as peasant, with a club, stands with Malebouche and woman. Malebouche points to female figure standing on left (line 2824).*

B) *Unbeknown to the Lover and Fair-Welcome, a hideous villain, Danger (Langlois suggests he represents Ovid's Pudor, C.S.Lewis "the rebuff direct, the Lady's "snub" launched from the height of her Ladyhood". Whilst others suggest that he stands for the jealous husband). He is hidden, watching and listening. At the very moment when the Lover is confiding in Fair-Welcome who takes flight. (line 2824) (#13 - 175F).*

23 23v 2971 2955 p.73

- A) *Raison crowned, with plaited hair, and long trailing sleeves, talks to Lover, dressed in long robe and holding hat with feather. (line 2971).*
- B) *As the Lover stands disconsolate Reason descends from her tower to address him. Youthful folly, she claims, has brought him to this pass. Her advice is that he should leave the service of Love. to which the Lover replies that he is Love's man and would rather die than betray his Lord. Reason, realizing that what she advises is unacceptable departs. (line 2971) (#14 -175F).*

24 25 3204 3188 p.76

- A) *Dangier, dressed in hood and short robe, leans on club. Centre, lover in long robe, wearing sword on belt, and left, man in long cloak wearing hood, and small hat. (line 3204).*
- B) *Left alone once more, the Lover remembers that the God of Love bade him confide in a friend. He therefore seeks the Friend and tells him his troubles and how Danger has frightened away Fair-Welcome. The Friend suggests that the Lover should go to Danger and beg for mercy.. Danger is slightly mollified: but warns the Lover to keep well away from the roses in his charge. The Friend tries to comfort him , whilst Franchise and Pity after chiding Danger for his harsh treatment of the Lover persuade him to allow Fair-Welcome to return. The Lover reunited with Fair-Welcome tries to induce him to let him steal a kiss from the rose, but Fair-Welcome, fearing what Chastity would do to him, dare not grant the request. He is however overruled by his mother, Venus, and the Lover has his kiss. (line 3204) (#14 -175F).*

25 26 3526 3508 p.80/81

- A) *Jealousy, long scarf twisted round head, chides Bel Accueil , wearing long dress, and hands in slits in the front of her skirt, (line 3526).*
- B) *Evil-Tongue cannot wait to gossip about what he has seen. He makes such a noise, that he wakes Jealousy who hastens to scold Fair-Welcome for allowing the Lover his kiss. She declares she will build an even higher wall round the roses and imprison Fair-Welcome in a tower in the rose-garden. (line 3526) (#16 -175F).*

26 27 3645 3627 p.82

- A) *Fear talking to Shame, both wearing long dresses and hoods, one has hand in slit of skirt. (line 3645).*
- B) *Fear and Shame who have listened to this conversation are afraid that they too are implicated in Fair-Welcome's disgrace and go off to complain to Danger that he has not kept watch properly. (line 3645) (#17 - 175F).*

27 27v 3669 3651 p.83

- A) *Dangier wearing hood and short robe, lies under the thorn tree. On left, Fear and Shame, both wearing long dresses and hoods. (line 3669).*
- B) *They find Danger asleep beneath a hawthorn tree and rouse him (line 3669) (#18 - 175F).*

28 28v 3797 3779 p.85

- A) *Jealousy, wearing long dress, watches three workmen in tunics building tower. (line 3797).*
- B) *Meanwhile Jealousy has gathered together workmen from far and wide to build an impregnable castle. Fair-Welcome is imprisoned in the tower. (line 3797) (#19 - 175F).*

It is at this point of the account that Guillaume de Lorris' narrative comes to an end, though he does indicate that the castle will eventually fall to the God of Love. In the continuation little attention is devoted to the development of the plot. The allegorical figures become, to all intents and purposes, vehicles for the expression of ideas far more weighty than an exposition of the art of courtly love. (Note: this paragraph is a comment at the end of #19 - Roll 175F.)

29 30v 4059 4029 p.91

- A) *Jean de Meung, dressed like a clerk, seated in hooded chair with lectern in front. (line 4059).*

Thesis text Fig.11

30 32 4221 4191 p.93

- A) *"Raison la Belle", dressed in long skirt, and crowned, comes down from tower, to talk to lover, dressed in long robe. (line 4221).*
- B) *Reason reappears to woo the disconsolate Lover as he wavers in his allegiance to Love. Her speech constitutes the **first digression** and occupies some three thousand lines which range over a variety of topics including the nature of love and fortune. (line 4221) (#20 - 175F).*

31 56 7229 7199 p.137

- A) *Reason, in long dress and crowned, disappears into tower. Lover talks to friend, both wearing long robes. (line 7229).*
- B) *Realizing that despite her eloquence she cannot prevail on the Lover to forsake the service of Love to serve her instead, she leaves him. The Lover once more seeks out the Friend for comfort and is advised to secure the release of Fair-Welcome by corrupting his jailer. This shocks the Lover who declares himself ready to face Evil-Tongue and challenge him; but as the Friend points out, this would be utterly unavailing. The Friend suggests an alternative way into the castle by the path of Mad-Largess and Free-Giving. He warns the Lover, however, that, though Richesse will accompany him thither, his companion on the return journey will be Poverty. The mention of Poverty leads him to consider various other topics and the thousand lines which follow constitute the **second digression**. He concludes by advising the Lover never to oppose a woman's will if he would please her. (line 7229). (#21 -175F).*

