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The Search for Senefiance: Contraires Allegories in the "Roman De La Rose"

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**THE SEARCH FOR *SENEFIANCE*:
CONTRAIRES ALLEGORIES
IN THE
ROMAN DE LA ROSE**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of French and Italian

by
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December, 1999

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**To Gordon,
my dear husband and staunchest supporter:
gratitude and thanks**

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ABSTRACT

It is the thesis of this dissertation that there exists in the Roman de la Rose a system of *contraires* allegories which move in a direction opposed to the traditional readings of three facets of the text. They are (1) Amant's assault upon the statue / sanctuary, (2) his relationship with Bel Accueil, and (3) the advice which Genius gives to Amour's barons. In addition, when taken cumulatively, the readings advanced argue for the identification of the Roman de la Rose with the Evangile éternel of Joachim de Fiore. These readings depend upon the reader's recognition of Faus Semblant as a *contraire* protagonist and of the extent to which Jean de Meun has adopted the issues and strategies of his parent texts into his own.

Thus, the assault upon the statue / sanctuary, traditionally read as the culmination of Amant's sexual conquest, becomes also the destruction of the Church by the mendicant orders. Bel Accueil is seen as Amant's other, or *contraire*, love interest, rather than simply a quality of the lady. Genius's sermon, which advocates vigorous heterosexual activity couched in terms of work, may also be read as criticizing the mendicant orders, whose members did not work. Finally, his description of the paradisiacal Park of the Lamb marks the text of the Roman de la Rose as the depository of the Evangile éternel of Joachim de Fiore, the diabolical text which Faus Semblant and his friends, the unholy mendicants, have hidden until it can be safely brought forth again.

Texts which are important to these allegorical readings are examined for their influence upon the Roman de la Rose. And as one analyzes the relevant works of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, Rutebeuf, Joachim de Fiore, Alain de Lille, and Ovid, it

becomes clear that Jean de Meun incorporates their issues and strategies into the Roman de la Rose, thereby enlarging its scope. For in addition to bearing the traditional designation of a love quest (although even that may be challenged), it has become also the Evangile éternel, the diabolical gospel of Faus Semblant, who, as the text states, is the devil himself.

I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation evolved out of an analysis of the character of the mendicant friar, Faus Semblant, and the role which he plays in the Roman de la Rose. As a result of this analysis, I came to the conclusion that he was so important to the text that he should be labeled the *contraire*, or other, protagonist, Amant, the Lover, being the traditional protagonist. While in the process of analyzing him and his role, however, I began to wonder if the scene at the culmination of the Roman in which Amant assaults a lady / statue / sanctuary, and which is traditionally read as a sexual assault, might not also be read as the destruction of the Church by Faus Semblant, since Amant was now dressed like him. Therefore, to better understand the historical setting from which Faus Semblant arose, as well as the events to which he alluded in his discourse, I turned to historical accounts of the University Quarrel at Paris in the thirteenth century and to the rise of the mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans who played such a large role in it. What I found was that the mendicants' adversaries, the secular clerics of the University of Paris, did indeed fear (or so they said) that these friars were the pseudo-prophets of the last times who would destroy the Church from within. My reading being validated from a historical viewpoint, I next turned to the texts arising from the Quarrel which provided much of the basis for the discourse of Faus Semblant, principally those of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf. Here I found textual evidence which further supported my interpretation. I also found, however, that a parallel existed between the Roman de la Rose and the University Quarrel which I had not foreseen: that is, that signs and their

interpretation(s) were critical to both. The adversaries involved in the University Quarrel interpreted the same events and Biblical texts in different ways, either to condemn or to exonerate the mendicant orders. Pope Innocent IV was ready to accept Guillaume de Saint-Amour's arguments and to condemn the mendicants, when he died. His successor, Alexander IV, saw things in an entirely different light, and threw the power of the papacy behind the mendicants, validating them and their ministry. In this situation it was clear that oppositional stances had arisen from one set of events and the same Biblical references, and that their orthodox interpretation was bestowed from without by the Pope. And although Alexander's interpretation prevailed, had Innocent IV lived a bit longer, orthodoxy might have looked very different, and the history of the mendicant orders might have been short-lived. This exercise in interpretation moves from the parent texts into the Roman de la Rose, as one begins to realize how Jean de Meun also plays with signs and their interpretations, as he injects the false sign into the text with the entrance of Faus Semblant, and creates a Lover who does not measure up to the definition of a true lover as defined in the text and who pursues a love that is limited to carnal desire and thus not love at all, again according to the text. Rather than a *miroer aus amours*, the Roman seems to mirror the University Quarrel. And although Jean de Meun, through Faus Semblant, denounces what he sees as the hypocrisy of the mendicants, as he incorporates these textual elements into his own text, it also becomes a hypocritical text, carrying on the agenda of a love quest which the text itself invalidates and insinuating into itself the diabolical gospel of Faus Semblant, the Evangelium aeternum of Joachim de Fiore or, as Faus Semblant calls it, the Evangile pardurable.

As I read and re-read the text in relation to Faus Semblant, I became aware of an oppositional interpretation of another generally-accepted facet of the Roman de la Rose which I could not ignore. This was the relationship of Amant with Bel Accueil, the young man who traditionally represents the lady's welcoming manner. It seemed that the

text was insisting upon his masculinity and upon Amant's focus upon him, as well as the fact that the rose belonged to Bel Accueil, and not the reverse. Textual sources having been helpful in relation to Faus Semblant, I once more turned to the relevant parent texts, principally Alain de Lille's Complaint of Nature and Ovid's Metamorphoses, to see if there lay some basis for this reading of signs in relation to Amant; and once again, this interpretation seemed validated. Thus, with this second reading, the instability of signs identified in relation to Faus Semblant is reinforced in the text as Amant is infected from the perspective of those sources as well as by the parent texts which touch more directly upon him. Moreover, Jean de Meun, while denouncing through Nature and Genius the homoeroticism that they bring into the text with them, once more assimilates into the text that which he condemns, as he seems to adopt the style of writing labeled *falsigraphia*, which was seen in the Middle Ages to be synonymous with homosexuality.

These two readings find further validation in oppositional interpretations of Nature's commandments as delivered by Genius in his sermon, as well as in the Testament of Jean de Meun, as he continues to concern himself with issues related to the mendicant orders and with *luxure*, the vice identified with homosexuality. In addition, Genius's description of the Park of the Lamb strengthens the case for identifying the Roman de la Rose as the locus in which the Evangile pardurable, or Evangelium aeternum, has been hidden by Faus Semblant, further reinforcing the oppositional readings which the Roman de la Rose offers.

The exploration of these readings led necessarily into a study of allegory. The perception of a literal text, which I now consider to be quite ephemeral, needed to be addressed. In addition, the arbitrariness of the meaning of signs and the fundamental need of language to speak metaphorically had to be explored. Thus, at the end point of this study, it appears that the Roman de la Rose incorporates an oppositional system of *contraires* allegories which, unlike the common practice of multiple congruent readings of

medieval texts, move from this text in a direction opposite that of the traditional readings. Yet, interestingly enough, these *contraires* allegories lead back to the same moralistic interpretation favored by John Fleming and Douglas Kelly, much as diverse Biblical interpretations are supposed to be subsumed under a higher truth.

In the writing of this dissertation, I have chosen to utilize two key words in their original Old French forms: *senefiance* (meaning) and *contraire* (oppositional). Their English counterparts do not bring with them the subtlety or the richness of meaning that the original forms imply. It is for this reason, therefore, as well as to emphasize the importance of their presence to my argument, that they remain in my dissertation as they appear in the text of the Roman de la Rose.

In my quest for *senefiance*, I have found corroboration for the Faus Semblant reading in a work by Penn Szittyá and for the Amant-Bel Accueil relationship in an article by Simon Gaunt. Kevin Brownlee also connects the Roman to the Evangelium aeternum, but from a different perspective; he, too, sees the importance of signs which governs the Roman and the Quarrel. Yet no one, no matter how important they now consider Faus Semblant, has labeled him as the *contraire* protagonist. To my knowledge, no one has attempted to document the influence of Rutebeuf on Faus Semblant's discourse, or to examine the impact of other works by Guillaume de Saint-Amour beyond that of his major treatise, De periculis novissimorum temporum. Nor has anyone approached the Roman de la Rose as a whole, as I have attempted to do, from the viewpoint of the University Quarrel, as the text mirrors the oppositional interpretation of signs which in turn gives rise to the system of *contraires* allegories delineated above. Neither has the important consequence that this phenomenon has for the text of the Roman de la Rose been delineated, namely that it mandates the multiple readings of the signs, and therefore of the text, of the Roman, thus subverting the possibility of the defining *senefiance* which the Roman promises repeatedly yet never delivers because it cannot. My search for

senefiance has thus been rewarded beyond the scope of my own readings, for in authenticating them, I have come upon what is perhaps the defining rationale governing *senefiance* in the Roman de la Rose: the mutability and instability of signs and of texts based upon the influence of the parent texts which Jean de Meun has incorporated into the Roman. This instability, coupled with traditional methods of allegorical interpretation and the dialectics of opposites, are all factors which ultimately frustrate the possibility of a unique and unifying *senefiance*. Yet the search for *senefiance*, which the text itself imposes upon the reader, has not been in vain. *Senefiance* is present in the Roman de la Rose; however, as in the case of the University Quarrel, it is imposed upon the text from without, by the reader.

1.1 The Promise of *Senefiance*

Bien vos en ert la verité
contee et la senefiance,
nou metrai pas en obliance,
ainz vos dirai que tot ce monte
ainçois que define ma conte.

Guillaume de Lorris, Le Roman de la Rose

Puis vodra si la chose espondre
que riens ne s'i porra repondre.

Amour, prophesying concerning
Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose

The *senefiance* of the Roman de la Rose is an issue which each of its putative authors addresses more than once in his part of the text. The *senefiance* is promised as an incentive to the reader to continue reading, for all will be made clear, nothing will remain hidden by the time both authors have laid down their pens. Yet this promise is never fulfilled, at least not overtly, and this fact has led readers since the thirteenth century to embark upon a search for the 'real' meaning contained in the Roman de la Rose, as the famous fourteenth-century quarrel involving Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, and Gontier and Pierre Col attests. I, too, when I came upon an approach that

yields much in terms of *senefiance*, was convinced that I had found 'the' meaning that the Roman sought to impart. In retrospect, however, I must admit that I became enmeshed in the same trap that has caught other naïve readers; and I should have been more reluctant to make unwarranted assumptions concerning the Roman, for the text itself mentions traps, or *laz* repeatedly. The gullible bird and the unsuspecting quail are lured into entrapping nets (*laz* and *rais*) by the deceptive bird-calls or sophistic language of the *oisellerie* (bird-catcher), which Jean de Meun mentions in verses 21,461ss. Venus and Mars become entangled in a net which Vulcan has put around her bed and are thus caught in adultery (v. 13,811ss). *Les laz* or *les raisiaus d'amour* are mentioned in conjunction with Narcissus (v. 1,438), Pygmalion (20,808 - 10), and Amant (v. 4,570 - 72; 4,596 - 98). Ami (v. 7,441 - 44; and 7,608 - 09) and La Vieille (v. 14,399 - 402) both use the same word to characterize the wiles that a lover must use to attract the object of his/ her affection. In my opinion, it would not be an overstatement to say that the Roman de la Rose itself is a trap for the unwary reader.

Thus some two years later, I find that although I remain as convinced as ever concerning the validity of my readings, I no longer have the temerity to claim them as the only *senefiance* which emerges from this rich and complex work. In addition, while at first I considered my approach to be quite elementary, I now recognize that this is not necessarily the case. For what I have to offer are alternative readings concerning three important aspects of the text of the Roman de la Rose: Amant's assault upon the statue, his relationship with Bel Accueil, and Genius's advice to Amour's barons. And although I originally labeled my reading of each episode as literal readings, I have come to realize that the so-called 'literal sense' of a text is quite fluid, in the first place, and secondly, that my readings are in large part allegorical. Yet because as they build upon the *sens propre* of the text, they move in a direction opposite that of the traditional readings, I have labeled them *contraires* allegories, which also brings dialectic into play. Further, as I

approach the culmination of this reading stance, I have come to realize that seemingly oppositional terms such as literal / allegorical, *paille / grain*, and *sens propre / integument* are but two sides of the same coin, and the reader who identifies a given reading as one or the other does so at his peril. Finally, when one realizes that the function of a figure, or *figura*, is to conceal as well as to reveal, it becomes apparent that it is this double operation which inevitably leads to critical disagreement in the application of labels.

In this regard, I agree with the assessment made by Sarah Kay in relation to troubadour poetry, one which I believe is also applicable to the Roman de la Rose. She states that irony and metaphor (among other figures of speech) "make meaning elusive, subject to slippage, and resistant to univocal reading." Because irony (which is generally regarded as a tool in the Roman) "refers to the capacity of a text to signal disengagement from its apparent meaning, and thus admit uncertainty about its purport," it can "both raise and suspend the question of how far a text is committed to what it appears to affirm." She continues that "a consideration of metaphor and related tropes suggests that the traditional rhetorical opposition between the 'figurative' and the 'literal' is unstable,"¹ a statement which I now heartily endorse. Yet when necessary, I will continue to use the oppositional terms 'allegorical' and 'literal,' however faulty the latter may appear, for they have been used by writers and critics of all ages. As I discuss the history of allegory, for example, the literal sense as it was understood by such thinkers as Augustine and John of Salisbury must be acknowledged. And although I have come to be extremely wary of the label 'literal,' there are many modern critics who are not. Thus, in discussing their ideas, one must also use their terminology. Yet as I pursue my own readings of the 'other' face of the allegorical text of the Roman de la Rose itself, I will once again adopt the language the text uses to speak of multiplicity of meaning: *letre* and

¹Sarah Kay, Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 17.

sens propre versus *integumentz*, *paille* versus *grain*, and *contraires choses*, concepts which, coupled with the reflexivity of the parent texts, lead the reader to the realization of the impossibility of a single, defining *senefiance*.

I have chosen to examine the text through the optic of the *arts poétiques* of the late Middle Ages, as well as through the literary and oratorical commentary of authors from the Classical and early Middle Ages whose works influenced them. Thus, to explore my reading strategy fully, I must discuss the several theoretical streams rushing at full spate during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in France, in order to better appreciate the theoretical concepts identified in the Roman de la Rose and where my analysis lies among them. For I have come to believe that categorizing the Roman simply as 'personification allegory' is simplistic, although the Roman announces through its form that this is what it is. The richness of allegory, as it was applied to different kinds of texts for different reasons, must first be explored. The double tradition of the *sensus proprius* of words found in Quintilian which makes its way into the *arts poétiques* of the twelfth century, and its companion, the literal sense of a text which arises from Biblical exegesis, must also be set forth. While it is easy to lose sight of these concepts in the midst of the complex methods of thought and writing that were so characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they are also central to the reading strategies which the Roman itself counsels. Dialectic must also be explored, for its presence is signaled by the *contraires choses* which, the text declares, so important in reaching a true understanding of any material, a strategy which offers opposing interpretations of the same signs or sets one sign against its opposite. Finally, I will show how Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun play with dialectical opposition throughout the Roman, demonstrating that signs and their interpretation are always in a state of flux, thus frustrating the possibility of a fixed, internalized meaning. These three concepts (the *sens propre* and/or the literal sense, allegory or *integumentz*, and dialectic) meet, mingle, separate, disappear, and

reappear throughout the text; sometimes one is in ascendance, sometimes another. Yet in the search for *senefiance*, no one can be put aside in favor of another, for a knowledge of all three is necessary. However, since allegory was the principal method of approaching any text in the thirteenth century, whether it was specifically written as allegory or not, it is through a discussion of the history of allegory that the literal sense (and the *sens propre*) will be examined. Dialectical theory will be treated separately, although there are places where its concepts cross with allegory, only to separate once again. Indeed, the opposition of the literal / allegorical text is itself a dialectical one; and in this sense, dialectic appears throughout the discussion of these two traditions, as well as in its own right. Finally, as stated above, the textual sources which Jean de Meun has incorporated into his text further influence and intensify the instability of the sign already in flux as a result of allegory and dialectic.

The importance of Faus Semblant and his discourse, and the role that both play in the Roman are also critical to this study. For not only does one discover, as other critics also realize, that this character is absolutely crucial to the success of Amant's quest, his role and his presence also color the analysis of the character of Amant. Further, his identity as a mendicant friar places him at the center of the University Quarrel between the secular and regular clerics that had been going on for almost fifty years (c. 1220s - 1260s), bringing with it implications for the application of allegory and for the reading of the Roman de la Rose itself, implications which Kevin Brownlee touches upon in his article "The Problem of Faux Semblant."² John Fleming has commented that a study of

²Kevin Brownlee, "The Problem of Faux Semblant: Language, History and Truth in the Roman de la Rose," The New Medievalism, ed. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 266.

this Quarrel in relation to the Roman needs to be undertaken.³ I have attempted to do this by returning to the texts generated by the Quarrel and assessing their influence upon the Roman de la Rose. The fruits of that analysis in turn call for a re-examination of the text concerning Amant and his relationship with Bel Accueil. These interpretations require an amplification of the messages in Genius's discourse. Finally, I will examine the Testament of Jean de Meun in the light of the insights which arise from this research, as he glosses his text, selecting the *senefiance* he now prefers.

I.2. Reading Stances Advanced for the Roman de la Rose

The long history of allegory, as well as the complexity of the concept itself, makes it difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of allegory in all its nuances. The scholar trying to choose a stance for a given text among the many theories which emerge from a perusal of allegory, which includes the related concepts of the *sensus proprius* of a word's own meaning as well as the more historically grounded *sensus literalis*, finds a bewildering array of theories, ideas and opinions on the subject. If one looks hard enough, most theories also have an accompanying counter-theory. Even in the field of literary criticism, therefore, the dialectic of *contraires choses* is alive and well, as each scholar justifies his stance concerning the Roman de la Rose and its *senefiance*. Thus, while many of these approaches may be justified by the text itself, the reader should realize that we are once again dealing with opposing interpretations of the same signs. With this in mind, let us turn to the Roman de la Rose and to an examination of the reading strategies advocated by several scholars, along with the reasons for their choices. Following this, an argument will be made for the readings strategies that I propose.

How should one read the Roman de la Rose? As might be expected, there are many opinions, some complementary, some conflicting. Most critics writing on the

³John Fleming, The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 162.

Roman de la Rose have considered it principally from its allegorical stance. In fact, it is usually described as one of the best, if not *the* best of the genre. C. S. Lewis and M.-R. Jung both agree that the part written by Guillaume de Lorris is one of the best examples of allegory to be found in medieval literature. In The Allegory of Love, however, Lewis takes Jean de Meun to task for not staying within the genre, although he considers Guillaume's part a near-perfect and clever use of it. He sees Jean's completion of Guillaume's work as simply an excuse to digress on any number of subjects, from alchemy to optics. He accuses Jean de Meun of not keeping the psychological and symbolic levels of the poem distinct; he points out places where the allegorical level completely slips - for example, the lover entering the château of Jalousie through a window, and Bel Accueil trying the chaplet of flowers on *his* golden tresses. He admits that Jean de Meun knows much about a wide array of subjects, but states that he has used the Roman to display his encyclopedic knowledge and is not interested in the allegorical structure of the poem, doing only enough to maintain the story line and bring the plot to its conclusion.⁴

Toward the end of the Etudes, Jung, in commenting directly on the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris (he scarcely mentions Jean de Meun), states that "the Roman de la Rose opens with a series of static allegories, such as the delightful setting, the river, the portraits outside the wall, the personifications of the dance, Déduit's garden. This part is purely descriptive. The Lover sees, looks, and reflects. The contact of the personifications with the author do not yet have anything personal about them. In spite of the general scope of this introduction, the particular allegory is still underlying, since things do not present themselves to the dreamer; he goes to meet them. The adventure begins with an act of the will."

⁴C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love. A Study in Medieval Tradition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 112 - 156.

Jung further states that although all the elements are not new, Guillaume de Lorris is the first to combine 'his' dream, the Art of Love, the god of Love with his garden and his arrows, and the personification of abstractions in one poem. In so doing, he creates a new genre, the personal allegorical poem. However, the poem easily moves to the general level usually associated with allegory, since Amant's love quest is also a universal one. In conclusion, he states that "there is no key to reading the Roman de la Rose. The concepts evolve, and require an interpretation that takes into consideration the particular situation of Amant and the personifications. . . . Handling static as well as dynamic allegory with ease, Guillaume de Lorris adds to the diversity of his narration a supple allegorical sense always in movement."⁵ All of this seems to imply that Guillaume de Lorris has fulfilled the criteria set forth by Jung better than most. However, he is silent regarding Jean de Meun, and he always qualifies his reading of the Roman by limiting it to the part attributed to Guillaume.

These readings of the Roman as personification allegory, offering a sort of Ovidian Ars amatoria à la française, while they have their validity, are incomplete, since they do not fully take the second part into account. They are confined to a traditional reading of a text whose allegorical meaning stays very close to the written allegorical text of the poem. If Amant were really looking for advice and help in "cutting roses," it seems that the integumental covering should be a botanical one. Putting this objection aside, (for no one has taken exception to this), it is obvious that the mythic gods and goddesses and the personifications that fill the text are not 'real' in the sense that the archetypal Amant is. However, they speak quite plainly to him of love (among other things), and it is obvious what the poem is relating. C. S. Lewis asserts that the 'other' meaning *ought* to be obvious. For him, there would be no problem. The allegorical veil,

⁵Marc-René Jung, Etudes sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge (Berne: Editions Francke, 1971), p. 295; p. 294; p. 310.

however, is very thin. According to M.-R. Jung, personifications must speak openly and it is the action that makes a poem an allegory, action which should be controlled by the personifications. The trappings of static allegory are certainly there. But do the personifications control the narrative fiction? Sometimes yes, but at other times, it is the protagonists, the archetypes Amant and Faus Semblant, who are in charge. Jung makes a point of saying that personifications or mythic figures who only teach do not take part in the action. In the second part of the Roman some do, while others do not. Yet as Jung points out, no work is a perfect allegory. John Fleming agrees that the poem is allegory; however, he gives it a tropological reading, i.e., man's slide into sin. In this case, the love quest would be the *paille* and Amant's moral degeneration the *grain*.⁶ If the narrative text is going to be called allegory, this type of reading follows traditional allegorical methodology more closely.

It appears, however, that in continuing the love quest of Guillaume de Lorris, the allegorical narrative was not the main focus of Jean de Meun. He has continued with the structure provided by Guillaume de Lorris, keeping the dream and the love quest and carrying it out according to the anonymous conclusion which appears in some manuscripts at the end of Guillaume's text. But this structure merely serves as a vehicle for his own agenda. As C. S. Lewis points out, his textual amplifications are quite lengthy. And even if they are justifiable, as Alan Gunn has argued,⁷ they nevertheless point to other preoccupations well outside the scope of the original narrative.

There are scholars who address these other issues, however, as they analyze the Roman in terms of its language or its rhetoric, rather than its narrative structure. And

⁶Fleming, Allegory and Iconography, pp. 47 - 53.

⁷Alan M. F. Gunn, The Mirror of Love. A Reinterpretation of the Roman de la Rose (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1952).

they all agree that Jean de Meun does indeed achieve the double meaning characteristic of allegory in his use of language. For example, Susan Stakel begins her analysis of the Roman de la Rose and specifically of Faus Semblant by listing the vocabulary of deceit that is found in the text and which is centered in the friar's discourse. She concludes that in the Roman de la Rose Jean de Meun has combined allegory and irony in a way that opens up the allegory and frees it from conventional restrictions.⁸ Thus, in commenting directly and principally on the part of the work attributed to Jean de Meun, she affirms the allegorical designation by applying Quintilian's definition of "*aliud verbis, aliud sensu*"⁹ to the language of the text, and not to the specific elements contained in it, as do Jung and Lewis. Douglas Kelly approaches the Roman from the stance of medieval rhetoric and poetics, and while his own interpretation of the allegory seems to be more traditional, he nevertheless asserts that the text lends itself to multiple readings and that such diverse interpretations are valid.¹⁰ For Stakel and Kelly, it appears that Jean de Meun's use of allegory follows more closely that of the rhetorical theorists, as he manipulates the language of his continuation of the Roman to play with the meaning(s) of his text as well as Guillaume's. From both the perspective of structure and of language, then, there can be no question that the Roman de la Rose should be called allegory.

David Hult and Roger Dragonetti both treat the concept of the *sens propre* discussed in the text, and both conclude that it is unreliable. Hult, commenting upon the unreliability of the sign, remarks upon the linguistic separation between a word and its

⁸Susan Stakel, False Roses. Structures of Duality and Deceit in Jean de Meun's Roman de la Rose (Saratoga, California: ANMA Libri, 1991), p. 120.

⁹Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 8.6.44.

¹⁰Douglas Kelly, Internal Difference and Meaning in the Roman de la Rose (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

meaning that he sees implied in the discussions between Raison and Amant concerning the proper naming of a word and the subjects of castration and decapitation which are raised in terms of mythic and historical references throughout the Roman.¹¹ Dragonetti discusses metaphor as applied to the Roman de la Rose principally from the aspect of the *sensus proprius* and offers the insight that even this apparently obvious meaning cannot be relied upon absolutely since it immediately slips into the *metaphor* of the *sensus proprius*, which is itself a rhetorical tool. He also refers to the discussion between Amant and Raison to demonstrate that the *sens propre* is a factor in the reading of the Roman de la Rose. Dragonetti agrees that the letter, or the literal sense, governs this character's speech, citing Raison's statement that whoever understands the letter will see the meaning in writing which illuminates the obscure fable:

qui bien entendroit la letre,
le sen verroit en l'escriture
qui esclarcist la fable occure.
(RR v. 7,132 - 34)

He argues, however, that this means that the *sens propre*, taken in its generally accepted meaning becomes in its turn an obscure fable, not so very different from the glose, the metaphor, or the parabole ["Qu'est-ce à dire? Que le temps (sens?) propre, pris dans son acception courante se donne à son tour comme fable obscure, pas si différente en somme de la glose, de la métaphore ou de la parabole"].¹²

Daniel Poirion makes the statement that allegory is but one case of the arbitrariness of language . . . since there is no essential relationship between the word and the reality ["L'allégorie n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'arbitraire du langage: il faut bien,

¹¹David Hult, "Language and Dismemberment: Abelard, Origen, and the Romance of the Rose," Rethinking the Romance of the Rose (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 101 - 130.

¹²Roger Dragonetti, "Une métaphore du sens propre dans le Roman de la Rose," La Musique et les Lettres (Geneva: Droz, 1986), p. 392.

pour parler, dire autre chose, allegorein, puisqu'il n'y a pas de rapport essentiel entre le mot et la réalité"].¹³ He also suggests in "De la signification chez Jean de Meun" that this arbitrary meaning of language leaves the field open for dialectic, as well as for satire, and didactic commentary ["Le champ est donc libre pour le bavardage de la satire, pour le commentaire didactique, pour le déploiement de la dialectique"].¹⁴ In another article he states that Faus Semblant fulfills an essential function in the progression of the allegorical action and of the dialectical demonstration.¹⁵ Kevin Brownlee also mentions dialectic in connection with the Roman in his article on Faus Semblant, commenting that dialectic debate is one of the modes of Faus Semblant's discourse.¹⁶ Eric Jager eschews the literal text, reading the example of Croesus' error in understanding his dream literally as a warning to readers of the Roman as well, stating that when he does this, "Croesus falls into the literalist error practiced by the Lover and by the unwary reader of the Roman."¹⁷

Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski offers interesting observations concerning the reading of the Roman when she examines how the text plays with the rhyme pair *covertement / apertement*. She states that "the uncovering of the covered is one of the narrator's important missions - perhaps even *the* mission. The verbal patterns suggest

¹³Daniel Poirion, "Les mots et les choses selon Jean de Meun," L'Information Littéraire 26, no. 1 (1974) : p. 10.

¹⁴Daniel Poirion, "De la signification selon Jean de Meun," Archéologie du signe, ed. Lucie Brind'amour et Eugene Vance (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982), p. 172.

¹⁵Daniel Poirion, "Jean de Meun et la Querelle de l'Université de Paris: Du libelle au livre," Traditions Polémiques (Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1984), p. 15.

¹⁶Brownlee, "The Problem of Faux Semblant," p. 257.

¹⁷Eric Jager, "Reading the Roman inside out: the dream of Croesus as a *caveat lector*," Medium Aevum 57, no. 1 (1988) : 68.

that the amorous and the interpretive conquests in the RR are in fact identical: the consequence of this confusion is . . . the subversion of the allegorical system as it is usually defined. The removal of the veil does not result in the revelation of a deeper meaning but in that of Amant's successful sexual conquest." She also points out that "for Genius the uncovering (of secrets) which in its terminology recalls the act of interpretation, is shown as a reprehensible and deceitful action; for Faus Semblant, the term 'cover' equals hypocrisy and the act of interpretation is, to say the least, problematic." In recounting the fable of Venus caught in adultery, Blumenfeld-Kosinski comments that the Roman uses a word (fable) which traditionally constituted the covering of a text whose inner meaning contained a higher truth. Yet since this fable is related openly and at the same time designates a shameful fact, this passage suggests "that there is no more to the fable than that: no hidden truth lies beneath it, as the accepted use of the terms of fable and allegory would suggest to any reader in the thirteenth century." Finally, in commenting upon the brilliance of the self-illuminating carbuncle in Jean's Park of the Lamb, she offers the opinion that "a consequence of this brilliance is the total absence of night - and presumably of dreams. This passage suggests, then, that in Genius's park there exists no covert level: in poetological terms this means that if everything is seen openly, allegory, i.e., the structure that sustained Guillaume's poem, has been abolished."¹⁸ She thus argues the case of the significance of the covering, or *integumentum*, of the text, but rather than basing her argument on the discussion of *sens propre* between Raison and Amant, she approaches it from the perspective of the *covert* versus the *overt*. Thus she ultimately argues against the presence of allegory, while I affirm its presence. The different conclusions that we reach concerning the function of

¹⁸Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Overt and Covert: amorous and interpretive strategies in the Roman de la Rose," Romania 111, no. 3 & 4 (1990) : 438; 445; 450; 449.

the *integumentum* in the Roman point out both the fluidity of textual meaning and the impossibility of arriving at a unique *senefiance*.

