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Pierpont Morgan Manuscript 324: Le Roman De La Rose; A Study in Social Transition

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PIERPONT MORGAN MANUSCRIPT 324:

LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE

A STUDY IN SOCIAL TRANSITION

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Chapter I

Introduction

Art and literature, significant forms of human expression, serve as two valuable cultural sources for the understanding of a given civilization. The philosophical rationalism of Voltaire and the mythological paintings of Boucher, as contrasted to the concern with the self of Chateaubriand and the tragically realistic paintings of Géricault, provide an important expressive background to the understanding of society before and after the French Revolution. These sources provide a broader insight into the societies of the time, their influences upon and their reactions to the immediate historical event. Similarly, the starkness of the paintings of Buffet and the preoccupation with the absurd in the works of Camus attest the contemporary pessimism of a nation which has suffered from an almost continuous series of wars. Documents, such as the Treat of Versailles, provide the factual historical evidence; present-day art and literature reflect its significance and its resulting manifestations in the society concerned.

The understanding of the Middle Ages presupposes the

consideration of a greater time span between the historical period and current interpretation. A disadvantage rests in too extensive reliance upon contemporary interpretation of medieval art and literature, with the frequent assumption that the expressive attitudes of the medieval mind parallel those of the modern mind. The advantage is in the greater perspective from which the contemporary mind may determine the overall significance and continuity of an historical period, by studying the progressive stages of social manifestations. Thus, a basic historical knowledge is necessary as a guide line to understand in what ways medieval art and literature are expressions of the society that produced them. For example, the Gothic cathedral, adorned with statues of saints and with stained glass windows depicting scenes from the Bible and New Testament, is perhaps the greatest affirmation of the importance of the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the other hand, the numerous courtly romances give evidence to the earthly interests of feudal manors. Similarly, the Hundred Years War, begun in the fourteenth century, seriously impeded literary development and was responsible for the increased depiction of the macabre and morose subjects often seen in the art of the time.

Although historical documents provide one basis upon which one may study the Middle Ages, art and literature provide the intellectual and cultural documentation necessary to a more inclusive understanding of medieval society. The art and literature of this period manifest themselves in several

important forms: contemporary literary works appear in such forms as the epic poem, the Arthurian cycle, the chronicle, the miracle and passion plays, the fable, and the farce; contemporary forms of art include sculpture, enamels, stained glass, fresco, panel painting, silver work, and the miniature.

There is one form, particularly characteristic of the period, which unites both literature and art into a single expressive work: the illustrated, or illuminated, manuscript. Within this unified form, it is possible to study both literary and artistic aspects of medieval society, their interaction, and their combined role as documents of contemporary expression.

It is the purpose of this thesis to illustrate in what way the study of a selected illustrated manuscript may contribute to the understanding of French civilization of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The manuscript, Pierpont Morgan 324, is a fourteenth century copy of the thirteenth century literary work, the Roman de la Rose, and serves as a valuable source of documentation, both direct and indirect, of a society in transition.

Before giving a specific analysis of the manuscript, it will be necessary to discuss certain fundamental characteristics of the period which are significant to this study, as well as the literary and artistic background.

Chapter II

A Civilization in Transition

The Romantic movement of the early nineteenth century serves as a cultural reflection of social transition initiated by the French Revolution. So also, the arts in the period from 1200 to 1400 reflect a civilization in transition from a feudal to a centralized society and from a predominantly influential aristocracy to a predominantly influential middle class.

During the twelfth century, the Capetian dynasty strengthened royal power at the expense of the lesser lords. With the assistance of Abbot Suger, Louis VI and Louis VII began the process of centralization of power in northern France. This centralization was considerably augmented by Philippe II, who established a system of bailiffs and granted town charters at the turn of the century. Louis IX continued governmental centralization by favoring the bourgeois class over the nobility in financial transactions and in administrative appointments, further narrowing the political powers of the aristocracy. Moreover, he legislated without the consent of the barons, a

practice which led, during the reign of Philippe IV, to the formation of the States General, a legislative body in which representatives of the bourgeois class had greater influence on governmental policies. During the reign of Philippe IV, from 1285 to 1314, the French monarchy had become sufficiently centralized so that lesser lords were of minor importance in political affairs. With their loss of power, and with the centralization of authority around the Ile de France, seat of the Capetian dynasty, the feudal system could no longer thrive. The city began to replace the feudal manor, the merchant to replace the vassal, and the working class to replace serfdom. During the fourteenth century, and particularly during the reign of Charles V (1364 - 1380), the French monarchy continued to maintain a strong centralized government. However, partly as a result of the accession of the Valois branch to the throne in 1328, the Hundred Years War between France and England began, and already the strength of the centralized monarchy was being put to test.

Parallel to the political transition from feudalism to centralization, was the economic transition from subsistence on a local level to international trade. With the advent of the Crusades, interest in foreign products initiated a system of commerce between France, Italy, and the Near East. As the regulator of transport and distribution of merchandise, a merchant or middle class affirmed its position in the socio-economic hierarchy. Trade centers and fair locations soon developed into towns and cities, and existing centers such as Paris rapidly

expanded to accommodate the new source of wealth. By 1300, with the rapid influx of peasants from feudal villages and of trades people, Paris had grown to a population of 213,000.[1] Royal power and middle-class wealth combined forces, benefitting one another and further reducing the influence of the nobility.

The nobility was not the only class radically affected by the growth of the bourgeoisie. The new orientation of the townspeople towards earning for secular goals tended to reduce the formerly all-powerful influence of the Church upon society. Already, early thirteenth-century secular literature, such as the fabliaux (satirical fables), written in the vernacular, emphasized mundane elements of daily life, whether in court or in town. Papal authority was challenged in the late eleventh century by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, who finally succeeded in deposing Pope Gregory VII. In the fourteenth century the Avignon papacy critically diminished the political influence of the Church. Monastic laxity resulted in the Cistercian reform movements in the twelfth century and in the formation of the Franciscan and Dominican mendicant orders in the thirteenth century. These reforms in turn led to the abandonment by religious orders of certain secular activities such as teaching and manuscript illumination. The Albigensian Crusade of the early thirteenth century was an extreme effort on the part of the Church to maintain its power by executing heretics. Nevertheless, the influence of the Church, challenged by

[1]Sidney Painter, Medieval Society (Ithaca, 1951), p. 94.

political powers, and the economically oriented middle class, was to lose ground to an increasing secular attitude which emphasized the importance of life on earth rather than an after-life in heaven.

With the abandonment of education by certain monasteries, universities began to develop around cathedral schools, notably Notre Dame which developed into the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. Ironically, it was in these universities that a renewed interest in logic, particularly that of Plato and Aristotle, developed into scholasticism, an attempt to reconcile faith and reason. However, the introduction of reason into Christian philosophy, such as in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas, brought about a transition in thought and in expression of ideas in which logic was to become of capital importance. This transition in thought was nurtured at the universities and expressed in philosophical and didactic literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Another cultural transition was evident at this time. With increased centralization, the king and the greater nobles expressed their wealth not only through land ownership but through private ownership of art collections and libraries. The patronage system, begun in the early Middle Ages, flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuires. Nor was it solely limited to the nobility. The bourgeois class, desirous of showing its newly acquired wealth and of diminishing the distinction between itself and the nobility, sood adopted the system of patronage. The arts and humanities thus were no

longer the sole domain of the courts.

The period between 1200 and 1400 in France was therefore one of transition: political transition from feudalism to centralization; economic transition from local subsistence on the manor to international trade with cities as centers; social transition from an essentially two-class system of noble and serf, to a three-class system of aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and peasant-townsman; religious transition in which ecclesiastic orientation began to give way to a growing secular orientation; and cultural transition in which universities challenged and expanded existing realms of knowledge, and in which artistic and literary tastes and acquisitions became signs of wealth.

Medieval art and literature were influenced by these transitions and directly or indirectly reflect their significance to medieval French civilization. With political centralization and the growth of towns, literary and artistic schools and movements were centered in the greater courts, particularly those of the king, and the Dukes of Berry, Anjou, and Burgundy, and in certain quarters in the large cities, such as the Left Bank in Paris. This centralization encouraged a more rapid assimilation of new ideas and a certain unity of expression.

The growth of international trade contributed to intellectual progress by nourishing the exchange of ideas between nations, particularly between France and the Low Countries, and Italy. This exchange favored a great variety of subject and stylistic improvements and innovations, in both art and

literature, particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth century.

The diminishing influence of the Church and an increasing orientation towards life on earth resulted in a greater interest in secular works of art and literature. With continued secularization, more literary works were written in the vernacular tongue, often with critical or satirical references to religious institutions, such as the mendicant orders. Manuscript illumination became the domain of secular rather than monastic workshops. However, the papal court at Avignon, particularly under Clement VI, did serve as an important exchange point for the pre-Renaissance ideas of Italian painters such as Giotto, Simone Martini, and Matteo di Giovanetti. It was here that early Italian Renaissance ideas of depth and perspective were first incorporated into frescos in France.

The universities decidedly influenced literature, for a renewed study of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine authors contributed to a non-Christian oriented search for knowledge, and to a renewed interest in pagan subjects. The study of logic led to the desire to find truth through reason, which in turn was responsible for an embryonic stage of the Renaissance humanistic concern with man and nature.

The rapid growth of the bourgeois class had a significant effect on art and literature. The increased demand by the courts for more artists and authors was augmented by the entrance of the bourgeoisie into the patronage system, which assured the continuation of the cultural renaissance begun in the twelfth

century. Bourgeois patrons had tastes differing from those of the nobility and these became evident in the art and literature of the time. Realism, a rational naturalistic philosophy, and an earthy sense of wit, known as esprit gaulois, were three characteristics which generally differentiated works of bourgeois taste from that of the aristocracy.

The transition that took place in the civilization of France in the years 1200-1400, therefore, influenced and is reflected in the art and literature of the period. These two disciplines were combined into a unified form characteristic of the period, the illuminated manuscript. Such a form, of which Pierpont Morgan 324, the Roman de la Rose, is an excellent example, serves as a literary and artistic document of this civilization in transition.

Pierpont Morgan 324, executed approximately 125 years after Part I of the romance was written, presents a certain problem of time lapse, which is at the same time an advantage and a disadvantage. The text itself is comprised of two parts, the second of which was written approximately fifty years after Part I and radically differs in conception and tone from its predecessor. The textual transformation partially resulting from this time span is a valuable literary expression of social transition. On the other hand, the time span between the illumination of the manuscript and the text of Part I lends the possibility of error of interpretation or emphasis by the artist whose social environment differed considerably from that of the poet. The time span of approximately seventy-five years between

the illuminator's work and Part II does not involve as radical a social transition, for Part II is essentially a literary precursor of fourteenth-century society.

Generally, the evolution of literature somewhat precedes the evolution of art during the French medieval period. Thus the effects of social transition reflected in the art of the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.

What might have been a disadvantage in time span between the evolution of these two art forms is fortunately an advantage in Pierpont Morgan 324. This manuscript was executed during that evolutionary stage of art which generally paralleled the evolutionary stage of literature when the Roman de la Rose was written. Having placed both the literary and artistic evolutions in similar and parallel stages, this manuscript is therefore an excellent document attesting to the transition of medieval French society.

The literary evidence of this transition is expressed in the text itself, perhaps the greatest literary document of thirteenth century French society.

Chapter III

The Roman de la Rose: Literature in Transition

The Roman de la Rose is a secular allegorical work written in two parts, by two authors, between the years 1225 and 1280.[1] Although the second part is theoretically a continuation of the first part, the difference in interpretation of the same subject matter by the author of Part II accentuates the rapid process of transition during the thirteenth century. Whereas Part I, written by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1240,[2] represents a courtly literature of the feudal civilization, Part II, written by Jean de Meung between 1275 and 1280,[3] is representative of bourgeois literature of a more cosmopolitan civilization.

Guillaume de Lorris, a poet trained in the schools of Orleans, started the Roman de la Rose at the age of twenty-five,

[1]Ernest Langlois, Le Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1914-1924), I, pp. 2, 17.

[2]Langlois, I, p. 2.

[3]Langlois, I, p. 17. U. T. Holmes in the History of Old French Literature (New York, 1937), Chapter XXXI, dates Part I 1225-1237 and Part II 1277,

but did not finish the work, probably because of death.[4] His poem of 4058 lines conformed to the ideals of courtly literature still in vogue in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In his work he utilizes traditional stylistic elements of the dream, of allegory, and of the quest of the lover for an ideal love.

The young Lover, twenty years old, is let into the Garden of Delight by Lady Leisure and joins in a contemporary dance, the carol, with various persons, including the God of Love. Continuing his walk through the garden, he stops at the fountain of Narcissus, in which he sees the reflection of the Rose. The God of Love, who has been following him, shoots into the Lover five arrows--Beauty, Simplicity, Courtesy, Companionship, and Fair-Seeming--which cause him to fall eternally in love with the Rose. The psychological actions and reactions between the Lover and the Rose which characterize the rest of the poem are represented by further allegorical figures. With the aid of Hope, of Gentle Thought, Gentle Speech, and Gentle Look, the Lover is able to gain the friendship of Fair Welcome, and with the aid of Friend the Lover reaches and kisses the Rose. Reason enters into the pyschological action and warns the Lover that a quest for permanent possession of the Rose can only bring sorrow and misery. Further, the reserved and chaste side of the Rose brings such persons as Danger, Shame, Fear, and Slander

[4] Gaston Paris, La Littérature Française au Moyen Age (Paris, 1905), p. 178.

to fight the efforts of the Lover. Despite the assistance of Candor, Pity, and the mythological figure of Venus, the Lover loses his only real aid in the attainment of the Rose, for Jealousy imprisons Fair Welcome in a tower with Old Age. Guarding the four doors of the tower are Danger, Shame, Fear, and Slander. The Lover, in great despair, bemoans this the greatest pain of love--being deprived of the opportunity to attain the Rose.