32 66 8561 8531 p.158

- A) *Jean de Meung dressed like a clerk reads book; on right, two standing figures dressed in long robes. (line 8561).*

Thesis text Fig.12

- 33 66v 8561 8531 p.158
- A) *Lucretia dressed in long robe, killing herself in front of three relatives, all of whom wear long robes. (line 8561).*
- 34 72v 9361 9331 p.168/169
- A) *Jealous husband, wearing tunic and hood, takes wife by plaits; four figures wearing long robes and tunics. (line 9361).*
- 35 77v 10,051 10,021 p.179/180
- A) *Lover, in tunic and long pointed shoes, finds wealth, in long dress, sitting by fountain. (line 10,051).*
- B) *Sweet-Thoughts and Fair-Speech return to comfort the Lover; but he soon takes leave of them and, cast down by the Friend's advice to keep well away from the castle, wanders in the garden. He comes upon Lady Richesse as she sits guarding the path of Free-Giving. She scornfully dismisses him. (line 10,051) (#22 - 175F)*
- 36 79v 10,311 10,281 p.183
- A) *God of Love, in long robe, wearing crown and holding sceptre, puts hand on head of Lover who wears long robe. (line 10,311).*
- B) *As he wanders off, musing on his resolve to remain faithful to his vows, the God of Love appears and questions him. Assured that the Lover is loyal to him, he resolves to summon his barons and lay siege to the castle. (line 10,311) (#23 - 175F).*
- 37 81 10,493 10,463 p.185
- A) *Crowned and winged God of Love faces barons, dressed in tunics, helmets and carrying spears and banners. (line 10,493).*

- B) *The barons, among them Lady Idleness, Nobleness of Heart, Richesse, Franchise, Pity, Largess, Courage, Honour, Courtesy, Delight, Simplicity, Company, Surety, Pleasure, Beauty, Youth, Constrained-Abstinence and False-Seeming, duly gather and are harangued by the God of Love. (line 10,443) (#24 - 175F - Folio no. 81 - note difference in Langlois line no. for this Folio no.).*

38 82v 10,681 10,651 p.189

- A) *God of Love crowned and winged sits facing barons, dressed in helmets and tunics, first holding battle-axe and sword and gold belt, others carrying shield, spears, and belt, and sword. (line 10,681).*
- B) *With the exception of Richesse, they declare that they are ready and eager to fight and draw up a plan of campaign asking that they may have the aid of Venus. The God of Love replies that she is not at his command. He goes on to explain the difference between the service hue to him and his mother before swearing to revenge himself on Richesse for her refusal to fight for his cause by making rich men whom he ensnares poor. He then notices that False-Seeming and Constrained-Abstinence have found their way into his heart. False-Seeming's replies to his questions constitute the **third digression** of a thousand or so lines in which the mendicant orders among other things are violently attacked. False-Seeming and Constrained-Abstinence are then accepted, though not without reluctance, as allies. (line 10,681) (#25 -175F).*

39 95 12,147 12,117 p.211

- A) *"Faux Semblant" dressed in long black cloak, Abstinence, wearing long dress with black hood and rosary on wrist, talks to bearded man, dressed in long robe and hood. (line 12,361)*
- B) *In accordance with the agreed plan these two, now disguised as a Dominican friar and a Beguine, approach Evil-Tongue and ask for food and shelter for the night. In return for hospitality they promise a sermon. Constrained-Abstinence chides Evil-Tongue for his slanderous accusations against the Lover. He retorts that she is a liar. False-Seeming joins in and accuses Evil-Tongue that, whatever he does, the Lover will still secure his Rose. Overwhelmed, Evil-Tongue declares he is ready to make his confession and receive absolution. (line 12,147) (#26 - 175F)*

40 97 12,361 12,331 p.214/215

- A) *"Faux Semblant" dressed in long black cloak, seated, kills Malebouche, who kneels at his feet dressed in tunic. (line 12,361).*
- B) *As he kneels to confess, the pilgrim strangles him and cuts out his tongue with a razor. they then throw his body into the ditch and , finding his Norman guards asleep, cut their throats, too. (line 12,361) (#27 - 175F).*

41 98v 12,555 12,525 p.214/215

- A) *Prison of Bel Acueil. On top of tower stands old woman in hood addressing Bel Acueil in grey dress. (line 12,555).*
- B) *Courtesy and Largess come to join False-Seeming and his companion and together they go into the courtyard of the tower where Fair-Welcome is imprisoned with the Old-Woman as company. The Old-Woman agrees to take a chaplet of flowers from the Lover to Fair-Welcome. (line 12,555) (#28 - 175F).*

42 99v 12,689 12,659 p.220/221

- A) *Same prison. Old woman on top, in hood and holding flowers, addresses Bel Acueil wearing grey dress. (line 12,689).*
- B) *Fair-Welcome is most reluctant to accept the Lover's gift, but the Old-Woman forces it on him. (Fair-Welcome is wrongly depicted as a young girl, possibly the heroine herself, instead of a young "bachelier". Jean de Meung from his treatment of the Lover's gift also appears unmindful of this fact, though the Old-Woman continues to address Fair-Welcome as "Beaus fiz"). (line 12,689) (#29 - 175F).*

See R.V.Fleming, The Romance of the Rose, a study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton, 1969) on the bisexual nature of Fair-Welcome (A. Henry).