Alastair Minnis also argues that "the language of the Rose is usually outspoken, explicit, and literal," but from an entirely different perspective. He considers Jean de Meun primarily a satirist who exposes human foibles in a generalized way and holds that the text, with the exception of Genius' discourse, should be read 'literally.' He allies himself with Jauss and Wetherbee in stating that none of them "would or could deny that Jean sometimes drew on mythographic materials and displayed an awareness of the allegorical or 'integumental' method of interpreting them, *and I can safely say that none of us would dream of confusing a pilgrim's staff with a penis* (my italics). What is at stake here is rather the overall situation of such moves within the text, the status and significance which Jean is affording them within his total project."¹⁹

This statement leads straight into my first stance, for I read the pilgrim's staff, or *bourdon*, as exactly that, as does Penn Szittyá.²⁰ To deny that this passage has no sexual parallel would be foolish, for Jean de Meun has carefully contrived the text so that this is the meaning which jumps out at all readers. Yet to bypass the image of a pilgrim attacking and destroying a sanctuary contained in the statue of a woman is to miss additional richness of *senefiance* contained in the Roman. This tale, however, is bound up in and takes its meaning from the character and history of Faus Semblant. Therefore, scholarship that applies to him and to mendicancy vis-à-vis the Roman de la Rose must be acknowledged.

¹⁹Alastair J. Minnis, Lifting the Veil: Sexual/Textual Nakedness in the Roman de la Rose (King's College London: Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1995), p. 4; p. 5.

²⁰Penn R. Szittyá, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 184 - 190.

1.3. Critical perspectives concerning Faus Semblant

Faus Semblant himself has received considerable attention from critics and theorists. Susan Stakel's book, False Roses, focuses entirely upon him as a result of the language of deceit that is concentrated principally in his segment of the Roman. She does everything but label him the *contraire* protagonist, as I do in chapter three. R. K. Emmerson and R. B. Herzman discuss the Apocalyptic implications of Faus Semblant's designation as *deable* and the father of the Antichrist.²¹ Kevin Brownlee, a prolific critic of the Roman de la Rose, equates Jean's Roman with the Evangelium aeternum.²² While I do not completely agree with his analysis, there is nevertheless much of value in this article which supports my position. Daniel Poirion discusses Jean de Meun's incorporation of the ideas of Rutebeuf and of Guillaume de Saint-Amour into the Roman and the implications that the character of Faus Semblant holds for the progression of the action of the allegory and for dialectical demonstration.²³ Jean Batany also makes the connection between the Roman de la Rose, Faus Semblant and the University Quarrel.²⁴

But while the influence of Guillaume's De periculis and his Responsiones have been greatly documented by Félix Lecoy, he has not mentioned De pharisaeo et publicano, De valido mendicante, or De quantitate eleemosynae. In addition, an extensive examination of Rutebeuf's poetry in the light of the language of the Roman, particularly

²¹R. J. Emmerson and R. B. Herzman, "The Apocalyptic Age of Hypocrisy: Faus Semblant and Amant in the Roman de la Rose," Speculum 62, no. 3 (1987) : 612 - 34. See also Emmerson and Herzman, The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

²²Brownlee, "The Problem of Faus Semblant."

²³Poirion, "La Querelle de l'Université de Paris," p. 15.

²⁴Jean Batany, Approches du "Roman de la Rose" (Paris: Bordas, 1973).

in the discourse of Faus Semblant, has not been undertaken. Edmond Faral remarks upon the similarities between the two, but hesitates to concede to Rutebeuf's works an earlier date,²⁵ although this seems to be generally assumed by other critics such as Poirion, Armand Strubel,²⁶ and Penn Szittyá.²⁷ Yet it seems logical to grant the same antecedence to the works of Rutebeuf (especially those concerning Guillaume de Saint-Amour) that has been granted to the works of Guillaume de Saint-Amour in relation to the Roman de la Rose, since some dating is possible. In this regard, Nancy Regalado makes an interesting observation when she points out that although both authors describe Faus Semblant in the present tense, Jean de Meun uses the past tense to describe the events of the University Quarrel, while Rutebeuf uses the present and the future.²⁸ Yet it must be recognized that sequential dating, while it might indicate parentage more clearly, is not a necessary requisite to delineating the similarities between the two authors. It is possible that the pertinent vocabulary they share comes from a common third source or from the milieu in which they were both immersed; it may be that they simply thought alike independently of each other. I believe, however, that we can be reasonably certain that Rutebeuf's more relevant works, at least, predate the second part of the Roman. Furthermore, it seems more logical that the language of Rutebeuf, which is pithy and succinct, would move more easily from its polemic arena into the more diffuse structure

²⁵Rutebeuf, Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, 2 vols., ed. Edmond Faral (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1959), vol. 1, p. 42.

²⁶Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ed. Armand Strubel (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1992), p. 645, note 2.

²⁷Szittyá, p. 184.

²⁸Nancy Freeman Regalado, Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: a Study in Noncourtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 146.

of the Roman, rather than vice versa. Faral points out some parallels between Rutebeuf and the Roman, which is rather surprising, given his reservations mentioned earlier. His analysis, however, is not very extensive. I have, therefore, undertaken a more thorough one, and I have no hesitancy in doing so.

As I have already mentioned, only Penn Szittya connects Faus Amant to Faus Semblant regarding the attack on the lady / sanctuary, a connection which he has sketched out in a sub-section of chapter five of his book, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature. Although our insights are similar in some ways, the issue is not treated fully, nor are the implications for the reading of the Roman de la Rose arising from this image explored at all, for that is not where his focus lies. I will, however, treat this part of the Roman in a more thorough fashion, examining not only history, but literary history, for what it offers, and then relating what has been learned back to the Roman itself.

1.4. The Function of Bel Accueil in the Roman de la Rose

Bel Accueil is another sign that is open to different interpretations, and once again, I do not find much scholarship on what I consider to be the other major facet of my reading. For rather than considering him as one of the lady's qualities, I read him to be a young man, with all the consequences that flow from this designation. Simon Gaunt has addressed this same issue in an excellent article which bases its argument upon the text and upon the illuminations which accompany the various manuscripts.²⁹ Daniel Poirion, in "Narcisse et Pygmalion dans le Roman de la Rose," discusses these two myths as emblematic of the sterile courtly lover of the twelfth century and the thirteenth-century man of action. He comments, however, that Narcissus is not simply the symbol of a frightening possibility, he is the sign of a temptation ["Narcisse n'est pas un simple épouvantail, c'est le signe d'une tentation"], a statement which leads the reader to

²⁹Simon Gaunt, "Bel Accueil and the Improper Allegory of the Romance of the Rose," New Medieval Literatures, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

understand that he, too, sees homoerotic possibilities in the text. He continues that Narcissus represents the inversion of amorous desire ["Narcisse est plutôt l'invers, voire l'inversion de désir amoureux"]. This concept fits well with the dialectical characteristics of the text and its insistence upon *contraires choses*. Poirion also mentions Orpheus, whom Jean de Meun recalls is the cantor of homosexuality, and says the substitution of Bel Accueil for the rose leaves the reader wondering ["Orphée, Jean de Meun nous le rappelle, s'était fait le chantre de l'homosexualité. . . La substitution de Bel Accueil à la rose, dans les protestations amoureuses qui terminent l'oeuvre de Guillaume, nous laisse sur une équivoque troublante"].³⁰ Kevin Brownlee examines the text from the perspective of a re-creation of certain myths of Ovid's Metamorphoses, analyzing the implications that this holds for Jean de Meun as he continues the text. While he sees Jean as assuming the poetic mantle of Orpheus, he rejects the homosexual designation that also accompanies this figure.³¹ In another article, however, he does link Amant and Narcissus, stating that "the fundamental opposition between Amant and Narcissus that is operative in Guillaume de Lorris's text at this point is collapsed by Genius in such a way as to present Guillaume de Lorris qua protagonist as an implicit Narcissus figure."³² While I would argue that the shift occurs much earlier in the text, Brownlee nevertheless acknowledges that it does occur. I would also explicitly link Narcissus to Jean de Meun as well, which he does not do. Michel Zink also recognizes the importance of Bel

³⁰Daniel Poirion, "Narcisse et Pygmalion dans le Roman de la Rose," Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures no. 92 (1970) : 155; 158; 160 - 1.

³¹Kevin Brownlee, "Orpheus' Song Re-Sung: Jean de Meun's Rewriting of Metamorphoses X," in Romance Philology 36, no. 2 (November 1982) : 201 - 09.

³²Kevin Brownlee, "Jean de Meun and the Limits of Romance: Genius as Rewriter of Guillaume de Lorris," Romance: Generic Transformations from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985), p. 125.

Accueil's role in the Roman, but rather than attributing this to homoerotic interest on the part of Amant, concludes that Bel Accueil is the lady dressed as a young man, a strategy which, in the traditional role of the confidant, gives her more access to Amant.³³

1.5 The Role of Genius

Genius's role in the Roman de la Rose has received some attention from critics, yet their analyses of his function have been mainly along traditional lines. Denise Baker has studied him principally in relation to the traditional double function as procreator and teacher assigned to him that comes down through Saint Augustine, Martianus Capella, and Bernard Silvestris. She has also set him against his literary ancestor, the Genius that appears in De planctu naturae, as well as that of his descendant in John Gower's Confessio amantis. She finds that in the Roman de la Rose, Jean de Meun has reduced Genius's function to that of progenitor, making his supposedly moral discourse the stuff of comedy, since he and Nature are only concerned with the survival of the human race.³⁴ In a different vein, Kevin Brownlee, looking at Genius's discourse as writing, views it as a rewriting of the text of Guillaume de Lorris, transforming him from author into character.³⁵ John Fleming treats Genius and his discourse as parody, chiding those who take it seriously. He states, however, that "Genius . . . like the Lover himself, is unregeneratedly carnal and literal, and his fantastic speech is Jean's most robust exemplification of the principle that the letter slayeth—a principle, incidently, which should govern the scholarly search for Jean's *significatio* in the concluding major

³³Michel Zink, "Bel Accueil le Travesti: du Roman de la Rose de Guillaume de Lorris et de Jean de Meun à Lucidor de Hugo von Hofmannsthal," Littérature 47 (October 1982) : 31 - 40.

³⁴Denise N. Baker, "The Priesthood of Genius: a Study of the Medieval Tradition," Speculum 51, no. 2 (April 1976) : 277 - 91.

³⁵Brownlee, "Genius as Rewriter."

speeches of the Roman.³⁶ Yet Fleming does not follow his own advice, for he does not relate Nature's commandments to the issue of mendicancy; and it is this sense that I propose to mine. For in addition to the traditional reading, I will examine exactly what Genius does say if one removes the designation of parody or irony, and how this speech may relate to the textual elements concerning both Faus Semblant and Amant.

I hope that I have shown that while elements of the readings that I propose have appeared scattered throughout the work of various critics, they have not been studied in a complete and comprehensive fashion, which examines how the same problematic that they engender are incorporated into the text of the Roman de la Rose, an analysis which leads ultimately to an examination of the literary theory of Jean de Meun.

1.6. Reading Strategies

Nam in principio cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad litteram accipias. . . . Huic autem observationi . . . adiungenda etiam illa est, ne propriam quasi figuratam velimus accipere. Demonstrandus est igitur prius modus inveniendae locutionis, propriane an figurata sit.

St. Augustine, De doctrina christiana

[For care must be taken from the start lest you take figural expressions literally. . . . To this observation . . . another should be added, lest we take literal expressions as if they were figurative. Therefore a method must be established whereby we might discover whether an expression is literal or figural.]

To date, the possibility of reading the three aspects of the Roman that I am discussing in any other than the customary way has largely been ignored. This is principally because, I think, the traditional allegorical reading in each instance comes through so clearly. Although Penn Szittyá and Simon Gaunt have each perceived the same implications of the Roman that I have concerning Amant / Faus Semblant and Bel Accueil, respectively, each approaches this portion of the text from his particular perspective. Neither, however, has viewed the work as a whole from the perspective of

³⁶Fleming, Allegory and Iconography, p. 210.

these readings, nor do they examine the reflexivity of textual issues and strategies which exists between the Roman de la Rose and its parent texts, or the implications which flow from these analyses as they reveal the literary stance of Jean de Meun. And while Kevin Brownlee sees the preoccupation with signs which mark the University polemic as well as the Roman, this is simply stated and not developed. In addition, I have found no evidence of a dual approach to any part of Genius's discourse.

In analyzing a text such as the Roman de la Rose, which has been specifically written as personification allegory, one must be aware that the Roman contains at least two allegorical levels: (1) the allegorical text as written and (2) its further allegorical interpretation, which may vary from reader to reader. Carine Bourget points out that this double allegorical structure leads to diverse interpretations, since critics do not agree on what constitutes allegory in the Roman de la Rose. She poses the following questions: Is personification an allegory? Can the literal level be read with the figural level, or does the second exclude the first? ["La personnification est-elle une allégorie? Peut-on lire le niveau littéral avec le niveau figuré ou ce dernier exclut-il le premier?"]³⁷

The text itself, however, while it endorses an allegorical reading for itself, does also justify reading for the *sens propre* and / or the *lettre*, no matter how the reader arrives at his perception of just what this is. Ami, Amant, and Faus Semblant all advocate sticking to the surface of the text, its integumental covering or *paille*. Ami says to Amant, ". . . it's very plain, I am not glossing here, you must have confidence in the text" ["c'est bien pleine chose / (je ne vos i metré ja glose / ou tiexte vos poez fier)" (RR, v. 7,529 -

³⁷Carine Bourget, "Allégorie et déconstruction dans le Roman de la Rose," Chimères 24, no. 1 (1997) : 41.

31)].³⁸ Amant tells Raison, "I do not desire to gloss" ["ne bé je pas a gloser ores" (RR, v. 7,162)]. Faus Semblant, during his discourse, says, "I leave the kernel and take the shell" ["j'en lés le grain et pregn la paille" (RR, v. 11,186)], kernel (*grain*) and shell (*paille*) being commonly understood as the hidden meaning and the surface meaning of a text. Raison also is in favor of using words according to their own meaning (*sens propre*); indeed, she is accustomed to speaking properly of things, without glossing:

Par son gré sui je coutumiere
de parler proprement des choses
quant il me plect, sanz metre gloses.
(RR, v. 7,048 - 50)

She does, however, advocate that Amant pay attention to both the literal and the allegorical sense when she says that "whoever understands the letter will see the profound sense in the text that illuminates the obscure fable. . . You will understand if you go over the allegorical readings of the poets:"

et qui bien entendroit la letre
li sen verroit en l'escripture
qui esclarcist la fable occure.
.....
.....
bien l'entendras, se bien repetes
les integumanz aus poetes.
(RR v. 7,132 - 38)

And Faus Semblant contradicts his previous statement when he says, "But you will see that you can never draw a valid conclusion from the appearance" ["Mes ja ne verrez d'apparance (i.e., *paille*) /conclurre bone consequence" (RR, v. 12,109 - 10)]. In addition, his own deceptive appearance warns against taking things at their face value. Finally, the story of the dream of Croesus found in the text also advocates looking

³⁸All citations from the Roman de la Rose are taken from the edition by Félix Lecoy (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1973). It will be referred in later references as RR. In the few instances when the Strubel edition is used, it will be indicated by RR*.

beyond the literal meaning. The allegorical as well as the literal sense must therefore be considered when reading the Roman de la Rose.

The text, however, also offers another reading strategy to its readers: dialectic. The definition of *contraires choses* delineated by Amant late in the Roman offers the insight that, in dealing with opposites, one serves as gloss to the other, and in this way the reader arrives at an understanding of both. As these *contraires choses* are identified in the Roman, therefore, one must allow them to be both text and gloss, thus further blurring the distinction between literal and allegorical levels, an exercise in which Jean de Meun clearly takes great delight. It is finally clear, therefore, that no one reading of the Roman de la Rose will encompass all the richness and subtlety that this work has to offer, and that the text is encouraging its readers both to explore and to exploit it.

Thus, because Amant's attack upon the statue seemed to be also an attack upon the Church as represented by the sanctuary, and since Faus Semblant's influence upon Amant had become more and more obvious, I began by trying to understand the historical aspect of Faus Semblant's discourse more clearly, for it is one of two places in the text where documented events pierce this other-world of allegory. Yet because his stance throughout his discourse is not consistent, sometimes condemning mendicancy, sometimes praising it, I turned to history to learn more about the University Quarrel to which he referred, as well the Evangile pardurable mentioned. When I researched these two separate but related subjects, I found a parallel for the meaning that I had instinctively seen. I then turned to the principal textual sources mentioned for Faus Semblant's discourse, the poetry of Rutebeuf and the treatises of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, finding in them still more evidence that this passage of the Roman might indeed be read in this way. The discussion between Raison and Amant concerning 'proper' speech provides the initial justification for calling a sanctuary a 'sanctuary,' a relic a 'relic,' and so forth; these are elements, therefore, which rely initially upon the *sens propre* of the words in

question. The implications arising from Amant's dress, however, fall under metaphor, and his actions as he assaults the statue fall under figural Joachimite allegory, which has as its basis a literal historicity. As for Amant and Bel Accueil, their story cannot be verified in the concrete historical sense and thus claim to be figural; the acceptance of this reading depends upon Jean de Meun's literary sources to give it authenticity, as do my double interpretation of Nature's commandments and my identification of the Roman de la Rose with the Evangelium aeternum, or Evangile pardurable. Yet I wish to stress that my readings do not supersede those of other readers. They lay no claim to being 'truer' because of a certain historicity, more real because of certain literal elements, or preferred because of their associations with their parent texts. I would simply reinforce what has been repeatedly acknowledged by scholars of all ages: that all language is a discourse, a fiction, and all signs are subject to interpretation.

In his Etymologiarum,³⁹ Isidore of Seville subscribes to the theory of the arbitrariness of language, saying that the ancients imposed names at will, and not according to the nature of things ["Hinc est quod omnium nominum etymologiae non reperiuntur, quia quaedam non secundum qualitatem, qua genita sunt, sed iuxta arbitrium humanae voluntatis vocabula acceperunt" (Isidore, 1.29.3)]. Saint Augustine acknowledges the conventionality of the sign and therefore its artificiality, insisting upon the arbitrary nature of the bond between signifier and signified.⁴⁰ He says further that "all instruction is either about things or about signs; but things are learnt by means of

³⁹Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, Etymologiarum sive originum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911).

⁴⁰Eugene Vance, "Saint Augustine: Language as Temporality," in Mimesis: From Mirror to Method (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982), pp. 24 - 25.

signs" ["omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum, sed res per signa discuntur"].⁴¹ He also recognizes that it is through the mediation of signs that one approaches the Unrepresentable, although one must move beyond them.⁴² Johannes Scotus Erigenus also writes of the necessity of using signs or fictions in explaining theological truths.⁴³ Hugh of Saint Victor states that "anyone is free to use words in a plausible manner as it pleases him,"⁴⁴ and that "invention and judgment run through all argument."⁴⁵

Boccaccio addresses the issue of speaking figuratively when he states: "I have time and time again proved that the meaning of fiction is far from superficial. . . Fiction is a form of discourse, which, under the guise of invention, illustrates or proves an idea; and, as its superficial aspect is removed, the meaning of the author is clear."⁴⁶ In the

⁴¹Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, in A-Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol. 2 (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1887). De doctrina christiana, in Sancti Augustini hipponensis Episcopi Opera, vol. 3 (Naples: Bibliothecae litterariae in Platea Trinita Maggiore, 1854), 1.2.

⁴²Augustine, Confessions, 9.10.24. in Roger Dragonetti, "L'image et l'irreprésentable dans l'écriture de Saint-Augustin," La Musique et les lettres, p. 19.

⁴³Johannes Scotus Erigenus, Super Ierarchiam Caelestem S. Dionysii, in Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series latina, ed. P.L. Migne (Paris: n.p. 1844 - 64), 122.146.B, C: "Quemamodum ars poetica per fictas fabulas allegoricasque similitudines moralem doctrinam seu physicam componit ad humanorum animorum exercitationem, hoc enim proprium est heroicorum poetarum, qui virorum fortium facta et mores figurate laudant: ita theologica veluti quaedam poetria sanctam Scripturam fictis imaginationibus ad consultum nostri animi et reductionem corporalibus sensibus exterioribus, veluti ex quadam imperfecta pueritia, in rerum intelligibilium perfectam cognitionem. . . "

⁴⁴Hugh of Saint Victor, Epitome, ed. Baron, p. 116. In the introduction to The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 17.

⁴⁵Hugh of Saint Victor, Didascalicon, 2.30. in The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, p. 81.

⁴⁶Giovanni Boccaccio, Genealogy of the Gods, in Hazard Adams, Literary Theory Since Plato (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 14.10, p. 127.

nineteenth century, Jeremy Bentham states that "nothing that has place, or passes in our mind, can we speak, or so much as think, otherwise than in the way of *Fiction*." And further, "in the use made of language, fiction, at the very first step that can be taken in the field of language, fiction, in the simplest, or almost the simplest, case in which language can be employed, becomes a necessary resource."⁴⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche concludes that "the rhetorical is a further development, guided by the clear light of understanding, of the artistic means (artifice) which are already found in language" ["die Rhetorik eine Fortbildung der in der Sprache gelegenen Kunstmittel ist, am hellen Lichte des Verstandes"].⁴⁸ This does not mean that truth does not exist, but that language itself must deal in symbols and concepts in order to express ideas.

At this point, it might be well also to alert the reader that medieval historical literature does not necessarily carry with it the guarantee of objective reality which modern 'scientific' historians seem to claim for their work. Roger Dragonetti's article on the "Poeta Mendax" is very instructive on this point, reminding modern readers that in the Middle Ages the treatment of historical fact (always in the service of a cause) remains entirely a construct of the moral discourse, that is, of the style from which historical narration draws its effects of truth or of credibility, credibility not having to be true to be authentic ["le traitement du fait historique (toujours au service d'une cause) reste de part en part une construction du discours moral, c'est-à-dire du style d'où la narration historique tire ses effets de vérité ou de vraisemblance, le vraisemblable n'ayant pas besoin d'être vrai pour être authentique"]. This statement is certainly descriptive of the

⁴⁷Jeremy Bentham, Theory of Fictions, in C. K. Ogden, Bentham's Theory of Fictions (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1932), p. 17; p. 73.

⁴⁸Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, Rhetoric, in Friedrich Nietzsche on Rhetoric and Language, ed. and trans. Sander L. Gilman, Carole Blair, and David J. Parent (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 20, 21.

literature coming out of the University Quarrel. Dragonetti continues, saying that historical material was nothing but soft wax, bearing multiple constructs ["la matière historique n'était qu'une cire malléable charriant de multiples discours"].⁴⁹

As I have continued to analyze my readings in relation to those of others, I have speculated that one might claim as the *paille* or the covering the more obvious readings, which would be the traditional readings in the instances that I am discussing. In that case, my interpretations, seemingly less obvious, would be the '*grain*,' or the integumental explanation which illuminates the "obscure fable." However, Jean de Meun's ambivalence between *integumentz* and *sens propre*, along with his observation that *contraires choses* gloss each other, indicates that the text performs a double function, serving as both *sens* and *senefiance*, making such categorizing all but impossible. And in the end, the label assigned is less important than the meaning extracted, for meaning is what is essential, and theory is but a tool used in the service of meaning. Thus, while they can claim no primacy, my readings indicate strongly that the letter, the *sensus proprius*, allegory, and dialectic with its *contraires choses* are all at work in the Roman de la Rose, and that the readers of the Roman must allow all of these concepts room to flourish as they search for meaning. They must also become aware of the way in which the Roman mimics its parent texts as it further exploits the ambiguities of meaning inherent in its sources.

This brings us back to the point at which I started: *senefiance*. In the Roman de la Rose, it changes according to optic through which one views it. And though John Fleming considers it a mistake to consider the Roman de la Rose as a *roman à clé* of the

⁴⁹Roger Dragonetti, "Poeta mendax," Le Mirage des sources (Paris: Seuil, 1987), p. 28; p. 29.

University Quarrel,⁵⁰ I would argue that this approach sheds much light upon the *senefiance* of the Roman as it mirrors the Quarrel, revealing itself as a *mise en abîme* of the issues of arbitrariness of meaning as well as the integrity of the sign through its other protagonist Faus Semblant. Once this becomes clear, one notices that textual strategies utilized by the parent sources relevant to Amant and Bel Accueil reveal the influence that they have also had upon the Roman. The same mutability which marks the Metamorphoses of Ovid also infects the text of the Roman, as the signs which are Amant and his love objects blur and change, thus adding more instability and uncertainty to the reading of signs in the Roman. Alain de Lille's description of homosexuality as a perverse style of writing not only reinforces the homoerotic reading proposed, it influences the authorial practice of Jean de Meun as he adopts this style of writing for his text. Finally, the inclusion of the Evangile pardurable causes the Roman itself to adopt characteristics which cause it to be identified with this gospel. For just as this work became what its author(s) had not intended it to be, i. e., the gospel of the *deable*, in like manner, the Roman de la Rose has also become, instead of a love quest, what it ostensibly did not intend to be, a third gospel which, because of the way of life which it endorses, also becomes a false sign and the devil's gospel. Because Faus Semblant and the University Quarrel are the dominant forces which shape the Roman, this is where we will begin. And while the other parent texts are no less critical to a complete understanding of the text and of the literary theory of Jean de Meun, it is the mendicant friar who first signals the reader that appearance is not to be trusted, thus sending him / her on a search for *senefiance* that reveals no neatly packaged message. For like the University Quarrel it mirrors, the meaning(s) inherent in the Roman de la Rose is / are imposed upon it by its readers.

⁵⁰Fleming, Allegory and Iconography, p. 166.

II

THE ALLEGORICAL VERSUS THE LITERAL TRADITION: *CONTRAIRES CHOSES*

Exposition includes three things: the letter, the sense, and the inner meaning. The letter is the fit arrangement of words, which we also call construction; the sense is a certain ready and obvious meaning which the letter presents on the surface; the inner meaning is the deeper understanding which can be found only through interpretation and commentary. Among these, the order of inquiry is first the letter, then the sense, and finally the inner meaning. And when this is done, the exposition is complete.

Hugh of Saint Victor, Didascalicon

The practice of allegory, in both writing and exegesis, dominated the Middle Ages. In order to appreciate any text of this period, therefore, an understanding of the medieval mind-set in relation to allegory is essential, and all the more critical when one is considering a text such as the Roman de la Rose, which not only has been written as personification allegory, but also calls for allegorical exegesis for itself. A thorough consideration of the history of allegory, however, also requires an examination of its other face, the literal sense of the text from which the allegorical interpretations arise. And indeed it and its companion term, the *sensus proprius* of a text, come down to us as part and parcel of rhetorical and exegetical theory. Like allegory, of which it may sometimes be considered a facet, the literal or proper sense of a word or a text is a term used by the pagan rhetors as well as by pagan and Biblical exegetes. For authors and exegetes alike had definite opinions regarding what they termed the 'literal' text and its role in the process of deriving meaning hidden beneath this outer shell. In addition, however slippery a term modern readers may consider the 'literal' meaning of a text to be, it is nevertheless one that they also use with regularity. For these reasons, therefore, as

the history of allegory is set forth in this chapter, so too are its *contraires*, the literal sense and the *sensus proprius* of a text.⁵¹

In tracing the development of allegory from Antiquity onward, it becomes evident that the concept of allegory or of "speaking other" was applied in different ways. In fact, three different approaches can be identified, two flowing from literary theory, the third from the practice of writing allegory. One stance was that of the rhetorical theorists, such as Cicero and Quintilian, who used *allegoria*, *inversio*, *permutatio*, and *figura* among other rhetorical terms, and who were concerned with teaching the art of speaking and writing. The origins and applications of these words, which antedate the authors just cited, flowed directly into the second approach, textual exegesis, which was practiced from Classical antiquity onward. Allegorical exegesis came to be practiced on two distinct types of texts, Scriptural and non-Scriptural. If non-Scriptural, the exegetical method was usually related to the more spiritual-moral-ethical model derived from the Greek concept of *allegoria*; if Scriptural, it generally followed the more historically derived figural interpretation coming out of the Jewish tradition with its affirmation of the historical validity of the literal text. The third application of allegory was the explicitly allegorical literature which was being written at the same time that exegesis was being practiced, texts whose authors drew upon common elements contained in works that had already been interpreted. In fact, there were many writers who not only practiced allegorical exegesis, but also wrote literary allegory, such as Gregory the Great, Fulgentius, and Alain de Lille. Allegory in all of these forms is relevant to this study, for the Roman de la Rose uses the metaphorical and allegorical language of the rhetor in the manipulation of its arguments; it invites the exegesis applied to both Scriptural and non-Scriptural texts by its inclusion of a Scriptural dispute in a secular text; and it has been

⁵¹Jean-Marie Gleize discusses the quest for, and the debate concerning, a pure *literalité* that continues today in A noir: poésie et littéralité (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

constructed as personification allegory. And although the literary genre itself will not be discussed here, it is necessary to keep allegorical literature in mind, because of the reciprocal influence which existed between the reading and writing of allegory, and because Guillaume de Lorris and especially Jean de Meun were themselves writers of allegory who were obviously quite familiar with the genre. Before beginning, however, allegory must be defined as it has been since the era of Cicero and Quintilian.