Thus ends Part I, although it is probably that Guillaume de Lorris did not intend to terminate the romance here, for the Lover had yet to attain his Rose and wake from his dream.[5]

Using such sources as Macrobius, the Bible, and Boethius for the concept of the dream, the Psychomachia of Prudentius, De Planctu Naturae of Alanus de Insulis, and possibly the Dit de la Rose, as well as the Bible for the use of allegory and personifications, and the works of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus for the theories of love, Guillaume de Loris continued the literary traditions of authors of antiquity as well as those of French authors of the twelfth century. His Roman de la Rose is a secular work treating a contemporary element of feudal civilization, courtly love. The rules of courtly love are explicitly cited and given in resume by the God of Love to the Lover immediately after the Lover has been hit by the five arrows. It is understood that the Lover is not married, and that, in fact, marriage is not necessarily the goal of the

[5]Langlois, I, p. 3.

quest, for courtly love was primarily a non-marital love between a young man and a maiden, or married woman, of nobility. To gain the favor of the lady, a man pledged service, honor, and total submission to her, and underwent numerous trials of strength and patience. Among the many qualities necessary for the chivalric lover, the God of Love lists companionship, courtesy, moderation, modesty, generosity, good taste in dress, cheerfulness, diligence, and discretion.

The beautiful descriptions, the delicate treatment of psychological conflicts, the exercise of discretion in talking of love, and the reverence shown towards the Rose, or Lady, are important elements of Guillaume's style, which captures the underlying ethereal and idealistic elements of the world of courtly love. The leisure of the courtly lady, whose husband was often away on hunts, feudal conquests, or Crusades, readily allowed the pursuit of her love by troubadours and traveling knights. Rules of love specifically written for such affairs contributed to the effect of courtly love as belonging to an idealistic, artificial world created to ignore the tedium of the actual world which surrounded the feudal manor.

Guillaume de Lorris wrote his romance primarily as a pleasurable manual of the rules of courtly love. Yet within his work are signs that the purely psychological and pleasurable aspects of courtly literature, such as exemplified in the Lays of Marie de France, written in the second half of the twelfth century, were already being challenged at the beginning of the

thirteenth century. To a noticeable degree, reason intervenes in Guillaume's poem and tries to counteract the effects of emotion. His ideal world of perfection of courtly love is attacked and threatened by this sentiment which is a product of observation of the real world. The second major indication that courtly literature was indeed undergoing a change is the slightly, though not significantly, didactic nature of Guillaume's orientation towards the art of love. For while his work is a pleasurable reflection or mirror of courtly life, it also serves as a model from which others may learn and practice.

Yet, by his refined and idealistic treatment of psychological allegory, mythological figures, the dream and the quest, and by his relegating Reason to defeat, despite her emphasis on the pains of love, Guillaume de Lorris still remains an author in the tradition of courtly literature. This was made particularly evident some forty-five years later when a clerk, educated in the scholastic tradition at Paris, added 17,722 lines to Guillaume's 4,058 lines, extensively transforming the nature and purpose of the original Roman de la Rose.

Although Jean de Meung was born near the birthplace of Guillaume de Lorris, his education was quite different from that of his predecessor. He went to Paris at an early age and became the bourgeois model of a cosmopolitan poet. As a result of his variety of knowledge in law, medicine, theology, and philosophy, and by his awareness of contemporary events occurring in Paris, Jean de Meung was the medieval forerunner of the Universal Man. A young poet with his university background

freshly imprinted upon his mind, he wrote Part II of the Roman de la Rose, keeping the original elements of dream, allegory, and quest. However, he introduced an entire realm of medieval knowledge acquired through his own translations and study in Paris, and a satirical and naturalistic criticism of contemporary society in general. The courtly idealism of feudal society, as exemplified in Part I, gives way in Part II to the bourgeois realism of a cosmopolitan society.

The Lover remains despondent. Reason descends from her tower and for 3000 lines lectures the Lover on love, justice, fortune, good and evil, and the deaths of Seneca, Nero, and Virginia; but her harangue does not deter the Lover from his path. He then meets Friend who, for 2800 lines, lectures him on seduction, gift-giving, the pains of poverty, the love story of Héloise and Abelard, jealousy, and the art of love. In this last subject he more realistically than elegantly advises the Lover never to beat his wife nor restrain her, to keep her ignorant of any other love he may have, to ask her forgiveness should she find out, to care for her when she is ill, and above all to flatter her on her beauty. Lover thanks Friend and finds the God of Love and his barons, including Forced Abstinence and False-Seeming, who defines hypocrisy as the essential trait of monastic orders. The God of Love and his barons aid the Lover in the first assault against the tower where Fair Welcome is imprisoned. With the assistance of Old Age, who discusses the cynical side of love, the Lover is allowed to see Fair Welcome. Danger once again foils the Lover's

efforts to attain the Rose, and the second assault is begun with the aid of Venus. At the same time, Nature works at her forge to counteract the effects of death. She calls her confessor, Genius, and for 3000 lines relates to him her theories on destiny, astrology, mirrors, dreams, gentility, and finally denounces mankind for violating her doctrine of procreation. With Nature's blessing, Genius goes to preach her complaint to the troops of the God of Love and encourages them to lead a victorious assault on Jealousy's tower. Before the battle begins, the poet interrupts to tell the story of Pygmalion. Continuing the narration of the battle, Venus shoots a burning torch into the tower causing the enemy to flee and allowing the Lover to pick his Rose.

Jean de Meung used the same sources as his predecessor, particularly the De Planctu Naturae of Alanus de Insulis from which he took several allegorical figures and which is one of the primary sources for Nature's confession.[6] He also used as sources various authors, some of whose works he had translated: Boethius, Vegetius, the letters of Heloise and Abelard, and Giraud de Barri. Particularly evident is his knowledge of subjects of mythology and ancient history which are incorporated into the long discourses of Reason, Old Age, and Genius, and in the story of Pygmalion. Thus, while the skeletal structure and purpose of the first Roman de la Rose still remain, the influence of university training has greatly altered the content

[6]Paris, p. 188.

of Part II, making it as much a scholastic encyclopedia of human knowledge as a psychological treatise on human emotions.

Nevertheless, love is still the primary concern of the author, although there is a remarkable contrast between its conception in Part I and Part II. Whereas the God of Love gives the rules of behavior for courtly love in Part I, in Part II the doctrine of procreation is presented by Reason, Friend, the Old Woman, and most importantly by Nature and Genius. The object of love in Part I, the Lady, is held in reverence as an object of perfection; in the second part criticism against the vanity and deceit of women is very strong, particularly if these faults are used towards gaining the total submission of man. Woman is no longer idealized but rather put on an equal level with man. Men may also be at fault, as indicated by Reason's sermon on the jealous husband. Following the tenets of courtly love, marriage is never discussed in Part I; in Part II, love and marriage are almost synonomous in that it is often a question of husband and wife rather than of lover and mistress. The bourgeois orientation of the author thus makes itself felt in the scholastic and didactic approach, in the naturalist definition of love, and in the attitude towards marriage.

A decidedly bourgeois element of style is found in the earthy humor and in the biting satire against mendicant monks, against kings, against woman's nature, and most important, in the parody of courtly love in which material items replace character values towards the attainment of one's goal.

Between the two stories there is a definite transformation of certain characters. The God of Love, genteel in Part I, becomes aggressive in Part II; Friend adopts a much bolder attitude in giving advice to the Lover in Part II; Reason, who in Part I talked only of the pains of love, expands her argument in Part II to include philosophical and scholastic arguments, with examples from antiquity. Venus has also assumed a more aggressive role, becoming in Part II the symbol of naturalist love. Most important the Lover, whose every action in Part I was psychologically oriented, becomes a more physically oriented person who depends upon the military aid of others. He becomes a less significant figure, for his role is overshadowed by the advice and actions of others.

The difference in tone between the two parts of the romance reflects significant aspects of social transition taking place in thirteenth century France. In Part I, love is psychologically treated as part of the leisurely life of the feudal court and pertains only to the nobility. The tedium of every-day life around the manor is ignored, so that a more idealistic picture may be created for the pleasure of the court audience. Having been written for the court, Part I exemplifies in a lyric style the refinement and elegance associated with an aristocratic setting. Although it was left unfinished, Part I would probably never have reached the length of the completion given it by Jean de Meung. Guillaume de Lorris employed a classic economy of subject, writing only what was relevant to the story, but

doing so in a beautifully descriptive style to please and to retain the interest of the reader.

When Jean de Meung wrote Part II of the Roman de la Rose, feudal society was rapidly decaying, and the influence of large cities was making itself felt in the political process of centralization. Parallel to the growing importance of cosmopolitan areas was the growth of the bourgeois class whose tastes and ideas had begun to permeate noticeably the world of art and literature. Jean de Meung was a product of bourgeois tradition, and wrote for an audience that was cosmopolitan and middle--class in its tastes. Contrasted to the platonic idealism of love in the feudal society was the bourgeois realism of love in a well-educated and often well-traveled society. No longer needing to create an artificial form of leisure, the society of the late thirteenth century could look at itself and be more realistic in its interpretations of life. It could also be critical, as witnessed by Jean's bold satires on celibacy, abstinence, power, women, and hypocrisy. This same society was subject to the influence of the universities which expanded and often questioned existing fields of human knowledge, and added new areas of knowledge. By its didactic nature, the second part of the Roman de la Rose is again a reflection and result of the academic transition in French society of the thirteenth century.

The style itself is characteristic of a more-bourgeois-oriented society: the earthy wit, or esprit gaulois, the scholastic verbosity, the rather dry and often biting tone

emphasize a certain realistic and naturalistic approach used to amuse, but particularly to inform, the reader.

The Roman de la Rose, whose creation spans at least forty years and whose two creators represent two different societies, is thus an excellent literary document attesting to the transition of French civilization from a feudal towards a centralized society, from an aristocratic towards a bourgeois world, from isolated towards cosmopolitan living, from a limited towards an expanded system of learning, and from an idealistic towards a realistic approach to life.

This same transition is also reflected in the art of the period, especially the art of manuscript illumination, which from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century paralleled in its evolution that of French literature during the thirteenth century as exemplified by the Roman de la Rose.

Chapter IV

Manuscript Illumination in Medieval France: Art in Transition

As exemplified by the Roman de la Rose, the evolution of French literature in the Middle Ages received its impetus from the combined forces of political, socio-economic, religious, and cultural transition. The evolution of French art, particularly of manuscript illumination, received its initial and most important impetus from monastic reform in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Cistercian monks, in order to encourage a return to an austere religious life of contemplation, forbade the use of any illustration in manuscripts; the Franciscan and Dominican orders, whose precepts of religious devotion were based upon the abandonment of earthly goods and upon a life of self-sacrifice and mendicancy, had no use for texts in the practice of their doctrines.

The immediate result of such reforms was twofold. First, manuscript illumination, which until the mid-thirteenth century had been the artistic monopoly of monasteries, now became the interest of secular workshops with lay artists executing the

illustrations. These artists, whose work was not oriented towards a religious goal, had a greater freedom in choosing texts to illustrate. Because of the continually increasing number of secular and bourgeois texts written and copied for private libraries, the choice of the artists became more and more secularly oriented. Among those secular texts in great demand and most often copied was the Roman de la Rose, of which at least 300 known manuscripts exist today.[1] These secular texts provided the illuminators with a greater variety of subjects to illustrate, including those taken from ancient legends and mythology, studies of plants and animals, and contemporary literature. There was little reference to religion, and it was often of a satirical and critical nature, leaving to the secular artist an interpretation quite different from that of the monastic artist. Thus, not only was the viewpoint of the non-monastic artist secular in orientation, but also the subject matter he illustrated increased in secular variety, with a heightened emphasis on mundane life.

The second important result of monastic reform upon manuscript illumination in France was centralization of the art in Paris. Until the time of the reform movements, manuscript illumination was a dispersed art, centered around the individual monasteries throughout France, consistent with the general organization of feudal society. With its transfer from

[1]Langlois, I, p.32. See also Ernest Langlois, Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1910).

religious to secular hands, manuscript illumination followed the already established trend of political centralization, and by the end of the thirteenth century, most of the workshops were centralized in Paris, specifically along the Left Bank.[2] Centralization in Paris favored the rapid exchange of ideas and technical innovations in art. Further, it provided a more immediate contact with the literary and scientific trends of the period, particularly those current at the University of Paris.

Centralization of manuscript illumination was not solely limited to a geographical consideration; the formation of guilds provided a central core of rules and regulations for each atelier for the mutual benefit of established artists and of apprentices. A certain hierarchy of artistic standards, based upon training and accomplishment, assured a high level of quality and a certain amount of security to the artist. Within the guild, artists were often trained in specific areas such as border decoration, ornamental initials, or narrative illustration. Working closely with the scribe, they frequently combined their specific talents in the illumination of one manuscript.