43 100 12,727 12,697 p.221

- A) *Old woman, in long dress and hood, addressing Bel Acueil, who wears chaplet and is looking in mirror. Both seated on grass. (line 12, 727).*
- B) *Fair-Welcome, after much encouragement from the Old-Woman, puts on the chaplet and admires the effect in the mirror. The Old-Woman then tells her life story from the days when she was young, beautiful and much sought after. Her speech, crammed with classical allusions, provides the **fourth digression** of more than two thousand lines. She urges Fair-Welcome to profit from her story and promises to admit the Lover to the castle without Jealousy's knowledge. (line 12,727) (#30 - 175F).*

*NOTE: Frame no.43 above marks the final frame of Roll 174F. The remaining frames will be listed according to their Folio nos. and given a numbering system as follows:
44s = Supplementary 1 etc.*

44s 102r 13,720 13,690 p.236/p.221

- C) *The old woman and Bel Acueil (a girl) sit talking on a wooden bench with solid ends and openwork back. The young woman, hair visible, has the flowered chaplet on. (l.13,720)(SATF.13,001)*

45s 103v 13,907 13,877 p.238/p.228

- C) *Dido, piercing herself right through the breast with a sword, whose hilt she grasps; her hair loose, bloodstains. Her head is turned to the left.(l.13,907)(SATF.13,198)*

46s 115r 14,694 14,664 p.250

- B) *True to her promise she comes down from the tower to tell the Lover she will leave the postern gate open so that he may visit Fair-Welcome. (line 14,694) (#31 - 175F).*
- C) *The old woman on left, tall headdress and left hand raised, has come to tell the Lover (right) that he can come to see Bel Acueil.(l.15,396)(SATF.14,694)*

47s 116r 14,827 14,797 p.253

- B) *The Lover and Fair-Welcome are then reunited. The Lover declares that his sole desire is to possess the Rose. As he advances toward it Danger rushes out, accompanied by Shame and Fear, to drive him away, whilst Fair-Welcome is locked up again, in the tower. In despair the Lover calls upon the barons of Lover's host who arrive to succour him. They take up their positions ready to fight, but before battle commences the author makes opportunity to apologize for his work and begs the reader to bear with him. This forms the **fifth digression**. (line 14,827) (#32 - 175F).*
- C) *The Lover on left, hands raised in horror, head turned to look at Dangier on right. He is bearded, holding a club raised in his left hand; right hand also lifted. He wears a short tunic. Chequered gold and black background (l.15,545) (SATF.14,827)*

48s 120r 15,703 15,673 p.266

- B) *There follows a series of combats. Franchise engages in single combat with Danger and is almost overcome, when Pity comes to help her. Shame in turn rushes to aid Danger and, before she herself is discomfited by Hide-Well; puts Pity to flight. Fear joins the fray and, though at first victorious, is hard pressed by Surety. The God of Love, seeing his barons in danger of defeat, sends Franchise and Sweet-looks to summon his mother, Venus. They find her hunting in Cythera with Adonis. His story forms the **sixth digression**. Venus declares her readiness to overthrow Jealousy and rides to her son's aid in a carriage drawn by eight doves. She addressed the barons who swear allegiance to her. (line 15,703) (#33 -175F).*
- C) *On left, two girls, Pity, with sword and shield, and Franchise with a lance, striking the shield of Dangier on right. (Same figure as on f.116) He lifts a club in right hand and looks very evil. Device on shield a black griffin (l.16,035) (SATF. 15,303)*

49s 124v 16,647 16,617 p.280

- C) *Man and woman lying on a bed embracing (text speaks of Nature multiplying the species). Outline of their bodies visible beneath sheet. Two small square pillows. foot of bed not covered. Semi-circular chair in front of bed on left.*

*Floor patterned to represent boards. Red and gold background. (l.16,647)
(SATF.15,893)*

50s 127v 16,285 16,255 p.275

B) *Their oath delights Nature as she works in her forge. She is praised for her skill unsurpassed by even the most talented artists like Zeuxis. Yet she laments her one great fault, the giving of life to men who constantly transgress her laws. Genius agrees to hear her confession and the ensuing dialogue, some four thousand lines in all, embodies Jean der Meung's ideas on cosmogony, astronomy, optics, free-will, necessity and destiny, to mention only some of the topics found in this the **seventh digression**. The speech ends with a denunciation of man's wickedness and a description of the punishments he will incur. (line 16,285) (#34 - 175F).*