From Classical antiquity, the traditional definition of allegory has been "*aliud verbis, aliud sensu*," that is, one thing in words, another in meaning. Yet within the scope of this definition, the theory and practice of allegory gradually broadened until in the Middle Ages it became the principal method of understanding a text,⁵² a fact which often escapes the modern reader. We must also be aware that, as allegory developed, the same allegorical term might be used with different meanings, or that different allegorical terms might convey essentially the same meaning; in addition, although allegory was, strictly speaking, only one of four ways of interpreting a Scriptural text, it came to designate any interpretation of any text that was not a literal one.⁵³ Modern readers often mistakenly limit allegory to personification, since many works written expressly as allegory contain characters who embody the qualities that their names proclaim. The vocabulary employed depends upon the age in question, as well as the theorist using it. And while distinctions will be made in the different ages discussed, the word *allegory* will generally be used in the broadest sense of its classic definition. Finally, because the Roman de la Rose is a product of the thirteenth century, the major point of reference will

⁵²Edgar de Bruyne, Etudes d'esthétique médiévale, 3 vols. (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), vol. 2, p. 328.

⁵³Jesse Gellrich points out how interchangeably terms such as *allegoria*, *figura*, and *typoi* were used by early authors and exegetes in "Figura, Allegory, and the Question of History," Literary History and the Challenge of Philology (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 107 - 108.

be the late Middle Ages, with emphasis placed upon earlier allegorical development which influenced this period.

2.1. The Classical Era

In Classical antiquity, rhetorical allegory and allegorical narrative developed side by side. The anonymous Rhetorica ad Herennium, Cicero's De Inventione, and Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria are the principal rhetorical texts which survived into the Middle Ages, and they are of primary importance when tracing the development of allegory. The term *figura*⁵⁴ also receives mention in Rhetorica ad Herennium and in Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, which insured its survival into the Middle Ages as a rhetorical concept. Although the terms *allegoria* and *figura* soon merged under the umbrella of allegory, an examination of their origins reveals subtle distinctions between them that colored the practice of allegory.

Rhetorica ad Herennium⁵⁵ treats ten ornaments together which the author calls *exornationes verborum* ["Restant etiam decem exornationes verborum" (Ad Herennium, 4.31.42)]. They all have the same general characteristic: language moves away from its customary signification to impart a different meaning. Although the word *allegoria* itself is not used, among these ornaments is *permutatio*, that is, speech showing one thing with words, another with meaning. It is divided into three parts: comparison, argument, and contrast ["permutatio, i.e., oratio aliud verbis aliud sententia demonstrans. Ea dividitur in tres partes: similitudinem, argumentum, et contrarium" (Ad Herennium, 4.34.46-48)]. It operates through comparison (*similitudo*) when a number of metaphors originating in a

⁵⁴For a detailed account of the history of *figura*, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," Scenes from the Drama of European Literature. Theory and History of Literature, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959).

⁵⁵Rhetorica ad Herennium, trans. H. Caplan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

similarity in the mode of expression are set together, through argument (*argumentum*) when a similitude is drawn from a person or place or object in order to magnify or minimize, and through contrast (*contrarium*) when one calls something or someone by its opposite. The author, however, attaches no particular importance to *permutatio*;⁵⁶ it is but one of many ways of embellishing a text. The term *figura* is used in this text in two different ways, which demonstrate the origin and evolution of the meaning of the word. When he discusses ways in which the orator might remember the outline of his argument, the author mentions *simulacrorum figuras* (*Ad Herennium*, 3.19.31), images of forms which would serve as visual notes. Its usage is more abstract when he uses the same word, *figura*, to designate the three levels of discourse or style ["Sunt igitur tria genera, quae genera nos figuras appellamus, in quibus omnis oratio non vitiosa consumitur" (*Ad Herennium*, 4.8.11)]: grave (*gravis*), moderate (*mediocris*), and dry or without ornament (*adtenuata*), which employs the most "current idiom of standard speech" ["Attenuata est, quae demissa est usque ad usitatissimam puri consuetudinem sermonis" (*Ad Herennium*, 4.8.11)], and whose goal is "speech composed of correct and well-chosen words" ["puris et electis verbis compositam orationem" (*Ad Herennium*, 4.11.16)]. There is mention, then, in this text of a purer and unadorned speech which employs words in their customary usage, the *sensus proprius*, although it must be recognized that this style of oratory is also a form of rhetoric. And while the author places it in the humblest position, it is nevertheless named and considered as one of the tools of oratory and writing.

Turning now to *De Inventione*,⁵⁷ Cicero does not speak of either allegory or *permutatio*. He does, however, discuss the three divisions of *permutatio* as set forth by

⁵⁶deBruyne, vol. 2, p. 319.

⁵⁷Cicero, *De Inventione*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: *similitudo*, *contrarium* (Cicero, 1.28.42), and *argumentum* (Cicero, 1.19.27). He also speaks about *narratio brevis*, a plainer form of speech, which, he says, in addition to being brief, is also open and probable ["Oportet igitur eam treis habere res, ut brevis, ut aperta, ut probabilis sit" (Cicero, 1.20.28)]. It is not long and does not digress ["et si non longius . . . et si nullam rem aliam transibitur" (Cicero, 1.20.28)]; the narration of events proceeds in temporal order ["Aperta autem narratio poterit esse, si ut quodque primum gestum erit ita primum exponetur, et rerum ac temporum ordo servabitur, ut ita narrentur, ut gestae res erunt, aut ut potuisse geri videbuntur" (Cicero, 1.20.29)]; and in it one sees those things which customarily appear in real life ["Probabilis erit narratio, si in ea videbuntur esse ea, quae solent apparere in veritate" (Cicero, 1.21.29)]. Yet a little further along he qualifies probability by saying that its resemblance to customary experience may be either true or false ["Probabile autem est id, quod fere fieri solet, aut quod in opinione positum est, aut quod habet in se ad hoc quandam similitudinem, sive falsum est, sive verum" (Cicero, 1.29.46)]. The concept of *sensus proprius* thus appears in this text, also, along with the disclaimer that it is not necessarily more valid or more 'real' because of its apparent clarity.

In *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian says that "allegory, which is translated in Latin by *inversio*, either presents one thing in words and another in meaning, or else something absolutely opposed to the meaning of the words" ["Allegoria, quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit aut etiam interim contrarium" (Quintilian, 8.6.44)]. Allegory is usually produced by a series of metaphors, though this is not always the case. Sometimes the allegory is pure, sometimes mixed with plain speech.⁵⁸ "On the other hand," he continues, "that class of allegory in which the meaning is contrary to that suggested by the words involves an element of irony, or . . .

⁵⁸Quintilian gives an example of each in 8.6.44 - 49.

illusio. This is made evident to the understanding either by the delivery, the character of the speaker or the nature of the subject. For if any one of these three is not in keeping with the words, it at once becomes clear that the intention of the speaker is other than what he actually says" (Quintilian, 8.6.54-55). All three authors thus treat the allegorical possibilities of similarity and contrast, both of which are utilized in the Roman de la Rose; for Amant's attack on the statue / sanctuary utilizes *similitudo*, while the Bel Accueil / Amant relationship and the character of Faus Semblant utilize *contrarium* or irony.

It is in Quintilian that we find *figura* discussed fully, with both its visual and tropological meanings delineated, although Quintilian is more interested in the second. He also uses *figura* in combination with *verbum* and *sententia* (Quintilian, 9.1.4-21) to refer to figures of speech and thought. Eric Auerbach, in discussing Quintilian's use of the word, states that "the figure which was then regarded as the most important and seemed before all others to merit the name of figure was the hidden allusion in its diverse forms."⁵⁹ Quintilian's use of this word thus seems to be less concrete and more apt to veil than to reveal overtly, as the etymological use of the word would imply. Quintilian also comments upon the *sensus proprius* of words, stating that those words "are best which are least far-fetched and give the impression of simplicity and reality" ["sunt optima minime arcessita et simplicibus atque ab ipsa veritate profectis similia" (Quintilian, 8.pr.23)], which is once again a rhetorical device. Yet further in the same chapter, he tempers this remark by saying that "while there is no special merit in the form of propriety which consists in calling things by their real names, it is a fault to fly to the opposite extreme" ["In hac autem proprietatis specie, quae nominibus ipsis cuiusque rei utitur, nulla virtus est, at quod ei contrarium est, vitium" (Quintilian, 8.2.3)]. He classifies words as being "proper, newly-coined or metaphorical. In the case of proper words there

⁵⁹Auerbach, pp. 26 - 27.

is a special dignity conferred by antiquity" ["Cum sint autem verba propria, ficta, translata, propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas" (Quintilian, 8.3.24)]. While his comments may be construed as favoring the use of the 'proper' meanings of words, this does not bestow upon them any added measure of truth or reality, as his remark concerning the "impression of . . . reality" quoted above attests. In fact, lest the reader fall into the error of taking the *sensus proprius* as being the meaning which is more 'real,' Quintilian also states that the *sensus proprius* is but another metaphor when he says that "some tropes are employed to help out our meaning and others to adorn our style, that some (tropes) arise from words used properly and others from words used metaphorically, and that changes involved concern not merely individual words, but also our thoughts and the structure of our sentences" ["quosdam gratia significationis quosdam decoris assumi, et esse alios in verbis propriis alios in tralatis, vertique formas non verborum modo sed et sensum et compositionis" (Quintilian, 8.6.2)]. This is important: the *sensus proprius* can lay no claim to priority of meaning, for as soon as it declares itself as such, it slips into the metaphor of *sensus proprius*. It is, then, but one of the metaphorical or allegorical meanings possible, as Dragonetti has also pointed out and which has been cited above. Indeed, if the *sensus proprius* were a fixed meaning, certain elements of my readings would have been obvious long ago. The fact that they were not, only reinforces what I mean by the mutability of the sign. It also raises the question of whether it is even possible to agree upon what the *sens propre* is for the Roman de la Rose, a problem alluded to earlier when citing the comments of Carine Bourget and Sarah Kay.

All three Classical authors, then, discuss the concept of the *sensus proprius* of words, though Quintilian is the only one to use similar phrasing, the author of the Rhetorica referring to 'plain discourse' and Cicero to 'brief narrative,' and Quintilian and Cicero both warning against falling into the trap of assuming that simple speech necessarily implies truth or reality. With all three, allegory (or *permutatio* or *inversio*) is

given no particular prominence and is discussed as one of the many tools of oratory or of writing which is placed at the service of the orator / author to embellish his text. While *figura* is used in different ways by the author of Rhetorica Ad Herennium and Quintilian, the difference in usage serves to point out the fluidity of the term. It is also important to realize that *allegoria* and *figura* are not necessarily synonymous. For *figura* is the more concrete and dynamic term, with its etymology going back to the visual form;⁶⁰ *allegoria* is a more spiritual concept, not necessarily tied to anything visible. And although the distinction between rhetorical tropes and figures could sometimes be confusing, there was nevertheless a distinction that persisted in the minds of the exegetes, who came to utilize allegory in different ways as they applied the concepts contained in these two words to Classical and Biblical literature.

T. K. Seung, in Cultural Thematics, traces the concepts of *allegoria* and *figura* as they make their way into narrative and exegetical texts. The first, which he labels personification allegory, was of Greek origin and was used primarily for writing and interpreting secular texts, representing a certain truth or moral by some fictitious person or event. According to Seung, "personification allegory was already being used in Homeric criticism in the fifth century B.C. . . Plato makes extensive use of it in his 'mythical account' of the higher truths, and then the Neoplatonists firmly establish it as a control method of exposition and instruction."⁶¹ C. S. Lewis sees an inverse relationship between the decline in power of the pagan gods of the ancient world and the rise of personification, which he concludes was man's way of dealing with internal conflicts of

⁶⁰Auerbach, p. 12; p. 14; p. 16.

⁶¹Seung, p. 4, p. 6.

which he was becoming increasingly aware.⁶² Philo of Alexandria, a Hellenized Jew, was the first to use personification allegory in exegesis of the Old Testament. Although he differentiated between fabulous (Genesis) and historical (Samuel) truth in the Old Testament (Philo's examples), he interpreted both according to personification allegory.⁶³ Instead of personification allegory, Erich Auerbach prefers the term "spiritualist, allegorical and ethical mode of interpretation," which "stripped not only texts and events, but natural phenomena, stars, animals, stones of their concrete reality and interpreted them allegorically, that is spiritually and ethically." He points out that it is important to notice that this school of allegorical interpretation generally bypasses the literal text, in the sense that it is considered only as a springboard to the deeper meaning, containing no intrinsic truth of its own. Auerbach also ascribes a principally Greek origin to this type of allegory and traces it through Philo and the Alexandrians to Origen, its Christian exponent.⁶⁴

In contrast, figural allegory, arising from its origins in the concrete and visible, was a structure for prefiguring: Adam prefiguring Christ, for example. St. Paul, whose letters are considered to be the earliest writings of the New Testament, introduced figural allegory as the Christian way of seeing the relationship between the New Testament and the Old, and its use rapidly spread to other New Testament writings. Seung points to the presence of a figural method of interpretation in Acts 8:32, where Philip interprets Isaiah in relation to Jesus. He also finds examples of it in the synoptic Gospels, citing Matthew's genealogy of Jesus, the relationship of John the Baptist and Jesus as promise

⁶²Lewis, p. 63.

⁶³Seung, p. 6.

⁶⁴Auerbach, p. 36; p. 54; p. 55.

and fulfillment (Matt. 11:2 - 9; Luke 7:18 - 35), and Luke's account of Jesus's discourse after His resurrection explaining everything in Scripture which referred to Himself.⁶⁵

With the discussion of figural allegory as applied to Sacred Scripture, the notion of a literal text which itself contains 'real' meaning also appears. That there was indeed a literal, or first, meaning of any text appears uncontested. That this literal sense may also be linked to a perception of reality or truth is apparent in Philo's categorizations of the texts that he allegorized. As for Paul, he is rooted in the historicity of a Jewish tradition whose stories are considered to be literally and historically true. In addition, as the beginning of John's gospel announces, Jesus is the Word made flesh, Truth incarnate, thereby bringing to the New Testament an even greater measure of the truth of the Letter, since Jesus has stated that He is the Alpha and the Omega. Yet according to Henri de Lubac, there was a great temptation in some parts to allegorize Scripture in the Greek fashion, that is, by denying the letter, considering it as negligible in order to escape from a troubling dogma, or to delight in systems of allegorical meaning for which the letter was only considered as providing the basis for the higher meaning. He cites Tertullian as opposing this type of reading especially when it concerned a basic dogma, for example, the resurrection of the body, which must be understood first in its letter ["Mais voici précisément que la tentation était grande, pour certains, d'allégoriser l'Ecriture à la manière des Grecs, c'est-à-dire d'en nier la lettre ou tout au moins de la tenir pour négligeable, en vue d'échapper à un dogme ou à un précepte gênant, ou encore pour se complaire dans des systèmes dont elle ne serait plus considérée que comme le support imagé. D'où, par exemple, les protestations d'un Tertullien, à propos du dogme de la résurrections de la chair"].⁶⁶ Auerbach also refers to Tertullian as a staunch supporter of

⁶⁵Seung, p. 8.

⁶⁶de Lubac, tome 2, part 2, pp. 132 - 133.

the literal truth of Scriptural texts, an exegete who insisted that the figure had just as much reality as its fulfillment.⁶⁷ Augustine and Jerome also vigorously supported the literal sense of Scripture. De Lubac cites Jerome as stating that one must not search for allegories which would hinder reading Biblical precepts literally, nor weaken prophecies by uncertain allegorical interpretation ["Saint Jérôme rappellera que l'on ne doit pas chercher sous les préceptes bibliques des allégories qui empêcheraient de les prendre à la lettre, ni 'exténuer' les prophéties par des interprétations allégoriques incertaines"]. Yet he observes that Augustine, in De Genesi ad litteram, after pointing out that in principle the literal truth of the sacred authors must be defended, observes that if the literal meaning is absurd, the statement must undoubtedly be accepted figuratively with another meaning ["Augustin, in De Genesi ad litteram, après avoir posé en principe que l'on doit défendre 'ad proprietatem litterae' les récits des auteurs sacrés, observe: 'Si autem in verbis Dei, vel cujusquam personae in officium propheticum assumptae, dicitur aliquid quod ad litteram nisi absurde non possit intelligi, procul dubio figurate dictum ob aliquam significationem accipi debet'"].⁶⁸ According to Auerbach, it was Augustine who was instrumental in arriving at a compromise between the two doctrines, although his approach was principally concrete and historical, as his usage of the word *figura* might indicate. In fact, in commenting upon Augustine's fourfold interpretation of Scripture, Auerbach states that "three become concrete, historical, and interrelated (i.e., the historical, etiological, and analogical) while only one remains purely ethical and allegorical."⁶⁹ Augustine's scheme of the historical, etiological, analogical, and

⁶⁷Auerbach, p. 30.

⁶⁸de Lubac, tome 2, part 2, pp. 133 - 34; p. 146.

⁶⁹Auerbach, p. 37; p. 42.

allegorical meanings of Scripture, however, was the beginning of a method of approaching Sacred Scripture that evolved by the time of Bede into the traditional approach used into the late Middle Ages.

Until recently, exegesis concerning the Roman de la Rose has been centered in the tradition of Classical personification allegory, as comments by Lewis and Jung discussed earlier attest. Stakel, Kelly, Poirion, and Dragonetti have advanced Rose scholarship in the area the language of the text. Yet Faus Semblant and the University Quarrel with its theological and eschatological arguments bring salvation history into the text. This, in turn, adds a figural component to the text which must not be neglected by the reader. It calls for a broader or perhaps a pluralistic approach to the reading of the Roman, one which also attempts to take into account the double literary tradition found within it, as well as the traditional methods of glossing each one, Classical and Christian.

2.2. The Early Middle Ages

In the early Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville, whose Etymologiarum was one of the most widely read texts of the whole medieval period, defines allegory as "strange talk. For one thing is uttered, and another understood" ["alieniloquium. Aliud enim sonat, et aliud intellegitur"]. He also includes under allegory: irony and *antiphrasis*, a phrase containing a contrary meaning; *aenigma*, an obscure meaning arrived at through the secret likeness of things; *charientismos*, a benign expression of unpleasant realities; *paroemia*, a proverb or parable; *sarcasmos*, a hateful mockery under inoffensive forms; and *astysmos*, identified with a moral allusion which is tempered and polite (Isidore, 1.37.22-31). All of these literary conventions deal with a difference of meaning between what is spoken and what is actually understood. By the way in which he has treated allegory, Isidore follows Quintilian, considering it as one tool among many to embellish speech or writing.

A century later, Venerable Bede imitates Isidore's rhetorical definition and his listing of sub-groups; he then expands on exegetic allegory. He identifies four senses of

Scripture: historical (literal), typological (figural), tropological (moral), and anagogical (eschatological) ["*Allegoria verbi sive operis (i. e., facti) aliquando historicam rem, aliquando typicam (i. e., spiritalem), aliquando tropologicam, id est moralem rationem, aliquando anagogen, hoc est sensum ad superiora ducentem figurate denuntiat*" (Bede, PL, 90.175)]. These became the traditional subdivisions used by exegetes from Bede's time onward. He holds that allegorical meaning may be found either in deeds or in words or in both simultaneously ["*Allegoria aliquando factis, aliquando verbis tantum fit . . . aliquando factis simul et verbis*" (Bede, PL, 90.175)]. There are thus eight allegorical senses possible, since each sense may be interpreted according to word (*allegoria verbi*) and deed (*allegoria facti*). This theory of allegory greatly influenced allegorical exegesis in the thirteenth century, though it underwent modifications during the intervening centuries.⁷⁰ A shift can also be seen from Augustine's more literal interpretations to those which were of a more 'spiritual' nature. In addition, the writing of secular personification allegory continued to thrive during this period.

2.3. The Late Middle Ages

In the late Middle Ages, twelfth-century theorists Mathieu de Vendôme and Geoffroi de Vinsauf represent the humanistic and purely literary tradition of Classical Antiquity. They draw upon Cicero's *De Inventione*, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Geoffroi de Vinsauf wrote three treatises: *Poetria Nova*, *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, and *De coloribus rhetoricis*. In following the classification of tropes found in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Geoffroi uses the term *permutatio* in place of allegory. In the *Poetria Nova*, it is included under *ornatus*

⁷⁰de Bruyne cites Bede in vol. 1, pp. 159 - 161.

gravis as a type of *amplificatio*, and while *permutatio* is only mentioned in passing,⁷¹ he devotes quite a bit of space to the style of writing characterized as *ornatus gravis*, in which the meaning of the text is not so easily accessible, due to the use of descriptive and metaphorical language. Under *ornatus levis*, Geoffroi de Vinsauf also discusses the proper sense of words, stating that "if the discourse is meant to be lightly and beautifully adorned, eschew all kinds of gravity and use plain words" ["Si sermo velit esse levis pulchrique coloris / Tolle modos omnes gravitatis et utere planis" (Geoffroi de Vinsauf, l. 1,099 - 1,100)]. He illustrates this method of writing by setting forth an example of it, at the end of which he comments that "this discourse has collected together the flowers of speech which are light and which do not use words metaphorically" ["Verborum flores hoc thema redegit in unum / In quibus et levitas et propria sumptio vocum" (Geoffroi de Vinsauf, l. 1,223 - 24)]. He advises scrupulous attention to words in their forms and their meanings, counseling conformity between the two lest that which results is "a verbal hypocrite," saying: "First examine the soul of the word and then its face, whose outward show alone you should not trust. Unless the inner ornament conforms to the outer requirement, the relationship between the two is worthless. Painting only the face of an expression results in a vile picture, a falsified thing, a faked form, a whitewashed wall, a verbal hypocrite which pretends to be something when it is nothing:"

Verbis prius inspice mentem
 Et demum faciem, cujus ne crede color:
 Se nisi conformet color intimus exteriori
 Sordet ibi ratio: faciem depingere verbi
 Est pictura luti, res est falsaria, ficta
 Forma, dealbatus paries et hypocrita verbum
 Se simulans aliquid, cum sit nihil.

(Geoffroi de Vinsauf, l. 744 - 750)

⁷¹Geoffroi de Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, in Ernest Gallo, *The Poetria Nova and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), l. 957.

With this statement, which occurs at the beginning of the section on *ornatus gravis*, he cautions his readers to take seriously the proper meanings of words, before they proceed to embellish them stylistically. The metaphors that he uses to describe words whose outer appearance and inner meaning do not match indicate that this separation of words from their 'proper' meanings is a practice which he does not endorse indiscriminately. This same image of the whitewashed wall is also found in Hugh of Saint Victor's Didascalicon (4.1). The *hypocrita verbum* which is thus described in Geoffroi de Vinsauf becomes flesh in the *persona* of Faus Semblant, whose appearance in the Roman de la Rose has such important consequences for its *senefiance*. For not only does his hypocrisy affect him and his actions, it infects the whole text with the same hypocrisy that Jean de Meun so roundly criticizes: the Roman de la Rose becomes a *hypocrita verbum*.

Mathieu de Vendôme, in Ars Versificatoria, discusses description, harmonious choice of words, schemes, tropes, colors of rhetoric, and execution.⁷² As for allegory, he defines it under tropes as a strange speech in which what is understood differs from the meaning of the words ["alienum eloquium quando a verborum significatione dissidet intellectus" (Mathieu de Vendôme, 3.43)].⁷³ Thus, it seems that for Geoffroi de Vinsauf and for Mathieu de Vendôme, who followed the Classical rhetorical authors, allegory did not occupy a prominent place. Their goal was to teach the art of writing in its entirety, and their emphases were placed elsewhere. In limiting allegory (or *permutatio*) to a trope, they seem to regard it as a tool to be used to embellish and improve literary creation, but not as an end in itself. Yet part of the treatise by Mathieu de Vendôme is couched in the form of a dream vision in which several personifications appear, among them

⁷²de Bruyne, vol. 2, pp. 14 - 15.

⁷³J. L. Baltzell, An Exploration of Medieval Poetic with Special Reference to Chaucer (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 115.

Philosophy, Tragedy, Satire, and Comedy, who advance their modes of expression, and Elegy, who instructs him in the elegance of verse. Thus, while he expounds upon allegory as a rhetorical tool very briefly in his treatise, Mathieu uses an allegorical setting (the dream) and allegorical figures (the personifications) to set forth part of his poetic theory, as he expounds on the art of writing while couching part of his text in the form of a personification allegory in the mythological tradition to explain his ideas. Mathieu also expresses the idea of the *sensus proprius* when he says that verse "derives its elegance either from beauty of thought, or from verbal ornament, or from form of expression," illustrating this first with a quotation from Horace "whose pleasure-giving quality derives wholly from its thought content."⁷⁴

As for the literary genre of allegory and allegorical exegesis, both continued to flourish, with exegesis being practiced upon Scriptural and non-Scriptural texts. In the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint Victor, following Saint Jerome, expounds a threefold method of interpreting Sacred Scripture: historical, allegorical, and tropological (Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*, 5.2). In the thirteenth century, Saint Thomas Aquinas interprets Scripture according to Bede's fourfold scheme of three spiritual meanings based on the literal or historical meaning; and he groups Augustine's three literally-based interpretations under the historical.⁷⁵

In the twelfth century, however, there came to be a new distinction in terminology, according to the type of text being interpreted. Allegory continued to signify principally the Christian sense or explanation, and was the method used to discern the spiritual meaning(s) concealed beneath the literal sense of Sacred Scripture. As for

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 112 - 113.

⁷⁵Saint Thomas Aquinas, "The Nature and Domain of Sacred Doctrine," in Hazard Adams, *Critical Theory Since Plato*, pp. 118 - 119.

non-Scriptural literature, which was itself being mined for the truths hidden underneath its literal text, Alain de Lille and Bernard Silvestris call the method of uncovering this meaning *integumentum*, which, according to Bernard, was a kind of demonstration of truth involving meaning underneath a fabulous (fable-like) narrative or parable ["genus demonstrationis sub fabulosa narratione veritatis involvens intellectum"].⁷⁶ The concept of a veil (integument) which covered a higher truth had existed for centuries, originating, according to medieval tradition, with Cicero (*De oratore*, 1.25). The word *integumentum* was not used to describe the act or practice of interpreting secular texts, however, until the twelfth century. In addition, the distinction between the terms *allegoria* and *integumentum* as related to a specific kind of text, while adhered to by some, such as John of Salisbury and Bernard Silvestris, was not rigid. Abélard mixes or reverses the terminology; Thomas de Cîteaux and Garnier de Rochefort use *integumentum* when speaking of Biblical interpretation.⁷⁷ The distinction also appears in the *Roman de la Rose*, as Raison, during the same conversation with Amant referred to earlier, enlarges upon the methods to be employed in understanding a text. She tells Amant that the truth hidden within the obscure fable would be clear, if it were explained; and that he will understand it well, if he goes over the allegorical readings of the poets:

La verité dedenz (la fable occure) reposte
seroit clere, s'el iert esposte;
bien l'entendras, se bien repetes
les integumanz aus poetes.
(RR, v. 7,135 - 38)

Since Jean de Meun has claimed for himself the designation of poet, and the *Roman* is in large part a decidedly secular work, *integumentum* is thus a tool that must be employed in

⁷⁶de Bruyne, vol. 2, p. 327; see also de Lubac, tome 2, part 2, p. 190. The quote is taken from *Commentarium super sex libros Eneidos*.

⁷⁷de Lubac, tome 2, book 2, pp. 190 - 191.

the understanding of his work. In language used by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, the reader must be willing to search for the *covert* meaning, as well as the *overt*.

Figural allegory, while not claimed for itself specifically by the Roman de la Rose, must also be taken into account, for like the Old and New Testaments of Sacred Scripture, the Roman is composed of two books, and as such, may be seen to mirror the Old and New Testaments, which were seen as being contained one in the other, figure and fulfillment, in a reciprocal kind of relationship.⁷⁸ Indeed, Jean de Meun's book is widely seen as a rewriting of and a commentary on the text of Guillaume de Lorris in which the old order of sterile, courtly love has been replaced by a new one in which sexual fulfillment or gratification holds sway. In Genius's discourse, which is filled with theological imagery, the reference to Guillaume's fountain as troubled and obscure in relation to the clarity of Genius's, points directly to the veiled figures of the Old Testament as they prefigure the New Testament fulfillments which evolve from them. In addition, as a result of the Joachimite exegesis practiced in the thirteenth century, which not only looked back to the Old Testament for clarification of the New, but used the New Testament to look forward to predict future events, the episode of Amant / Faus Semblant's attack of the sanctuary becomes a figural one.

Thus, because of this shadowing of the Old and New Testaments, and the elements of Joachimite exegesis which have been introduced with Faus Semblant, the reader must not be too quick to assume that there is only one 'deeper meaning' in the Roman de la Rose, although this was generally thought to be the case for a secular text. And while, unlike Sacred Scripture, it cannot claim the divine inspiration which was supposed to allow contradictory Biblical texts to be subsumed under a higher truth at present beyond human understanding (Hugh of Saint Victor, Didascalicon, 4.1), yet this

⁷⁸Ibid., tome 1, part 1, pp. 328ss.

is what in fact does happen, as the *contraires* readings which follow evoke the same interpretation of moral decline delineated by John Fleming and Douglas Kelly in relation to the more traditional allegorical readings.