Through the organizational bond of the guild, the recent artistic ideas and innovations introduced into Paris were quickly adopted by the members of the various workshops,

[2]Joan Evans, Art in Medieval France (Toronto, 1948),

beginning in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century. At this time, as illustrated in the work of Jean Pucelle,[3] northern Italian concern with depth and space, evidenced by the works of Giotto, Duccio, and Martini, among others, manifested itself in Paris. There, the representation of a dimensional landscape background began to replace the flat patterned background. Similarly, the influence of the Flemish grotesques was evidenced in droleries, marginal and border figures of a humorous and distorted nature.

An artist who illustrated manuscripts did not necessarily work solely for a specific studio. He could also do works commissioned by a patron, whose particular tastes he could readily accomodate. The patronage system in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century included the bourgeois class as well as nobility. Eager to affirm its interest in cultural wealth, the middle class sought to expand private libraries with manuscripts of varied literary texts, which in turn increased the demand for scribes and illustrators. The most significant result of bourgeois patronage was the noticeable trend towards realism and humanism in works of art. Although the noble patron maintained his desire for the refined and elegant art of the feudal period, he too, like the bourgeois patron, encouraged the development of realism in art. With the stylistic improvements in the rendering of depth,

[3]Kathleen Morand, Jean Pucelle (Oxford, 1962), pp. 6-7.

perspective, and the human figure, the manuscript illustrator, sponsored by noble or by bourgeois, was able to experiment with, develop, and improve his technical knowledge in realistically depicting secular scenes of daily life. Pucelle, in the Belleville Breviary, executed for Olivier de Clisson and his wife, Jeanne de Belleville, seriously attempted to portray the human figure as faithfully as possible and to create spatial effects; yet, within his realistic depictions there remains an elegance and refinement, often sacrificed in the work for bourgeois patrons or in miniatures done for texts of bourgeois literature. This is evident in miniatures of certain manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose.[4]

Stylistic as well as external historical considerations of manuscript illumination of the mid-fourteenth century are further evidence of an art in transition. Utilizing characteristics of both Gothic and early Renaissance art, these miniatures serve as a documentary bridge between the elegant stylization of the Gothic period and the forceful realism of the Renaissance.

The characteristics of Gothic style most evident in mid-fourteenth century illumination include an elegant and graceful design, a simplicity and harmony of composition, the use of a decorative, flat background, and a flowing, soft

[4]see Alfred Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans" in Jahrbuch de kunsthistorichen Sammlungen des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses (Vienna and Liepzig, 1913-1914), pp. 1-66.

quality of drapery folds. Specific manifestations of these characteristics are apparent in details such as the linear quality of the composition, in which the lines are economically used to depict only the essential. The human figure still lacks solidity, but it is not as severe and rigid as in Romanesque art. There is a lack of variety in faces and little detail in clothing apart from drapery folds. Patterned backgrounds, either of the scroll or diapered variety, are depicted in numerous combinations of design and color. The introduction of the gold leaf technique enhanced the decorative beauty of these backgrounds. Often flat Gothic frames, such as balustrades or pinnacles, in which there are no lines of dimension or perspective, are set against the patterned background. Finally, the miniature itself is generally a part of the initial letter of a page or paragraph.

The general characteristics of early Renaissance art seen in fourteenth century miniatures include greater efforts at dimensionality, a decrease in symbolism and an increase in naturalism, more attention to the softness and reality of folds, and an emphasis on the miniature as an entity in itself. Within these broad characteristics may be seen specific details of early Renaissance art. The linear quality of Gothic art is expanded so that lines are now used in elements of space and perspective, particularly within the major architectural forms of towers and walls and the minor form of furniture. The patterned background partially yields to

landscape. Natural elements such as trees and hills contribute to a certain dimensionality and replace the symbolic religious objects of earlier miniatures. Naturalism is further apparent in the portrayal of the human figure, in which a definite imitation of reality is attempted. Natural hair or beard, the ugly as well as refined face, variety of pose, and increased decoration of clothes are details which contribute to the realism of the miniature. A desire for symmetry is realized in the balance of composition, and enhanced by the continued clarity and simplicity of design. The miniature itself is freed from its earlier role as a part of an initial letter. The initial becomes purely decorative in quality and not illustrative. Further, the elaborate borders, which formerly were continuations of the initial, are transformed into simply ivy-leaf trim for the frame of the miniature.

The combination of the above characteristics of style of Gothic and early Renaissance art is perhaps the most specific indication of the technical transition that was occurring in fourteenth century miniatures. As has been indicated, the trend towards illumination of secular texts emphasized the artistic transition from religious to secular subjects of illustration. Thus, both in subject and in technique, French manuscript illumination of the mid-fourteenth century provides specific evidence of art in transition.

More generally, the history of manuscript illumination

in the fourteenth century reflects the social transition of the period. The art became more secular, it was centralized in Paris, it incorporated innovations introduced from Italy, it formed its own guilds, and it reflected the influence of the growing bourgeois class through the patronage system and the trend toward realism.

Ironically, the Hundred Years War, which seriously affected literary output in the fourteenth century, did not have as detrimental an effect upon the art of manuscript illumination. Thus, whereas literary activity decreased and became stylized, manuscript illustration continued the trends toward humanism and realism already evidenced in the literature of the second half of the thirteenth century. By the mid-fourteenth century the transition in art, and particularly in manuscript illumination, paralleled that of literature; for, although the transition in art had begun somewhat later, it was able to equal that of literature during the literary lull caused by the Hundred Years War.

In relation to Pierpont Morgan 324, the fourteenth century stage of transition in manuscript illustration is quite evident, though not to the degree of certain well-known manuscripts done during the same period, for example the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux by Pucelle. Executed at a time when literature of bourgeois origin was in great demand, the artistic interpretation parallels the literary purpose of Part II,

that of Jean de Meung. Although court life was still a significant aspect of society when the manuscript was executed, it was not the court life of feudal society, but rather one of a more mundane and cosmopolitan society. Thus, the artist's (or artists') interpretation of Part I, that of Guillaume de Lorris, involves a more radical transition in attitude between the time of the text and of its illustration. Whether the artist's interpretation of Part I of the text may have been significantly altered by the distance in time will possibly be seen in the illuminations themselves.

Chapter V

Pierpont Morgan Manuscript 324: Le Roman de la Rose

Pierpont Morgan 324 was executed in Paris in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, between 1340-1350.[1] Although no specific date is given, the border on the first page, in which the heads of royalty are represented, and the style of dress in certain of the miniatures (similar to a Pierpont Morgan manuscript of the Déguilville Pèlerinage dated 1348) lends to the belief that the manuscript was executed at this time. In his article on the manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose,[2] Alfred Kuhn describes in detail Codex 2592 of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna and identifies it as a work executed in France in the second half of the fourteenth century. The sixty miniatures of this manuscript, which he reproduces in his article, closely resemble certain miniatures in Pierpont Morgan 324 in both subject (for example, the portrayals of Greed, the

[1]The following information on the history of Pierpont Morgan 324 is taken from and based upon the Pierpont Morgan manuscript description in typescript, of 3 pages, completed in 1938.

[2]Kuhn, pp. 4-10, plates I-XI.

Wheel of Fortune, and Venus shooting her torch at the tower), costume (the Lover has the same short tunic as in Pierpont Morgan 324, the God of Love has the same long robe, wings, crown, and key), and style (the grace and elegance of the figures, the unvaried faces, and the manner of depicting water coming out from the side of a hill).

The artist who illuminated Pierpont Morgan 324 did not sign his work; there is a possibility that more than one artist executed the miniatures, for the almost caricatural style of some of the miniatures in the latter part of the manuscript contrast with a more naive style in the earlier part, such as may be seen in the two dissimilar portrayals of Danger (folios 21 and 102v.). It is probable that a third person executed the ivy-leaf borders, which are uniform throughout the manuscript.

The manuscript of the text itself, not including the Testament and Codicile of Jean de Meung, consists of 144 folios, two columns per page, measuring 11½" by 8½". Several scribes wrote the script, which is enlivened by grotesques and by decorated initials. The dialect of the text is Burgundian. Part I of the text ends on folio 29 and has twenty-eight miniatures. There are a total of forty-eight illuminated folios, including the reverse sides. Of the fifty-four miniatures in the text, twenty-eight have been selected for this study, including sixteen from Part I (four from the half-page panel of the first page) and ten from Part II, and comprising

twenty illuminated folios.

The miniatures used in this study have been selected on the stylistic bases of originality and of similarity to subject and style of the remaining miniatures. Thus, the God of Love and the Lover appear in three miniatures in Part I, only one of which has been selected, because of the similarity of subject matter. Secondly the style and composition of certain subjects is quite similar, such as the illustration of two persons standing and facing one another, characteristic of at least eight of the miniatures in Part I. In all of the miniatures, at least one human figure is depicted, either allegorical, mythological, historical, or actual. In nineteen of the miniatures certain elements such as trees, a horse, a stream, hills, or an architectural structure are significant in providing background highlights apart from, or along with, the commonly used diapered or scroll patterns. In at least thirty of the miniatures, there are certain accoutrements which represent an aspect of the person's character or are descriptive elements of a story, such as Danger's club, the God of Love's key and his bow, the torch of Venus, Fortune's wheel, Pygmalion's chisel, or even Jean de Meung's desk. Certain themes appear in a number of miniatures: that of death, for example, appears in six miniatures; that of a reflection, in two miniatures. Historical and mythological subjects, including Venus, Croesus and Lydia, Pygmalion, and Dido, appear in eight miniatures. With the above considerations in mind,

those miniatures most illustrative of one or more general literary and/or artistic characteristics of the manuscript have been selected for this study.

In the following analyses of the selected miniatures, a chronological order shall be used. The subjects of the illuminations will serve as the point of departure for the analyses of both the literary and artistic aspects of the manuscript. Each miniature will be studied 1) in relation to the subject illustrated, its importance in the text, its faithfulness to the text, and its significance in medieval society, and 2) in relation to the artistic style of illumination, including grouping, perspective and dimensionality, background, expressive qualities, and innovations. Each analysis will be treated as an expression of the transition of French civilization during the high and late Middle Ages.

Chapter VI

Analyses: Documentation of Transition

Introductory page, folio 1.

One-half of the first page of the text is devoted to a panel which contains four miniatures, as well as elaborate decoration on the right and bottom borders, and two decorated initial letters, "M" and "D". No other page in the manuscript of this text is as elaborately illuminated, nor does any other page in the text contain a half-page illustration.

The four illustrations here represent the sequence of four events in the beginning of the Lover's adventure; all four depict the Lover himself, first dreaming, then getting dressed, then walking in the country, and finally entering the garden gate. These events are covered in the first five pages of the text, corresponding to the first 520 lines of the standard Langlois edition.[1]

The first page serves both as the literary and the artistic

[1]Because of the facility in locating enumerated verse lines, citations and references from the Roman de la Rose will be taken from the standard Langlois edition.

NOTE: Please refer to the original thesis for reprints of the miniatures discussed.

introduction to the romance. It also serves as documentary evidence of the date the manuscript was executed, for the medallions of royal persons along the border are characteristic of works done during the reigns of Philippe VI and Jean II of France. Similarly, the influence during the fourteenth century of the northern grotesques, or *droleries*, is reflected in the amusing figures of the two animals in the lower left and right corners. The fourteenth century trend away from the descriptive initials of monastic illuminations, is reflected by the purely decorative quality of these initials.

The Lover Sleeping

In the first of the four introductory miniatures, the Lover is sleeping, and the traditional and initial theme of the dream is depicted. Guillaume de Lorris begins the romance with an introductory note on the usefulness of dreams, citing Macrobius as his source. Guillaume thus continues the use of the dream, already seen in courtly literature, such as in the works of Andreas Capellanus, and incorporates it as the external binding element of the events within the romance. Moreover, as stated by Charles Dahlberg, the dream has the philosophical purpose of revealing the art of courtly love.[2] The dream is thereby significant to the understanding and development of the romance.

In this miniature, the Lover, seemingly undressed, but

2"Macrobius and the Unity of the *Roman de la Rose*," *Studies in Philology*, LVII, 1961, p. 576.

wrapped in a red blanket, appears by his position to be only dozing; yet, according to the text he is soundly asleep. An indication of what he is to dream, and of the entire romance, is subtlely depicted in the scroll pattern representation of the rosebush whose flower is identical to that of folio 20v., subtitled "Fair Welcome picks a Rose leaf for the Lover." The simplicity of the drawing of Lover, with only those lines essential to represent a human form, nevertheless includes the distinguishable characteristic of the natural blond hairdo, repeated in the following two miniatures. A certain realism is captured by the rendering of the folds which indicate the outlines of the body and of the bed, as well as by the position of the body and the expression on the face. Yet, no attempt at depth is made, and the enveloping quality of the rosebush background is as prominent as the sleeping Lover. Thus, the dream and the rosebush, the two important introductory and unifying elements of the romance, are given equal importance in the first miniature of the manuscript.

The Lover Dressing

The Lover begins his dream, but so realistic is it that he dreams he is awake and in full daylight, and he gets up to dress for a nice spring day's walk. Whereas he was lying down in the first miniature, he is now seated and dressed in a robe which he alternately wears with a short tunic throughout the rest of the text, he puts on his shoes. The gold object at the right is a washstand, and the long stick serves as a clothes

hanger; stylistically, the hanger serves to balance the right side of the picture with the left. The seated position of the Lover is realistic in its representation of the action of preparing to put on shoes; the folds around the knees and lap give a definite feeling of depth, particularly through the skillful use of shading. The background, a gold-filigree scroll on a blue surface, continues the traditional Gothic style of patterned, flat bakcgrounds, and does not attempt to give a spatial effect to the foreground action. Nor is there any evidence of a horizontal or ground plane. It is interesting to note that, although this is the beginning of the dream, no distinction is made between the Lover in real life, and the Lover in his own dream, which emphasizes the illusion of reality described in the text.