C) *Seated figure (Genius the Chaplain) in elaborate brown fur headdress decorated with tails, placing right hand on head of kneeling woman (Nature) on left. She has fair plaited hair. (l.17,077) (SATF.16,285)*

51s 131r 17,545 17,515 p.293

C) *Young woman (Nature) on left tells Lover (right) how God made the world from a confused mass. Four tall trees behind. Gold-leaf background, a small patch of blue sky at top showing full moon, sun surrounded by sun beams, and several small stars. (l.17,545) (SATF. 16,729)*

52s 152r 19,505 19,475 p.322

B) *Genius is then dispatched by Nature to Love's host. Dressed as a bishop, he urges the assembled company to obey Nature's laws and thus ensure the continuity of the human race. His sermon, the **eighth digression**, occupies a further two thousand lines. To those who follow Nature's commands he promises Paradise. On those who disobey he pronounces sentence of anathema. (line 19,505) (#35 -175F).*

C) *"Genius" in bishop's robe and mitre, holding crozier, seated on a high desk-like structure, addressing several people seated or kneeling on the floor. One or two are making enthusiastic gestures. In the text (SATF.l.19,477) the God of*

Love has dressed Genius as a bishop and given him a taper so that he can pronounce sentence of anathema against those who disobey Nature. (1.20,353) (SATF. 19,505)

53s 162v 20,817 20,787 p.340

- C) *Pygmalion, in a very short tunic, leaning over a table; he is working with a long chisel-like instrument on a small nude statue of a woman. (Note pointed shoes). Other tools lie on the table. Red and gold background (SATF.20,817)*

Thesis text Fig.20

54s 165r 21,151 21,121 p.345

- C) *Much defaced in the centre. Outlines of Pygmalion embracing the statue which has come alive. A tree on either side, several groups of flowers in the grass. (SATF. 21,151)*

Thesis text Fig.21

55s 166r 21,251 21,221 p.347

- B) *Venus, after calling in vain on the defenders to surrender the castle, aims her bow at a certain image fairer than the image Pygmalion loved. This comparison leads to the **ninth digression**, a mere thousand lines telling the story of Pygmalion. Venus then shoots her fiery arrow. The castle bursts into flames and the defenders fly. Fair-Welcome is rescued and after the **tenth and last digression**, surrenders the Rose to the Lover. The Lover then awakes. (line 21,251) (#36 - 175F).*
- C) *Elaborate square tower on right, with battlements, door and portcullis, turrets. On it a naked woman seated beneath a stone canopy, flames rising round her. On the left, Venus, in a golden crown and a dress with long sleeves, shooting with a cross-bow; she is directing an arrow with burning head towards the woman on the top of the tower, who has to leave naked. (She is the Allegory of the Rose) (SATF. 21,251)*

NOTE: In total there are fifty-six slides of the miniatures in MS e Musaeo 65. Forty-three frames are part of Roll 174F (A). Another twelve miniatures were obtained (as slides) separately: six of these were also part of Roll 175F (B), another six were obtained to complete the collection (C), and one single slide (56s) was ordered to provide this collection with the full first page of this manuscript. It incorporates the images found in Frame 1 and Frame 2.

SERIES III

The Romance of the Rose (Le Roman de la Rose): from MS Douce 195

Bodleian Library, Oxford - Roll 157 A - 128 frames - end fifteenth century

a) *MS Douce 195-Bodleian Library, Oxford*

<u>Frame</u>	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Langlois</u>	<u>Lecoy</u>	<u>Dahlberg</u>
1	1	-	-	p.31

a) (top left) *Man seated reading by window. Five years ago, when aged twenty the poet had a dream, which he will tell.*

2	1	-	-	p.31
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a) (top right) *The poet, dreaming. He believes that dreams come true. He will call his story the 'Romance of the Rose'; in compliment to a lady.*

Thesis text Fig.7 (A & B) is a reproduction of the full initial page of this manuscript, and this illustration includes the images contained in Frame 1 and Frame 2. (See Frame 1 - SERIES IV of this Thesis - Bodleian Library Roll 182C)

3	1v	103	103	p.32
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a) (top) *The Lover walking near a castle (line 103).
Note: There is no reference in the poem to a nearby castle.*

4	1v	103	103	p.32
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a) (bottom) *The Lover kneeling beside a stream (line 103).*