Thus, by the twelfth century, the over-arching concept of allegory, of "speaking other," had developed into the dominant mentality of the late Middle Ages. During this period, however, there was disagreement as to whether truth did in fact lie concealed under the fiction of secular works, for only then was their reading justified. Some clerics contended that it did, thus validating the study of these texts. Hugh of Saint Victor, for example, endows the liberal arts with the letter, the sense, and the deeper meaning, as cited above. Others, such as John of Salisbury, although he says concerning the *Aeneid* that Virgil wrote "under a contrived, fictitious veil" ["sub involucro fictitii commentii"] (John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 8.24)],⁷⁹ thus admitting the possibility of a deeper meaning, also states that "in liberal studies where not things but words merely have meaning, he who is not content with the first meaning of the letter seems to me to lose himself, or to be desirous of leading his auditors away from an understanding of truth" ["In liberalibus disciplinis, ubi non res sed dumtaxat verba significant, quibus primo sensu litterae contentus non est, aberrare videtur michi aut ab intelligentia veritatis . . . se velle suos abducere auditores"] (John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 7.12)].⁸⁰

Those of this persuasion also condemned the writing of allegory, claiming that it would encourage a search for something that did not exist. Yet others claimed that since everything had been created by God, an element of the divine was present in all

⁷⁹de Lubac, tome 2, part 2, p. 190.

⁸⁰In Catherine Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and Poetics of Didacticism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 50.

creation.⁸¹ Whatever position one took, however, there remained distinctions between *allegoria*, sometimes called *allegoria facti*, which was seen to have literal truth as its basis and was used in Biblical exegesis, and *integumentum* or *allegoria verbi*, which found its truth only in the interpretation offered and was used to explain secular works. This distinction between *allegoria* and *integumentum* was once so clear that the same word, *allegoria*, could be used for both.⁸² Yet whatever its object, allegory was the principal method of understanding a text in the Middle Ages.

Thus, the differences which existed in the practice of allegory upon texts, both sacred and pagan, Christian and Classical, derive not so much from a difference in basic definition, but in the way in which allegory was applied to different genres and the reasons which governed its use. For the rhetor, allegory was one of many ways of embellishing speech or writing, an art in which it played a role, but not a dominant one; for the pagan poet or philosopher, it was a way to make the old myths more acceptable; for the Biblical exegete, it revealed the hidden mysteries of Sacred Scripture; for the Christian medieval scholar or the writer of Christian medieval fiction, it provided a justification for the study or creation of texts that might otherwise be suspect. The intent of the practitioner influenced the work that evolved, yet all of it was, or came to be called, allegory.

2.4. A Note on Dialectic

Throughout the works of the rhetors cited above runs another thread that must be considered before beginning to read the Roman de la Rose. This is dialectic, the argument from opposition, which was so prevalent in rhetoric and in the scholasticism of the thirteenth century, and which is known today as Logic. It becomes a major factor in

⁸¹de Bruyne, vol. 2, pp. 327 - 334.

⁸²de Lubac, tome 2, part 2, p. 131.

the text of the Roman with the inclusion of the definition of *contraires choses* offered by Jean de Meun, who claims that one can define something only by understanding its opposite (RR, v. 21,543 - 52). And although it may be considered as a facet of the concept of allegory, its development merits some additional comments.

As *contrarium*, the concept appears in several works mentioned earlier. The author of Rhetorica ad Herennium includes *contrarium* under allegory (Ad Herennium, 4.34.46), as well as listing *antithesis*, a style built upon contraries ["Contentio est cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur" (Ad Herennium, 4.15.21)], and reasoning by contraries ["Contrarium est quod ex rebus diversis duabus alteram breviter et facile contraria confirmat " (Ad Herennium, 4.18.25)]. Cicero, in De Inventione, mentions it in contrast to similarity ["Contrarium est quod positum in genere diverso ab eo cui contrarium dicitur, plurimum distat, ut frigus calori, vitae mors" (Cicero, 1.28.42)]. The concept appears in Quintilian under ironic allegory ["In eo vero genere, quo contraria ostenduntur, ironia est; illusionem vocant" (Quintilian, 8.6.54)]. He also mentions *contrarium* as a form of argument, dividing it into several types, one of which is *opposita* ["contrariorum quoque aliter accipi opposita, ut noctem luci, aliter noxia, ut aquam frigidam febris, aliter repugnantia, ut verum falso, aliter disparata, ut dura non duris . . . Illud est adnotandum magis, argumenta duci ex iure simili . . . ex contrario . . . ex dissimili" (Quintilian, 5.11.31-32)]. *Contrarium* as a form of argument also appears in Book 9.3.90 - 92.

Geoffroi de Vinsauf addresses *oppositio* as a method of amplification; it involves a two-fold statement which, after being stated, is recast in its opposite ["Quaelibet induitur duplicem sententia formam: Altera propositam rem ponit et altera tollit Oppositam . . ." (Geoffroi de Vinsauf, l. 674 - 676)]. In my two sources for the Poetria Nova, the word *tollit* is translated with the opposite meaning by each editor, Gallo preferring the sense of 'carrying away,' and Baltzell, 'bringing.' I find this kind of confusion interesting, especially in a statement concerning opposites. I prefer Baltzell's translation, although I

suspect that Gallo's translation is more accurate, since it follows the examples given in the text, examples which Baltzell has omitted. However, this highlights another instance where the 'literal' meaning is not so evident.

Returning once more to the Poetria Nova, Geoffroi advises his readers to choose their words with care between those whose meaning is more difficult and those whose meaning is more apparent. He states: "Thus contraries mix; but they pledge peace, and enemies become friends. Herein is a certain commingling . . . from gravity (the light word) draws grace and value . . . let lightness furnish lightness for (gravity) and repress any bombast:"

Sic se contraria miscent
Sed pacem spondent hostesque morantur amici.
Est ibi temperies quaedam.
Ne sit leve verbum
Vile vel illepidum: trahit a gravitate leporem
Et pretium. Gravitas ne turgida sit vel opaca;
Praestat ei levitas lucem reprimique tumorem.
(Geoffroi de Vinsauf, l. 834 - 840)

He thus continues in these two citations the concept of *contraria* found the Classical rhetors cited above, a concept that must be considered one of the sources of dialectic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As to the dialectical method of debate which flowered in the twelfth and thirteenth century, Catherine Brown examines the discipline and its use during that period. Dialectic, she says, like exegesis "is born from opposition . . . to work opposition in the service of truth."⁸³ John of Salisbury places it between philosophy and sophistry, stating that a "philosopher who uses demonstrative logic is endeavoring to determine the truth, whereas one who employs dialectic contents himself with probability, and is trying to establish an opinion. But the sophist is satisfied with the mere appearance of probability" ["Philosophus autem, demonstrativa utens, negotiatur ad veritatem;

⁸³Brown, p. 39.

dialecticus ad opinionem, siquidem probabilitate contentus est. Sophiste autem sufficit, si vel videatur esse probabile" (John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, 2.5)]. Further, according to John of Salisbury, dialectic holds this danger: "Without moderation, everything falls into contraries" ["si autem moderatio desit, omnia hec in contrarium cedunt" (John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, 2.8)].⁸⁴ Then opposition and dialectic become an obstacle to understanding. Abélard, however, whom Brown points to as a living example of the *both / and* of dialectic, harnesses these opposites in Sic et Non, and "makes opposition not an obstacle to understanding but its fundamental condition." Yet this discipline is not easy to manage, for, Brown states, "once opposites are set in motion against each other, their behavior is hard to control, and the resulting movement is fraught with perils, not the least of which are ambiguity and contradiction."⁸⁵ St. Bernard corroborates the difficulty of proper discernment when he states that reason, whose task it is to distinguish truth from falsehood, is, as result of man's fall, "blinded by such a mist that it often judges contrariwise, taking bad for good, false for true, noxious for proper" ["tanta modo caligine caecatur, ut saepe in contrarium ducat iudicium, recipiens malum pro bono, falsum pro vero, noxium pro commodo" (Saint Bernard, De varia Trinitate, PL 183, 667C)]. Abélard defends dialectic, however, and gives us a glimpse of the fascination this type of argument held for him and his contemporaries when he describes it thus: "The more subtle it is, the more difficult; the more difficult, the more rare; the more rare, the more precious; the more precious, the more worthy of the exercise of great study. But because the long labor of this *doctrina* fatigues these readers with assiduous reading . . . they turn the praise of subtlety into an accusation" ["Quanto subtilior est, tanto difficilior; quanto autem difficilior, tanto rarius; quanto autem rarius, tanto pretiosior;

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 110; p. 43.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 65; p. 83.

quanto pretiosior, tanto maioris studii digna exercitio. Sed quia labor huius doctrinae diuturnus ipsos assiduitate legendi fatigat lectores . . . subtilitatis laudem in crimina vertunt" (Abélard, Dialectica 4, Prologue, 470)].⁸⁶

Dialectic was an exercise which was employed in the service of many theoretical problems, sometimes seriously, sometimes playfully. It was a discipline which delighted the foremost minds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, demanding their utmost creativity as they argued both sides of a given question. Jean de Meun shows himself to be a dialectician worthy of the name in The Roman de la Rose which, while not a dialectical treatment of a theological or Scriptural text, nevertheless has a distinctly dialectical flavor. Fundamentally, there are *contraires* authors, each ostensibly presenting his (*contraire*) book on love. There are oppositional gardens and fountains, as well as characters which serve as mirror images of one another, which will be discussed more fully later. Once this opposition is set in motion, one begins looking for *contraires* everywhere. It is indeed not easy to control. As I approach my analysis of the text, the reader should keep in mind the methodology of dialectic, which presents opposition while searching for a larger framework under which both aspects may be subsumed.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 120; p. 137.

III

FAUS SEMBLANT: THE *CONTRAIRE* PROTAGONIST

Ainsinc va des contreres choses,
les unes sunt des autres gloses;
et qui l'une an veust defenir,
de l'autre li doit souvenir,
ou ja, par nule antacion,
n'y metra diffinicion;
car qui des .ii. n'a connoissance,
ja n'i connoistra differance,
san quoi ne puet venir en place
diffinicion que l'an face.

Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose

[Thus it is with opposites; one explains the other. And he who wants to define the first, must remember the other, or he will never, however hard he tries, be able to define it. For he who is not acquainted with both will never know the difference between them which is necessary to articulate the definition.]

The Roman de la Rose abounds in *contraires choses*, or *affere contrarium*. In the first place, there is the matter of double or *contraire* authorship. Medieval practice in this area being quite different from our own, even this is open to question, since writers took refuge in pseudonyms or anonymity and there was no notion of the inviolability of any given literary work.⁸⁷ Thus, anyone involved in the production of a given *opus*, from the author to the *copiste* years later, might alter, add, correct, or delete at his own discretion. However, for our purposes, the validity of the double authorship of the Roman de la Rose is not the vital issue. What is important is that the Roman claims to have two authors, whether it did in fact or not. Secondly, from the presence of two

⁸⁷Roger Dragonetti, Le Mirage des sources (Paris: Seuil, 1987). Dragonetti makes a case for the single authorship of the Roman de la Rose.

authors it follows that there are two (*contraires*) books: the first (incomplete) by Guillaume de Lorris, the second (continuation and completion) by Jean de Meun. There are *contraires* gardens, fountains, and encounters with the rose which differ significantly from each other in each author's part of the text. What is not apparent initially is that there are *contraires* allegories, which will be delineated in the following chapters. Equally important, as I will show in this chapter, there are also *contraires* protagonists. The first, obviously, is Amant; the second is Faus Semblant. Following this hypothesis to its conclusion will lead to a new reading of the Roman de la Rose, one that, to this point, has eluded its audience. However, since this reading hinges upon the reader's acceptance of Faus Semblant as the other protagonist, the case for this designation must first be made. Only then is it valid to undertake an exposition of its consequences, for the reading thus derived flows from this fact. The argument for the acceptance of Faus Semblant as *contraire* protagonist has as its basis three main tenets: (1) the extent to which Faus Semblant influences Amant; (2) the deceit which his name announces as it influences the Roman; and (3) the broader moral and theological ramifications which become apparent as his identity is further revealed in the text. Only after this argument has been made will the text be analyzed in terms of the new reading which this designation authorizes. Thus, in this chapter the reading strategy involved is not the primary focus, although it certainly plays its part in my analysis of Faus Semblant and his role in the Roman de la Rose.

3.1. Faus Semblant's Entrance into the Text and Its Significance

If one examines the Roman de la Rose, there are few new characters who appear on the scene in Jean's continuation of Guillaume's allegory. Besides Faus Semblant and his companion Astinence Contrainte, there are Nature and her deputy Genius. While Genius has his own discourse which plays its own part in the text, he is not the moving force that shapes the *dénouement* of the novel. Rather, Faus Semblant is the axis around whom the plot of the second book turns. His appearance upon the scene is unexpected,

since he belongs neither to the world of the god of Love, nor to that of Amant, nor to the domain of the rose. He and his companion, Astinence Contrainte, inhabit the contemporary world of the thirteenth century, which seems odd, given the quasi-mythological setting of the text. After having set forth his *credo* to Amour and his barons, he controls the subsequent events. He is responsible for breaching the château's defenses by killing Male Bouche. His are the actions and attitudes that Amant is influenced to imitate. Amant in fact undergoes a metamorphosis and *becomes* Faus Semblant, as evidenced both by his actions and his dress, when he assaults the statue which gives him access to the rose.

The juncture at which Faus Semblant appears in the Roman merits our attention. Amant's amorous quest has been unsuccessful. He does not know how he should proceed, for none of his attempts to gain access to his heart's desire have been successful. Therefore, Amour, his suzerain, has summoned his barons to help him in his quest and in his assault on the château of Jalousie, where the rose is now guarded. At this critical moment, midway through the text, Faus Semblant arrives on the scene with Astinence Contrainte. Shortly thereafter, the reader learns that the Roman has *contraires* authors (although at this point Jean de Meun has been writing for 6,000 verses).

These two facts - the stage of the plot at which Faus Semblant and Astinence Contrainte arrive, followed by the disclosure of the double authorship of the Roman - are significant. That their placement in the text immediately precedes a discussion of the book's duality strongly suggests some sort of identification of these two characters with this duality. And, if one thinks back to the end of Guillaume's verses, Amant has managed to steal a kiss from the rose, but that is all; his desire has been thwarted: *astinence contrainte* has been imposed upon him. In anticipating Jean's conclusion, while Amant has succeeded in possessing the rose, his conquest is but a parody of love, a *faus semblant*. Thus, it seems logical to postulate that these two characters should be

identified with the books. And indeed, if *Astinance Contrainte*, as an unsympathetic portrayal of *fin'amour* in which the poet forever pines away after the *dame inaccessible*, represents Guillaume's work, by extension she also represents him, the poet who dies unfulfilled. The same can be said for *Faus Semblant*: that in representing the second part of the work, he also represents its author, Jean. And just as *Astinance Contrainte* says that without *Faus Semblant* she will die ["cist me soutient, cist me conforte./ S'il ne fust, de fain fusse morte" (RR, v. 10,455 - 56)], so, too, without the help of Jean will Guillaume (and his work) die. It is interesting to note also that *Amour* himself identifies Guillaume with the protagonist *Amant* when quoting the final lines of Guillaume's text. There is perhaps nothing very extraordinary in this, since the author is relating his dream in the first person, which gives rise to this merged identity. However, in extending this line of thought, the reader also arrives at the identification of the second protagonist, *Faus Semblant*, with Jean de Meun. It is my contention that this is the turning point of the Roman. For, it is from this moment on, though the seeds have been planted well in advance, that *Amant* begins his metamorphosis. He begins to think like *Faus Semblant* and to adopt his method of seeming to be one thing, but being in reality another. He even, when he finally approaches the little statue which gives access to the rose, dresses as a pilgrim, as did *Faus Semblant* when he and *Astinance Contrainte* approached *Male Bouche*. And in the process of *Amant*'s metamorphosis, the Roman of Guillaume de Lorris undergoes a metamorphosis as well. For while Jean maintains the fiction of possessing the rose and of bringing to completion the work that Guillaume de Lorris started, his own agenda is quite different. And it is *Faus Semblant* who holds the key to understanding just what that agenda is.

3.2. The Genealogy of *Faus Semblant*

Who is *Faus Semblant*? When he appears on the scene with his companion *Astinance Contrainte*, a brief glimpse of his origin is provided by *Amant*, who says that

he is the son of Barat (Fraud) and Hypocrisy and adds that he has duped many regions because of the religious habit that he wears:

Baraz engendra Faus Semblant,
qui va les queurs des genz emblant;
sa mere ot non Ypocrisie,
la larronesse, la honie.
Ceste l'aleta et norri,
l'ort ypocrite au queur porri,
qui traïst mainte region
par habit de religion.

(RR, v. 10,437 - 44)

He is addressed as "Deable" by the god Amour ["Qu'est ce, deable, es tu effrontez?" (RR, v. 11,057)], who states elsewhere that in giving birth to him, his parents have indeed produced the devil:

Mout bone engendreüre i firent,
dist Amours, et mout profitable,
qu'il engendrèrent le deable.

(RR, v. 10,954 - 56)

And Amant, thanking all who have helped him in his quest, further identifies him and Astinence Contrainte as the parents of the Antichrist:

Ce fu Faus Samblant, li traïstres,
le filz Barat, li faus ministres
dame Ypocrisie sa mere,
qui tant est au vertuz amere,
et dame Attinence Contrainte,
qui de Faus Samblant est enceinte,
preste d'anfanter Antecrit . . .

(RR, v. 14,709 - 15)

This leads one to theorize that since Faus Semblant and Astinence Contrainte have been identified with the two books, or Testaments, of the Roman, their issue, the Antichrist, may also be identified with a third Testament, the Evangelium aeternum or, as Faus Semblant refers to it, the Evangile pardurable.

There is a further dimension, however, to the identity of Faus Semblant. For when he and Astinence Contrainte approach Male Bouche, who guards one of the entrances to the château of Jalousie, the narrator comments that even had you known him before in

before in another guise, you would have sworn that Faus Semblant was now a Jacobin
(or Dominican):

Mes s'avant le conneüssiez
qu'en ces dras veü l'eüssiez,
bien juressiez le roi celestre
que cil, qui devant soloit estre
de la dance le biaux Robins,
or est devenuz jacobins.

(RR, v. 12,095 - 100)

This designation, as well as his name, and the fact that he kills Male Bouche while hearing his confession carry an historical and a literary legacy that also significantly plays into his role, and which will be taken up in the following chapters. Thus, it seems that Jean de Meun, in introducing Faus Semblant, is shifting the whole focus of the work and giving it a theological and eschatological dimension that Guillaume's narrative did not possess, and at the same time, adding a moral dimension that works both ways, retrospectively infecting Guillaume's text and influencing the *dénouement* to come. And as he makes his way through the text, beginning with his discourse, followed by the murder of Male Bouche, and continuing in the *persona* of Amant, Faus Semblant begins by turning the Roman de la Rose from a quest to love to one for lust, as John Fleming and Douglas Kelly have noted in their works alluded to earlier. However, Jean de Meun goes still further. Under the cover of a love quest, Faus Semblant's designation as the devil and the father of the Antichrist, identities with very Christian (or anti-Christian) connotations, turns the text into one in which the art of *diablerie*, not love, "est toute enclose." For as Christ is the Word made flesh, so is Faus Semblant the hypocritical word enfleshed as literary character. And as Amant initially sought to be a disciple of the god Amour, Faus Semblant teaches him how to be his, that is, the Devil's disciple. By his words and his deeds, he lays out his own rules and proclaims his own *contraire* gospel. So successful is he in this endeavor that Amant in fact becomes Faus Semblant,

the Roman de la Rose becomes his Testament, and the signs which mark this work as a love quest become false signs.

3.3. Amant's Metamorphosis

Let us trace the steps by which this change takes place. In the first part of the text, calling up echoes of the Old Testament, Guillaume, through the god Amour, lays out *his* ten commandments - of love. As Amant restates them later for Amour, they enjoin him to flee from base conduct, avoid slander, give and return greetings promptly, avoid vulgar language, honor all women, shun arrogance and conduct oneself elegantly, make oneself pleasing and joyous, be generous, and give one's heart only once:

. . . Vilanie
doi foïr; et que ne mesdie;
saluz doi tost doner et rendre;
a dire ordure ne doi tendre;
a toutes fames honorer
m'estuet en touz tens laborer;
orgueil fuie, cointes me tiegne;
jolif et renvoisiez deviegne;
a larges estre m'abandoigne;
en un seul leu tout mon queur doigne.
(RR, v. 10,373 - 82)

Amour's commandments have as their focus the beloved. All of the lover's words and actions have as their goal to make himself pleasing to the object of his affection. They appear to be alio-centric. However, as one re-reads the Roman, the reader begins to question whether Amour's commandments are meant to be followed sincerely, or if they are merely dissimulation. The conclusion one reaches is that they are to be followed only so long as the suitor's outcome is successful. When problems arise, they are easily cast aside in favor of more efficacious measures.

By contrast, Faus Semblant's *credo* is blatantly ego-centric. He cares nothing for others. He is concerned only with his own gratification. Though he does not lay down commandments as such, his discourse, which serves perhaps as his Sermon on the Mount, lays out the rules which guide his conduct. He practices fraud and perjury. He is

a hypocrite, i.e., his words do not match his deeds, nor does his outward appearance coincide with the inner reality. He avoids abstinence and poverty and would rather beg than work. He avoids serving the poor who cannot reward him and panders to the rich who can. He steals and deceives to acquire money. In short, he does diabolical things; and when Amour (a pagan god!) asks him if he fears God,⁸⁸ he says that he does not. Yet Faus Semblant is the character that Amant chooses to imitate, who, in fact, he becomes; for, Amour's advice having failed him, this is the only way that he can see to successfully complete his quest. Yet we must ask if there is really any difference in following first Amour's advice and then Faus Semblant's. How do we justify calling Amant Amour's disciple in the first instance and his double in the second?

According to Faus Semblant himself, in order to evaluate someone, one must consider his words, his appearance, and his actions. Amant's own words bear out his metamorphosis as he is continually checked in his erotic quest. He rejects Raison and her arguments and remains faithful to Amour. When Ami suggests that he change his tactics and play a subtler game, hiding his true intentions behind a *masque de feinte*, Amant is horrified, protesting that no one, unless he is a hypocrite, would do such diabolical things. Does Ami want him to honor and serve these people who are false and base?

Douz amis, qu'est ce que vos dites?
 Nus hom, s'il n'iert faus ypocrites,
 ne feroit ceste deablie,
 n'onc ne fu greigneur establie.
 Vos volez que j'honneur et serve
 ceste gent qui est fause et serve?
 (RR, v. 7,765 - 70)

He would be a traitor deserving of death, he says, if he served them to deceive them ["Traïstres seroie mortex / se servoie por decevoir" (RR, v. 7,774 - 75)]. In the end, however, Ami's arguments win the day, and Amant announces his intention to undertake

⁸⁸This reading follows the Lecoy edition; the Strubel edition reads *croiz* instead of *crainz*, that is, 'believe' instead of 'fear.'

ceste deablie and to become a hypocrite when he says, describing the attitude that he appropriated, that he did one thing and thought another. Thus playing a double game, there was no day that he didn't practice deceit, for it was necessary to pursue treason in order to reach his goal:

. . . car je fesoie
une chose et autre pensoie.
Ainsinc m'entencion double oi,
n'onc mes nul jor ne la doubloi.
Traïson me covint tracier
por ma besoigne porchacier.
(RR, v. 10,269 - 74)

By assuming the diabolical *masque de feinte* of hypocrisy, he thus appropriates for himself the devil's hypocritical word whose outer appearance does not match its inner meaning, thus fundamentally violating his allegorical *persona*. Still further, as he prepares to enter the château, Amant avers that he agrees with Faus Semblant's way of thinking in everything ["si con Faus Semblant ot pensé/ du tout m'en tign a son pensé" (RR, v. 12,509 - 10)].

Thus, in adopting the deception personified by Faus Semblant, Amant becomes a false lover, or *faus amant*, according to the definition set forth by Raison in their first encounter in Guillaume's text: hypocritical traitors who say one thing and think another and deserve to be killed ["il dient un et pensent el/ Li traîtres felon mortel" (RR, v. 2,397- 08)]. Now the names of the two characters are almost identical: Faus Amant / Faus Semblant.

What is equally telling is Amant's dress as the final act unfolds. Just as Faus Semblant dressed as a pilgrim when he and Astinence Contrainte approached Male Bouche, so Amant dresses as a pilgrim when he approaches the small statue through which he gains access to Bel Accueil and the rose. The significance of this fact should not be overlooked, given the importance attached to dress in medieval literature as an indication of a character's identity.

Having examined the first two criteria, the actions of Amant must now be analyzed carefully. Though he initially tried to follow Amour's commands, Amant's actions also change as his metamorphosis takes place. So far does he stray from Amour's supposedly alio-centric commandments that, at the conclusion of the Roman, the encounters which take place between him and the statue, then Bel Accueil, and finally the rose are rapes, rather than anything remotely resembling an expression of love. They are all violent encounters which hark back to Faus Semblant's own encounter with Male Bouche, in which he kills him by strangling him and cutting out his tongue. Amant's actions are completely ego-centric; he seeks his own gratification. And the illustration he gives at this point of *contraires choses* - his erotic experiences with older women versus those with younger women (RR, v. 21,367 - 552) - suggests that rather than being faithful to his love, he has gone on to many other conquests. Faus Semblant has done his job well.

3.4. Dreams: *Songes* or *Mençonges*?

There is a second dimension to the Roman de la Rose that adds even greater weight to the evidence suggesting that Faus Semblant is the *contraire* protagonist, and that is the preoccupation of the text itself with truth versus deception.⁸⁹ Are dreams *songes* or *mensonges*? Guillaume cites Macrobius's In Somnium Scipionis as his authority in affirming that his dream is true, although he says that skeptics who think that it is foolishness and nonsense to believe that a dream comes true will take him for a fool:

Qui c'onques cuit ne qui que die
qu'il est folor et musardie
de croire que songes aviegne,
qui ce voudra, por fol m'en tiegne.
(RR, v. 11 - 14)

⁸⁹Susan Stakel treats the deceit in the Roman de la Rose from a semantical point of view. She also views the role played by Faus Semblant as a highly important one related to the deception in the Roman itself.

Nonetheless, he believes that dreams have meaning concerning the good and bad things that happen to people, for many people dream many things at night in a veiled fashion that are seen clearly later:

que songes est senefiance
des biens as genz et des anuiz,
que li plusor songent de nuiz
maintes choses covertement
que l'en voit puis apertement.
(RR, v. 16 - 20)

This is the case for the dream that he is about to relate, the dream in which there was nothing which did not happen as the dream foretold:

. . . onques riens n'ot
qui tretot avenu ne soit
si con li songes recensoit.
(RR, v. 28 - 30)

He claims that once his audience has heard his tale and its explanation, the veracity of this dream will be made clear. Thus, this dream, according to Guillaume, falls into the Macrobian category of *somnium* or *oneiros*, that is, a symbolic representation of the future which requires an explanation.⁹⁰ Though promised repeatedly, this explanation never takes place. And one must wonder if it is because Guillaume cannot make good his claims on the veracity of his dream and its *senefiance*. For, interestingly enough, it is Guillaume's Amour who tells the lover that although he may *dream* that he possesses his beloved, this is nothing but lie and fable and that he (Amant) will begin to cry and say, "God! what did I dream ?"

en la pensee delitable
ou il n'a que mençonge et fable;
mes poi i poras demorer;
lors comanceras a plorer
et diras: "Dex! qu'ai ge songié?"
(RR, v. 2,433 - 37)

⁹⁰Herman Braet, Le Songe dans la chanson de geste au xii^e siècle (Ghent, Belgium: Romanica Gandensia XV, 1975), p. 19.

Amour also says that the lover will never have what he seeks, it will always be lacking, he will never be at peace ["amanz n'avra ja ce qu'i quiert,/ Tot jors i faut, ja em pais n'iert" (RR, v. 2,407 - 08)]. The god alludes to the fact that he can remedy this and grant the lover his heart's desire. But, in fact, as the Roman continues, he cannot. So, Amour's statement stands without qualification. Thus, Guillaume's veracity, as well as that of his dream, is now open to question. And those who read Macrobius more carefully will notice that his example of an *insomnium*, whose only meaning is found in the dream itself (*in somnium*), is an erotic dream.

Throughout the Roman, several of Jean's characters reveal his stance on dreams. They raise questions as to the validity of what they see or experience - are they awake or asleep? - implying that what one 'sees' while sleeping is not to be relied on. The reaction of Amour as he notices the presence of Faus Semblant among his barons reflects this: "What is this," he says, "have I been dreaming? . Say, Faus Semblant, by whose leave have you come into my presence?"

Qu'est ce? dist il, ai je songié?
 Di, Faus Semblant, par cui congié
 iés tu venu en ma presance?
 (RR, v. 10,447 - 49)

His words imply that he must be dreaming, hence in a state where one sees what is not true or real, otherwise, Faus Semblant (Deable) would not be there. This type of dream would fall into the Macrobian category of *visum* or *phantasma*, a sort of nightmare where fantastic figures appear.⁹¹ If this apparition is that sort of a dream, it is a *rêve trompeur*. Thus, the whole allegorical setting of the Roman as a love quest is called into question, since this kind of dream mirrors the hypocritical word which does not reflect the meaning hidden beneath it.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 19.