The Lover arrives at a Stream

The Lover leaves his room and goes far from town. He arrives at a clear stream which flows out from the side of a hill, and he gazes upon it for a short while. The Lover is depicted standing symmetrically between two trees on which are perched two birds, both facing him. The green trees and mounds, the two birds, and the stream itself, artistically imitate the lyric descriptions of spring in the text, which lend to the idyllic atmosphere of the dream and of the world of courtly love. A contemporary practice of dress described in the text is illustrated in the action of basting shut the sleeve. The Lover is wearing the same robe as previously, although slightly

changed in color, and has the same characteristic hairdo, with a small cap on top of his head, possibly used to indicate his profession of cleric. The landscape elements of the hills and trees are set against another scroll background of gold filigree and red. The artist shows a definite concern for a realistic portrayal of nature, although his rendering of the stream indicates his choice of the textual description over reality. This particular scene, a relatively small passage in the text, is nevertheless significant in that it does give an idyllic setting and presents the stream which leads the Lover to the Garden of Delight.

The Lover enters the Garden of Delight

This last of the four introductory miniatures presents the Lover on the threshold of his adventure with the Rose. Between this action and that of the previous miniature has taken place the Lover's arrival at and description of the garden wall. Upon the wall are various paintings of allegorical figures, which the artist represents in the following four folios. Thus, between the arrival at the stream and the entry into the garden there are 461 lines of description (129-590). The actual entering of the garden is not described until folio 5.

In the text the Lover describes the difficulty of gaining entry to the garden, unknowingly alluding to the ensuing trials of hardship that he is to go through, in accordance with the rules of courtly love. The artist depicts this difficulty by

making the entry gate very small and by portraying the Lover in a bent-over position. Before entering the garden, however, the Lover describes the figures painted on the wall. Three of these are illustrated in the miniature, one of which is partially hidden by the gate. Once again, to emphasize the fact that it is spring and to contribute to the idyllic setting, a tree is depicted on the left and, with a certain realism is shown leaning slightly rather than standing perpendicular. The Lover is still in his robe, but it is now bright red. Although there is no apparent concern with dimensionality here, the artist has emphasized the smallness of the gateway by making the figure of the Lover disproportionately large, in relation to the wall. Because there is no evident stylistic distinction between the paintings on the wall and the figure of the Lover, the miniature lacks any feeling of depth. However, a distorted effect of the roundness of the wall is obtained by the frontal presentation of the figures as contrasted to the profile presentation of the Lover entering. The wall itself is representative of Gothic architecture, with the parapets along the top and the heavy, stone-like quality. The miniature shows less balance than its three predecessors in that all the action takes place on the right hand side of the picture and, despite the diapered background of heavy colors on the left, the balance is sacrificed for the architectural element of the picture.

Thus, the first four miniatures serve as an artistic

introduction to the romance and, except for the last miniature, the corresponding text is on the first folio. The artist has emphasized the first important steps towards the quest of the Rose by the Lover, and in his naive style has maintained the lyric and light tone of the text. Artistically, he has not achieved a completely realistic perspective, yet he has shown evidence of a certain knowledge of landscape and studies of nature. Further indicating the transition that had begun in manuscript illumination at the beginning of the fourteenth century, he has depicted realistic elements of everyday secular life and has shown an awareness of methods in achieving depth, particularly in the soft and realistic folds of the Lover's robe.

Hate, folio 2.

This is the first of nine miniatures depicting nine of the ten allegorical figures painted on the outer wall of the garden, as described by the Lover. Each of these miniatures appears on the same page as the textual descriptions, with the exception of Villainy, whose textual description appears on the following page. Only Felony is omitted from the illustrations. These figures represent "what were to the courtly world the most odious of all evils or vices,"[3] and provide the Lover with an allegorical contrast to what he shall find within

[3]Alan M. F. Gunn, The Mirror of Love (Lubbock, 1952), p.106.

Hate

Villainy

the garden.

The textual descriptions in themselves provide fairly realistic portrayals of the personages, whose bad natures are presented in a semi-didactic but not satiric tone. Hate is described as a quarrelsome and wicked woman, poorly dressed, frenzied, with a frowning face and dirty nose, and with a filthy towel wrapped about her head. The artist, ignoring the textual fact that these figures were seen painted on the wall, has depicted them as if they were real persons. Thus, Hate is realistically portrayed as an old woman, seated on a

white stone bench, with her head in one hand, and with a grimacing face. She is dressed in a simple blue robe and has a red towel wrapped about her head. A similar rendering of Envy appears on folio 3. The artist did not transpose the textual description of her dirty face, but her rather ugly expression indicates her ugly and quarrelsome nature. Although the bench overlaps the border, there is no real floor indicated, and the background is of a diapered pattern, similar to the style of certain Arabic tiles. Depth is successfully achieved, however, in the figure itself, particularly by the shading of the lap and the folds and light areas around the knees. The top of the bench is less successfully illustrated but reveals the artist's desire to give dimensionality to the composition. Its upward tilt but normal perspective, which is unusual, placed within a frontal view of the subject, provides a synthesis of two viewpoints often seen in miniatures of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The first of the allegorical evils described in the text is the first to be depicted and represents the antithesis of love.

Villainy, folio 2.

Having in two or three lines described Felony (whose character is omitted from the miniature representations), the Lover continues with his descriptive portrait of Villainy, the next image seen on the outer wall. A wicked, spiteful, proud and evil-spoken woman, the Lover describes her thus:

Mout sot bien poindre e bien portraire
Cil qui sot tel image faire,
Qu'el sembloit bien chose vilaine; (ll. 163-165)

Well he knew his trade
Who could devise and paint the image so
That it seemed foul and churlish as alive[4]

Her essential trait is that of meanness, and just as Hate represents the antithesis of Love, so Villainy represents the antithesis of another tenet of courtly love, kindness. The artist captures the essence of her mean character in the expressive action of offering a gold cup to a man while at the same time kicking him in the face. The vileness of the action is further emphasized by the kneeling position of the man. As shall be seen in later miniatures, the artist often employs the use of a cloth headdress when depicting an evil or vulgar personage. Particularly in this miniature, by the gesture of the kicking foot, the artist has given good evidence of his ability to be able to depict the foul and churlish character of Villainy.

The lack of foreground floor plan, and the reverse and multiple point perspective of the bench, as well as the inaccurate rendering of the kicking leg, much shorter than the bent leg, contribute to the naive and Gothic nature of the artist's style. On the other hand, his violation of the border limits

[4]Harry W. Robbins, trans., The Romance of the Rose (New York, 1962), p. 6.

in which the man's foot is drawn outside of the frame gives a certain illusion of depth. The folds of the two outfits reveal parts of the body relatively well, such as the knees and the waistline. The diapered background is similar to that of the miniature of Hate, but emphasizes blue rather than red.

Covetousness, folio 2v.

The Lover continues along the wall, coming upon the portrait of Covetousness; rather than give a physical description, he emphasizes the faults of her character. Inciting men to take from their neighbors and never give, to rob young people of their heritage through false technicalities, and to cheat and trick in order to fill money chests, she is the enemy of the courtly ideals of respect and honesty.

Interestingly, the artist, perhaps because of the lack of verbal description and perhaps to show that only what is attractive is coveted, has depicted Covetousness as a young and attractive woman, colorfully arrayed in a blue robe which is highlighted by the red bench on which she is seated. Holding in each of her outstretched hands a bag of money, she is flanked by two green chests in which are two gold cups. On a rack hanging directly over the chests are two cloths, probably items of clothing. Two salient features of this miniature are the vivid colors and the symmetrical arrangement of the objects around the figure. Although the folds around the lap show a definite technical ability to capture the effect of depth, the artist nevertheless has not mastered the complete illusion

Covetousness Avarice

of space and again creates the dual perspectives of straight-on and tilted views, both of which are abruptly halted by the diapered background. The well-balanced composition provides an ambiguous contrast to the less convincing sister miniature.

Avarice, folio 2v.

As seen by the Lover, Avarice is seated at the side of Covetousness. He graphically describes her as ugly, filthy, weak, lean, and green, with a diseased complexion and shrunken limbs. Further, she is dressed in a worn-out robe, and hanging over her are a sheepskin mantle and a torn cloak. Providing

an excellent contrast to the courtly rule of generousity, Avarice gives but one more ugly picture of the immoral or sinful side of man, as evident in medieval civilization as in any other.

Although the artist has separately depicted Covetousness and Avarice, he underlines their similarity by illustrating them on the same page and by presenting them in similar positions and with similar objects. Thus, both are seated forward but with heads turned to the left; both are holding bags, although Avarice holds only one, with both hands; and above both hang items of clothing. Yet, there are evident differences. Whereas Covetousness appears in the form of a young bare-headed woman, Avarice appears as an old woman, her head wrapped in a white cloth. Similarly, Covetousness wears a colorful robe and sits in a colorful surrounding, but Avarice wears a gray robe and sits in a somber setting. The clothing hanging over the head of Avarice is shabbier in appearance, particularly the sheep-skin mantle. The execution of the folds of her lap are less technically correct than those of Covetousness, and the bench upon which she is seated is not only on an inverted plane but seems also to be on a slightly diagonal plane. Once again the artist reveals his capacity for symmetrical design and clarity, but does not seem able to do as well in his efforts at developing spatial effects.

Sanctimony Poverty

Sanctimony, folio 4v.

Although he portrayed Sanctimony in the form of a religious person, Guillaume de Lorris had no critical or satirical intention against religious orders. Rather he is critical, in a tone reminiscent of a serious sermon, of those hypocritical people who dare to assume the moral and upright character of the religious life. Ironically, this personage is the forerunner of Forced Abstinence and False-Seeming, two characters used by Jean de Meung to satirize and criticize the hypocrisy of religious orders themselves. The difference in the interpretation of the two authors provides an excellent contrast in the general attitude towards religious life by a courtly society and by a bourgeois society. Although Guillaume de Lorris criticizes all hypocritical people who violate the

courtly doctrine of sincerity, he has nevertheless chosen as an allegorical example a religiously attired person, thus giving evidence to the fact that hypocrisy was not solely a part of the secular world and that it had in fact made itself obvious in the religious world. Yet, in his description of Sanctimony, Guillaume insists on the wrong of the individual and not of the order. This hypocritical person thus has the outward appearance of a saint dressed as, but not necessarily in the actual order of, a convent nun. She feigns prayer to God, and through fasting, has achieved an emaciated look necessary to get the praise of others for her self-sacrifice.

The illuminator has closely followed the author's description, depicting Sanctimony in a nun's habit, possibly that of a Carmelite, an order of the medieval period known for its cloistered life. She is kneeling and praying in front of a small altar, next to which is a lectern. An overall somber effect is achieved by the use of brown, grey, and white tones, and by the diapered background in which a pattern of black crosses are set against a brown base. The nun herself and the crucifix are exemplary of the stylized technique of Gothic art. The elongated fingers, the distorted shoulder, slight tilt forward, minute face, long neck, and shortened legs of the nun all negate the correct proportion of the human body. Yet, by the attention given to the folds around the knees, waist, and feet, the artist has shown skill in at least one technical method of realistic portrayal. Inverted, tilted perspective is created by the altar, on which the crucifix is precariously

balanced. The crucifix, in the curvilinear style of Gothic art such as may be seen in the Missal of St. Louis,[5] appears as a statue essentially because of the all-white body, which will later characterize the face of Pygmalion's statue. However, the expression on the face and the turning of the body tend to give it a certain animate effect. Tilted at the same degree as the altar, the lectern at the left holds a psalter which tilts at a different degree and thus presents still a third perspective.

Despite the Gothic stylization of the figures, the artist skillfully depicted the content of the text without deviating from its meaning, and has given a contemporary detailed view of religious attire and ornamentation.

Poverty, folio 4v.

This, the last depiction of those immoral characteristics of man anathema to the rules of courtly love, is not so much a vice in itself as is its propagation and continuation by the human race. In contrast to the satirical description of Poverty given by Wealth to the Lover in Part II, Guillaume de Lorris has concentrated on a serious criticism. Secular in its approach and contradictory to the Christian belief that poverty could be a source of salvation through sacrifice, Guillaume's discourse serves as a witness to existing conditions of feudal society. Yet, apart from the criticism of

[5]Reproduced in David Diringer, The Illuminated Book--Its History and Production (London, 1955), plate VII-8.

its existence, he offers no advice to ameliorate the problem, and thus stays within the confines of the idealistic world of courtly love.

Although the text describes Poverty as a woman, the artist has depicted her as a man, while assimilating the characteristics of other personages in previous miniatures. The face and hair resemble the Lover; the seated pose is similar to that of Hate and Envy; and the all-white robe is identical to that of Sadness (folio 3v.). The lack of color contrast between the face and the white robe attests to the hunger endured by the personage, and the sad expression and clutching hands further point out the pitiful state in which she (he) is forced to live. Differing from the previous eight miniatures in the manuscript, this miniature sets its subject within a small landscape. Poverty is thus symmetrically seated in the center of a barren hill and is flanked by two almost identical trees. A strictly hypothetical reason for this choice of setting might be that the artist wished to indicate the lack of shelter which is a characteristic of poverty.