5 2 129 129 p.32

a) (bottom/right) *The Lover approaches the Garden of Pleasure (line 129).*

6 2 139 139 p.32

a) (top/right) *Hatred (line 139).*

7 2 155 155 p.33

a) (bottom/right) *Villainy (line 155).*

8 2v 169 169 p.33

a) (left) *Covetousness (line 169).*

9 2v 195 195 p.33

a) (right) *Avarice (line 195).*

10 3 235 235 p.34

a) *Envy (line 235).*

11 3v 291 291 p.35

a) (left) *Sadness (line 291).*

12 2v 339 339 p.35

a) (right) *Old Age (line 339).*

13 4 407 405 p.36

a) *Hypocrisy (line 407).*

14 4v 445 443 p.36

a) *Poverty (line 445).*

15 5 - - p.38

a) *Idleness opens the door to the Lover.*

16 6 630 630 p.39

a) *The Lover enters the Garden (line 630).*

17 7 777 775 p.41

a) *The courtiers perform a round dance (line 777).*

18 10v 1301 1299 p.48

a) *The God of Love pursues the Lover (line 1301).*

19 11v 1425 1423 p.50

a) *The Lover comes to the fountain (line 1425).*

Thesis text Fig.18

20 12 1467 1465 p.50

a) *The story of Narcissus (line 1467).*

Thesis text Fig.19

21 13 1623 1622 p.52/53

a) *The God of Love sees that the Lover has been surprised by the Rose (line 1623).*

22 13v 1681 1679 p.54

a) *The God of Love strikes the Lover (line 1681).*

23 14v 1881 1879 p.56/57

a) *The Lover kneels to the God of Love (line 1881).*

24 15 1961 1959 p.57/58

a) *The God of Love embraces the Lover (line 1961).*

25 20 2779 2763 p.69

a) *The Lover and Bel Acueil approach the Garden (line 2779).*

26 21v 2920 2904 p.71

a) *Dangier attacks the Lover and Bel Acueil (line 2920).*

27 22 2971 2955 p.73

a) *The Lover stands before a richly dressed lady (line 2971).*

28 23 3099 3083 p.75

a) *The Lover addressed by Ami (line 3099).*

29 23v 3151 3135 p.76

a) *The Lover speaks to Dangier (line 3151).*

30 24 3207 3191 p.77

a) (top) *The Lover thanks Ami (line 3207).*

31 24 3221 3205 p.78

a) (bottom) *Frankness and Pity speak to Dangier (line 3221).*

32a 24v 3324 3308 p.78

a) *Two women speak to Bel Acueil (line 3324).*

32b 24v duplicate of 32a, made in error.

33 25 3342 3327 p.78

a) *Franchise sends Bel Acueil to the Lover (line 3342).*

34 25v 3409 3391 p.79

a) *Venus comes to the Lover (line 3409).*

35 26 3473 3455 p.80

a) (left) *The Lover kisses the Rose (line 3473)*

36 26 3511 3493 p.80

a) (right) *Malebouche speaks deprecatingly of the Lover (line 3511).*

- 37 27v 3660 3642 p.82/83
a) Modesty speaks to Dangier (line 3660).
- 38 28 3797 3779 p.85
a) The Castle of Jealousy (line 3797).
- 39 31 4221 4191 p.93
a) Reason comes to the Lover (line 4221).
- 40 41 5595 5565 p.114
a) The martyrdom of Virginia (line 5595).
- 41 43 5923 5893 p.117/118
a) The Lover faces Fortune (line 5923).
- 42 44v 6183 6153 p.122
a) Nero's murder of his mother (line 6183).
- 43 45 6183 6153 p.122/123
a) Nero's murder of Seneca (line 6183).
- 44 46 6413 6385 p.125/126
a) Nero flees into a garden (line 6413).

45 47 6491 6461 p.126/127

a) *King Croesus of Lydia at a feast (line 6491).*

46 48 6633 6603 p.128/129

a) *Battle of Benevento (line 6633).*

Note: There is no text reference to the name "Benvento".

47 49 6813 6783 p.131/132

a) *Reason lectures the Lover (line 6813).*

48 52 7231 7201 p.138

a) *The Lover consults Ami (line 7231).*

49 59v 8353 8323 p.154/155

a) *Idyllic lovers of long ago (line 8353).*

50 60 8459 8429 p.156

a) *The cruel husband (line 8459).*

51 61v 8608 8578 p.158

a) *The rape of Lucretia (line 8608).*

52 63v 8957 8927 p.163

a) *Beauty and Ugliness assail Chastity (line 8957).*

53 65v 9187 9157 p.166

a) *Hercules fights a monster (line 9187).*

54 66v 9369 9339 p.168/169

a) *A suspicious husband maltreats his wife (line 9369).*

55 67v 9493 9463 p.170/171

a) *A house where husband and wife agree (line 9493).*

56 71 10,015 9985 p.179

a) (left) *The Lover rides away from the castle (line 10,015).*

57 71 10,051 10,021 p.179/180

a) (right) *The Lover asks Richesse the way (line 10,051).*

58 73 10,273 10,243 p.182/183

a) (left) *Richesse dismisses the Lover (line 10,273).*

59 73 10,307 10,277 p.183/184

a) (right) *The God of Love appears to the Lover (line 10,307).*

b) (droite) *Dieu d'Amour apparaît à Amant (v.10,307).*

60 74 10,444 10,414 p.185/186

a) *The arrival of the Barons of Love (line 10,444).*

61 76v 10,827 10,797 p.191

a) *Jupiter castrates Saturn (line 10,827).*

62 77 10,830 10,800 p.191

a) *A woman playing the bagpipes at a feast (line 10,830).*

63 77v 10,931 10,901 p.193

a) *The God of Love speaks to Faux Semblant (line 10,931).*

64 86v 12,020 11,990 p.209/210

a) (top) *The God of Love beseiges the castle (line 12,020).*

65 86v 12,033 12,003 p.209/210

a) (bottom) *Faux Semblant and Abstinence-Contrainte dressed as pilgrims (line 12,033).*