Pygmalion refers to this same type of dream when, his statue having been brought to life by Venus, he does not know whether what he sees is false or true ["Ne set se c'est mançonge ou voir" (RR, v. 21,110)]. He wonders if he is being tempted, and since he is not awake, he must be dreaming [" . . . sui je tanz?/ Veille je pas? Nenin! ainz songe" (RR, v. 21,114 - 15)]. But then he decides that he is awake [" . . . ainz vaille! (RR, v. 21,117)]. Therefore, this apparition must be a phantom or the devil ["Est ce fantosme ou anemis" (RR, v. 21,119)]. Thus, another example of *phantasma* appears in the text which warns against trusting one's dreams. It is also another instance in which the devil (anemis) might seem to be playing a part. The pervasive presence of Faus Semblant and the deceit which he practices has infected every facet of the Roman de la Rose, even its dream setting. Yet the reader should not expect anything else from the Deable, the father of lies.

Perhaps not from him, but what about from Jean de Meun? Through the character of Genius, he denigrates the garden of Guillaume's dream, warning that everything within it is lies, frivolity, and corruption:

les choses ici contenues,
ce sont truffes et fanfelues.
Ci n'a chose qui soit estable;
quan qu'il i vit est corumpable.
(RR, v. 20,321 - 24)

Yet, despite his opinion that dreams are lies (*mençonges*), Jean maintains the structure of the dream to the end of the Roman, a dream which he and Guillaume de Lorris ostensibly share. Thus the cosmos that he has constructed throughout the course of his poem is built upon deceit, even though Genius claims that Jean's garden by contrast contains everything delightful and true and everlasting ["Tretoutes choses delitables / et veraies et pardurables" (RR, v. 20,353 - 54)].

The story of Croesus (RR, v. 6,459ss.) points out the danger of too literal a reading of dreams. He chastises his daughter Phanie for giving his dream an allegorical

interpretation, saying that when she explained his dream in such a way that she told him great lies; for she well knows that so noble a dream, to which she wants to put a false interpretation, must be understood literally:

Et quant par vostre fol respons
m'avez mon songe ainsinc espons,
servi m'avez de granz mençonges;
car sachiez que cist nobles songes,
ou fause glose volez metre,
doit estre entenduz a la letre.
(RR, v. 6,575 - 80)

Yet Phanie was right and Croesus was wrong. Thus, this is a verified example of *somnium*. Does this lesson also hold for the readers of the Roman de la Rose, as Eric Jager believes, or is it only *insomnium*? The mixed messages of the text leave the reader wondering where the *senefiance* of the Roman de la Rose may lie.

3.5. Faus Semblant as Revealed through His Discourse

In Guillaume's dream, Amour has refused to have anything to do with those who might deceive him or play him false, because he has received homage from some who have deceived him:

. . . j'ai mainz homages
et d'uns et d'autres receüz
dont j'ai puis esté deceüz.
Li felon plain de fauseté
m'ont par mainte foiz bareté.
(RR, v. 1,958 - 62)

Thus, he wants to be very sure of Amant's allegiance ["Or voil je, por ce que je t'ains,/ de toi estre si bien certains" (RR, v. 1,967 - 68)]. Why then should Amour accept the presence of Faus Semblant into his army of Barons? For as Faus Semblant addresses Amour and his barons to explain himself and his mode of operation, it is clear that Amour *cannot* be certain of him. References to hypocrisy and falseness build throughout his discourse. He says during its course that he is a traitor ["Sanz faille traïstres sui gié" (RR, v. 11,139)] and a perjurer ["Parjurs sui" (RR, v. 11,141)]. He is so good at

deception, however, that it is difficult to recognize ["Mes tant est forz la decevance,/ que trop est grief l'apercevanche" (RR, v. 11,149 - 50)]. He continues that he knows all too well how to change his dress ["Trop sé bien mes habiz changier" (RR,v. 11,157)], and that he disguises himself as he pleases ["En tele guise con il me plest je me desguise" (RR v. 11,189 - 90)]. The situation is very different with him, so greatly do his deeds differ from his words ["Mout est en moi muez li vers,/ mout sunt li fet au diz divers" (RR, v. 11,191 - 92)]. He tells Amour that he is a hypocrite ["C'est voirs, mes je suis ypocrites" (RR, v. 11,202)], but adds that he says this in good faith ["le vos di sanz guile" (RR, v. 11,789)]. He goes on to say that anyone who knows how to recognize the deception of him and his friends does not dare uncover the truth ["ou, qui le set apercevoir/ n'en ose il descovrir le voir" (RR, v. 11,877 - 78)]. He protests that he does not dare lie to this audience, but if he thought that they wouldn't notice it, he would certainly lie and deceive them:

Mes a vos n'ose je mentir;
mes se je peüsse sentir
que vos ne l'aperceüssiez,
la mençonge ou poign eüssiez:
certainement je vos bolasse.
(RR, v. 11,939 - 43)

An aura of deceit surrounds him and everything that he touches, to the point that at the end of his discourse, his listeners (and his readers) no longer know what to believe. When Amour asks him whether he will keep his word with him, Faus Semblant readily swears and promises this ["Oïl, jou vos jur et fiance" (RR, v. 11,956)]. Yet Amour hesitates to accept this promise, commenting that this is against Faus Semblant's nature ["Conment? C'est contre ta nature" (RR, v. 11,959)]. And Faus Semblant readily agrees, commenting that even if Amour requires guarantees, he will never be sure of him ["car se pleges en requerez,/ ja plus asseür n'en serez" (RR, v. 11,961 - 62)]. Thus, his

discourse ends in a state of ambiguity and equivocation that in effect destroys everything that he has just said; one can no longer rely on the integrity of the sign.

Why, despite all of this, which runs directly contrary to what Amour preaches, is Faus Semblant allowed to become one of Amour's barons? There are two reasons: First, Astinence Contrainte, as cited above, says that without him she will die. Here we are back in the world of the books, where Jean (i.e., Faus Semblant) is necessary to save Guillaume (i.e., Astinence Contrainte). Second, as Amant has already realized, Amour, too, becomes aware that his undertaking cannot succeed without Faus Semblant. As Genius is to remark later, Amour would have ejected them from his army had he wished, if he had not certainly known that they were so necessary that he couldn't do anything without them:

bien les deût Amours bouter
hors de son ost, s'il li pleüst,
se certainement ne seüst
qu'il li fussent si nécessaire
qu'il ne peüst sanz eus riens faire.
(RR, v. 19,330 - 34)

Faus Semblant's presence, as well as Jean's dream stance, calls the whole Roman as love quest into question and changes its direction in such a way that the reader no longer knows what to believe, since s/he becomes more and more wary of taking people and events at face value.

3.6. Pools and Mirrors

The insistence on reflections in pools and mirrors throughout the Roman also raises the problem of the multiplicity and mutability of sign. The image of pools enters the Roman early on with the first *source* described by Amant, which is said to be the pool of Narcissus. Given the content of that well-known myth, it is significant that Guillaume has chosen this pool to appear in his garden. For Narcissus fell in love with a reflected image of himself, bringing with it allusions of self-love and homosexuality, which

certainly causes one to wonder about the nature of Amant's love. Further, one cannot ignore the fact that when he looked into Narcissus's pool, Amant surely would have seen his own image as well as that of the rose. Thus, from the beginning, Amant seems to be pursuing double or *contraires* love-objects. He also appears to be subject himself to metamorphosis as he changes back and forth from heterosexual to homosexual lover during the course of the Roman. This phenomenon plays into the ambiguity of the sign announced overtly by Faus Semblant. The pool of Narcissus, however, appears at the outset of the poem. Thus, this ambiguity has been present from the beginning; it comes to the forefront with the appearance of Faus Semblant, whose name overtly proclaims its presence.

When references to mirrors are examined, the idea of mutability or inversion of sign raises its head there, also. The first example that comes to mind is, of course, the fact that Amour says that Jean's continuation will be called the Miroer aus amoureux; thus, the text has received a second title, which cannot be ignored. A traditional reading of *miroer* would indicate that the Roman de la Rose is a *speculum*, a sort of medieval encyclopedia of love of all kinds; that is, a faithful rendering of information upon which the reader might rely to inform him/herself in this area. John Fleming suggests that it be taken in the sense of a warning to lovers, as the word is sometimes used with this meaning.⁹² Yet it must be noted that mirrors which reflect what is before them, whether to instruct or to warn, reverse what is seen, and therefore, even these cannot be said to render a faithful image of the object thus signified. Moreover, there are mirrors which distort as well. In her discourse, Nature, while she mentions mirrors that reflect accurately what is before them, also speaks of those which distort by magnifying or reducing the size of what is

⁹²John V. Fleming, "The Garden of the Roman de la Rose: Vision of Landscape or Landscape of Vision?" Medieval Gardens (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), p. 228.

seen through them, of others that burn the objects set before them, and still others which multiply and change the shapes and quantities of the forms that they reflect (RR, v. 18,014ss.). In fact, she says that they who have seen such things through mirrors are thus deceived ["Et quant ainsinc sunt deceü / cil qui tex choses ont veü / par miroers" (RR, v. 18,201 - 03)]. Furthermore, they lie, for people even think that they have seen demons, so much does what they see deceive them:

et ne dient pas voir, ainz mantent,
qu'il ont les deables veüz,
tant sunt es regarz deceüz.
(RR, v. 18,206 - 08)

And Faus Semblant is named *Deable* by Amour.

In addition, it is perhaps instructive to recall Paul's statement in Corinthians: "We now see through a glass darkly" [videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate" (Bible, 1Cor. 13:12)], which intimates that these images are obscure. This same image is called up in the Introductorius ad evangelium aeternum to point out the difference between the obscurity of the New Testament as opposed to the clarity of the Evangelium aeternum. Indeed Jean de Meun, through Genius, labels Guillaume's fountain dark and troubled and goes on to contrast it with the clear fountain in Jean's garden, leading the reader to wonder just what kind of space this fountain occupies, since Jean has specifically named his text the *miroer aus amoureux* and yet has gone to great lengths to point out that mirrors are deceptive. Perhaps he is warning his readers that his text, like the duplicitous friar, is also a *faus semblant*, and as such, is also deceptive.

3.7. Apocalyptic Imagery and the University Quarrel

The Apocalyptic imagery in the text further enlarges the role that Faus Semblant plays in the Roman. As Amant has stated and as cited above, he is the son of Barat (Fraud) and Hypocrisy (RR, v. 10,437 - 44), who, as Amour says, have given birth to the devil (RR, v. 10,954 - 56). When Amour interrupts Faus Semblant's discourse, this

is the name he uses to address him: *Deable* (RR, v. 11,057). The author does not use this name loosely. Faus Semblant's identity as *deable* is linked to Jean's description of Astinence Contrainte, who, he says, resembled the wicked bitch, the fourth horse of the Apocalypse, whose rider is Death (Apoc. 6:8), and which signifies the evil people, pale and tinted with hypocrisy:

El resembloit, la puste lisse,
le cheval de l'Apochalipse
qui senefie la gent male,
d'ypocrisie tainte et pale.
(RR, v. 12,037 - 40)

Thus Jean de Meun joins Faus Semblant and his hypocrisy to the events of the fourth Apocalyptic age, characterized as the Age of Hypocrisy, which was thought by many people of the thirteenth century to be the times in which they were living. The appearance of the *Deable*, the Father of Lies, was expected before that of the Antichrist. Thus, in identifying Faus Semblant with the devil as the hypocritical word, he becomes an actor on the apocalyptic stage as well, as the precursor of the Antichrist.⁹³ Faus Semblant's own words link him directly to this figure when he says, "I am one of the vassals of the Antichrist" ["Je suis des vallez Antecrit" (RR, v. 11,683)]. He and his friends will await the Antichrist and will follow him all together" ["Ainsint Antecrist atendrons,/ tuit ensemble a lui nos tendrons" (RR, v.11,815 - 16)]. He is more than just his man, however; he is his father, as Amant has pointed out when he named Faus Semblant and Astinence Contrainte as parents of the Antichrist (RR, v. 14,709 - 15). Thus, his role in the Roman de la Rose becomes wider yet. For, as he redefines and rewrites the rules of love for Amant, so on another level he rewrites the rule of Love proclaimed by Christ in the New Testament and sets forth the *anti-évangile* of the Antichrist: a 'gospel' which teaches its disciples self-love rather than love of God and others; a *miroer* which reverses

⁹³Emmerson, Antichrist, pp. 82 - 83.

the gospel, as Jean de Meun and his contemporaries expected that the life of the Antichrist, the *Christus contrarius*, would 'mirror' that of Christ in a diabolical way. Thus, too, Jean de Meun's continuation of Guillaume de Lorris's text becomes its New Testament. Yet, because its messiah is Faus Semblant, the hypocritical word who arrives to save the quest, it has slipped from a text in which signs may be relied upon to represent inner meaning into one in which this congruence may or may not be present. The integrity of the sign has been called into question.

In addition, the narrator has fleetingly identified Faus Semblant as a Jacobin, or Dominican (RR, v. 12,095 - 100), one of the two mendicant orders newly established in the thirteenth century. This identity calls up the quarrel between the mendicant orders and the secular clergy which had raged at the University of Paris and indeed throughout western Europe and whose ramifications were still being felt. As a mendicant friar, Faus Semblant brings the University Quarrel between the secular and regular masters of theology into the Roman de la Rose, and this may be his most important contribution to the text. For the Roman becomes a *mise en abîme* of the Quarrel itself, as the questions of signs and their *senefiance* flow from the pages of theological polemic into the Roman itself. Further, the Evangelium aeternum or Evangile pardurable which he mentions is an allusion to the Liber introductorius ad Evangelium aeternum of Gérard de Borgo de San-Donnino, a Franciscan, which announces a new gospel.⁹⁴ Faus Semblant describes it as a book on behalf of the devil ["un livre de par le deable./ c'est l'*Esvangile Pardurable*" (RR, v. 11,771 - 72)] - that is, it is his gospel. Then he states how far the Evangile pardurable surpasses the New Testament, comparing them to the sun and the moon, and

⁹⁴Brownlee, "The Problem of Faux Semblant." Brownlee equates the Roman of Jean de Meun with the Evangile pardurable. I think that his insight is accurate, although we do not approach the question from the same stance.

the kernel and the shell, comparisons which also have implications for the reading of the Roman de la Rose:

autant con par sa grant valeur,
soit de clarté soit de chaleur,
seurmonte li soleuz la lune
qui trop est plus trouble et plus brune,
et li noiaus des noiz la quoque,
ne cuidiez pas que je me moque,
seur m'ame le vos di sanz guile,
tant seurmonte ceste evangile
ceus que li .IIII. evangelistre
Jhesucrist firent a leur tistre.

(RR, v. 11,783 - 92)

He sums up his remarks by saying that there are many other diabolical things commanded and established in this book that are against the law of Rome and follow the Antichrist:

Mout i a d'autres deablies
commandees et establies
en ce livre que je vos nome,
qui sunt contre la loi de Rome
et se tiennent a Antecrist,
si con je truis ou livre escrit.

(RR, v. 11,845 - 50)

Unfortunately, because Rome is too powerful, the Evangile pardurable will be condemned. However, as a loyal "*vallez antecrist*" the Dominican Faus Semblant has left it for his followers, hidden within a text in which fraud and hypocrisy are as true as the gospel ["baraz et guile / soit ausinc voirs conme evangile" (RR, v. 21,437 - 38)].

There is much to be learned by applying the dialectic of *contraires choses* as well as the multiple theories of allegory, to both the language and the themes of the Roman de la Rose.⁹⁵ That Faus Semblant is central to the text should now be apparent. And the deceit which he practices indeed infects the whole work, leading to questions concerning

⁹⁵The works by Susan Stakel and Douglas Kelly cited above also make use of the doctrine of *contraires choses* in the Roman de la Rose. The reader is encouraged to consult them for their analyses.

the Roman's traditional allegorical *senefiance*, as well as suggesting *contraires* meanings which reach far beyond the fictional world of the Roman de la Rose and into the thirteenth century world with which it was contemporaneous. This is no longer a simple love quest. And Jean de Meun is well aware of what he is doing and of the world which he is creating when he taunts his readers, telling them that they will never be able to draw a valid conclusion from the appearance in any argument that is made, if a defect obscures the essence. There will always be a false argument that makes the conclusion defective, if the reader is clever enough to understand the duplicity:

Mes ja ne verrez d'apparance
conclurre bone consequence
en nul argument que l'en face,
se deffaut existance efface;
tourjorz i trovez soffime
qui la consequence envenime,
se vos avez soutillité
d'entendre la duplicité.

(RR, v. 12,109 - 16)

He has thrown down the gauntlet. Like the defect which exists between the sign and its essence, the hypocritical word which is *Faus Semblant* mutates the Roman de la Rose and its traditional reading as a love quest into a text which illustrates the duplicity of sign and the impossibility of arriving at a *diffinitive sntance*. Yet the *duplicité* inherent in the Roman de la Rose, whether it be deception or the doubling of *contraires choses*, still leads to meaning, but only if the reader has the "*soutillité d'entendre la duplicité*."⁹⁶

⁹⁶This chapter appeared in slightly abbreviated and altered form in Romance Linguistics and Literature Review 9 (Fall 1997) : 13 - 24.

IV

FAUS SEMBLANT: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Ergo a modo percipiendi (scilicet quo percipiuntur aut percipiunt) convincitur veritas aut falsitas tam opinionum quam rerum; sermonum vero a modo significandi.

John of Salisbury, Metalogicon

[The truth or falsity of both opinions and things accordingly depends on, and is judged by, our mode of perception (namely, the way in which our opinions perceive, or in which things are perceived); while the truth or falsity of speech depends on, and is judged by its mode of signifying].

As I have stated in my Introduction, what I propose to pursue is my interpretation of several facets of the Roman de la Rose - readings which utilize the *sens propre* of the text, but use it to immediately plunge back into an allegorical sense completely opposed to the traditional readings. And because the end result of analyzing these readings leads back into an allegorical rendering not far removed from that of John Fleming, one may question whether this exercise is worth the trouble. Yet the path that I take to arrive there is very different, and in the process, much light is shed upon the text itself by identifying issues which are common to the Roman de la Rose and to the parent texts utilized in this study, most of which arise from the University Quarrel in thirteenth-century Paris. And that is where I propose to start, for this dispute centered around signs: the signs of the last times and whether these signs were being read properly.

Let me begin by delineating my first reading: Faus Semblant / Faus Amant's attack on the statue / sanctuary. As I have shown in the preceding chapter, Amant has adopted Faus Semblant's dress and his deceptive words and practices. He has, in fact, undergone a metamorphosis, thus becoming Faus Semblant. Therefore, I read the scene in question

as a mendicant friar attacking and destroying a sanctuary, that is, a church which immediately becomes the Church, and plundering it of its relics. What I propose to show in this chapter is that this image is consistent with the stance taken by the secular masters of theology at the University of Paris as they fought the incursions of the Dominican and Franciscan masters into their ranks. As a result, the Roman de la Rose, by including this scene, becomes another setting for the same dispute over signs and their meanings.

To fully understand the implications for the Roman, however, a thorough re-telling of the events of those times is necessary, for only then does it become clear how important signs and their interpretation(s) are in both instances. Were the mendicants in fact the pseudo-prophets predicted to appear in the last times before the Antichrist or were they not? The signs as read by the secular theologians and Innocent IV affirmed that they were; yet Innocent's successor, Alexander IV, reading these same signs, said that they were not. He thus completely reversed the *senefiance* of the Scriptural signs which the seculars used to advance their arguments. This in turn becomes a writing strategy for the Roman de la Rose, as the text plays with signs and their meaning throughout the pages of Amant's quest. And the reader begins to perceive how more than one reading is possible, indeed, even necessary, when mining the *senefiance* of the text.

The character of Faus Semblant, who first appeared about 1259 in Rutebeuf's *La Complainte de Maître Guillaume de Sainte Amour*, comes into being as the result of the convergence of two historical events: (1) the conflict existing in the theological faculty at the University of Paris between the secular theologians on the one hand and the Dominican and Franciscan theologians on the other, and (2) the growing resentment of the secular clergy in western Europe toward members of these same orders. Because the

reasons for each groups' antipathy toward these two orders were completely different, it is necessary to examine them separately.⁹⁷

The secular theologians at the University of Paris had traditionally held nine of the twelve theological chairs there, three being reserved for cathedral canons of Notre Dame, who were themselves secular clerics. The secular theologians' quarrel with the mendicants grew out of the assumption of three of these chairs by these two orders (two chairs were now held by Dominicans, one by a Franciscan), thus reducing the number of the seculars' chairs to six. This change had come about in part because of the University strike of 1229, during which the secular theologians left, in effect vacating their chairs. The Dominican theologians refused to honor the strike, staying in Paris and continuing to study and to teach. During this period, Roland of Cremona, a Dominican, was presented to the University chancellor as a candidate for a teaching license in theology by John of St. Giles, who at that time was a secular master. The chancellor granted the license; thus one chair was 'stolen' by the Dominican order. The next year, John of St. Giles himself joined the Dominican order, taking his chair with him, thus increasing the number of chairs held by the Dominicans to two. These chairs would remain with the Dominicans, since the resident master appointed his successor. The Franciscan order gained its chair when the secular theologian Alexander of Hales joined the order in 1235 - 1236, also taking his chair with him. Though they used every means at their disposal to attack the legality of the assumptions of these three chairs, even finally appealing to the pope, the secular clerics were not successful in reclaiming the chairs, and were forced by Rome to accept the Dominican and Franciscan masters into the Faculty. This led to hard feelings

⁹⁷The principal sources for this chapter are Penn R. Szittya, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 3 - 61; Ernest Renan, "Joachim de Flore et l'Evangile Eternel," Etudes d'histoire religieuse (Paris: Gallimard, 1992); and Andrew G. Traver, "The Identification of the Vita Apostolica with a Life of Itinerant Preaching and Mendicancy: Its Origins, Adherents, and Critics ca. 1050 - 1266," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1996).

between them and the friars, to say the least. And, the antipathy between the two groups continued to grow as the regular theologians appropriated more of the seculars' students (and thus their income), and increased still more in 1253 when the regulars refused once again to honor their secular colleagues' strike vote. At this point, the secular masters, looking for support beyond the University, began to broaden the scope of their polemic against the mendicants to include the complaints of the secular diocesan clergy, challenging the legitimacy not only of their possession of the theological chairs in question, but also of their claim to be the true followers of the apostolic way of life.

For the mendicant orders, which had been in existence for less than fifty years, were posing a threat to the secular diocesan and parochial clergy not only in Paris but throughout the Church because, in their emulation of the lifestyle of the apostles, the mendicants were infringing upon the traditional duties of preaching, hearing confessions, and performing burials that the former claimed as their own and upon which they depended in part for financial support. In addition, they and their simple way of life were immensely popular with the people, who flocked to them not only to avail themselves of the friars' spiritual care but also to join the orders, which were growing rapidly.

However, it was the situation in Paris at the University in the 1250s which caused matters to reach a boiling point. The secular theologians were an educated and articulate group. Led by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in their fight to have their rivals removed from the University, they went to the bishops of the area and even the pope, who at this time was Innocent IV, to plead their cause. Up to this point, the struggle had been political. However, in his efforts to validate his argument that the mendicants should be removed from the University, and, according to Guillaume de Saint-Amour himself, at the request

of the French bishops,⁹⁸ William turned to the Bible and Biblical exegesis to support the arguments that he had made by writing *De periculis novissimorum temporum*. When he did this, the conflict moved beyond the political to the eschatological, for he began to find Biblical prototypes for the mendicants, as well as verses that seemed counter to the practices of the mendicant way of life. Specifically, he saw the Pharisees, the false prophets, and the antichrists as prefiguring the mendicant orders. He took the admonition against wanting to be called master as relating to the title *rabbi* ["And they (the Pharisees) love . . . to be called by men Rabbi. But be not you called Rabbi. For one is your master; and all you are brethren" (Matthew 23:6 - 8)]. He related it specifically to the title *magister* at the University as well ["Be ye not many masters, my brethren, knowing that you receive the greater judgment" (James 3:1)]. He claimed that the mendicants had not been properly sent, citing St. Paul ["And how shall they preach unless they be sent" (Rom. 10:15)]. He stated that they did not follow in the direct apostolic line and that they had not properly been delegated the roles that they had assumed, and therefore, were not legitimate ministers of the Gospel ["And we charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking disorderly, and not according to the tradition which they have received of us" (2Thes. 3:6)]. For as Jesus had sent out his apostles on preaching missions, so were the episcopacy, who were their legitimate descendants, sent. The mendicants could not claim this direct inheritance since they were new orders which had no parallel in the early Church. They were seen by Guillaume to be rather the *penetrantes domos* referred to in Paul's second letter to Timothy:

Know also this, that, in the last days, shall come dangerous times ("*in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculose*," (the origin of the title of William of St. Amour's

⁹⁸Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *Responsiones*, ed. Edmond Faral, in *Archives d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du moyen âge* 18 (1950 - 51): 325 - 61. This work will be referred to in subsequent citations as *Responsiones*.

treatise). Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, wicked, without affection, without peace, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness, traitors, stubborn, puffed up, and lovers of pleasures more than of God: *Having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying the power thereof.* Now these avoid. For of these sort are they who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, who are led away with diverse desires: Ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of truth. (my italics) (2Tim. 3:1-7)

And indeed in the most relevant section of Paul's letter cited above are the key words so important to the Quarrel and to the Roman de la Rose. The "appearance of godliness" is what Faus Semblant so carefully cultivates; the secular masters saw in the mendicants evidence of this same false facade. This characteristic infects the Roman also as the text carefully cultivates its appearance as a love quest. Both Faus Semblant and the Roman are thus verbal hypocrites whose inner meaning does not conform to outward appearance and thus neither may claim congruence between sign and *senefiance*. This does not mean that there is no meaning to be found there. It does mean that the reader should proceed with caution and should hesitate to assign obvious correlations, for they may not exist.

Perhaps in another time and another place, the conflict at Paris would have remained a local issue. However, it should be noted that these events were taking place in a climate of apocalyptic anticipation. The Bible, which had traditionally been studied to find figural prototypes for Christ in the Hebrew Scriptures, to glean moral lessons from it, and to link Old Testament events and people to those of the New Testament, became to be used as a tool for prophecy. Though not the first to do so, Joachim de Fiore, a Calabrian abbot who lived and wrote in the latter half of the twelfth century and whose large following included some of the more radical mendicants, examined Scripture with the intent of discovering Biblical figures and events which might foreshadow what was actually happening in the present, although his predictions were allegorical and quite vague. However, one of his most fanatical disciples, Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino, had no hesitancy in predicting that the year 1260 would mark the apocalypse, although

this prophecy may also be found in an earlier anonymous commentary. Joachim and Gerard foresaw this Third Age as one of great spiritual rebirth. For Guillaume de Saint-Amour and his colleagues, however, it meant a diabolical time of persecution. Thus, in the 1250s, there were many Christians who were anticipating the appearance of the Antichrist in their lifetimes. And Guillaume de Saint-Amour, by using Biblical exegesis to support his argument, changed the forum from a political to an apocalyptic one. De periculis novissimorum temporum linked Scriptural texts to present events. The friars became the incarnation of the age of hypocrisy which was supposed to precede the coming of the Antichrist. They were widely seen as his forerunners, the wolves in sheeps' clothing who would destroy the Church from within. The seculars' complaint to the Pope in 1254 shows that fear, asking the Pope to take what steps he might deem expedient, lest the foundation of the Church known as the University of Paris be shaken, at which time the edifice of the Church will unexpectedly collapse ["et si expedire videritis, modis secundum Deum poteritis providere curetis, ne concusso ecclesie fundamento, quod Parisiense studium esse dire scitur, consequenter corrunt ipsum edificium improvise"].⁹⁹

Initially, it seemed that the secular theologians might win the day, because Innocent IV was becoming more and more sympathetic to their point of view, reacting against the extreme ideas espoused by radical members of the Franciscan order. These zealots preached adherence to what they designated as the Eternal Gospel (Evangelium aeternum) of Joachim de Fiore, although, in reality, their beliefs and actions were founded upon the Liber introductorius in evangelium aeternum by Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino, his thirteenth-century disciple, whom Joachim himself would probably have repudiated. However, just when matters seemed to be taking a turn in favor of the seculars, Innocent

⁹⁹Chartularium universitatis pariensis, Vol. 1, ed. Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain (Brussels: Culture et Civilization, 1964), p. 257, no. 230.

IV died. His successor, Alexander IV, had been the cardinal protector of the Franciscans; thus with his papacy, the official attitude changed in favor of the mendicants and to the detriment of the secular theologians. They were forced to accept the Dominican and Franciscan theologians, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure among them, back into their faculty.