Interestingly, the gold filigree scroll pattern on the blue background, which in its arabesque pattern is a romantic contrast to the orderly classic pattern of the accompanying miniature, employs the two colors which the Lover himself attributed to all of the paintings he has thus far seen on the wall. The illuminator, however, perhaps felt limited by this restriction, as he also may have been by the restriction that

these personages were simply presented as paintings and not living beings. He thus used a more varied and elaborate color scheme and carried Guillaume's allegorical paintings one step further, making them allegorical realities, more obvious to the reader's eye. Although the technique of grisaille was is vogue at the time of this illumination and, indeed, would have been an excellent medium for the depiction of these personages, the artist chose to create more colorful compositions, and at the same time to express his individuality in interpretation.

Leisure speaks to the Lover, folio 5v.

Having seen and described the images on the outer wall, the Lover, with the aid of Leisure, enters the garden gate. Leisure's beauty awes him as he gazes at her fair complexion, her golden hair, her young body, and her lovely appearance. She is the first of several allegorical figures which the Lover shall meet in his adventure of courtly love, and she represents the mood in which the Lover must be before he may start out. Indeed, leisure was the essential characteristic of courtly life which allowed and created a need for an escape from the daily trivia of real life.

Guillaume immediately introduces the theme of the reflected image, used throughout the romance symbolizing love's mirror. Leisure is described as holding a looking glass in her hand when the Lover talks with her. This reflective object also serves as an anticipatory device to the Lover's arrival at the fountain of Narcissus, where his actual quest of the Rose begins.

Leisure speaks to the Lover

The Lover, who on the first page was wearing a long robe, now wears a short tunic characteristic of the costume of a troubadour. Throughout the manuscript he appears either in this outfit, or in the long robe of the introductory miniatures, with only slight variations. Here he appears much younger than in the first miniatures and has a full head of curly blond hair. By his gesture and position, it would seem that the Lover is doing the talking; yet the subtitle indicates that it is Leisure who talks. Similar to thirteenth-century Gothic battle scenes, such as seen in certain windows of Chartres cathedral, the Lover is standing in a seemingly immobile pose but is actually taking a step. The stylized hands with elongated fingers and graceful curves are also Gothic in nature. There is an interesting study in perspective here, apart from the standard inversion of the bench dimensions. The mirror into which Leisure is gazing is presented on the same straight forward plane as she is and reflects an image smaller than its object.

The reflection accurately mimics the tilted head, the facial characteristics, and part of the golden hair; from there, however, the artist does not scientifically depict the objects and their reflections. This is evident again in the miniature of Narcissus and, as is the case here, gives a naive and charming effect to the composition.

Like the outstretched leg of Villainy, the outstretched arm of Leisure is shorter than its identical limb. Another error in proportion is the comb proportionately larger than the mirror; the double edge of the comb, however, is a realistic detail within the composition.

The artist, despite certain technical problems in perspective, shows a generally skillful rendering of folds as means of depicting depth. By making Leisure proportionately larger than the Lover, he has attempted to distinguish foreground from background, although the diapered pattern seriously counteracts this effort. He thus continues to incorporate essentially traditional techniques of depiction while still attempting to utilize other, more contemporary ideas in drawing.

The Carol Dance to the God of Love, folio 6v.

The Lover starts his walk through the garden and comes upon a group of people dancing the carol. The picturesque scene presented him by Courtesy, Mirth, the God of Love, Beauty, Wealth, and Candor, among others, affirms the carefree atmosphere of which Leisure first spoke. Guillaume, in

introducing the musical element of dance, has indicated one of the contemporary cultural aspects of court life. The carol was a medieval dance accompanied either by an instrument or by a voice, and is thus described: "Les caroles étaient, comme l'on sait, des rondes ou des chaines, composées soit de femmes seules, soit d'hommes et de femmes, les danseurs se tenant par la main."[6] The artist captures the chain-like nature of the dance, although he has not shown the personages dancing in a circle. The carol was still danced in the fourteenth century, and the artist was probably aware of its form. By the colors, by the reasonably happy looks on the faces, and by the gestures themselves, the miniature is a cheerful rendition of Guillaume's lyric and joyous description in the text.

Of the six figures symmetrically placed in two groups of three, the God of Love and his companion (probably Beauty, as

[6]Théodore Gérold, La Musique au Moyen Age (Paris, 1932), p. 299

indicated in the text), are slightly larger than the remaining dancers. Naming these other personages can only be hypothetical, since the artist did not give them any of the distinguishing marks described in the text, for example Wealth's belt with magic stone. Nor is the figure in red on the far left clearly indicated as man or woman. All six are going to the right; despite the seemingly turned about stance of the third figure from the left, his legs and feet indicate that he is also going to the right. All are holding hands; the chain is broken on the far left by the figure in red, perhaps because the artist did not wish to give a feeling of incompleteness by drawing the hand of another dancer. The opposite margin is another good example of the artist's ignoring the miniature frame, thus allowing more space for the dance; and here an essential part of the whole picture is, in fact, the horn with its small blazon, the accompanying instrument for the dance. The artist realistically captured the effect of the musician blowing the horn in making his cheek puffed out by the small curve near the mouth. The soft, shaded folds, particularly of the second figure from the left, indicate the artist's awareness of their importance as outlines of form. The figures themselves are outlined so that they may stand out clearly from the scroll background. This expressive use of shading, delicately executed, distinguishes this artist from his earlier counterparts whose shading tended to be more bluntly executed and whose surfaces therefore seemed more severe and less realistic.

Narcissus

Narcissus sees himself in the Fountain, folio 11v.

The Lover continues his walk through the garden and is pursued by the God of Love who is armed with bow and arrows. The Lover arrives at the fountain of Narcissus and on the description above the spring reads the story of the ill-fated young man who refused the love of a maiden; the God of Love took revenge by making the young man fall in love with his own image, and this action was soon to cause his death. This section (11. 1439-1614) was borrowed from the Metamorphoses

of Ovid; Guillaume, however, elaborates upon the story, incorporating and emphasizing the importance of following the tenets of courtly love.

The Lover decides to gaze into the spring and sees two crystals which reflect the entire garden, bu particularly the Rosebush. The Lover falls incurably in love with the Rose, and from the reflection the quest for the real Rose begins. The significance of the Rose cannot be overemphasized. It is an allegorical symbol, traditional in medieval literature, for example in the Dit de la Rose, and may represent Love, Beauty, Woman, Youth, or a combination of these. In the Roman de la Rose, it symbolizes the object of the quest and represents all of the above allegories. It is the sum total, in other words, of courtly love. In this romance, the Rose is the most important of the few non-human allegorical figures, which distinguishes it from the other characters and, in fact, puts it on another plane, conforming to the tradition of the quest motif.

Contrary to the legend of Narcissus, the Lover does not see his own reflection, but rather that of the Rosebush. Whereas the fountain was instrumental in the death of Narcissus, here it is instrumental in the quest of the Lover, although its effects are just as eternal and incurable upon the latter as upon the former.

The artist has cleverly alluded to this similarity between Narcissus and the Lover. Although the subtitle and the reflection itself indicate that it is Narcissus who is gazing into

the fountain, the figure presented is identical to the previous illustration of the Lover. The hair, costume, and colors are very similar, except that here Narcissus wears a belt; however, the Lover wears this same belt in the next miniature.

The theme of reflection appears again, this time with more technical accuracy than in the mirror of Leisure; despite the slightly high position of the image, the angle of the head and the three-quarters view of the face correctly answer those of the object.

Similar to the miniature on the first page, a source of water comes out from the side of a hill, here representing the fountain. The same motif appears again in Part II in the miniature depicting Wealth and her friend lying by a stream (folio 68). The clearness of the stream and the thickness of the verdure around it, as described in the text, are repeated here in visual terms by the whiteness of the water, its ripples, and by the deep green hill dotted with small red flowers and supporting a tropical tree on top. Another natural element is the horse, with bridle, on the right border of the miniature. It is very delicately drawn and is proportionately too small, being more decorative than realistic in its portrayal.

Despite his relatively accurate depiction of the reflection and of the elements of nature, the artist nevertheless has not been able realistically to place the figure solidly in its setting. The hands, knees, and left foot which seem to float over the stream, as contrasted to the hand grasping

the hillside and the right foot buried in the grass, somewhat detach the figure from the background and give the effect of his falling out of the picture. On the other hand, the artist has achieved a slight feeling of depth by placing the hill and horse in the background and by the downward-forward flow of the stream.

The God of Love shoots the Lover, folio 13.

To insure that the Lover pursues the object of his quest according to the rules of courtly love, the God of Love shoots him with five arrows representing Beauty, Simplicity, Courtesy, Companionship, and Fair-Seeming. The first of these arrows, whose tips are eternally imbedded in the Lover, is Beauty. Although it is shot into the Lover's eye, it pierces his heart; this symbolic action emphasizes that aspect of courtly love in which Beauty, as perceived by the eye, causes Love as felt in the heart.

While the fountain assured the eternal and incurable desire for the quest of the Rose, the five arrows assure the courtly nature of the quest. The Lover renders homage to the God of Love; then the latter locks the Lover's heart, symbolizing his ownership of the Lover (folios 14v., 15). He then proceeds to explain the laws of courtly love.

The artist chose to illustrate, at a naively close range, the shooting of the first arrow, the most important, which pierces the Lover's eye. As in the illustration of the carol, the God of Love appears proportionately larger than the other

The God of Love shoots at the Lover

figure. The crown and wings are balanced by the simplicity of his costume, whereas the costume of the Lover is more elaborate, with cowl, belt, and scalloped hem. The presence of the tree acts as a reminder that the action is taking place in the Garden of Delight. The frame of the picture serves as a foreground plane, with the amusing violation of its boundary by the overlapping foot of the Lover.

The gestures are significant elements of this miniature, for, despite their frozen aspects, they illustrate the artist's knowledge of movement as an expressive device. The God of Love tightly grasps the bow, although theoretically the drawing hand should be free. The slight tilt of the front hand is particularly realistic. The open-palm, upraised hands of the Lover indicate surprise and shock at the moment the arrow enters the eye. An important element of action in the text, this miniature corresponds in its expressive quality to the description written by Guillaume.

Shame, Fear, and Danger

Shame, Fear, and Danger, folio 26.

Soon after hearing a sermon on courtly love, the Lover meets Fair Welcome, who represents the desire of the Rose, or Lady, to accept the Lover. Fair Welcome gives him a leaf from the Rosebush (folio 20v.), only to be reprimanded by Danger (folio 21), who represents the contradictory need of the Rose to reject the Lover. Reason then delivers her sermon on the futile pains of love (folio 21v.), but to no avail. Hoping to see the Rose once again, the Lover pleads with Danger, then has Candor and Pity intercede for him (folio 23v.). However, it is not until Venus, the mother of the God of Love, talks with Fair Welcome (folio 24v.) that the Lover is able to kiss the Rose. Slander, seeing the kiss, alerts Jealousy who scolds Fair Welcome (folio 25v). Shame and Fear overhear this conversation and run to alert Danger who has been sleeping on a hillside.

This entire series of events (ll. 2765-3796) portrays in

an allegorical fashion the psychological conflict that torments the Rose, and the resultant grief of the Lover. Such psychological conflicts are traditional to the courtly literature of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as evidenced in the legend of Tristan and Iseult, and in the Lais of Marie de France.

The role of Danger, as described by Guillaume, represents the antithesis of gracious reception inherent to courtly love, and is the incarnation of the traditional villain in folk literature. According to Stanley Galpin, Guillaume drew from current descriptions of the devil to make Danger as repellant as possible.[7]

The artist has also chosen to make Danger appear repellant, dressing him in a shabby dull brown robe, and giving him the appearance of an old bearded hermit whose evil nature is symbolized by the club. The very pose in which the artist has placed him, leaning on one elbow, lying on a hillside, yet still holding his club, gives credence to Danger's neglect of his duties. Shame and Fear, who appear in the background, as if in back of a ledge, are not rendered in an odious fashion and, in fact, appear relatively harmless and gentle. Their appearances are radically altered in the miniature in Part II, folio 102v.

The emphasis of the miniature is upon Danger, who, by

[7]"Dangier li Vilains," Romanic Review, II, 1911, pp. 320-322. Langlois, however, does not agree with this interpretation (I, pp. 322, 323).

his large size and by the manner in which the hill cuts off the other two figures, is placed in the foreground. The economical portrayal of folds, nevertheless soft and graceful, gives a realistic indication of Danger's form, and is important in the successful foreshortening of the arms. Proportion and depth are distorted in certain instances, as in the large open hand of the figure on the right, and the short arm of the figure in the middle, which nevertheless is able to touch Danger.

The miniature is colorful, with contrasting shading in the hill, on the sleeves, and along the folds giving a feeling of depth; the club overlapping the frame also gives a certain depth.

Jealousy has a Tower built where
Fair Welcome is imprisoned, folio 27.

Jealousy, outraged by the impudence of the Lover, calls master workmen and masons to build a high impregnable tower around the Rosebush and therein imprisons Fair Welcome. Any further attempts on the part of the Lover to reach the Rose are thus foiled. The quest is abruptly halted here, and the poem of Guillaume is left for Jean de Meung to conclude.

The artist selected this last event of Guillaume's poem (ll. 3997-4058) as the subject of the last miniature of Part I. This is the second miniature (the first being in the introductory panel) in which an architectural form is presented. As contrasted to the previous example, the structure here is

Jealousy's Tower

a tower and not a wall, although both are forms of protective enclosures. Towers appear again in Part II in the miniatures depicting Old Age and Fair Welcome (folio 85v.), Nature at her forge (folio 106v.), Venus setting fire to the tower (folio 137v.), and the God of Love before the burning tower (folio 140v.). In all six of these miniatures, the architectural structure appears in a different form, despite the fact that all but two represent this same tower in which Fair Welcome and the Rose are enclosed.