66 87 12,097 12,067 p.210/211

a) *Faux Semblant and Abstinence-Contrainte, having arrived at the house of Malebouche (line 12,097).*

67 89 12,365 12,335 p.214/215

a) *Faux Semblant strangles Malebouche (line 12,365).*

68 89v 12,396 12,366 p.216

a) *Faux Semblant and Abstinence-Contrainte having met Largess and Courtoisie, go to the castle where Bel Accueil is imprisoned (line 12,396).*

69 90v 12,541 12,511 p.218

a) *The old woman jailor goes to Bel Acueil (line 12,541).*

70 94v 13,174 13,144 p.228

a) *The death of Queen Dido (line 13,174).*

71 95 13,231 13,201 p.228/229

a) *Jason and the Golden Fleece (line 13,231).*

72 99 13,874 13,844 p.237/238

a) *The love of Venus and Mars (line 13,874).*

73 105 14,694 14,664 p.250/251

a) *The old woman tells the Lover how to get into the castle where Bel Acueil is imprisoned (line 14,694).*

74 105v 14,753 14,723 p.251/252

a) *Doux Regard shows Bel Acueil to the Lover in front of the castle (line 14,753).*

75 106 14,827 14,797 p.253

a) *Dangier and others seize the Lover (line 14,827).*

76 107 14,943 14,911 p.255

a) *The Lover wished to be put in the stocks instead of Bel Acueil (line 14,943).*

77 108 15,105 15,073 p.257

a) *The battle in front of the castle (line 15,105).*

78 108v 15,143 15,113 p.258

a) *The Lover contemplates the catching of rabbits with ferrets (line 15,143).*

79 109v 15,303 15,273 p.260

a) *Franchise attacks Dangier (line 15,303).*

80 110v 15,391 15,361 p.261

a) *(left) Pity comes to the aid of Franchise (line 15,391).*

81 110v 15,417 15,387 p.262

a) *(right) Shame reproves Danger (line 15,417).*

82 111 15,453 15,423 p.262

a) *(left) Pity overcomes Dangier (line 15,453).*

83 111 15,473 15,443 p.263

a) *(right/top) Delight comes to defend Dangier against Shame (line 15,473).*

84 111 15,487 15,457 p.263

a) *(bottom/right) Bien Celer attacks Shame (line 15,487).*

85 111v 15,535 15,505 p.263/264

a) *Fortitude and Fear fight before the God of Love (line 15,535).*

86 112v 15,661 15,631 p.265

a) *The arrival at the hill of Cytheron (line 15,661).*

87 113 15,696 15,666 p.266

a) *(left) Venus and Adonis (line 15,696).*

88 113 15,747 15,717 p.266/267

a) *(right) The death of Adonis (line 15,747).*

89 113v 15,779 15,749 p.267

a) *Venus rides in her chariot (line 15,779).*

90 114 15,801 15,771 p.268

a) *A castle besieged (line 15,801).*

91 114v 15,894 15,864 p.270

a) *Nature forges birds and animals (line 15,894).*

92 115v 16,020 15,990 p.271/272

a) *Art kneels before Nature (line 16,020).*

93 116v 16,188 16,158 p.274

a) The supremacy of Nature illustrated by the five incomparable virgins whom the painter Zuexis tried in vain to imitate through his art (line 16,188).

94 117v 16,285 16,255 p.275

a) Nature confesses her sin before Genius (line 16,285).

95 118 16,389 16,359 p.277

a) A wife tries to learn her husband's secret (line 16,389).

96 120 16,683 16,653 p.281

a) Delilah cuts Samson's hair (line 16,683).

97 120v 16,719 16,689 p.281

a) Genius listens to Nature (line 16,719).

98 122v 17,039 17,009 p.286

a) The death of Empedocles (line 17,039).

99 126v 17,617 17,587 p.294

a) The advice of Themis to Pyrrha and Deucalion (line 17,617).

100 131v 18,364 18,334 p.304/305

a) The dreamer (line 18,364).