The attack by Guillaume de Saint-Amour and his colleagues upon the *credo* of the radical Franciscans, the Liber introductorius in evangelium aeternum of Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino which had appeared in 1254, had nothing to do with their other anti-mendicant arguments as such. However, they could see that the extreme views held by Gerard and the Spirituals, as these friars were called, might be used to discredit the whole mendicant movement. The Liber introductorius was written by Gerard to interpret the meaning contained in the Evangelium aeternum itself, which he presumably considered to be the three principal works of Joachim de Fiore written in the last part of the twelfth century: Concordiarum, Apocalipsis nova, et Psalterium decem cordarum. This name, however, was never used by Joachim himself in reference to his works, and he might have been hard pressed to recognize some of his ideas as they appeared in Gerard's Introductorius. In fact, the phrase "*evangelium aeternum*" does not seem to come into use until after 1254, some fifty years after Joachim's death, when Gerard wrote the Introductorius.¹⁰⁰ Its origin is found in Apocalypse, chapter 14:6: "*et vidi alterum angelum volentem per medium caelum habentem evangelium aeternum ut evangelizaret sedentibus super terram*" ["and I saw another angel flying through the midst of heaven, having the eternal gospel, to preach unto them that sit upon the earth"]. Joachim had, during his lifetime, managed to stay on the side of orthodoxy (his Trinitarian doctrine was condemned after his death), seeking and receiving papal approval of his writings, which

¹⁰⁰Ernest Renan, Etudes d'histoire religieuse (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 459 - 460.

were principally spiritual and allegorical in nature, never literal, and anything vaguely prophetic was just that: vague. However, a half-century later, some of the more radical elements in the mendicant orders, using his works as their 'bible,' found there the bases for their beliefs, carrying Joachim's interpretation of Scripture far beyond his original premises, and not hesitating to name specific people and events as fulfilling apocalyptic prototypes. When John of Parma was chosen as general of the Franciscan order in 1247, he and his adherents advocated a return to the original tenets espoused by St. Francis, which they saw as having been tempered by co-existence with the institutional Church. They espoused a doctrine of radical poverty, and saw the hierarchical Church as corrupted by wealth and operating far from the ideals espoused by Christ. They even went so far as to say, according to Ernest Renan, that they considered Francis of Assisi as the successor to Christ, as Christ had succeeded Moses.¹⁰¹ Further, they considered that their 'bible' was the successor to the New Testament as the New Testament had been to the Old and would supplant it. Had they prevailed, their followers would have been called Franciscans, as the followers of Christ are called Christians. Having been provided with a copy of the Liber introductorius, as well as a list of points that the secular theologians considered heretical by a University commission headed by Guillaume de Saint-Amour, Innocent IV appointed a commission to study the work. His successor, Alexander IV, directed the continuation of this scrutiny, and Gerard's work was condemned and burned in 1255, although the works of Joachim were not censured until later.

Gerard's Liber introductorius has not survived to the present day, although Joachim's works that it presumed to interpret still exist. We can glean examples of Gerard's doctrine, however, from the existing manuscripts of the *procès verbaux* of the

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 501.

commission which met at Anagni, as well from relevant excerpts from the Chartularium universitatis parisiensis. The propositions condemned by the commission are contained in two manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, originally from the Sorbonne, B.N. Latin 16533 (Sorbonne 1706) and 16397 (Sorbonne 1726), as well as in the Chartularium. A portion of the *procès verbaux* is found in one of these, B.N. Latin 16397, as well as in a critical edition by Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle based on another manuscript which includes the two manuscripts mentioned above. Another listing of errors, similar to those attributed by Nicholas Eymeric to John of Parma, appears in B.N. Latin 16533. The two listings of errors which appear in B.N. Latin 16533 appear in the Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus compiled by Charles duPlessis D'Argentré in 1724. Finally, the Chartularium, in 1254, lists thirty-one errors attributed by the Parisian theologians to the Liber introductorius and the Evangelium aeternum, lists which accompanied the texts to Rome.¹⁰²

According to Gerard, the Old Testament had the brilliance of a star, the New Testament the brilliance of the moon, while the Eternal Gospel had that of the sun, an image which resonates with the eternal day of Jean's Park of the Lamb. He compared the Old Testament to the Courtyard of the temple of Jerusalem, the New Testament to the Sanctuary, and the Evangelium aeternum to the Holy of Holies. He labeled the Old Testament the "shell," the New Testament the "seed," the Evangelium aeternum the "nucleus," images which are also used to describe reading and thus have implications for the texts in question, including the Roman de la Rose. The Old Testament was compared to earth, the New Testament to water, and the Evangelium aeternum to "the fire which comes down from heaven." Gerard called the era of the New Testament one of faith,

¹⁰²These documents are reproduced in appendices at the end of this dissertation according to Charles duPlessis D'Argentré, Collectio judiciorum (Paris: 1725 - 36). Another source which contains pertinent documents is Chartularium universitatis parisiensis.

which was obscure, and that of the Evangelium aeternum one of charity, where all would be seen without veil or figures, which is also relevant to the allegory of the Roman de la Rose. He reversed the traditional designations of the ages, instead labeling the first bronze, the second silver and the third gold.¹⁰³ He took Joachim's doctrine of the three ages of creation, in which he had essentially identified the first as the Age of the Father / Old Testament, the second as that of the Son / New Testament, and the third as the Age of the Holy Spirit,¹⁰⁴ and declared that Joachim's Third Age of the Holy Spirit would begin in the year 1260 with the appearance of the Antichrist (Anagni, p. 123), and that it would have as its Bible the Evangelium aeternum, to which he provided the key necessary to its understanding in his Introductorius. Gerard also identified three groups, each composed of three holy men, who were associated with each age: the Old Testament (Age of the Father) had produced Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Jacob having twelve sons; the New Testament (Age of the Son) had produced Zacharias, John the Baptist, and Jesus, Jesus having twelve apostles. The Eternal Gospel (Age of the Holy Spirit) had produced three men similar to them, which he identified with three apocryphal figures: namely, the man clothed in linen [*"vir indutus lineis"* (Dan. 12:6)], the angel with a sharp sickle [*"angelus habens falcem acutam"* (Apoc. 14:14)], and the angel having the sign of the living God [*"angelus habens signum Dei vivi"* (Apoc. 7:2)]. He identified the first with Joachim and the third with Saint Francis, who he presumed would also have twelve 'angels' and who would renew the apostolic life. Although the second has been tentatively identified with Saint Dominic, readers of the Roman will connect this "angel with the sharp sickle" in an inverted way to Faus Semblant with his sharp razor. Further, Gerard stated that with the

¹⁰³Protocoll der Commission zu Anagni, ed. P. Heinrich Denifle, and Franz Ehrle (Berlin: n.p., 1885), p. 100; p. 115; p. 129.

¹⁰⁴Renan, p. 497.

advent of this new age and its Bible, there would be no further need for the Old and New Testaments, nor for the Church as it was known; for the mendicant orders, or *nudipedes*, were the men of the new age, and they were answerable to God alone.¹⁰⁵

It seems that although the writings of Joachim did indeed inspire these radical ideas, it was the Liber introductorius by Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino, together with the glosses that he provided for these works, as well as his own interpolations into Joachim's texts, that pushed the interpretation of the Calabrian abbot's writings far beyond anything that he actually wrote and into an area of dangerous heresy - dangerous, that is, to the Church of Rome. As one might expect, Pope Alexander IV and his advisors did not accept the interpretation of Scriptural signs advanced by Gerard. The power of Rome prevailed, the Liber introductorius was ordered destroyed, and those possessing it were excommunicated, as a letter in 1255 from Alexander to the Bishop of Paris attests: "Libellum quemdam, qui in Evangelium aeternum, seu quosdam libros Abbatis Joachim, Introductorius dicebatur . . ., mandamus, quatenus libellum ipsum, et omnes schedulas supradictas, auctoritate nostra faciat aboleri; generalem excommunicationis Sententiam proferens in omnes eundem libellum et schedulas ipsas habentes . . ." ¹⁰⁶ In a second letter dated November 1255, Alexander confirmed the condemnation stated in the first, but added that he desired that the name and reputation of his beloved Friars Minor be kept intact; further, that he understands that the bishop of Paris is looking after them with benevolence and paternal affection, for which he commends him. Alexander anticipates that the bishop will stay on his present course and carefully enforce his mandate, that the Friars are strong enough to attack any blame or notoriety arising from this, and that any rivals who oppose them may not then take up unfavorable matter against them:

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 131; pp. 100 - 101.

¹⁰⁶D'Argentré, tome 1, pp. 165-166.

Verum, quia illorum Christi pauperum, videlicet dilectorum filiorum Ordinis Minorum, nomen et famam illaesa et semper integra cupimus observari, quos, sicut intelleximus, affectione paterna, et benevolentia prosequeris speciali, super quo dignis te in Domino laudibus commendamus: praesentium tenore praecipimus, quod sic prudenter, sic provide in Apostolici super hoc mandati executione procedas, quod dicti Fratres nullum ex hoc opprobrium, nullamque infamiam incurrere valeant, sive notam; et obloquutores et aemuli non possint exinde sumere contra ipsos materiam detrahendi.¹⁰⁷

In another letter dated 1256, Alexander wrote again reiterating his position that the bishop of Paris order anyone having the Introductorius and its schedules to give them up to him within a certain time set by the bishop, any appeal being strictly limited through Ecclesiastical censure under perpetual excommunication:

Licet super quodam libello, qui in libros Joachim Introductorius dicebatur, et schedulis quibusdam . . . Ut igitur procedas certius et securius in hac parte, Fraternitati tuae per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus praefatum libellum, et omnes hujusmodi schedulas, à cunctis illas habentibus, tibi, auctoritate nostra, praecipias exhiberi; eos, ad exhibenda haec, infra certum terminum, quem ad hoc praefixeris, per censuram Ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita compellendo et inhibendo districtius, sub interminatione anathematis . . .¹⁰⁸

John of Parma, and his two disciples, Leonard and Gerard, were called upon to admit the error of their beliefs. John of Parma did recant publicly; Gerard and Leonard did not. The generalship of the Franciscan order passed from John of Parma to Bonaventure, who was decidedly less radical; John went into exile, and Leonard and Gerard were put into a solitary underground prison, where Gerard is supposed to have died unrepentant.¹⁰⁹

In addition, in a letter also dated 1256, Alexander condemned as well the antifraternat work by Guillaume de Saint-Amour, De periculis novissimorum temporum, which was so influential that it defined popular perception of the friars for the next two

¹⁰⁷Ibid., tome 1, p. 166.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., tome 1, p. 166.

¹⁰⁹Renan, p. 505.

centuries. Phrases taken from this letter show clearly that what Guillaume de Saint-Amour considered to be the clear and correct meaning of the Scriptures he explained, Alexander considered lies, errors, and fallacy. Alexander talks about "those who claim that they understand Sacred Scripture, but turning away from the right sense, pursue malice and have spoken the greatest evil against the harmless and upright . . . Rising up against brothers, they have disparaged and leveled scandal against beloved sons of mother Church . . . the book in question being not reasonable but deserving rejection, not truthful but lying, not scholarly but derogatory, not warning correctly but wounding, not instructing truly but falsely: ["Sane, quidam Scripturae sacrae intelligentiam se habere putantes, sed divertentes a tramite recti sensus, cogitaverunt nuper malitiam, et contra innocuos et rectos iniquitatem maximam sunt locuti . . . Surgentes adversus fratres, detraxerunt, et contra dilectos matris Ecclesiae filios scandalum posuere . . . libellum quidem non rationabilum, sed reprobabilem; non veritatis, sed mendacii, non eruditionis, sed derogationis; non recte monentem, sed mordentem; non instruentem veraciter, sed fallentem"].¹¹⁰ Another letter from Alexander IV to King Louis dated November 1256, re-affirmed his anti-Guillaume pro-mendicant sentiments, describing Guillaume's work as "straying from the correct meaning . . . abominable and detestable . . . false and nefarious . . ." ["divertentes a tramite recti sensus . . . scelestum et execrabilem . . . falsa, et nefaria . . ."],¹¹¹ and thus imposing his own interpretation, which he considers orthodoxy. The language of these letters raises issues also addressed in the Roman de la Rose. What is the correct meaning, or *senefiance*? What is truth and what is lie? This dispute makes it obvious that even where Sacred Scripture is concerned, meaning is fluid and is imposed from beyond the text.

¹¹⁰D'Argentré, tome 1, p. 168.

¹¹¹Ibid., tome 1, p. 169.

In a directive also dated 1256, Alexander ordered that the Franciscans and Dominicans be taken back publicly into Paris and into the University, specifically naming Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure ["Quod Fratres Praedicatores et Minores Parisius degentes, magistros et auditores eorum; et specialiter ac nomatim fratres, Thomam de Aquino, de ordine Praedicatorum, et Bonaventuram, de ordine Minorum, Doctores Theologiae, ex tunc, quantum in eis esset, in societatem scholasticam, et ad universitatem Parisiensem reciperent, et expresse Doctores ipsos reciperent ut magistros"].¹¹² He also upholds the orthodoxy of the mendicant orders and directly repudiates points made by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in De periculis. He states that he may send preachers and confessors anywhere without the permission of lower prelates or bishops, and that archbishops and bishops may do the same in their dioceses without the permission of parish priests. He validates the mendicant life, even if one is able-bodied. Further, he denounces William's claims that the mendicants were the pseudo-prophets who were to announce the Antichrist, and instead finds these orders to be good and approved by the Church. The friars' victory was complete. As Thomas de Cantempré, an admittedly partisan Dominican, attests in book two, chapter ten of De Apibus, De periculis was burned not only in Rome, but in Paris ["Qui liber, qualiter, citatis et vocatis ad Curiam et praesentiam summi Pontificis dictis Magistris, damnatus sit, et combustus, non solum in ipsa Curia, sed et Parisius coram Universitatis multitudine copiosa, scire poterit, qui collationes et disputationes legerit"].¹¹³

Ten years later in 1266, during the papacy of Clement IV, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, who remained in exile, was still struggling to have his ideas accepted. However, Clement sent him a definitive rejection, saying that he was spreading slander under the

¹¹²Ibid., tome 1, p. 170.

¹¹³Ibid., tome 1, p. 171.

cover of promulgating doctrine, commenting that too much learning had made him crazy, and warning him that he was leaving himself open to being seduced by the devil who hides himself under the appearance of the Angel of light, that is, Lucifer:

["... sub doctrinae specie, detractoris colores insidias . . . Te multae litterae faciunt insanire . . . sub boni specie, te seducat, qui se, ut lateat, in lucis Angelum transfigurat "].¹¹⁴ Once again the language used refers to false appearance and hiding evil under the guise of good, which is exactly what Faus Semblant, the devil, does.

Although Joachim's own works were never condemned by Rome, they were condemned by a regional council at Arles in 1260, the text of the condemnation being included in the appendices which follow. However, it should be pointed out that by this time, sixty years after Joachim's death, it would be difficult to be sure that the prelates involved in this process in fact had access to Joachim's works as he wrote them, given the predilection of the copyist to edit his text, as well as the presence and activity of Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino. And though there continued to be a more radical or spiritual wing of the Franciscan order into the fourteenth century, in essence the movement was crushed.

These two issues, (1) the pastoral and theological activities of the mendicant orders and (2) the Liber introductorius in evangelium aeternum, are in fact distinct from each other. Yet they become intertwined in the Roman de la Rose and in the minds of many contemporary thinkers, such as Guillaume de Saint-Amour. Guillaume's arguments, which Jean de Meun re-creates in the vernacular as part of Faus Semblant's discourse, uses the scandalous content of the Introductorius in the polemic directed against the Franciscan and Dominican orders in an effort to further discredit them. How confusing

¹¹⁴Ibid., tome 1, pp. 172 - 173.

this all becomes is illustrated by the fact that while the Liber introductorius of Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino, a mendicant, was condemned in 1255, the De periculis of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, which used Biblical exegesis against the mendicant orders, was condemned and burned the following year by Alexander IV. This is the pope who, as cited above, stated in no uncertain terms that he did indeed have the power to give to the mendicant orders the powers of preaching and hearing confessions that they had assumed: that the mendicants had in fact been sent (*missi*) ["de potestate Romani Pontificis, quod possit Praedicatores et Confessores mittere ubique per mundum, juxta suae beneplacitum voluntatis, sine consensu inferiorum Praelatorum quorumcumque, seu parochialium Sacerdotum"].¹¹⁵

Though condemned and burned, De periculis novissimorum temporum has survived in some sixty manuscripts. And Jean de Meun, by using the De phariseo of Guillaume de Saint-Amour to create the character of Faus Semblant and De periculis to craft his discourse, not only established the identity of his character, but also disseminated the ideas that it contains through a literary vehicle written in the vernacular. He was thus able to reach a wider audience and to frustrate Rome's efforts to destroy the message it carried. Indeed, according to Penn Szittya, De periculis novissimorum temporum provided the basis for the anti-fraternal polemic that persisted in France and in England well into the fourteenth century.

How does all of this affect the reading of the Roman de la Rose? Those who have perceived the importance of the deception that enters the text with the appearance of Faus Semblant, such as Susan Stakel, come much closer to what I would consider a fuller appreciation of the Roman. Yet, it is only if the reader knows something of the events which were taking place at the University of Paris and in Europe at that time that s/he can

¹¹⁵Ibid., tome 1, p. 170.

perceive the eschatological and theological import of what Jean writes. By putting the arguments of Guillaume de Saint-Amour (a secular theologian who writes *against* the legitimacy of the mendicant orders) into the mouth of Faus Semblant (who *is*, according to tradition, a Dominican mendicant), what results is the *dévoilement* and the condemnation of the mendicant orders by one of their own. Faus Semblant claims for the Franciscans and particularly for the Dominicans the role that so many had begun to ascribe to them: that of the hypocrites who, while seeming to espouse the ideal Christian life, in reality lived a life which was totally its opposite, and who, as the precursors of the Antichrist, worked to destroy the Church of Rome. Thus, the appellation of Faus Semblant as *deable* and as *vallez antecrist* make perfect sense in this context, as does Faus Semblant / Faus Amant's destruction of the lady / sanctuary.

When one tries to incorporate the role of the Evangelium aeternum as well, however, the issues involved become more complicated. For those who took the Liber introductorius as their bible were for the most part radicals who advocated a return to the pure ideals of Jesus, which they saw perfected in the life of St. Francis, ideals to which Faus Semblant clearly does not subscribe. And, leaving aside the obvious problem of replacing Jesus with their founder, they espoused a super-Gospel, if you will, a faithful living-out of the Sermon on the Mount. In this sense, the Evangelium aeternum cannot be called *un livre de par le deable*, since its adherents aspired to be, in essence, more Catholic than the Church, calling into question the life-style of the clergy (and the laity) that had departed more and more from conformity with the life of Jesus. Yet because the Evangelium aeternum and / or its Introductorius stated that with the advent of the Third Age of the Holy Spirit the Church, the clergy, and the sacraments would be replaced by a new order, they really did threaten the very existence of the Church of Rome, and it is easy to see that, in the eyes of the Catholic hierarchy, the Evangelium aeternum was indeed diabolical. And because, as will be shown later, the Roman de la Rose can indeed

be equated with the Evangelium aeternum, or the Evangile pardurable of the Deable, i.e., Faus Semblant, it, too becomes diabolical.

By introducing Faus Semblant and the literary polemic of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, Jean de Meun demonstrates his solidarity with the seculars' cause. Yet when he does this, his own writing becomes infected with the very hypocrisy that he condemns. Signs and what they signify are not always consistent, and what remains is the hypocritical word, or the Devil, the Father of Lies. The reader is thus left to warily pick his / her way through the text, measuring outward appearance against the actions which reveal inner meaning. Nothing may be taken at face value. As Poirion, Hult, Brownlee, and Dragonetti agree, there is a split between word and meaning in the Roman de la Rose, which, while it does not remove *senefiance*, makes it much more difficult to discern.

V

FAUS SEMBLANT: A LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

Verbis prius inspice mentem
Et demum faciem, cuius ne crede colori:
Se nisi conformet color intimus exteriori,
Sordet ibi ratio: faciem depingere verbi
Est pictura luti, res est falsaria, ficta
Forma, dealbatus paries et hypocrita verbum
Se simulans aliquid, cum sit nihil.

Geoffroi de Vinsauf, Poetria Nova

[First examine the soul of the word and then its face, whose outward show alone you should not trust. Unless the inner ornament conforms to the outer requirement, the relationship between the two is worthless. Painting only the face of an expression results in a vile picture, a falsified thing, a faked form, a whitewashed wall, a verbal hypocrite which pretends to be something when it is nothing.]

Let us turn now to Faus Semblant, the literary character. An analysis of this character and his discourse will reveal his literary ancestry, and as a result, the reader will gain a better understanding of just who and what he is, and how this influences the text of the Roman de la Rose. In creating Faus Semblant and his discourse, Jean de Meun has drawn on two principal sources: the polemic of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, most importantly his tract De periculis novissimorum temporum and his sermon De pharisaeo et publicano, and the vernacular poetry of the thirteenth-century French poet Rutebeuf. To a lesser degree he has also referred to the Evangelium aeternum of Joachim de Fiore and its Introductorius by his radical disciple Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino. By linking Faus Semblant so clearly to these works, he has given his audience the key to a reading of the Roman de la Rose which confirms the designation of Faus Semblant as *contraire* protagonist. Further, an examination of these sources also strengthens the

argument that the text serves as a *contraire* gospel, which must be the *Evangelium aeternum* (or *Evangile pardurable*). In addition, it becomes increasingly evident that the incorporation of the University Quarrel into the text of the *Roman* brings with it the same problematics associated with sign and meaning that marked the Quarrel.

The extent to which Jean de Meun has relied upon these sources must be analyzed from two perspectives: ideology and philology. It is obvious that in comparing the works of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Joachim de Fiore (or Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino) with the discourse of Faus Semblant, the reader must look principally for similarity of ideas, though some parts are quite closely translated from the Latin into the French vernacular. In the case of the vernacular poetry of Rutebeuf, however, in addition to the similarity of themes or ideas, the wording used is in some cases identical, which further emphasizes the close relationship between his works and the *Roman* of Jean de Meun. The best way to appreciate the inter-relationship which exists between the discourse of Faus Semblant and (1) *De periculis* and *De pharisaeo et publicano*, (2) the poetry of Rutebeuf, and (3) the *Evangelium aeternum* and its *Introductorius* is, of course, to read all of the works in question, as well as the discourse of Faus Semblant, in their original versions. Only then does one fully appreciate the similarity of language and ideas which bind them together. When these similarities are pulled out of the context of the whole, they lose some of their force; and in any case if the language is not identical (which it usually is not), the relationship does not appear as strong as when the same themes appear again and again, as one reads the works of these authors as compared to the *Roman de la Rose*. Identical wording and images are more striking when they appear in both texts. Yet even these, when cited in isolation from the whole, seem to lose some of their impact.

In the interest of practicality, however, what follows is (1) the origin of the name "Faus Semblant" and the context in which it appears, (2) Guillaume de Saint-Amour's

description of the false prophets whose appearance signals the arrival of the end times as compared to the character of Faus Semblant, and (3) a synopsis of the discourse of Faus Semblant, each section being followed by citations from Rutebeuf, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, and Joachim de Fiore (or Gerard), as appropriate. Félix Lecoy's notes referring to Guillaume de Saint-Amour's works will be acknowledged, as will those by Edmond Faral regarding Rutebeuf, all other references being my own.¹¹⁶ As the reflexivity between these texts and the Roman builds, so does their influence upon the text, not only in terms of the reading and mutability of signs, but also as they delineate the literary theory of Jean de Meun.

5.1. Faus Semblant's Literary Origin

The name "Faus Samblant" first appears in "La Complainte de Guillaume ou De Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour" by Rutebeuf, as both Félix Lecoy and Armand Strubel point out in their respective editions of the Roman de la Rose. It is surprising that it appears but twice in the text, and only in passing, as Rutebeuf lists those who have thrown Pitiez, Charitez, and Amistiez out of France:

Morte est Pitiez
Et Charitez et Amistiez;
Fors du regne les ont getiez
Ypocrisie
Et Vaine Gloire et Tricherie,
Et Faus Samblant et dame Envie
Qui tout enflame.¹¹⁷

A few lines further, he states that Faus Samblant and Morte Color (who surely must become Astinence Contrainte in the Roman de la Rose) are carrying the day:

¹¹⁶Gérard Paré compares the discourse of Faus Semblant and the Contra Impugnantes Dei cultum (1257) of Saint Thomas Aquinas in Le Roman de la Rose et la Scolastique Courtoise (Paris: J. Vrin, 1941), pp. 170 - 172.

¹¹⁷Rutebeuf, "La Complainte de Guillaume ou de Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour," vol. 1, p. 261, v. 73 - 79.

Faus Samblant et Morte Color
 Emporte tout: a ci dolor
 Et grant contrere.
 Li douz, li franz, li debonere,
 Cui l'en soloit toz les biens fere,
 Sont en espace;
 Et cil qui ont fauve la face,
 Qui sont de la devine grace
 Plain par defors,
 Cil avront Dieu et les tresors
 Qui de toz maus gardent les cors.

These figures are pure allegorical personification, their names being capitalized by the editor, not by Rutebeuf. In fact, one might question whether or not these qualities were truly allegorical figures if it were not for the active verbs contained in the strophe. This is the reader's only clue that they should be considered as more than qualities, either good or bad. In this poem, Rutebeuf speaks with the voice of "Sainte Yglise," who says that her foundation of stone is crumbling and she is being destroyed ["La pierre esgrume et fent et brise,/ Et je chancele]. Sainte Yglise goes on to say that her true followers (Guillaume de Saint-Amour among them) are being persecuted, but their persecutors claim to be her followers, too. However, she says, there is a difference between saying and doing (*dire et fere*); talking is easy, but doing is difficult. Then she quotes an adage that appears all through Rutebeuf's poems: All that glitters is not gold:

Assez pueent chanter et lire,
 Més mult a entre fere et dire;
 C'est la nature:
 Li diz est douz et l'oeuvre dure;
 N'est pas tout or quanc'on voit luire.¹¹⁸

Rutebeuf insists repeatedly upon the unreliability of appearance and upon the incongruity between words and deeds, a theme which comes to dominate the Roman with the

¹¹⁸Ibid., vol. 1, p. 262, v. 86 - 96; p. 258, v. 6 - 7; vol. 1, p. 259, v. 17 - 21. (The same adage also appears in vol. 1: p. 254, v. 92; p. 445, v. 38. vol. 2: p. 123, v. 732; p. 226, v. 428; p. 283, v. 15).

entrance of Faus Semblant. As she ends her "Complainte," Sainte Yglise comments that Guillaume de Saint-Amour would be left in peace if he would swear that true was false, wrong was right, God was the devil, insanity was reasonable, and black was white:

Il avroit pais, de ce me vant,
S'il voloit jurer par couvant
Que voirs fust fable,
Et tors fust droiz, et Diex deable,
Et fors du sens fussent resnable,
Et noirs fust blanz.¹¹⁹

In a closely related work, "De Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour," Rutebeuf continues these two themes, saying that he will show those who have eyes to see where right is wrong and truth nothing ["Je le vous moustre a iex voians;/ Ou droiz est tors, et voirs noians"]. In another part of this same poem, commenting upon the arbitrated peace worked out between the regular and secular theologians, he says that war (here the conflict between the University of Paris and the friars) must be very disagreeable to people, i.e. the clerics and friars, who preach peace and faith and who give good example by both word and deed:

Et guerre si doit moult desplere
A gent qui pais et foi sermonent
Et qui les bons exemples donent
Par parole et par fet ensamble.¹²⁰

(In context, it is clear that he is being sarcastic.) The link between the friars, hypocrisy, and the Church initiated by the anti-fraternal polemic of Guillaume de Saint-Amour has moved into the vernacular courtesy of Rutebeuf. In fact, in all of his works which relate to Guillaume de Saint-Amour, the University Quarrel, and the Cordeliers (Franciscans) and the Jacobins (Dominicans), the refrain of *dire et fere* becomes a sort of *obligato* that accompanies the friars wherever they appear in his poetry, and by force of repetition,

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 263, v. 126 - 131.

¹²⁰Rutebeuf, "De Maistre Guillaume de Saint Amour," vol. 1, p. 245, v. 45 - 46; p. 246, v. 66 - 69.

gains acceptance. There is thus a direct connection between those whom Sainte Yglise calls her enemies and the character of Faus Semblant in the Roman de la Rose, a character whose name identifies him as an enemy of the Church according to Rutebeuf, and who also emphasizes how much he relies on the appearance of good.

5.2. Jean de Meun Links Faus Semblant to the Pseudo-prophets of the University Quarrel

When Jean de Meun took up his pen some ten to twenty years later, the relation of the mendicant orders to hypocrisy had been well established, due in large part to both Rutebeuf and Guillaume de Saint-Amour. It was Jean de Meun, however, who definitively bestowed this heritage upon the *persona* of Faus Semblant, and it is interesting to notice how he achieved this. He did not follow the medieval tradition of describing the dress of either Faus Semblant or of Astinence Contrainte. They simply appear on the scene when Amour summons his barons to help Amant lay siege to the château of Jalousie. And it seems that as far as Amour and his army are concerned, no introduction is needed; Faus Semblant and Astinence Contrainte are already known to the assembled company. For his medieval readers, however, Jean de Meun provides the genealogy of Faus Semblant. His father is Barat (fraud) and his mother is Ypocrisie. And, not content with merely naming his parents, Jean continues with a description of his mother: she is the despicable seductress who nursed and nourished him: the vile, corrupt hypocrite who has betrayed many regions under the cover of a religious habit:

sa mere ot non Ypocrisie,
la larronesse, la honie.
Ceste l'aleta et norri,
l'ort ypocrite au queur porri,
qui traïst mainte region
par habit de religion.
(RR, v. 10,439 - 44)

Jean de Meun thus places Faus Semblant squarely at the center of the current ecclesiastical debate, for not only his name, but especially the name of his mother, Ypocrisie,

immediately calls up the anti-fraternal polemic of Guillaume de Saint-Amour. Guillaume most directly connects hypocrites and hypocrisy to the mendicants in his sermon De phariseo et publicano, where he points out that as the Pharisees were religious men of the Jewish community at that time, so at present are the Regulars (or those who live by a rule), the religious men of the Christian community. However, some of these (Pharisees), he continues, in their appearance, in the austerity of their lives, in their spiritual observances and their traditions manifested a kind of holiness which they did not have in their hearts; and they were hypocrites [*"quod Pharisei erant quidam Religiosi apud Judaeos, sicut sunt apud nos Regulares; quorum quidam in habitu, in austeritate vitae, in observantiis spiritualibus, et traditionibus suis praetendebant sanctitatis speciem, quam non habebant in corde; Et isti erant hypocritae"*].¹²¹

This is the most overt coupling in Guillaume's works of the words "Pharisee" or "hypocrite" with the religious orders, an allusion which he follows directly with citations from the Gloss of Matthew 23:5 - 7. This is the chapter in which Jesus, after condemning the conduct of the Scribes and Pharisees in verses 2 - 7 and admonishing his disciples not to follow their example in verses 8 - 12, addresses them no less than seven times throughout the remaining verses of the chapter, "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." Guillaume cites sources such as Pope Eugenius and Jerome, who associate life under a rule with life in a monastery [*"Sicut enim piscis sine aqua vita caret, ita sine Monasterio Monachus, ut dicit Eugenius Papa 16. q. I. cap. Placuit. Unde Hieronymus ad Paulin. Monach. Si cupis esse quod diceris Monachus, id est solus, quid facis in urbibus, quae solorum non sunt habitacula, sed multorum?"* (De phariseo, p. 8)]. He labels those who frequent the cities and towns in society as *contrarium Religioni*

¹²¹Guillaume de Saint-Amour, De phariseo et publicano, in Opera Omnia quod reperiri poterunt, ed. Alithophilus (Constance [Paris]: 1632), p. 8. This work will be subsequently cited as De phariseo.