Architectural forms in medieval illumination became particularly significant in the second half of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries, as exemplified by the thirteenth century sketchbook of Villard d'Honnecourt, in which descriptive drawings of cathedral towers, geometric designs for drawing human figures, and even a personification of the Wheel of Fortune attest to the influence of the graceful delicate lines and forms of Gothic architecture upon drawing

techniques and their transition in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Apart from its technical influence, Gothic architecture itself presented new possibilities of subject matter to illuminators who no longer limited themselves to depicting the basic symbols of religious literature. The height and slenderness of Gothic architecture permitted the artist to depict such structures within the limited confines of a miniature.

The tower depicted in this miniature conforms in design to the medieval donjon, with its thick brick walls, slender, tall, rounded form, its parapeted walkways, and its thin narrow window openings. To accommodate the face of Fair Seeming, however, the artist made a wide opening in the wall. The distorted proportion does not detract from the understanding of the illustration. Thus the tower, which is only slightly taller than Jealousy, is seemingly only one story high, just enough to hold Fair Welcome; yet, by its outer decorations, it represents a much higher structure. The little man kneeling and hammering at the bottom (and thus symbolizing the building of the tower) appears to be of approximately the same size as Fair Welcome; both are proportionately smaller than Jealousy, whose size and position balance the left side of the miniature, although the tower still predominates. In Part II, the tower and its occupants are the locational core of action and remain so until Venus successfully sets the tower afire, freeing the occupants.

Jean de Meung

Portrait of Jean de Meung, folio 29.

Rather than starting a new page the artist and scribe chose to separate Part I from Part II of the Roman de la Rose with a miniature of Jean de Meung at his desk stand. It is interesting to note that Jean de Meung is included in the miniatures of other manuscripts, such as in Pierpont Morgan 245, and in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3338. Why the Paris-centered artist(s) of Pierpont Morgan 324 did not choose to illustrate Guillaume de Lorris is uncertain, but perhaps the proximity in time of Jean de Meung and his University of Paris background allowed a more authentic portrayal than would the more ancient and Loire-centered court poet.

Jean is shown seated in a carved wooden chair, writing with a quill upon his manuscript. His desk stand is very similar to stands in miniatures of the four evangelists in religious manuscripts of the early Middle Ages.[8] The chair,

[8]See Diringer, plates III-16b, III-17a-b, VI-9a.

the desk, the quill, and the paper are contemporary objects of the period, realistically designed and presented with grace and simplicity of line. The simultaneous double view of the chair and the almost frontal view of the stand are joined into a somewhat unified, if distorted, perspective by the figure of the author himself, who is seated in a three-quarter pose but is nonetheless able to write on the stand. There are no foreground elements and the blue diapered background offers a bold contrast to the golden chair. The symmetrical balance generally evident in these miniatures is offset by the inaccurate centering of the subject, who is nevertheless skillfully drawn and whose seated pose illustrates the technical ingenuity of the artist.

The Wheel of Fortune, folio 34v.

Jean de Meung thus continues where Guillaume de Lorris has left off. The Lover, bemoaning his fate, is approached by Reason, who has left her tower to sermonize him. As contrasted to her short sermon on the pains of love in Part I, she becomes a mouthpiece of medieval knowledge, lecturing upon a variety of subjects, including that of the Wheel of Fortune. The theme of Fortune and its effects upon men is continued throughout this part of the romance and serves as a didactic instrument in teaching that all men are equally susceptible to Fortune's whims, good or bad. Having taken the theme from the De Consolatione Philosophiae of Boethius,[9] Jean has developed the idea

[9]Langlois, I, pp. 339-340

The Wheel of Fortune

of Fortune in a relatively paganistic manner, not making specific reference to a Christian significance of fate, and has used it to preach the equality of all men, noble or peasant.

The artist has asserted the idea of equality, for in his depiction of Fortune's wheel he has placed on the top a figure wearing a crown, symbolizing royalty. Symmetrically designed, the wheel is turned by Fortune, who stands in the center and whose arms are interlaced in the spokes. There are four figures, on two sides, the top, and the bottom, of the wheel. Except for the king on the top who is the smallest figure, perhaps to conform with the limits of the upper boundary, all of the figures are proportionately equal.

The figure on the right border, by his stretched-out and upside-down position, indicates that he is on the downward turn of the wheel. The bottom figure appears to bear the weight of the wheel and is clothed only in a loin cloth. The figure on the left border, dressed in a red robe, is seated in an upright

position and is reaching his hand out to Fortune. By the arrangement of these figures on the wheel, the artist has probably intended to illustrate the various states of fortune of a single man,[10] or possibly the relative fortune of four different men. Thus, the man on top, the king, represents good fortune. The man on the right, in less elegant apparel, represents failing fortune, the figure on the bottom, almost naked, represents bad fortune, and the figure on the left, in an elegant robe, represents increasing fortune. The technical aspects of the positions show once again the artist's awareness of the expressive nature of various forms and gestures of the human body. Delicate lines, the soft shading on the wheel itself and on the clothes of the figure at the right, and the slightly overlapping leg of the bottom figure are all characteristic of mid-fourteenth century manuscript illumination.

Virginius and Virginia, folio 39v.

Reason continues her discourse and complains of the misdeeds done to Justice. She gives as an example the story of Virginius and Virginia, which she (i.e., Jean de Meung) has taken from Livy. Virginius, rather than allow his daughter to be the victim of a false judgment, cuts off her head and presents it to the court.

Utilizing this and subsequent examples from antiquity, including Seneca, Croesus and Phanie (folio 45v.), Dido

[10]This man could theoretically represent Nero, as indicated in the analysis of the miniature of folio 45.

(folio 89v.), and Medea, among others, Jean has revealed his extensive background in classical literature. By incorporating this knowledge within the Roman de la Rose, often with specific reference to the source, he has emphasized the role of translations and university education, as well as the increasing didactic and bourgeois orientation in literature of the late thirteenth century. Such elements provide an important stylistic contrast to the courtly and lyric poetry of Part I.

The significance given to literature of antiquity in the text is somewhat paralleled in the subject of the miniatures. The artist has chosen to illustrate seven such stories in Part II, continuing in artistic expression the didactic purpose of the literary description.

Upon first glance, this miniature strongly resembles that of a knighting ceremony--the kneeling figure with hands in prayer form, the raised sword, and the hand on the head.

However, the costumes do not indicate such a chivalric subject, and the figure on the right is a young girl. The artist could have based this illustration upon miniatures depicting such feudal courtly activity in medieval romances.

Although the man with the sword is the father of the young girl, the artist has not employed any motif, such as a beard, to distinguish the age difference between the two. Both have blond hair, and the faces are similar, as are the majority of faces throughout the manuscript. More attention is given to the robes, their folds and shading, and to the gestures themselves, which are the most essential expressive device to the comprehension of the miniature.

A slight trace of a ground plane is evident under the feet of Virginius; there is no background other than the patterned wall. The artist again has ignored the picture boundary, this time with the sword; such violation of the frame adds a feeling of depth and originality to the picture.

As in all the miniatures of the manuscript, the border decoration is of a simple ivy-leaf pattern, delicately designed and heightened with gold leaf.

Nero has Seneca put to Death, folio 43v.

Continuing as the allegorical mouthpiece of Jean de Meung, Reason further and more bitterly complains of the injustice in the world, taking as her present example another story from antiquity, that of Seneca, who was the victim of Nero's injustice. Using the guise of criticizing Nero, Jean de Meung c

criticizes kings in general, contesting their right to judge others. Thus he is a forerunner of those bourgeois-oriented authors, including Villon, Rabelais, Molière, and Voltaire, who did not hesitate to criticize royalty or officials of the clergy and government.

As narrated by Reason, Nero felt that as emperor he should owe no one reverence, and thus condemned to death his former teacher, Seneca. Seneca chose to die by letting the blood drain from his body in a bath of warm water. Nero had the bath prepared and his old master was put to death.

In the miniature, Nero stands at the left watching as his attendant cuts the artery in the right arm of Seneca. Although the folds and shading in Nero's cape are as expertly executed as in previous miniatures, the faces, and particularly the face of Seneca are quite different in style, and could therefore be the work of yet another artist. It must be remembered that certain scribes and illuminators of the fourteenth

century worked in guilds or were products of them, and often one artist would direct the work of several apprentices illustrating the same manuscript. This would account for certain significant changes in style, such as the present one. The eyes especially differ from previous miniatures, and the entire face of Seneca, almost caricatural in nature, is unlike any of those seen in the manuscript until now. This type will recur in later miniatures.

The essential narrative and expressive device of this miniature is the gesture. The raised hand of the king indicates he is giving orders; the cutting of the artery by the attendant, which reveals the artist's anatomical cognizance, illustrates the nature of the death; the relaxed arm resting on the side of the tub denotes the calm manner in which Seneca accepted death. The costumes have a narrative purpose also. The crown, sword, and robe of Nero are traditional symbols of royalty. The attendant is dressed in a simple tunic-robe with no distinguishing decoration. The lack of dress is also symbolic, for Seneca's nudity indicates he is in a bath. It is interesting to note that the costumes used in this and other miniatures depicting stories of antiquity are those of contemporary medieval dress and not of Roman origin, which they knew little or nothing about.

Of architectural interest is the tub which occupies a full quarter of the miniature. Constructed of wooden planks bound by two hoops, it is large enough for Seneca to stand in

without completely exposing himself and is the first form to command the viewer's attention.

The Death of Nero, folio 45.

Reason continues her polemic against injustice in the world, but does not deny the impossibility of justice, for now she talks of the death of the unjust Nero. She re-introduces the theme of Fortune's wheel, stating that Nero was placed on the top of the wheel so that his fall might be greater. The king depicted at the top of the wheel on folio 34v. could therefore well be Nero.

Fearing an attack by the people he ruled, Nero tried to flee from his palace but was unsuccessful. He begged his servants to kill him; they refused, and he was thus forced to take his own life with his sword.

Of the seven stories from antiquity illustrated in Part II of this manuscript (Virginius, Seneca, Nero, Croesus, Lucretia, Dido, Pygmalion), five treat the subject of death. The theme of death is not predominant in the text, rather it is the theme of life, of natural procreation, which predominates. Nevertheless, the theme of death appears in six miniatures, including that of the death of Slander, all in Part II.

Such a significant emphasis on death by the artist is not Christian in origin, for the subjects are non-religious. Rather, it appears to be derived from a contemporary attitude, the result of the first stage of the Hundred Years War. France suffered severe reversals at Crécy and Calais in 1346-1347,

Death of Nero

which posed grave threats to the existence of the centralized monarchy of Philippe VI.

This miniature is particularly significant to the transition that manuscript illumination, seemingly unaffected by the Hundred Years War, was undergoing during this first period of the fourteenth century. As in the preceeding miniature and in those to follow, certain stylistic changes indicate that a different artist may have executed some or all of the remaining twenty-two miniatures appearing in the manuscript of the text.

The depiction of Nero, with his crown, delicate, bearded face, blue robe, and sword, and the gold filigree scroll pattern on a faded red background are nearly identical to the previous slide. The caricatural face of Seneca is repeated in the faces of the two servants, symmetrically placed on either side of Nero. Their statures, with paunchy stomachs, broad arms, and defined leg calves, are much less refined than any yet depicted in the manuscript, but are that much more realistic.

Nero's stature, by contrast, maintains the elegant curve and thinness of preceding miniatures, although his eyes, nose and mouth are more heavily outlined.

A certain distorted perspective exists in the two views of the sword which has gone completely through Nero's chest. Later, a similar miniature depicts Lucretia killing herself with a sword (folio 59). For a feeling of depth, the technical device of frame overlap is maintained by the extended foot of Nero. Perhaps the most important indication of transition of the art of manuscript illumination in this miniature is that of the landscape, already seen in several of the preceding miniatures. Here, however, a new natural element is incorporated within the landscape: scroll-patterned rosebushes which appear to climb up the hills. This same scroll rosebush appears in the very first miniature of the manuscript, but is incorporated as part of a flat patterned background. The artist may have introduced the rosebush into the landscape background of this miniature as a reminder that, despite the historical nature of the subject of the miniature, it still is a relevant part of the Roman de la Rose.

The symmetrical and realistic depiction of the landscape and of the two servants is characteristic of manuscript illustrations of the mid-fourteenth century in France, when such elements of landscape and realism were replacing the traditional patterned background and graceful and slender human forms.

The God of Love, Abstinence and False Seeming

The God of Love, Abstinence and False Seeming, folio 74.

Discouraged by the pessimistic sermon of Reason, the Lover seeks the consolation of Friend (folio 50). The latter, however, gives only further disillusioning advice, and tells of the jealous husband who, distrustful of all women, beats his wife (folio 63v.). Friend then gives his rules of love, which are based upon realistic observations of life, and include the use of gifts and flattery for women. The Lover goes to the God of Love (folio 69v.) and tells him of Fair Welcome's imprisonment. The God of Love quickly summons his barons to make plans for battle against the prison tower. Throughout this episode, Jean de Meung parodies the feudal concept of the lord and his subordonate and loyal barons. At the same time, by emphasizing the role of the God of Love as the commander-in-chief, who is not waging war on another lord but upon an enemy of the state of Love, Jean de Meung reflects in his work the process of political transition to a centralized power.