101 134 18,765 18,735 p.310/311

a) *Alexander the great and two counsellors (line 18,765).*

102 136 19,079 19,049 p.315

a) *The word of God quoted by Plato (line 19, 079).*

103 136v 19,145 19,115 p.316

a) *Christ in majesty appears in a crescent moon (line 19,145).*

104 137 19,177 19147 p.316/317

a) *Albumasar foretells the birth of the Virgin, here depicted with the Christ Child (line 19,177).*

105 137v 19,263 19,233 p.318

a) *Christ speaks to a kneeling man (line 19,263).*

106 139 19,432 19,402 p.320

a) *(left) Genius changes his clothes (line 19,432).*

107 139 19,463 19,433 p.321

a) *(top/right) Genius appears before Cupid (line 19,463).*

108 139 19,477 19,447 p.321

a) *(bottom/right) The God of Love attires Genius as a bishop (line 19,477).*

109 139v 19,505 19,475 p.322

a) *Genius preaches to Faux Semblant and others (line 19,505).*

110 141v 19,804 19,774 p.326

a) *The ravages of Atropos (line 19,804).*

111 143v 20,243 20,213 p.332

a) *Jupiter creating the arts; represented as a sower scattering seed (line 20,243).*

112 144v 20,284 20,254 p.333

a) *The vigilance of the good shepherd (line 20,284).*

113 146 20,501 20,471 p.335/336

a) *The Fountain of Life (line 20,501).*

114 147v 20,711 20,681 p.339

a) *Venus begins the assault on the tower (line 20,711).*

115 148v 20,783 20,753 p.340

a) *(left) Venus prepares to fire an arrow at a silver statue (which signifies the Rose) (line 20,783).*

116 148v

a) *(right) Three people admire the silver statue*

Note: *There is no textual reference here to three people admiring a silver statue.*

117 149 20,817 20,787 p.340

a) (left) *Pygmalion carving the statue (line 20,817).*
Thesis text Fig.24

118 149 20,836 20,806 p.341

a) (right) *Pygmalion admiring the finished statue (line 20,836).*

119 149v 20,937 20,907 p.342

a) *Pygmalion kneels before the statue (line 20,937).*
Thesis text Fig.25

120 150 - - p.342

a) *Pygmalion dresses the statue.*

121 150v 21,021 20,991 p.342

a) *Pygmalion singing and playing a portative organ before the statue (line 21,021).*

122 151 21,061 21,031 p.344

a) (left) *Pygmalion embraces the statue (line 21,061).*

123 151 21,083 20,053 p.344

a) (right) *Pygmalion makes his request to Venus (line 21,083).*

124 151v 21,127 21,097 p.345

a) *Pygmalion's statue comes to life (line 21,127).*
Thesis text Fig.26

125 152 21,251 21,221 p.347

a) *Pygmalion and Galatea give thanks (line 21,251)*
Thesis text Fig.27

126 152v 21,251 21,221 p.347

a) *Venus sets the castle of Jealousy on fire (line 21,251).*

127 155 21,587 21,557 p.351/352

a) *The Lover approaches the sanctuary (line 21,587).*

128 155v - - p.351/352

a) *The Lover embraces the Rose.*

Reference Note: "Line references are to the edition by Ernest Langlois, published by the Société des anciens textes français (Paris, 1914-1921)." : this passage is taken from the text which accompanied the slides from the Bodleian Library.

SERIES IV

The Romance of the Rose (Le roman de la Rose): from three MSS

Bodleian Library, Oxford - Roll 182 C - 11 frames

- a) *MS. Douce 195. 15th century*
- b) *MS. Selden Supra 57 2nd quarter 14th century*
- c) *MS. Add. A22 About 1300 and about 1370*

- a) *MS. Douce 195, fifteenth century*

Frame

Folio No.Dahlberg

1 1 *p.31 (the Lover). There is no textual reference for the poet at his desk in the prologue of the poem.*

The Lover in bed and the poet at his desk.

Thesis text Fig.7 (A & B)

2 3v *p.34*

Tristece

3 4 *p.36*

Papelardie

4 4v *p.36*

Pouvreté

b) *MS. Selden Supra 57, second quarter fourteenth century*

<u>Frame</u>	<u>Folio No.Dahlberg</u>
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5	1	p.31,32,39
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Four miniatures: Lover in bed, Lover dressing, Lover meditating, Lover in garden.

Thesis text Fig.3

6	15	p.57
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Lover swears fealty to God of Love.

7	26	p.70
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Honte and Peur visit Dangier sleeping.

8	80	p.186
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Abstinence-Contrainte and Faux-Semblant visit the God of Love.

c) *MS. Add. A.22, about 1300 and about 1370*

9	9	p.31
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*The Lover in bed, c.1300 (oldest of the **Roman de la Rose** manuscripts at the Bodleian).*

Thesis text Fig.2

10	12v	p.35
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Viellece, c.1370.

11	110v	p.211
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Abstinence-Contrainte and Faux-Semblant visit Malebouche, c.1370.

Notes:

*i) In August 1991, Miss M. Pemberton at the Bodleian Library sent me a list of all nine illustrated manuscripts of the **Roman de la Rose** which are in the collection of the Bodleian. Their number 566 bears the identification **Add.A.22** and the date, c.1300 which is the oldest manuscript of this poem in the Bodleian collection.*

ii) The Bodleian Library did not supply line references from Langlois or Lecoy, nor did they cite page references from Dahlberg. I have, therefore attempted to give a precise or general location in Dahlberg for each of these eleven slides received from the Bodleian Library.