(of a false, or opposite, religion, once again echoing the *contraire* element which so abounds in the Roman de la Rose). He continues that the Pharisees whom he has just described signify the hypocrites of the present time who behave in much the same way and are therefore *Falsi Religiosi*, those whose exterior actions are not in accordance with their hearts: ["Per praedictum *Pharisaeum, qui erat hypocrita*, ut ostendetur inferius, *significantur Hypocritae nostri temporis; et praecipue illi, qui in habitu et gestu exteriori, et ostentatione vitae austerioris, et spiritualibus observantiis per suas traditiones inventis, speciem sanctitatis et religionis praetendunt, ut ab hominibus laudentur et honorentur, videlicet, Falsi Religiosi*" (De pharisaeo, p. 9)]. Guillaume does cite Matthew 23:15 in chapter fourteen of De periculis,¹²² but the weight of his argument that the hypocritical Pharisees prefigure the mendicant orders is found in De pharisaeo et publicano.

By identifying Faus Semblant as the son of Ypocrisie, Jean de Meun has directly linked him to the University Quarrel and its apocalyptic ramifications. And when Amour invites him to speak, to reveal himself and where he may be found, the figure becomes the incarnation of the mendicant friar that he has remained ever since. This is due in large part to the fact that significant portions of his discourse are taken from the De periculis of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, portions which, by identifying the friars as the pseudo-apostles of the last times, associate them with the hypocritical Pharisees who prefigured them and with the advent of the Antichrist. In addition, the antifraternel polemic of Rutebeuf which finds its way into the language of the text also contributes to the creation of this character. By using the words of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf in disclosing his *modus operandi*, Faus Semblant defines himself as a mendicant. Yet Jean himself does not overtly make this statement, although the attentive

¹²²Guillaume de Saint-Amour, De periculis novissimorum temporum, in Opera omnia quod reperiri poterunt, ed. Alithophilus (Constance [Paris]: 1632), ch. 14, p. 57. Subsequent citations will refer to this work as De periculis.

reader will pick up on Faus Semblant's remark that among his different disguises are those of *cordelier* (Franciscan) or *jacobin* (Dominican):

or sui Roberz, or sui Robins,
or cordeliers, or jacobins . . .
(RR, v. 11,169 - 70)

and:

. . . cil, qui devant soloit estre
de la dance le biaux Robins,
or est devenuz jacobins.
(RR, v. 12,098 - 100)]

It is, therefore, up to the reader who is familiar with these two authors to make the connection, a connection which has been universally accepted, so much so that he has even been labeled Faus Semblant, O.P.

As alluded to earlier, Faus Semblant may be seen as representing Jean de Meun's part of the Roman as it parodies a love quest. Now, however, his influence has broadened to include the whole of the Roman de la Rose, as the text imitates this protagonist, not only by parodying the love quest, but by masking its true purpose under the cover which the love quest provides, as it continues to play with signs and their *senefiance*.

5.3. Creating the Character of Faus Semblant

Before analyzing his discourse, however, let us first examine Faus Semblant himself. After reading chapter two of De periculis, it becomes clear that Jean de Meun, in the *personnage* of Faus Semblant, has created the archetypical mendicant. Naming his character after the personification found in Rutebeuf, he has modeled him after Guillaume de Saint-Amour's description of the men whose appearance will signal the dangers of the end times. An analysis of this chapter, coupled with relevant quotes from Faus Semblant's discourse, reveals just how heavily Jean de Meun has depended upon this source to create his character. According to Guillaume de Saint-Amour, these men have three principal characteristics. First, they are men who love themselves (*homines seipsos*

amantes). In support of this, Guillaume cites the third chapter of Paul's second letter to Timothy, verses 1 - 4 (see pp. 84 - 85), to which he alludes repeatedly throughout the entire text. Paul warns of *homines seipsos amantes* who love to correct others, but do not wish themselves to be corrected:

Mes qui chastier me voudroit,
 tantost ma grace se toudroit,
 ne m'aim pas home ne ne pris
 par cui je sui de riens repris.
 Les autres veill je touz reprendre,
 mes ne veill leur reprise entendre,
 car je, qui les autres chasti,
 n'ai mestier d'estrange chasti.
 (RR, v. 11,663 - 70)

They love themselves more than truth, thus more than God Who is truth ["car il veulent en touz leus taire / veritez, qui leur est contraire" (RR, v. 10,931 - 32)]. Seeking their own honor, rather than the honor of God, the perverted self-love of these men leads them to become greedy (*cupidi*) for worldly glory ["(il) mondaines honeurs covoitent" (RR, v. 11,009)] and money ["et les granz richeces peeschent" (RR, v. 11,018)]. Through their trickery and deception, they amass great treasure ["Par ma lobe entas et amasse / grant tresor en tas et en masse" (RR, v. 11,523 - 24)]. Their coffers are always being replenished ["car ainz que soit vuiz mes tresors / denier me vienent a resours" (RR, v. 11, 532 - 33)]; all their efforts go into the acquisition of wealth ["En aquerre est toute m'entente" (RR, v. 11, 535)]. Some have an inflated sense of their own worth (*elati*), placing themselves above God and not submitting to the authority of the clergy :

Et se prelat osent groucier,
 Car bien se doivent corroucier,
 Quant il perdront lor grasses bestes,
 Tels cops lor donrai sor les testes
 Que je leur en ferai tels boces,
 Qu'il en perdront mistres et croces.
 (RR* interpolation on confession, pp. 664 - 66, v. 91 - 96)

In fact, the whole discourse is a boast, which also illustrates this trait. While there are those who become arrogant (*superbi*) because of the many honors given them, some

may blaspheme (*blasphemi*) God through heresy ["Je sui des vallez Antecrit" (RR, v. 11, 683); "Ainsint Antecrist atendrons" (RR, v. 11,815)].¹²³ Others are disobedient (*inobedientes*) to the Church, and ungrateful (*ingrati*) for the many gifts which they have been given. Some are wicked (*scelesti*), living a life of sin which kills their souls and the souls of others, returning evil for good; others are without compassion (*sine affectione*) for sinners, rejecting them instead ["Ce que l'un het, li autre heent" (RR, v. 11,611)]; they also bring dissension, not peace (*sine pace*) ["si avironnons mer et terre./ a tout le monde avons pris guerre" (RR, v. 11,689 - 90)]. They may be calumnious (*criminales*), making judgments against others ["Parjurs sui" (RR, v. 11,141)];¹²⁴ or scandalmongers (*detractores*) who ruin the reputation of the holy :

Se nous veons qu'il (li enemis) puist conquerre
 par quex que genz honeur en terre,
 provendes ou possessions,
 a savoir nous estudions
 par quele eschiele il peut monter;
 et por li mieuz prendre et donter
 par traison le diffamons
 vers ceus, puis que nous ne l'amins.
 De s'eschiele les echillons
 ainsinc coupons, et le pillons
 de ses amis, qu'il ne savra
 ja mot que perduz les avra.
 Car s'en apert le grevions,
 espoir blasmez en serions
 et si faudrions a nostre esme;
 car se nostre entencion pesme
 savoit cil, il s'en desfendrait
 si que l'en nous en reprendrait.
 (RR, v. 11, 613 - 30)

Some are intemperate (*incontinentes*), not restraining their appetites ["et il se vivent des bons morseaus delicieus / et boivent les vins precieus" (RR, v. 11,014 - 16)]; others

¹²³See also the section on the Evangile pardurable (RR, v. 11,761 - 866).

¹²⁴See also the section on the Inquisition, which was under the authority of the Dominicans (RR, v. 11,693 - 11,760).

lack kindness (*sine benignitate*) and do not help others . They may be traitors (*proditores*), revealing the secrets of others in clandestine fashion ["Sanz faille traïstres sui gié" (RR, v. 11,139)]. They may be wanton or shameless (*protervi aut procaces*), doing those things shamelessly which others do timidly. Some are blind (*caeci*), not understanding what they are affirming nor what they cause others to assert; some are puffed up (*tumidi*); some love the delights of the flesh (*voluptatum amatores*) more than God, that is, more than spiritual delights, a sentiment to which Faus Semblant attests throughout his discourse. These are the kinds of sins one may expect to find among the *seipsos amantes*, to many of which Faus Semblant readily admits as he delivers his discourse (*De periculis*, pp. 21 - 22).

Second, they are *penetrantes domos*. Guillaume de Saint-Amour continues his description by once again citing Paul's second letter to Timothy 3:6: "Among them are those who creep into houses" ["*Ex iis sunt, qui penetrant domos*"]. He explains that the Gloss states that these men penetrate houses when they enter the houses of those whose souls are not in their care and examine their property, that is, their secrets ["*Illi penetrant domos, qui ingrediuntur domos illorum, quorum regimen animarum ad eos non pertinet, et rimantur proprietates, id est, secreta eorum*"]. Showing that the Gloss further explains that *domos* is taken to mean *conscience*, Guillaume states that the only way to enter someone's conscience is by hearing his confession, thereby learning his secrets ["*Quod non potest fieri nisi se ingerant ad audiendum confessiones eorum*"]. He takes pains to establish that one's pastor is the only one who has the right to enter this "house" by the door, citing other Biblical passages, including John 10:1: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber" ["*Qui non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ipse fur est, et latro*" (*De periculis*, pp. 22 - 23)], a label that is also claimed by Faus Semblant ["et por larron m'a Diex juigié" (RR, v. 11,140)]. This passage also has its echoes in the interpolation on

confession in which Faus Semblant boasts about how he steals penitents from their parish priests (RR*, pp. 660 - 666, v. 1 - 96), and also in his assertion that he is interested only in becoming confessor to the rich, whom he steals from their pastors, and who repay him not only with material gifts but also by making him privy to their secrets:

Et por le sauvement des ames
 g'enquier des seigneurs et des dames
 et de tretoutes leur mainies
 les proprietez et les vies,
 et leur faz croire et met es testes
 que leur prestres curez sunt bestes
 envers moi et mes compaignons,
 don j'ai mout de mauves gaignons,
 a cui je seull, sanz riens celer,
 les secrez aus genz reveler;
 et eus ausinc tout me revelent,
 que riens du monde il ne me celent.
 (RR, v. 11,557 - 68)

Beyond the comments made in his discourse, Faus Semblant's actions exemplify the *penetrans domo* when, accompanied by Astinence Contrainte, he goes to the castle of Jalousie and gains the confidence of Male Bouche, who then makes his confession to him. As a result, Malebouche loses his life when Faus Semblant strangles him and cuts out his tongue, surely Jean de Meun's graphic representation of the result of choosing a mendicant as confessor. As a result of this act, Faus Semblant gains admission into the castle of Jalousie. And if we accept the Biblical glosses provided by Guillaume de Saint-Amour, he has also entered the conscience of the Roman de la Rose.

Third, these men of the last times are *non missi*, that is, they have not been officially sent to preach. In support of this argument Guillaume de Saint-Amour cites Matthew 24:5: "Many pseudo-prophets will arise and seduce many" ["*Multi Pseudo-prophetae surgent, et seducent multos*" (De periculis, p. 24)]. He defines pseudo-prophets as all preachers who have not been sent, even if they be educated and holy and work signs and wonders. He quotes Paul's epistle to the Romans 10:15: "How shall they preach unless they are sent?" and adds that the Gloss explains that they are not true

apostles if they are not sent. And to be sent, they must be properly elected by the Church. Only the bishops, as successors to the twelve apostles, and the priests, as successors to the seventy-two disciples, may be considered properly elected. He further adds that not even the Pope can override this restriction:

Sed dicit quis, omnes praedicare possunt, qui habent auctoritatem Domini Papae, aut Episcoporum Diocesanorum; cum dicatur extra, *De Haereticis*, cap. *Excommunicamus. quia vero. OMNES, qui prohibiti, vel non missi, praeter auctoritatem a Sede Apostolica, vel Catholico Episcopo loci susceptam, publice vel privatim praedicationis officium usurpare praesumpserint, excommunicationis vinculo innodentur.* Unde videtur a contrario sensu, quod auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae, aut Episcoporum Diocesanorum, quilibet predicare possit.

Respondemus, quod de potestate Domini Papae, aut Episcoporum nolumus disputare; veruntamen, cum secundum iura tam divina, quam humana, in una Ecclesia non possit esse Rector nisi unus; alioquin Ecclesia non esset sponsa, sed scortum, q. 2. cap. *Sicut in unaquaque.* Et in una Ecclesia non debeant esse plura capita, ne sit monstrum, extra *De officio Iudicis ordinarii*, cap. *Quoniam in plerisque.* Quoniam etiam in Ecclesiarum regimine, officium praedicationis existit praecipuum, sicut ordo predicatorum est praecipuus, extra, *De Haereticis*, cap. *Cum ex iniuncto.* Si forte Dominus Papa aliquibus personis concedat potestatem predicandi ubique; intelligendum est, ubi ad hoc fuerint invitati . . . (*De periculis*, p. 25)

Finally, citing chapter five of Dionysius's *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, he argues that there are but two orders: (1) the *ordo perficientium* (the order of those who are perfecting [others]), which is higher, having three grades, i.e., bishops, priests, and deacons; and (2) the *ordo perficiendorum* (the order of those who will be perfected), which is lower, also having three grades, i.e., regulars (called monks), laity, and catechumens. These two orders have been established by God, and each must exercise the offices appropriate to it; the lower orders may not take on the duties of the higher. The superior orders are to teach, preach, and administer the sacraments; the inferior orders are to do penance, give good example, and strive for spiritual perfection. It is thus clear that monks cannot preach by virtue of their status in the hierarchy of the Church; they are *non missi*:

Cum igitur in *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*; quae ad instar coelestis Hierarchiae ordinata est, ut ibid. dicitur, non sint nisi duo ordines, scilicet, *ordo perficientium*, qui est superior, habens tres gradus; scilicet *Episcopos, Presbyteros, et Diaconos*, sive ministros; Et *ordo perficiendorum*, qui est inferior, habens similiter tres gradus, *Viros*, scilicet, *Regulares*, qui et ibi *Monachi* appellantur, et *Fideles Laicos*, et *Catechumenos*; Nulli autem Spiritui Angelico licitum sit operari, praeter quam ordinatum sit a Deo, ut

dicit Dionysius in *Coelesti Hierarchia*, cap. 3. a Deo autem ordinatum sit, ut nullus inferior exerceat officium superioris, nec influat super eum, sed contentus sit officio suo, ut dicitur in eodem capitulo: Relinquitur quod *Viri Regulares*; qui a Beato Dionysio *Monachi* appellantur, dum manent in ordine *perficiendorum*, qui est ordo inferior, superiorum, id est *perficientium*, officium, quod est *purgare, illuminare, et consummare*, ut dicitur in eodem. cap. id est, officium *docendi, praedicandi, et sacramenta ministrandi*, nequaquam poterunt exercere . . . (*De periculis*, pp. 26 - 27)

Thus, when the Regulars preach, it is obvious that they are not sent by God (that is, properly elected); they must be the pseudo-prophets who penetrate houses (illegally become confessors), and as such are signs of the dangers of the last times for the Church (*De periculis*, p. 28).

It is apparent that Faus Semblant is also *non missus*, as he appears unexpectedly on the scene of the *Roman*, totally disconcerting the god Amour, since he is not a legitimate baron ["Di, Faux Semblant, par cui congié / iés tu venu en ma presance?" (RR, v. 10,448 - 49)]. The fact that Faus Semblant comes on his own authority is also an indication of the heresy he introduces into the *Roman*, as he corrupts the integrity of the love quest and the text of the *Roman* itself. In the end, however, Amour does invite him to speak (or to preach), which authorizes his mission. And as a result of his discourse, Faus Semblant is admitted into the company of the barons, where he serves as an instrument of death and destruction. He is also admitted into the text of the *Roman*, where he remolds it into his false image, into his hypocritical word.

5.4. Crafting the Discourse

Turning now to the discourse itself, let us trace the influence of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf which may be found there, as well as that of Joachim de Fiore. Though the two poems by Rutebeuf cited at the beginning of the chapter link most directly the views expressed in *De periculis* with Faus Semblant, Rutebeuf's other poems also contain antifraternial sentiments which added greatly to the popular perception of the mendicant orders as hypocrites who, by abandoning the life of poverty upon which they had been founded, had accrued great wealth and led lives of ease while continuing to

preach self-denial. A detailed examination of Faus Semblant's discourse reveals just how heavily Jean de Meun drew upon Rutebeuf's poetry and on the De periculis of Guillaume de Saint-Amour in crafting this part of the Roman.

Faus Semblant prefaces his discourse with the comment that if his friends knew that he was revealing their duplicitous practices, they would turn on him, because they want to silence truth, which is opposed to them, everywhere ["car il (ses compagnons) veulent en touz leus taire / veritez, qui leur est contraire" (RR, v. 10,931 - 32)]. These lines resonate with those cited above in which Rutebeuf says that in today's world "*voirs (est) noians*" and that Guillaume de Saint-Amour would not be persecuted if he were willing to say, among other things, that "*voirs fust fable*." In chapter two of De periculis, Guillaume de Saint-Amour characterizes the false prophets of the last times as men who love themselves more than truth ["Unde tales amant se plus quam veritatem" (De periculis, p. 21)]; in chapter fourteen, the sixteenth sign of the men of the last times is that they are always sniping away at the truth ["*Bene ergo canibus comparat; quia sicut canes consuetudinem magis sequuntur, quam rationem; Ita Pseudo-Apostoli consuetudinis legem tenent, et contra veritatem irrationabiliter latrant, et mordent*" (De periculis, p. 63)]. Truth is an issue which the Roman de la Rose discusses as it relates to dreams and to the deception of Faus Semblant. Guillaume de Lorris claims that everything in his dream is true. Jean de Meun questions the truth of dreams, and thus of Guillaume's text and his own, since he continues the dream. Thus, as Faus Semblant and his friends do battle against truth everywhere, the Roman de la Rose changes from *songe* to *mensonge*.

There is also the coupling of the words *evangile* and *guile* which are linked in the Roman as well as throughout Rutebeuf. They appear early in Faus Semblant's discourse where, in continuing to talk about his friends, he says that they do not like sharp words, not even if it is the gospel (*evangile*) which reproaches them for their hypocrisy (*guile*)

["se c'estoit neïs l'evangile / qui les repreïst de leur guile" (RR, v. 10,939 - 40)].¹²⁵

Rutebeuf uses the same pairing when he says in "Le Mariage Rutebeuf:"

L'en cuide que je soie prestres,
Quar je faz plus sainier de testes
(Ce n'est pas guile)
Que se je chantaisse Evangile.¹²⁶

In "La Complainte d'outre-mer" he writes that "Jhesucriz dist en l'Evangile / Qui n'est de trufe ne de guile."¹²⁷ In "Les Ordres de Paris" he comments that "Nostre creance torne a guile./ Mençonge devient evangile."¹²⁸ "Du Pharisian" contains the same pair: "Diex les devise en l'Evangile./ Qui n'est de barat ne de guile."¹²⁹ This may be applied to the *guile* of the Roman de la Rose: the ruse being that it is actually (the) Evangile (pardurable).

Faus Semblant then begins his *santance* by telling his audience that "Qui Faus Semblant vodra connoistre./ si le quiere au siecle ou en cloistre" (RR, v. 10,977 - 78). He may be found anywhere; he is more likely to be found, however, where he can best hide, and the best cover for his activities is the religious habit. Yet he hastens to add that he does not mean to impugn those religious who try to live out the ideals of their orders; rather he speaks of *faus religieux*, whom he goes on to describe as treacherous, proud, and tricky; they cultivate the acquaintance of rich men and follow them preaching poverty, all the while living a life of ease and accumulating wealth (RR, v. 11,007 - 21),

¹²⁵The same pairing is also found at the end of the Roman when Amant, in speaking of his sexual conquests, says that some women think that "*baraz et guile soit ausinc voirs conme evangile*." (RR, v. 21,437 - 38)

¹²⁶Rutebeuf, "Le Mariage Rutebeuf," vol. 1, p. 561, v. 116 - 119.

¹²⁷Rutebeuf, "La Complainte d'outre-mer," vol. 1, p. 446, v. 51 - 52.

¹²⁸Rutebeuf, "Les Ordres de Paris," vol. 1, p. 328, v. 151 - 152.

¹²⁹Rutebeuf, "Du Pharisian," vol. 1, p. 252, v. 48 - 49.

characteristics which relate directly back to Guillaume de Saint-Amour's *homines seipsos amantes*. Indeed, the definition that Guillaume de Saint-Amour offers in De phariseo et publicano resonates with the one given by Faus Semblant:

G'entent des faus religieux,
des felons, des maliciens,
qui l'abit en veulent vestir
et ne veulent leur queur mestir.
(RR, v. 10,993 - 96)

Per praedictum Phariseum, qui erat
hypocrita . . . significantur Hypocritae
nostri temporis; et praecipue illi, qui in
habitu et gestu exteriori, et ostentatione
vitae austerioris, et spiritualibus
observantiis per suas traditiones inventis,
speciem sanctitatis et religionis praetendunt,
ut ab hominibus laudentur et honorentur,
videlicet, Falsi Religiosi.
(De phariseo, p. 9)

And as he elaborates upon his definition of the deceptive *faus religieux*, recognizable parallels exist between this definition and the signs by which the pseudo-apostles of the last times may be recognized listed in chapter fourteen of De periculis (the numbers in parentheses indicating the number of each sign, subsequent numbers being the numbers of signs whose characteristics, while they may not be identical, are similar):

Faus Semblant

Guillaume de Saint-Amour

orgueilleus

*Veri Apostoli non commendant seipsos....
Qui ergo contrarium faciunt.... non sunt
veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. (4) (10) (24)
(31) (38)*

veziez, arteilleus

*Per dulces sermones et benedictiones, si
ducunt corda innocentium. (2) (39)*

qui mondaines honeurs covoiient

*Isti ergo praedicatores, qui propter lucrum
temporale, aut propter honorem
mundanum, aut propter laudem humanam
praedicant, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed
Pseudo. (11) (25) (32)*

et les granz besoignes exploitent

*Illi ergo Predicatores, qui circumveniunt
homines, ut dent eis bona temporalia, sive
in vita, sive in morte, non sunt veri
Apostoli, sed Pseudo. (15) (29)*

et vont traçant les granz pitances

*Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui licet non sint
potestatem habentes, tamen offenduntur,
quando non ministrantur eis cibaria lautiora
non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. (26)*

et porchaçant les acointances
des puissanz homes et les sivent,

*Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui in Curiis
commorantur, vel alibi adulantur,
non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. (14)
(18) (25) (32) (41)*

et se font povre, et il se vivent
des bons morseaus delicieus
et boivent les vins precieus

*Illi ergo, qui ad alienam mensam libenter,
et frequenter conveniunt, cum otio
corporali, non videntur esse veri Apostoli,
sed Pseudo. (33)*

et la povreté vos preeschent
et les granz recheses peeschent . . .
(RR, v. 11,007 - 18)

*Veri Apostoli non capiunt temporalia bona
illorum, quibus praedicant; per quod
discernuntur a Lupis, id est a Pseudo. (20)
(15) (28)*

(De periculis, pp. 57 - 72)

These false religious, says Faus Semblant, put forth the argument that if one wears a religious habit, he is religious (that is, he faithfully follows the rules of his order). This argument is of dubious merit and not worth anything:

il font un argument au monde
ou conclusion a honteuse:
cist a robe religieuse,
donques est il religieux.
Cist argumenz est touz fieus,
il ne vaut pas un coustel troine:
la robe ne fet pas le moine.
(RR, v. 11,022 - 28)

Appearance is important to Faus Semblant and his friends, to the *Falsi Religiosi* of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, and to the Roman de la Rose. For just as "*la robe ne fet pas le moine*," neither does the appearance of a love quest written as personification allegory necessarily mean that this is what its authors have written.

The portrait of the *faus religieux* also appears repeatedly in Rutebeuf; and it is important to document each instance in order to assess the influence that Rutebeuf has had on Le Roman de la Rose in the discourse of Faus Semblant. In "La Complainte de Monseigneur Geoffroi de Sergines" Rutebeuf talks about the religious who have abandoned the good of their souls for that of their bodies and have abandoned the rule of their orders:

Ce di je por relegieus,
 Que chascuns d'els n'est pas prieus.
 Et li autre ront geté fors
 Le preu des âmes por le cors,
 Qui riens plus ne vuelent conquerre
 Fors le cors honorer sor terre.
 Issi est partie la riegle
 De cels d'ordre et de cels du siecle.¹³⁰

"La Complainte de Guillaume" states that those who follow Faus Semblant and his friends fear more for their bodies than their souls; they are two-faced, outwardly appearing to lead holy lives, while guarding their bodies from all discomfort:

on doute plus le cors que l'ame . . .
 Et cil qui ont fauve la face,
 Qui sont de la devine grace
 Plain par defors,
 Cil avront Dieu et les tresors
 Qui de tōz maus gardent les cors.¹³¹

"La Complainte d'Outre-Mer" chastises clerics who make their stomachs their God (also found in De periculis) and those who do not want to say a psalm of more than two verses:

Ahi! grant cler, grant provandier,
 Qui tant estes grant viandier,
 Qui fetes Dieu de vostre pance.

 Qui ne volez pas dire un siaume
 Du sautier, tant estes divers,
 Fors celui ou n'a que deus vers.¹³²

"La Complainte de Constantinople" asks where the money is that the Jacobins and Cordeliers have been bequeathed:

Que sont les deniers devenuz
 Qu'entre Jacobins et Menuz
 Ont receüz de testament ?

¹³⁰Rutebeuf, "De Monseigneur Geoffroi de Sargines," vol. 1, p. 414, v. 13 - 20.

¹³¹Rutebeuf, "Complainte de Guillaume," vol. 1, pp. 261 - 262, v. 81; v. 92 - 96.

¹³²Rutebeuf, "La Complainte d'Outre-Mer," vol. 1, p. 448, v. 109 - 11; v. 114 - 16.

The response is that they have used it to acquire property and wealth and God remains in heaven ["Qu'il en font lor grant fondement,/ Et Diex remaint la outre nuz"]. Further on Rutebeuf states that instead of valuing those who hold the Church dear, the King of France (Louis IX) favors the duplicitous mendicants ["Tient li rois une gent doubliere / Vestuz de robe blanche et grize"].¹³³

"La Chanson de Puille" contains yet another reference to the hypocrisy of the false-hearted who seem to be so humble and so good, yet are full of evil. They have the world so spellbound that no one would speak the truth about them even if they saw it clearly:

Lors seront li fauz cuer dampne
Qui en cest siecle font semblant
Qu'il soient plain d'umilitei
Et si boen qu'il n'i faut noiant,
Et il sont plain d'iniquitei;
Mais le siecle ont si enchantei
C'om n'oze dire veritei
Ce c'on i voit apertement.¹³⁴

Rutebeuf's "Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins" contains the observation that the Dominicans appeared dressed in white and grey robes, the embodiment of goodness, or so they would have you believe. They appear to be clean and pure; yet if a wolf wore a round hat (a reference to that worn by the Dominican order) he would resemble a priest:

Jacobin sont venu el monde
Vestu de robe blanche et noire;
Toute bontez en els abonde,
Ce puet quiconques voudra croire.
Se par l'abit sont net et monde,
Vous savez bien, ce est la voire,
S'un leus avoit chape roonde
Si resambleroit il provoivre.¹³⁵

¹³³Rutebeuf, "La Complainte de Constantimople," vol. 1, p. 428, v. 9 - 11; v. 119 - 20; p. 429, v. 143 - 44.

¹³⁴Rutebeuf, "La Chanson de Puille," vol. 1, p. 434, v. 33 - 40.

¹³⁵Rutebeuf, "Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins," vol. 1, p. 240, v. 41 - 48.