While planning the battle, the God of Love is approached by False Seeming, dressed as a religious hermit, and his feminine companion, Abstinence. In the ensuing discourse by False Seeming, Jean boldly satirizes religious orders, particularly the mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Portraying the religious hypocrite, False Seeming tells of his talents of trickery in using any one of several guises, especially religious, and then explains that religious garb does not make a religious person. This theme is repeated in the Roman de Renart, Baudouin de Sebourc, the Petit Jehan de Saintré, Gargantua of Rabelais, Tartuffe of Molière, Candide of Voltaire, and in the Ile des Pingouins of Anatole France. In each of these examples, taken from the thirteenth through eighteenth and the twentieth centuries, religious satire is based upon contemporary observation. So too, the discussion of False Seeming is based upon the actual dispute at the University of Paris between the old masters of theology and the new Franciscan and Dominican teachers, guided by the ideas of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. False Seeming, using the speech of a Dominican monk,[11] incongruously but nonetheless satirically, takes the side of the University masters and thoroughly denounces mendicancy.

The text itself does not specifically describe False Seeming's dress at the moment of meeting with the God of Love,

[11] G. Ward Fenley, "Faux Semblant, Fauvel, and Renart le Contrefait: A study in kinship," Romanic Review, XXIII, 1932, pp. 323-331.

except that it resembled that of a religious hermit (11. 11,230). Later in the text, False Seeming and Abstinence dress respectively as Dominican, or Jacobin, monk[12] and a Beguine nun, in order to deceive and kill Slander (folios 82v., 84). The artist has based this present miniature on a later description and dresses the personages in the same religious garb in all three miniatures.

Hence, False Seeming is dressed in the robe of a Dominican or Jacobin monk, wearing the black cloak and white robe, and carrying the staff described in the text. Abstinence is dressed similarly, wearing the white robe, cloak, and white scarf and carrying a psalter characteristic of the Beguine order as described by the text (11. 12,025-12,075). Both of these figures appear on the right side of the miniature, standing and facing the God of Love, seated on the left. As contrasted to the miniature of folio 13, the God of Love here wears a long robe and cloak, has blue wings, a more serious face and slightly different crown; the use of white in indicating the folds may further identify this miniature as the work of another artist. Nevertheless, the refined and delicate portrayals of the God of Love and of the two religious figures are reminiscent of earlier miniatures, and do not have the caricatural quality seen in the preceeding analysis.

The seated position of the God of Love, with one leg crossed,

[12]Louis Réau, La Civilisation Française au Moyen Age (Paris, 1958), p. 112, n.

is unlike any yet seen, and indicates a certain willingness to innovate on the part of the artist. The bench is only partly visible but is still of a tilted and reversed perspective; it serves as the only background element against the flat diapered pattern. However, by the relative smallness of the God of Love and by the more prominent figures on the left with feet overlapping the boundary, the miniature indicates the artist's attempt at a feeling of depth.

A host of the God of Love fights the guards of the castle, folio 102v.

With Slander murdered, the Lover is able to approach Old Age and ask her to bring a wreath of friendship to Fair Welcome (folio 85v.). She does so and then sermonizes him on love, giving him a cynical and corruptive set of laws, and stating that faithful devotion can only bring grief, as in the example of Dido (folio 89v.). She further criticizes the institution of marriage, stating that it restrains the freedom of both partners, and recounts the story of Vulcan, Venus, and Mars.

Fair Welcome agrees to see the Lover (folio 99v.), who then enters the castle, but once again Danger prevents his attaining the Rose. The God of Love summons his barons and begins the battle against the tower of Jealousy. The first stage of the battle is a general defeat of Love's troops; a temporary truce is called.

The artist depicts one of the host of the God of Love

A Host and the Guards

confronting the guards of the castle. The baron as described by the text is Candor, bearing shield and lance; the guards are Danger, Fear, and Shame. This miniature provides a notable contrast with a previous depiction of the same personages. On folio 26, in Part I, Shame and Fear are delicately portrayed, and although Danger has an ugly appearance, he is not caricaturized. The very nature of this present interpretation lends again to the possibility of at least a second artist executing these later miniatures.

Danger here is a stout, aggressive figure, wearing a different outfit from his previous dirty brown one, carrying a shield and his club, whose evil purpose is made much more obvious, with its knobby design. His face is of the caricatural style seen in the miniatures of Seneca and Nero. Shame and Fear, portrayed in the background, are not as prominently illustrated but have the same caricatural faces and brandish equally threatening weapons. In contrast to the three figures

on the right, Candor is delicately drawn, wearing a gracefully flowing robe over her slender body and balancing, but not clutching, her lance.

The symmetrical balance is lacking because of the predominance of figures and color on the right side. However, this imbalance is a stylistic means of indicating the overpowering forces which Candor is about to encounter. This lack of balance, as well as the manner of depicting the good versus bad personages, attests to the artist's ability in realistic expression and narration.

Nature in her forge, folio 106v.

The second stage of the battle begins, but the poet interrupts to talk of Nature, who works at her forge counteracting the effects of death. She soon leaves her forge to confess to Genius and lament the violation of her doctrine by the human race. The discourse she gives (ll. 16,707-19,334) parallels in length the sermon of Reason, and is most specific in presenting Jean's theory of love, a doctrine of naturalism.

Contrary to the almost Platonic nature of the courtly love of Part I, love in Part II is of an essentially physical nature. As explained by Nature herself, love is necessary for the procreation and continuation of the human race. Jean thus elaborates upon, and broadens, the concept of a cult of nature, using the De Planctu Naturae of Alanus de Insulis as his most important source.[13] Abandoning the restrictive attitude of

[13]Langlois, IV, pp. 303 ff.

religious doctrine procreation and the poetic rules of courtly love, Jean bases his argument upon realistic observations of human nature. His approach, therefore is founded not only upon the physical instincts, but also upon a humanistic belief in man: "Le message de la seconde partie du Roman de la Rose, c'est que les hommes apprennent par eux-mêmes les secrets de la nature, c'est aussi qu'ils trouvent leur dignité dans leur propre activité créatrice et inventrice."[14] This message is best expounded by Nature herself, who is first described as working in her forge making new generations of humans of all classes and races. The artist chose to illustrate this metaphoric-symbolic setting of Nature, and she is shown seated at her anvil hammering the form of a human hand. The fire burns at the right, enclosed in a forge similar to Gothic architecture in its elongated and pointed style. The oven, done in

[14]Marcel Françon, "Jean de Meung et les Origines du naturalism de la Rénaissance," PMLA, LIX, 1944, p. 640

grey and white, similar to grisaille illumination, provides sharp contrast to the bright colors of the remainder of the miniature. In fact, it seems separated from the rest of the miniature because of the gold pattern above it which is incongruous with the blue pattern behind Nature. Apparently, as indicated by the reversed perspective of the bench, the oven supposedly is part of the background, whereas the swastika-patterned wall is a middle ground, between Nature and the oven.

Although there are a few folds which do indicate Nature's seated position, not as much attention is given to this technical element as in previous miniatures, such as seen on folio 39v., the death of Virginia.

The significance of this miniature rests in its symbolic nature, with the hammer, anvil, and oven symbolizing Nature's tools of creation, and the hand symbolizing the object being created. This picture thus depicts the process of life and creation in the same non-Christian fashion as does the text, with the artist readily interpreting the literary description in the visual language of art.

Genius lectures to the God of Love and his Host, folio 129.

Genius pardons Nature for man's stupidity and goes as her envoy to the God of Love to ask that he and his barons aid the Lover in freeing Fair Welcome and attaining the Rose. Genius then delivers a sermon to the God of Love and his barons.

This is the last of the series of didactic discourses

permeating Part II of the Romance. All of the sermons are given by allegorical figures--Reason, Friend, False-Seeming, Old Age, Nature, and Genius--and thus are delivered as an integral part of the text. Alan M. F. Gunn[15] devotes a major part of his long study of the Roman de la Rose to illustrating that the encyclopedic elements of Part II are in fact essential to Jean's argument for natural love. Nature summarizes this argument, Genius ratifies it, and then preaches it to the God of Love, Venus, and the barons. Jean includes within this sermon a detailed comparison of the Garden of Delight of Guillaume de Lorris and the Garden as presented in Part II (ll. 20,267-20,682). Apart from its didactic purpose, this analytic process acts as a stylistic bond of the two parts, recalling the courtly poetry of Part I, but also reminding the reader that both parts take place in the same garden, despite its changed appearance in Part II.

[15]The Mirror of Love (Lubbock, 1952), passim.

Genius, as Nature's priest, is described in the text as wearing a chasuble and miter. In the miniature he wears only the white under-robe, or alb, and the black miter. He stands in a pulpit similar to those seen in Gothic churches, and as indicated by the gesture of his hand, is giving a sermon. The figures closely congregated to the right of the miniature include the God of Love and his barons. The woman directly in back of him may represent Venus, but is more similar to Candor in appearance, as seen on folio 102v.

The God of Love himself has a more feminine face than in any of the preceding miniatures and once again has red wings. An interesting addition to his royal outfit is the ermine trim of his blue robe. This realistic detail further emphasizes his role as ruler of the Garden, this role not being as realistically indicated in the miniatures of Part I.

The treatment of the pulpit cloth is very similar to the costumes of Nero's attendants (folio 45). In both miniatures the stripes are broad horizontal brush strokes ignoring the pattern of folds. Yet, these stripes add colorful and realistic details to the overall picture.

The entire miniature is a parody on the Mass, with Genius representing the priest in the pulpit, and the God of Love and his barons representing the attentive parishioners. The sermon being delivered is not that of Christ's teachings, but rather that of Nature's.

Genius delivers the sermon so successfully that the God

of Love and his barons, with renewed vigor, vow to capture Jealousy's tower so that the Lover may reach his Rose.

Pygmalion, folio 138.

The second assault against the tower begins but sees no success until Venus arrives with her torch to set fire to the castle (folio 137v.). However, the description of the battle is interrupted to tell the story of Pygmalion and Galatea, brought to mind by a sculptured shrine outside the castle wall.

Once again using Ovid as a source, Jean elaborates upon this story taken from the Metamorphoses. Charles Dahlberg[16] makes a valid parallel between this legend and the three stages of the Roman de la Rose: the artist (poet/sculptor) falls in love with a symbol of woman (rose/statue); he loses all reason; by perserverance, he overthrows the arguments of reason. This story, seemingly incongruous with the battle scene, actually heralds the victory of Love and the possession of the Rose by the Lover. It also serves further to enforce the theme of creation, the goal of natural love. Pygmalion's belief that he was dreaming when he saw his breathing statue parallels the dream that is the entire Roman de la Rose; the fact that Pygmalion was actually not dreaming parallels the realistic nature of the Rose-quest dream.

In the miniature, Pygmalion stands sculpting his statue

[16]pp. 581-2.

with a chisel. His robe is plain, but the shaded folds are skillfully realized. The blond, curly hair characteristic of several of the figures in the preceeding miniatures is particularly reminiscent of the last miniatures depicting the God of Love. The sculpting table tilts upward so that Galatea may better be seen, despite the precarious position in which she is placed by this distorted perspective. Curiously, the artist did not choose to portray the statue standing on the floor, but rather chose this supine position, similar to sick-bed scenes.

The statue itself (herself) is curvilinear but hazy in form. No outline exists on the bottom half of the robe, perhaps a stylistic device to suggest the incomplete state of the statue. The face looks particularly statuesque because there is no contrasting color for the hair. Galatea is proportionately smaller than the artist, perhaps a result of the difficulty of portraying her lying on a table. Although Pygmalion

is sculpting Galatea's breast, his eyes are focused on her knees. Such faulty focusing occurs in other miniatures, but is particularly noticeable here. There is only a slight trace of a floor line at the bottom; the traditional diapered pattern covers the background.

The subject of this miniature is peculiarly relevant to this study. It depicts at the same time literary and artistic creation, and is in itself symbolic of the nature of manuscript illumination. The miniature interprets and translates a verbal creation into a visual recreation. Although, by its very nature, manuscript illumination is limited to interpreting literature, it thereby enhances the literary creation; by its choice and interpretation of subject, manuscript illumination is a creation in itself.

Summary

Having used selected miniatures as a departure point, the analyses of the literary and artistic significance of the manuscript show a close correlation between the text and miniatures. The chronology, content, significant passages and contemporary details of the text have been closely followed in the miniatures, with only a few exceptions, such as the change of sex of the personage of Fair Welcome, who in folio 20v. appears as a man and in folio 21 appears as a woman. To insure unity between the narration and the illumination, the subject of each miniature is executed on the same, or occasionally the

preceding or following page, of its textual description. As further insurance, each miniature, excluding the introductory panel, has a subtitle in red ink, which is used both as an explanatory and a didactic device.

The most notable technical result of the overall artistic-literary correlation in the manuscript is the predominance of miniatures used to illustrate the text of Part I. Within its text of 4,058 lines are incorporated twenty-eight miniatures. Only twenty-six miniatures illustrate Part II, whose text has 17,722 lines. Whether for economic reasons, for reasons of time, or simply for reasons of the artist's choice, the cause of this disparity may only be hypothetically determined. Despite the overemphasis of miniatures in Part I, the illustrations for both parts have successfully translated the literary significance of the text.

Each of the illustrations of Part I portrays a specific event of the quest, with the exception of the nine allegorical figures seen on the outside wall, which serve a more anticipatory purpose to the actual events within the wall. This is an important exception, however, for in choosing to depict the vile yet realistic figures of the outside wall, rather than their idealistic counterparts within the garden, the artist gives a bourgeois emphasis to the courtly motives of the author. However, the artist did not portray any of these figures in a caricatural style, and realistically brought out their specific character faults as described in the text.