SERIES V

Slide Titles for Slides from the Pierpont Morgan Library

Roman de la Rose

M.132 *Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Roman de la rose with Testament of Jean de Meun, in French - France, possibly Paris c.1380 by the Boqueteaux Master(?) 189 leaves (202 x 138 mm) 2 half pages and 69 small miniatures (=71 images total)*

Frame Cat.No. Folio No. Dahlberg

1 3A12 1 p.31-32

The Dreamer asleep, rising, following a stream, listening to the birds singing
Thesis text Fig.5

2 3B1 102v p.239

Old woman telling Belacueil the example of the bird cage; repentant young monk

3 3B2 158 p.269

Trinity surrounded by Evangelists' symbols

M.245 *Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Roman de la rose with Testament of Jean de Meun, in French - France, possibly Paris, c.1405, 157 leaves (285x210 mm), 34 miniatures, 1 historiated initial*

4 3F4 11 p.51

Two lovers at the fountain of Narcissus
Thesis text Fig.17

5 3F5 32 p.91-137

Raison and Amant

6 3F6 89 p.209-214

Malebouche and the pilgrims

7 3F7 150v p.341

Pygmalion falling in love with his sculpture
Thesis text Fig.22

8 3F8 152 p.345

Pygmalion embracing his sculpture
Thesis text Fig.23

M.324 *Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Roman de la rose with Testament of Jean de Meun, in French - France, middle of the XIV century, 172 leaves (300x225 mm), 2 half pages and 50 small miniatures*

9 4E2 1 p.31-39

The Dreamer asleep, rising, listening to the birds by the stream, and entering the garden gate
Thesis text Fig.4

10 4E3 145 p.269

Trinity with Evangelists' symbols

M.948 *Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, **Roman de la rose** with
Testament of Jean de Meun, in French - France, possibly Paris, c.1500,
written and signed by Girard Acarce, for Francis I, King of France, 210
leaves (262x186 mm), 2 full-page, 67 large, and 38 small miniatures*

11 3v

Arms of Francis I, King of France

Note: There is no textual reference.

12 14G8 4

The book presented to Francis I

Note: There is no textual reference.

Thesis text Fig.8

13 5

Note: This image usually appears where the portion written by Guillaume de Lorris ends and the second part, written by Jean de Meun, begins. The portrait of the author only, in the incipit image does not have a textual reference in the prologue of the poem.

The author writes the book

Thesis text Fig.9

14 8 p.33-34

Avarice and Envy

15 14G9 9v p.34-35

Personifications of Sorrow and Old Age

16 32v p.83-84

Danger drives the Lover and Fair Welcome from the rose garden

17 44

Note: This image does not have a textual reference, but one might assume that it is placed at the point in the text where the work of Guillaume de Lorris ends and that of Jean de Meun begins.

Guillaume de Lorris, laurelated(?) lies dead and naked on a table
Thesis text Fig.13

18 61 p.87

Reason shows Dame Fortune and her wheel to the Lover

19 63 p. 122

Nero witnessing the dissection of his mother

20 129v p. 228

Dido falls prostrate on Aeneas' sword and Payllus(?), deserted by Demophon, hangs herself

21 14G11 135 p.237

Vulcan, discovering Mars and his wife Venus in bed, ties down the coverlet

22 14G12 156 p.271

Nature forging children to overcome the work of Death

23 15A1 159 p.274

Zeuxis painting five nudes

24 187 p.314

Nature produces animals in her forge

25 195v p.326

The Garden of Mirth. Outside are six painted vices. Inside Death stands at the mouth of hell holding Cerberus on a leash, Narcissus at his fountain, and Idleness and the Lover are present.

26 196 p.332

The Shepherd's park. Outside sheep graze. Inside God the Father is seated on the source of three streams which feed the Fountain of the Tree of Life.

Notes:

i) These titles are the ones that appeared in the text, ***The Pierpont Morgan Library, Masterpieces of Medieval Painting, The Art of Illumination***, a catalogue of the slides made from selected manuscripts which are in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. (for more information about this text see the chapter, *Avant Propos* (p.9) of this Thesis.) For slides from the manuscript, M.949 which were ordered separately and were not included in the above-mentioned catalogue, the titles were supplied with the slides by the Pierpont Morgan Library. There are thirteen copies of the ***Roman de la Rose*** at the Pierpont Morgan Library.

ii) The following information is also supplied in the Introduction to the above-mentioned text, "the manuscripts are listed according to their present shelf numbers, which range from M.1 to M.1004... (and) Illustrations are listed in the sequence in which they occur in the manuscript. All numbers are folio numbers except where pagination is indicated. All folio numbers are rectos unless otherwise noted. The following abbreviations have been used throughout: M (manuscript), v (verso)."¹

¹William M. Voelkle, ed., ***Masterpieces of Medieval Painting, The Art of Illumination*** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), xvi,xvii.

iii) *The Pierpont Morgan Library did not supply line references from Langlois or Lecoy, nor did they cite page references from Dahlberg. I have, therefore attempted to give a precise or general location in Dahlberg for each of the twenty-six slides received from the Morgan Library.*

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