Apart from these nine miniatures, the miniatures of Part I depict essential events of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris: the entry into the garden, the initial events leading to the quest of the Rose--the fountain of Narcissus, the arrows of the God of Love, the psychological conflict between Fair Welcome and Danger, the controversial sermon by Reason, the intervention of Shame and Fear, and the final imprisonment of Fair Welcome. Although one miniature is devoted to Fair Welcome's giving a rose leaf to the Lover, a noticeable omission from this series of miniatures is the actual kissing of the Rose by the Lover. It was indeed this event that raised the ire of Shame, Fear, and Jealousy, and led to the imprisonment of Fair Welcome. In these miniatures depicting the actual events of the quest, the artist refrained from any satirical or exaggerated interpretations, and even the figure of Danger, while certainly ugly in appearance, is still gracefully portrayed without any caricatural details. The idyllic and leisurely setting of the Garden of Delight as described by Guillaume is rendered in each of the miniatures, particularly those in which landscape elements are used. Similar to the text, the artist successfully depicts allegorical and actual figures in the same scene, such as in the portrait of Villainy and her victim. Paralleling the descriptive effect of such juxtaposition, the artist has succeeded in making the allegorical figures appear as real and alive as their human counterparts. With the exception of the emphasis of the nine uncourtly figures at the

beginning of the manuscript, the artist paralleled the lyric and psychological elements of Guillaume de Lorris' poem. Thus, despite the time span of approximately 125 years between the poem's creation and the illustrations, a time span during which court life had rapidly moved from a rural setting to a cosmopolitan surrounding, the artist successfully interpreted the idealistic and leisurely nature of courtly love in feudal society.

As contrasted to Part I, the miniatures of Part II are not solely illustrations of the actual quest for the Rose. Nine of the twenty-six miniatures of Part II depict historical and classical subjects taken from the various discourses by Reason, Friend, Old Age, or the poet himself, and one is devoted to the author. Yet, this seemingly incongruous emphasis actually parallels the nature of the text itself, although the relatively small number of miniatures does not fully indicate the great variety of subjects within the text. Particularly evident omissions from the repertoire of illustrations in Part II are those of Heloise and Abelard, of scientific subjects described in Nature's discourse, and of the important allegorical figures of Famine and Chastity; the description of the war between Beauty and Chastity is an important passage treating Jean de Meung's argument for natural love as opposed to the courtly love of Part II. Indeed no subject referring to this argument for natural love is depicted in the manuscript, as contrasted to the self-explanatory illustration of procreation seen in an earlier manuscript of this romance (Pierpont

Morgan 132, folio 137v.).

However, those subjects which are illustrated do reflect the bourgeois and didactic nature of the text. Thus, even the introductory miniature of Jean de Meung echos the role the poet has given himself within the poem, particularly his apology for his work (ll. 15,135-15,302). This miniature further serves as the division between the texts of Part I and Part II. Those miniatures depicting subjects from other literary sources reflect the encyclopedic and didactic nature of the text. The variety of sources, ranging from Pygmalion (taken from Ovid) to Nature in her forge (taken from Alanus de Insulis) particularly attest to the author's university training and his scholastic occupation of translating early and recent works of literature. The artist also captured the bourgeois orientation towards satire and criticism, ably depicting the hypocritical nature of False-Seeming in a Dominican habit, and the fate of the unjust king Nero. Stylistically, the element of satire is translated into the caricatural portraits of Danger and his companions. No such caricatural style appears in Part I. It is quite interesting to note that this caricatural portrait, as well as those of Seneca and of Nero's guards, are the only instances in which a profile rather than three-quarter's view of the face are used. In all other miniatures the three-quarter's view is used, often despite obvious distortion (e. g. Narcissus). Thus, it is quite possible that one artist, skilled in doing three-quarter's views, painted the majority of

figures in the miniatures whereas another artist skilled in profile views painted all those figures of caricatural nature. As in Part I, a noticeable omission from the illustrations is that of the Lover attaining the Rose. This omission is more significant in Part II, however, for the action symbolizes not only the successful termination of the quest, but also represents the victory of Jean de Meung's treatise on natural love over Guillaume de Lorris' manual of courtly love.

Notwithstanding certain significant omissions of subject matter from the illustrations, the miniatures of Part II translate into visual terms the didactic, encyclopedic, and satiric nature of the text, and thus emphasize its bourgeois origin and style.

In the miniatures of both parts, the artists have utilized four important pictorial devices to unite closely the miniatures to the narration of the text: costumes, objects, gestures, and composition. The Lover's tunic, the God of Love's crown and wings, and False Seeming's Dominican habit are pictorial means used and repeated to distinguish and characterize these personages. It is interesting to note that, despite the antiquity of certain subjects of Part II, all personages are depicted in contemporary costume; this, however, is an artistic device which makes historical figures a part of the realistic present. Acting as pictorial and narrative objects of identification are Danger's club, Venus' torch, Fortune's wheel, Seneca's tub, and Nature's forge. Gestures, such as Villainy's upraised foot, the

Lover's raised and opened hands (when the arrow enters his eye), Genius' outspread arms, and Pygmalion's stance as he chisels, illustrate important character traits of the personages depicted. The predominance of the tub in the miniature of Seneca's death, the unbalanced effect of Candor facing the guards of the castle, and the emphasis given to Genius over the crowded forms before him are examples of compositional devices of pictorial narration. Combined with these four narrative devices is an imaginative use of color for both the subjects and the patterned backgrounds. This is particularly evident in the miniatures depicting Sanctimony, Narcissus, Nero's death, and Nature at her forge.

Although certain significant parts of the text were omitted from the illustrations, particularly in Part II, the miniatures of this manuscript have successfully interpreted the literary significance and the intrinsic differences of the two parts, with no prominent drawback caused by the differences in the date of the text and of the manuscript. The transition from the lyricism, simplicity, and idealism of courtly literature to the satire, complexity and realism of bourgeois literature is clearly evident in the text and is mirrored by the accompanying miniatures. The transition within the art of illumination itself is also evident within the miniatures of this manuscript.

Reflective of the Gothic style of illumination still being used in the mid-fourteenth century are the simplicity, clarity, and harmony of composition, the use of diapered backgrounds, the

essentially linear quality of the figures, the use of gold leaf within the miniatures and along the borders, the lack of variety in facial expressions, and the generally bright colors. Further, a difficulty in depicting proportions is evident in such miniatures as Jealousy before the tower, and in Pygmalion and Galatea. The relative naiveté of most of the illustrations is a result of this incorrect proportioning, as well as of the simplicity of design, the curvilinear flowing quality of the figures, and the symmetrical arrangement.

Yet challenging the naive elements of the miniatures are certain details heralding the advent of Renaissance realism. Thus, the concern with landscapes is evident in several of the miniatures, with hills and trees serving as realistic background elements competing with the flat, patterned background. More attention is given to the shading of folds to achieve a certain depth, particularly in the rendering of the laps of seated forms, such as those of Leisure and Nature. Similarly, foreshortening is used to achieve depth, and is most successful in the miniature of sleeping Danger. The linear attempts at perspective are not quite as successful, for in each case where lines are used to give a spatial effect, such as in the depiction of benches, an inverted or reversed perspective results. Nevertheless, there is an awareness of the technical method of achieving dimensionality which, along with the increased use of landscapes, reflects the fourteenth-century influence of northern Italian art upon the Paris artists. A further challenge to the Gothic naiveté of most of the miniatures is the striving for

realism and naturalism, made evident by the variety of forms in which the figures appear, by the specific contemporary details given (religious costumes, furniture, architectural forms, dance form, modes of dress), and by the use of landscape elements. Moreover, contrary to Gothic practice, the miniatures are entities in themselves, with initial letters being purely decorative and not descriptive.

More general indications of the transition from Gothic to pre-Renaissance manuscript illumination are evidenced in the possibility, even probability, that more than one artist executed the manuscript; one artist probably painted the borders, and one or more executed the miniatures, lending to the possibility that the manuscript may have been done in a special studio. This does not exclude the possibility that the manuscript was commissioned, probably by royalty as indicated by the medallions on the first page, to a single artist who directed the execution of the manuscript and could have done the majority of the illuminations.

The greater independence of the artist is manifested in individual experimentation, such as the consistent violation of the miniature boundaries for spatial or humorous effects, and the imaginative combinations of symbolic and artistic forms of expression, such as the rosebush scroll pattern of the first miniature.

Finally, the fact that this is a secular text is indicative of the trend in manuscript illumination to illustrate texts of non-religious content, specifically those of bourgeois origin.

Thus, while at the same time translating the significance

of the literary transition within the text, the miniatures themselves illustrate the transition of the art of manuscript illumination.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

Art and literature have long been considered expressions of the society in which they were created. In the Middle Ages these two modes of expression were united into a single form, the illuminated manuscript. Serving in both artistic and literary capacities, the illuminated manuscript may be a valuable cultural document reflecting medieval society. Pierpont Morgan 324, the Roman de la Rose, executed in the mid-fourteenth century, reflects in literary and artistic terms French society of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a society in transition.

The political transition from feudal to centralized government strengthened the royal power of the Ile-de-France and weakened the nobility. The economic transition from a local subsistance to international trade resulted in the rapid growth of the bourgeois class and of cities, especially Paris. The religious transition from a predominantly salvation-oriented life to a more humanistic life diminished the power of the Church, brought about monastic reforms, and was manifestediin

increased forms of secular art and literature. The cultural transition from localized centers of learning to the cosmopolitan influence of the University of Paris was supported by the patronage system in which bourgeois tastes predominated over aristocratic tastes. Pierpont Morgan 324, Le Roman de la Rose, is both a manifestation and mirror of this French society in transition.

The Roman de la Rose, whose text provides the literary documentation of Pierpont Morgan 324, is perhaps the most valuable work of literature reflecting the social transition of thirteenth century France. Part I, written by a court poet of the Loire valley in the first quarter of the century, is one of the last examples of courtly literature in which the leisure of feudal life was reflected in the creation of an idealistic world of love. The elegance, grace, and refinement of aristocratic life on the feudal manor is reflected in the lyric poetry of Guillaume de Lorris, whose romance served as a manual of courtly love and a model of chivalric practices. The centralization of power in Paris, and the accelerated growth of the bourgeois class during the second half of the thirteenth century caused a rapid decay of the feudal system and its modes of cultural expression. The consequent predominance of the bourgeois taste for realism and naturalism is best reflected in Part II of the Roman de la Rose, whose author was reared and educated in the bourgeois tradition of the University of Paris. Replacing the refinement and simplicity of the original poem, Jean de Meung incorporates within Part II an entire resumé of medieval

scholastic knowledge and satirical observations of contemporary society. Contrasted to the idyllic portrayal of feudal society in Part I, Part II is a witty, critical observation of the faults of a cosmopolitan society. The poetic idealism of Part I is thus replaced with an earthy realism in Part II. The significance of the combination of these two tones of expression is best stated by Gustave Cohen: "Il faut se faire à cette idée des deux faces de l'esprit français: exprit courteois, esprit gaulois et s'habituer à les voir coexister, mais avec une pré-eminence l'un sur l'autre à certain siècle ou demi-siècle."[1]

Denying the almost Platonic nature of love in Part I, Jean de Meung preaches the doctrine of natural love, or procreation, and provides a further contrast between the conception and purpose of the two authors. Perhaps the most significant reflection of the social transition that took place between the creation of Part I and that of Part II is the parody of courtly life that characterizes the plot of Part II. Thus, virtue and respect towards the lady are replaced by materialism and a naturalist approach towards woman. The very fact that Jean de Meung did choose to ridicule the courtly nature of Part I is emphatic evidence of the fading importance of feudal society and the growing predominance of a cosmopolitan and bourgeois society.

Although the artistic interpretation of the text was not

[1] La Vie Litteraire en France au Moyen Age (Paris, 1953), p. 185.

executed until the mid-fourteenth century, the artists concerned were able to transmit in visual terms the significant differences of both parts of the text and further indicate the nature of social transition. Furthermore, the miniatures themselves are evidence of the transition in art that took place in the mid-fourteenth century as a result of a social transition from ecclesiastic to secular orientation and from a feudal to a predominantly cosmopolitan life. The monastic reforms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries released the art of manuscript illustration to lay artists whose guilds and workshops were centered in Paris. Pierpont Morgan 324 was executed in Paris, probably by more than one artist and for a patron of the royal court, indicating the influence of the guilds and of the patronage system. The pre-Renaissance details incorporated within the miniatures, including the use of landscapes and the attempts at depth and perspective attest to the close contact the artist had with ideas brought into Paris from Italy and to the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of the art itself. Finally, the choice of the Roman de la Rose is indicative of the increasing attention given to the execution of secular texts by lay artists.

Although the evolution of manuscript illumination in France was slower than the evolution of literature, by the mid-fourteenth century, owing to the literary lull caused by the Hundred Years War, the former was able to catch up to and equal the latter. Thus, the evolution of French literature in the

thirteenth century, exemplified by the Roman de la Rose, was paralleled in the mid-fourteenth century by the art of manuscript illumination. Both forms of cultural expression reflect and are manifestations of medieval society in France, and both forms have been combined into a single manuscript, Pierpont Morgan 324 Le Roman de la Rose. This fourteenth-century copy of the thirteenth-century work is thus an excellent cultural documentation of a society in transition.

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