"Des Jacobins" sarcastically chides those who would believe that evil lurks beneath their simple habit ["Honiz soit qui croira ja més por nule chose / Que desouz simple abit n'ait mauvestié enclose"]. In the same poem, Rutebeuf offers the opinion that if any villain were to wear the habit of these hypocrites, he would be taken for a saint or a hermit:

Il n'a en tout cest mont ne bougre ne herite
Ne fort popelican, vaudois ne sodomite,
Se il vestoit l'abit ou papelars abite,
C'on ne le tenist ja a saint ou à hermite.¹³⁶

In "De la Vie dou Monde, C'est la Complainte de Sainte Eglise," Rutebeuf observes that he would willingly seek an order where he might save his soul, but he sees so much pride and jealousy in these communities that the only parts of the rule that its members keep is the habit and the name. Vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are rarely followed:

Molt volontiers queïsse une religion
Ou je m'arme sauvasse par bone entention;
Mais tant voi en pluseurs envie, elation,
Qu'i ne tiennent de l'ordre fors l'abit et le non.
Qui en religion vuet sauvement venir,
Trois chozes li covient et voeir et tenir:
C'est chastei, povrete, et de cuer obeïr;
Mais hom voit en trestous le contraire avenir.¹³⁷

The poem entitled "De frere Denise" contains the observation that the habit does not make one a hermit ["Li abis ne fet pas l'ermite"] unless he leads a life as pure as his habit indicates ["S'il ne maine vie ausi pure / Comme son abit nous demoustre"].¹³⁸

Another pairing of words that occurs both in Rutebeuf and the Roman de la Rose is *hermite* / *ypocrite*, which is used in both to describe false religious. In "Du Secrestain et de la Femme au Chevalier," the lady complains that she thought that the sacristan was a

¹³⁶Rutebeuf, "De Jacobins," vol. 1, p. 316, v. 45 - 46; v. 49 - 52.

¹³⁷Rutebeuf, "De la Vie dou Monde, C'est la Complainte de Sainte Eglise," vol. 1, pp. 397 - 398, v. 73 - 81.

¹³⁸Rutebeuf, "De Frere Denise," vol. 2, p. 283, v. 1; v. 6 - 7.

hermit, but he was a hypocrite (lines which Amour and Faus Semblant parrot later in his discourse), seeming to be good on the outside and deceiving others by his appearance:

Je cuidai qu'il fust uns hermites,
Et il est uns faus ypocrites.
Ahi! ahi! quel norriçon!
Il est de piau de heriçon
Enveloppez desouz la robe
Et defors sert la gent de lobe,
Et s'a la trahison ou cors.
Et fet biau semblant par defors.¹³⁹

Finally, in "La Lections d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei," Rutebeuf, who says he knows how to be a hypocrite, disguises himself as a hermit:

Car bien sou faire le marmite
Si que je ressembloie hermite
Celui qui m'esgardoit defors,
Mais autre cuer avoit ou cors.¹⁴⁰

Rutebeuf thus admits that he also knows how to play the game; Jean de Meun and Faus Semblant are masters at it.

Continuing his discourse, Faus Semblant offers this advice: If you want to make a judgment about who a person is, you must look at what he does, not what he says:

Ne ja certes par mon habit
ne savrez o quex genz j'abit;
non ferez vos voir aus paroles,
ja tant n'ierent simples ne moles.
Les euvres regarder devez,
se vos n'avez les euz crevez,
car s'i font el que il ne dient,
certainement il vos conchient,
quelconques robes que il aient,
de quelconques estat qu'il saient,
soit clers, soit lais, soit hon, soit fame,
sires, serjanz, baiasse ou dame.
(RR, v. 11,041 - 52)

¹³⁹Rutebeuf, "Du Secrestain et de la Femme au Chevalier," vol. 2, p. 222, v. 285 - 92.

¹⁴⁰Rutebeuf, "La Lections d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei," vol. 1, p. 295, v. 235 - 38.

In advancing this opinion, once again Jean echoes the sentiments of Rutebeuf, who repeats the same refrain in his poems:

Més mult a entre fere et dire
.....
Li diz est douz et l'uevre dure."¹⁴¹

"Que dire et fere n'i soit mie;"¹⁴² "Assez dient de bien./ Ne sai s'il en font rien;"¹⁴³ "Si vous dirai que il en fet / Par parole, non pas par fet;"¹⁴⁴ "Asseiz dient, mais il font pou."¹⁴⁵

Faus Semblant, after explaining that true religion may exist anywhere, then offers his definition of it to his audience:

Bon queur fet la pensee bone,
la robe n'i tost ne ne done;
et la bone pensee l'euvre,
qui la religion desqueuvre.
Ileuc gist la religion
selonc la droite entencion.
(RR, v. 11,087 - 92)

Stating that a person's dress or appearance is not necessarily a valid indication of who s/he really is, Faus Semblant gives the much-used example of the wolf in sheep's clothing. This image has its source in Matthew 7:15: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

Guillaume de Saint-Amour also uses this same reference in chapter three of De periculis to describe the craftiness of the false prophets; however, he goes further, saying

¹⁴¹Rutebeuf, "De Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour," vol. 1, p. 259, v. 18; v. 20.

¹⁴²Rutebeuf, "Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins," vol. 1, p. 239, v. 8.

¹⁴³Rutebeuf, "Des Ordres," vol. 1, p. 332, v. 31 - 32.

¹⁴⁴Rutebeuf, "La Voie de Paradis," vol. 1, p. 347. v. 181 - 182.

¹⁴⁵Rutebeuf, "La Lections d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei," vol. 1, p. 295, v. 217.

that not only in their appearance, but also in their public works, may these men seem to be holy. One can only truly discern whether or not they are false prophets by what they do in private, which is a more subtle reading of the verse:

Quod autem in simulata religione tam verborum, quam operum decipiant, dicit Dominus Matth. 7. his verbis: *Attendite a falsis Prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentu ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.* Glos. *Qui in humilitate ambulant ex falsa religione; et ideo cavete, ne vos dilanient blanditiis et simulationibus.* Nec est credendum illis operibus, que ostentant in aperto, que bona esse videntur; nam illa faciunt simulando, vid. ut sancti videantur esse, cum non sint....Quasi diceret, ab operibus eorum manifestis, que bona videntur exterius, cognosci non possunt, quia ea prava intentione faciunt; sed ab illis operibus, quae ostentare non audent, sed occultare nituntur, eo quod mundana sunt, et ad mundana tendunt, cognosci possunt.
(De periculis, pp. 28 - 29)

In chapter seven he returns to this theme again, using it as the basis of one of the four characteristics of false prophets, and, citing the Gloss, makes the distinction between appearance, words, and deeds; he adds, however, that by 'deeds' is understood not exterior works which are claimed because they are seen by all, but those which are intended but not claimed ["Item Glos. *de omnibus hoc intelligitur, qui aliud habitu et sermone, aliud opere ostendunt.* Nec hoc intelligendum est de operibus exterioribus, quae praetendunt, quia illa bona videntur; sed de illis quae intendunt, non tamen illa pretendunt" (De periculis, p. 36)]. This same subtlety is found in the Roman de la Rose, a text which announces itself as allegory and overtly acts as allegory, yet its subversive undercover actions reveal the presence of the Evangelium aeternum or Evangile pardurable, which the text does not openly claim.

Having thus made the connection between the wolf in sheep's clothing and the false prophets of the end times, Faus Semblant then connects this image to the mendicants, saying that there are such wolves among the Church's new apostles (the mendicants), whose orders were established at the beginning of the thirteenth century ["S'il a guieres de tex loveaus / entre tes apostres noveaus" (RR, v. 11,103 - 04)]. Thus, he leads the reader to the conclusion that, if wolves in sheep's clothing are false prophets, and the

mendicants are such wolves, then the mendicants are false prophets. (Unless the reader has the "*subtilité d'entendre la duplicité.*") To further ensure that the connection is made, Faus Semblant goes on to assert that the Church is being attacked from within by "*les chevaliers de (s)a table.*" This statement echoes the conclusion reached by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in chapter three of *De periculis*, citing 2Timothy 3:5, that the men of the last times will have the appearance of holiness (that is, the Gloss explains, of the Christian religion) and because of this they are dangerous. They deny its virtue (that is, charity, states the Gloss, and adds "*Non verbis, sed factis,*" again linking them to hypocrisy). The argument that Guillaume gives in support of this is that when these men go about preaching, counseling, and hearing confessions, they are clearly usurping the powers of the secular clergy, as he has explained earlier. They are thus ambitious, and lacking in charity, since charity is not ambitious ["*quam apti erunt, et idonei, predicti homines periculosi, ad inducenda praedicta pericula, praedicat Apostolus dicens, quod ipsi erunt homines habentes speciem pietatis, id est, Religionis Christianae; propter quod periculosi sunt, ut inquit Glos. Virtutem autem eius, id est, Charitatem, inquit Glos. Abnegantes. Glos. Non verbis, sed factis. Cum enim ambiant officium Prelatorum, vid. officium praedicandi, corrigendi, et confessiones audiendi, ut dicetur infra, charitatem factis negant; quia Charitas non est ambitiosa, 1. Cor. 13*" (*De periculis*, p. 28)]. His arguments continue in this vein, and he concludes the chapter by saying that these men will suddenly and unexpectedly harm the Church, because they will seem to be elected members, and thus to be believed ["*Item maxime ac subito nocebunt Ecclesie, quia videbuntur electa membra Ecclesiae, et esse credentur*" (*De periculis*, p. 30)]. He labels the mendicant orders enemies of the Church, just as Faus Semblant does in his discourse.

As Faus Semblant continues, he lists the disguises under which he operates, not limiting himself according to role in life or to sex; and as he lists possible appearances that

he may assume, the only religious who are named specifically are the Cordeliers [Franciscans] and the Jacobins [Dominicans] (RR, v. 11,170), who appear so frequently throughout the poetry of Rutebeuf. In short, Faus Semblant may be found in any guise ["En tele guise / con il me plect je me desguise" (RR, v. 11,189 - 90)]. This last line echoes the words of the devil in Rutebeuf's poem "De Secrestain et de la Femme au Chevalier" who states that he takes on many disguises ["Si m'en sui mis en mainte guise"].¹⁴⁶ This phrase also links Jean de Meun once again with Rutebeuf, as it does Faus Semblant with the devil, the name by which Amour addresses him. Further, one characteristic of the devil is mutability of form, as he appears in attractive guises in order to disarm his intended victims. Faus Semblant acts this out in the Roman when, dressed as a pilgrim, he gains the confidence of Male Bouche, who asks him to hear his confession. This misplaced confidence leads to the guardian's death, as he is betrayed by the duplicitous friar. In addition, because of his importance and his influence in the whole Roman, the text itself becomes linked with the devil, and Faus Semblant's gospel is identified as the Evangile pardurable, the devil's gospel ("*un livre de par le deable*"), as the text states. Faus Semblant continues that the situation (*vers*) is changed with him, so different (*divers*) are his actions (*fet*) from his words (*diz*) ["Mout est en moi muez li vers,/ mout sunt li fet au diz divers" (RR, v. 11,191 - 92)]. Faus Semblant plays upon the homophony of both syllables of *di-vers*, linking it both to *diz* and to *vers* in a dazzling display of oratorical skill. The reciprocity of multiple meanings thus educed reflects the text in which they appear: diverse situations, different words, mutated verses, deeds which do not match words; in short, a micro-synopsis of the Roman de la Rose. The same coupling of the words *vers* and *divers* with the same implications also occurs in "La Complainte Rutebeuf:"

¹⁴⁶Rutebeuf, "Du Secrestain et de la Femme au Chevalier," vol. 2, p. 233, v. 718.

Cist mot me sont dur et diver,
Dont moult me sont changié li ver
Envers antan.¹⁴⁷

"De la Griesche d'Yver" also contains this pairing:

Dont moult me sont changié li ver,
Mon dit commence trop diver
De povre estoire.¹⁴⁸

It is found in "La Complainte d'Outre-Mer" as well:

Qui ne volez pas dire un siaume
Du sautier, tant estes divers,
Fors celui ou n'a que deus vers.¹⁴⁹

When it comes to religion, Faus Semblant states that he takes on the outer shell, but not the interior faith ["mes de religion sanz faille / j'en les le grain et pregn la paille" (RR, v. 11,185 - 86)]. And a few lines further, he echoes the refrain "*Non verbis, sed factis*," by asserting openly that with him, actions are very different from words, thus placing himself squarely within Guillaume's definition of the false prophets of the end times, destroying the Roman de la Rose as a love quest from within the text, just as the false prophets would destroy the Church.

In the digression on confession which follows, Faus Semblant criticizes the fact that the mendicants have usurped the practice of hearing confessions, a role traditionally assigned to the parish priest. This particular part of the discourse is found in some, but not all, manuscripts of the Roman. While one finds no counterpart to this section in the

¹⁴⁷Rutebeuf, "La Complainte Rutebeuf," vol. 1, p. 555, v. 80 - 82.

¹⁴⁸Rutebeuf, "De la Griesche d'Yver," vol. 1, p. 522, v. 7 - 9.

¹⁴⁹Rutebeuf, "La Complainte d'Outre-Mer," vol. 1, p. 448, v. 114 - 116.

works of Rutebeuf,¹⁵⁰ this interpolation certainly raises some of the concerns expressed by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in *De periculis*. First, Faus Semblant asserts that the mendicants have the power to hear the confession of anyone, without regard to parish or diocese, something which no one else can do except the Pope. As stated earlier, Guillaume takes strong exception to the fact that the mendicants may even legitimately exercise this office. He goes so far as to question the power of the Pope to allow them to preach anywhere (which includes acting as confessors) in chapter two of *De periculis*. And in chapter eight, the sixth sign of the dangerous last times describes men who, appearing holy, seduce many people, leading them from the counsel of their confessors to their own counsel ["Et isti sub specie sanctitatis multos seducent, id est, a consiliis Prelatorum ad sua consilia ducent; et hoc est, quod dicitur Matth. 24. *Multi Pseudo-Prophetae surgent, et seducent multos*" (*De periculis*, pp. 25 - 27; p. 40)]. Second, Faus Semblant boasts that the secular clerics are powerless to seek redress of any kind from civil or ecclesiastical authorities, alluding to the alliances made by these "false apostles" with the rich and powerful in the Court and the Curia, a concern which Guillaume addresses several times throughout *De periculis* ["Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui Principes eis favorabiliores provocant, contra illos, qui eos non recipiunt, aut quos odiunt, veri Apostoli Christi non sunt, sed Pseudo . . . Illi ergo, qui non invitati procurant, et gaudent praedicare plebibus alienis, quod est officium honoris, praecipue in Conciliis, et Synodis,

¹⁵⁰There is a striking confessional image which Faral also mentions, and while not in Faus Semblant's discourse, appears in both the *Roman de la Rose* and in "Des Regles" by Rutebeuf: the two heads of the confessor and the penitent (a woman) are so close together that they seem but one:

fesoient leur confession
 que .ii. testes avoit ensemble
 en un chaperon, ce me semble.
 (RR, v.12,032 - 34)

Je voi si l'un vers l'autre tendre
 Qu'en .i. chaperon a .ii. testes . . .
 ("Des Regles," vol. 1, p. 194)

et Conventibus magnis, necnon in Curiis Regum, et Praelatorum, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo . . . Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui sibi procurant amicitias huius mundi, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo" (*De periculis*, pp. 64, 66, and 71 - 72)]. Finally, Faus Semblant concedes the souls of the poor to the parish priest; the mendicants are only interested in the rich, again echoing the self-serving methods of the false apostles as viewed by Guillaume de Saint-Amour ["Isti ergo praedicatores, qui propter lucrum temporale . . . praedicant, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . *Veri Apostoli non capiunt temporalia bona illorum, quibus praedicant*; per quod discernuntur a Lupis, id est a Pseudo . . . Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui quaerunt hospitia, ubi melius pascantur, et recipiunt munera malorum divitum, ut eorum mala tegant; vel illorum munera recipiunt, qui magis dant propter importunitatem tollendam, vel praesentem verecundiam, quam propter Deum; non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo" (*De periculis*, pp. 61, 64, and 67)]. In passing, Faus Semblant mentions that the 'new' confessor does not like to be called "*frere louvel*" and exacts retribution from those who thus label him, once again insisting upon the identification of the mendicants with the ravenous wolves of the Gospel:

. . mon bon confessor nouvel,
 Qui n'a pas non frere louvel
 Car forment s'en corrouceroit
 Qui par cest non l'apelleroit
 Ne ja nel tendroit paciance
 Qu'il n'en preïst cruel venjance.
 (RR*, interpolation on confession, v. 49 - 54)

At the end of this section, Faus Semblant pauses, but Amour encourages him to continue, saying that he wants to know more about his *modus operandi*, and remarking that Faus Semblant seems to be a holy hermit, to which Faus Semblant replies that this is true, but he is a hypocrite ["—tu sembles estre uns sainz hermites./ —C'est voirs, mes je suis ypocrites" (RR, v. 11,201 - 02)], lines which resonate with those cited earlier in Rutebeuf's "Du Secrestain et de la Femme au Chevalier" (v. 285 - 86). Faus Semblant's self-identification as a hypocrite also, as noted earlier, identifies him as a false prophet

according to Guillaume de Saint-Amour. He freely admits that although he preaches a life of poverty, he fills his stomach with rich food and fine wine, alluding to those whose god is their stomach, a phrase which is found in the poetry of Rutebeuf and which Guillaume de Saint-Amour uses several times in his disputed questions and throughout De periculis. Citing Romans 16:17 - 18, he says: "*Rogo autem vos, Fratres, ut observetis eos . . . QUI dissensiones et offendicula faciunt, praeter doctrinam quam didicistis . . . et declinare ab illis; HUIUS MODI enim Christo Domino non serviunt, sed suo ventri.*" Citing 2 Thes. 3:11, he continues: "*Audivimus enim quosdam inter vos ambulare inquiete nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes, Glos. de negotiis alienis; et hoc modo merentur pasci Quod factum abhorret disciplina Dominica; eorum enim Deus venter est, qui foeda cura necessaria sibi provident*" (De periculis, pp. 47 - 48).

Faus Semblant then proceeds with his discourse by saying that although he pretends to be poor, he has no use for the poor; he would far rather be a friend of the king of France than of a pauper:

J'ameroie mieuz l'acointance
 .c. mile tanz du roi de France
 que d'un povre, par Nostre Dame.
 (RR, v. 11,211 - 13)

This comment is not as neutral a comparison as it may seem, for the mendicants had a very powerful protector in the king of France, Louis IX. He was very useful in shifting the balance of power away from the secular clerics and to the mendicants in the arena of the University Quarrel and also in the related events which surrounded the eventual banishment of Guillaume de Saint-Amour from France. Rutebeuf's poetry contains several references to the king's support of the mendicant orders. This alliance is mentioned in "La Complainte de Constantinople" when Rutebeuf comments that the king is building a new dwelling for those who are preaching a new belief, a new God, and a

new gospel (a reference to the Evangelium aeternum); he allows them to sow the seeds of Hypocrisy, who is lady of this city (Paris):

(Li rois) fera nueve remanance
A cels qui font nueve creance,
Novel Dieu et nueve Evangile,
Et lera semer, par doutance,
Ypocrisie sa semance
Qui est dame de ceste vile.

Further on in this same poem, the poet asks how the king can love Sainte Eglise when he doesn't love those who value her ["Coument amera sainte Eglise / Qui ceux n'ainme pas c'on la prize"]? Instead of the Church's supporters, the king allies himself with duplicitous people clothed in white and gray, an allusion to the Cordeliers:

En lieu de Naimon de Baviere (le paladin de Charlemagne)
Tient li rois une gent doubliere
Vestuz de robe blanche et grize.¹⁵¹

Another allusion to the alliance between the king and the mendicants and the power which the orders enjoy as a result appears in the poem entitled "Des Ordres de Paris," where Rutebeuf comments that the Jacobins are such noble men that they have Paris and Rome and thus are king and apostle (pope), in addition to being quite wealthy:

Li Jacobin sont si preudomme
Qu'il ont Paris et si ont Romme,
Et si sont roi et apostole
Et de l'avoir ont il grant somme.¹⁵²

In "La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus," Rutebeuf comments that people say that if God had taken the king (by death), things would be very different and the mendicants would no longer be in favor:

Or parlent aucun mesdisant
Qui par le païs vont disant
Que, se Diex avoit le roi pris,

¹⁵¹Rutebeuf, "La Complainte de Constantinople," vol. 1, p. 426, v. 43 - 48; p. 429, v. 133 - 34 and v. 142 - 44.

¹⁵²Rutebeuf, "Des Ordres de Paris," vol. 1, p. 325, v. 49 - 52.

Par qui il (les mendiants) ont honor et pris,
Moult seroit la chose changie
Et lor seignorie estrangie.

A few lines later, the poet states the friars hold the whole kingdom in their hands ["Et li Frere, qui la (humilité) maintiennent / Tout le roiaume en lor main tienent"].¹⁵³ These allusions to the alliance between the king and the mendicants make it quite clear that Jean de Meun's choice of words is not accidental. He is drawing the character of his *contraire* protagonist through an accumulation of words and themes which echo Rutebeuf.

As Faus Semblant continues his discourse, he states that he is only concerned with ministering to the rich; he has no use for the poor, because they cannot give him alms in return; besides, the rich have more need of his spiritual guidance. These related issues are raised by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in chapter fourteen of *De periculis*, in which several of the signs by which the false prophets may be known relate to their love of money and power which clearly come from their association with the rich and powerful ["Isti ergo predicatorum, qui propter lucrum temporale . . . praedicant, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . Illi ergo Praedicatorum, qui in Curiis commorantur . . . non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . Illi ergo Praedicatorum, qui circumveniunt homines, ut dent eis bona temporalia . . . non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . *Veri Apostoli non capiunt temporalia bona illorum, quibus praedicant*" (*De periculis*, pp. 61 - 64)].

Faus Semblant goes on to say that if by chance one of these rich penitents dies, he is happy to preside over his burial:

Mes du riche usurier malade
la visitance est bone et sade;
celui vois je reconforter,
car j'en cuit deniers aporter;

¹⁵³Rutebeuf, "La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus," vol. 1, p. 301, v. 107 - 12; p. 310, v. 145 - 46.

et se la male mort l'enosse,
bien le convoi jusqu'a la fosse.
(RR, v. 11,225 - 30)

The wealth acquired by the mendicant orders from the estates of the wealthy nobility is a subject that Rutebeuf returns to again and again. In "La Complainte de Constantinople" he wonders what has become of the money that the Jacobins and Cordeliers have received as bequests:

Que sont les deniers devenuz
Qu'entre Jacobins et Menuz
Ont receüz de testament . . .

This money, which was once used to support the crusades ["Dont li ost Dieu fust maintenuz"], is being used to build up the material wealth of the two orders:

Més il le font tout autrement,
Qu'il en font lor grant fondement,
Et Diex remaint la outre nuz.¹⁵⁴

This practice was directly in conflict with the rules under which these orders had been established. "Les Ordres de Paris" states that the Jacobins have a lot of money and property ["Li Jacobin . . . Et de l'avoir ont il grant somme"], and that if a dying person does not name them as executors of his estates, he loses his soul ["Et qui se muert, s'il ne les nomme / Por executor, s'ame afole"].¹⁵⁵ Rutebeuf thus testifies to the avarice for which the Jacobins were well-known in the thirteenth century. The poem "De la Vie dou Monde C'est la Complainte de Sainte Eglise" observes that the mendicants cause much suffering because they undergo many trials, but they have received bequests from rich men with which they have established themselves and built great houses:

Cordelier, Jacobin font granz afflictions
Si dient car il sueffrent mout tribulacions;

¹⁵⁴Rutebeuf, "La Complainte de Constantinople," vol. 1, p. 428, v. 109 - 11; v. 117 - 20.

¹⁵⁵Rutebeuf, "Les Ordres de Paris," vol. 1, p. 325, v. 49; v. 52 - 54.

Mais il ont des riche houmes les executions,
Dont il sunt bien fondei et en font granz maisons.¹⁵⁶

In a rare moment of philosophical musing, Faus Semblant comments that wealth and poverty both lead to sin and that balance is found in moderation, citing Solomon in Proverbs 30:8: "Garde moi, Dieu, par ta puissance / de richece et de mendiance" (RR, v. 11,251 - 52), a citation also used by Guillaume in chapter twelve of De periculis: "*Mendicitatem, et divitias ne dederis mihi*" (De periculis, p. 49).

The friar then launches into a long condemnation of mendicancy, taken in large part from this same chapter.¹⁵⁷ Nowhere is it written, says Faus Semblant, that Jesus and his apostles begged:

Si puis bien jurer sanz delai
qu'il n'est escrit en nule lai,
au mains n'est il pas dans la nostre,
que Jhesucrist ne si apostre,
tant con il alerent par terre,
fussent onques veü pain querre,
car mendier pas ne voloient . . .
(RR, v. 11,263 - 69)

Quod autem Dominus mendicaverit,
vel eius Apostoli, numquam
reperitur . . . (FL) (De periculis, p. 51)

Rather, after his death, although as legitimate preachers of the Gospel they could have received something in return, they chose to work as they had before to fulfill their needs:

si poissent il demander
de plain poair, sanz truander,
car de par Dieu pasteur estoient
et des ames la cure avoient.
Neïs, emprés la mort leur mestre,
reconmancierent il a estre
Tantost laboreor de mains;

Postquam vero Dominus, qui Apostolis
de oculis suis necessaria ministrabat,
ut dictum est, ab ipsis Apostolis
corporaliter recessit per mortem et
resurrectionem, ipsi non ad mendicandum
se converterunt; sed licet Apostoli
praedicatores essent, et sumptus habere

¹⁵⁶Rutebeuf, "De la Vie dou Monde C'est la Complainte de Sainte Eglise," vol. 1, p. 398, v. 101 - 104.

¹⁵⁷Félix Lecoy has compared much of this section with De periculis and the Responsiones in his edition of the Roman. Each time there is a citation which appears in his notes, it will be accompanied by his initials; other references, as well as references to other works of Guillaume's, are mine.

de leur labor, ne plus ne mains,
retenoient leur soustenance . . .
(RR, v. 11,273 - 81)

deberent ab illis, quibus praedicabant,
nihil tamen ab eis quaerebant, nec
mendicabant; sed arte sua licita victum
quaerebant, quando unde viverent, non
habebant. (FL) (De periculis, p. 50)¹⁵⁸

And after commenting that the Apostles gave anything beyond their needs to the poor,
rather than building palaces and sumptuous halls, thus criticizing the establishments
constructed by the Dominicans, Faus Semblant continues that an able-bodied man must
work for a living even if he is a religious:

Puissanz hon doit, bien le recors,
au propres mains, au propre cors,
en laborant querre son vivre
s'il n'a don il se puisse vivre,
conbien qu'il soit religieux
ne de servir Dieu curieus . . .
(RR, v. 11,287 - 92)

Item; *quod vivere tales debeant de labore
corporis; immo etiam omnes Christiani, qui
non habent aliunde, unde vivant; dum
tamen sint validi corpore, non obstante,
etiam si vacent operibus spiritualibus,
quae sunt meliora; dicit Apostolus 1.
Thessal. 4. (FL) Operemini manibus
vestris, sicut praecipimus vobis . . .*
(De periculis, p. 48) (De valido
mendicante, p. 337, no. 7)

Those who through laziness seek their food from others, are thieves and liars:

Car qui oiseus hante autrui table,
lobierres est et sert de fable.
(RR, v. 11,301 - 02)

*Qui frequenter ad alienam mensam
convenit otio deditus, aduletur
necesse est pascenti se . . . (FL)*
(De periculis, p. 49)

Further, it is not right to use prayer as an excuse, because just as one must stop praying
to attend to such necessities as sleeping and eating, so may one interrupt prayer to work:

N'il n'est pas, ce sachiez, roisons
d'escuser sai par oroisons,
qu'il escovient en toute guise
entrelessier le Dieu servise
por ces autres neccessitez:
menger esteut, c'est veritez,
et dormir, et fere autre chose;
nostre oroison lors se repose:

Item dixit quod non excusat validum
corpore viventem de elemosinis assidue
officium praedicationis, vel occupatio
orationis vel psalmodiae, vel studium,
vel alterius alicujus laboris. (FL)
(Responsiones, p. 343, no. 11)

¹⁵⁸Guillaume de Saint Amour, De valido mendicante, ed. Andrew G. Traver,
"William of Saint Amour's Two Disputed Questions De quantitate eleemosynae and De
valido mendicante," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age 62 (1995) :
338, no. 15.

ausinc se covient il retrere
d'oroison por son labeur fere.
(RR, v. 11,303 - 12)

Justinian also forbids any able-bodied man to beg:

Et si deffent Justinians
qui fist noz livres ancians,
que nus hon en nule meniere,
poissanz de cors, son pain ne quiere,
por qu'il le truisse ou gaaignier.
(RR, v. 11,315 - 19)

Quod autem *non liceat mendicare validis corpore*, cautum est expresse in Iure humano, C. *De Mendicantibus validae*, L. *unica*. . . (FL) (*De periculis*, p. 52)

If, however, anyone does receive ecclesiastical permission to beg, Faus Semblant, like Guillaume de Saint-Amour, is not sure that the Church has the power to grant this privilege. He hastens to add, however, that he is not addressing that question, something that Guillaume does not hesitate to do:

mes ne cuit pas qu'il soit eüz,
se li princes n'est deceüz;
ne si ne recuit pas savoir
qu'il le puissent par droit avoir.
Si ne faz je pas terminance
du prince ne de sa poissance,
ne par mon dit ne veill comprendre
s'el se puet en tel cas estandre:
de ce ne me doi antremetre.
(RR, v. 11,327 - 35)

Sed dicet quis, *Sunt quidam Regulares, qui licet sint validi corpore, tamen Ecclesia illos diutius mendicare permittit, vel saltem dissimulat; numquid tales permittendi sunt perpetuo mendicare?* Respondemus, *Quod non*; cum faciant contra Apostolum, et alias Scripturas; *et diuturnitas temporis non diminuat peccata, sed augeat*, Extra, *De Simonia*, cap. *Non satis*. Quapropter, si etiam confirmatum esset ab Ecclesia per errorem, nihilominus tamen comperta veritate revocari deberet; (FL) Nam *Sententiam Romanae Sedis non negamus posse in melius commutari*. . . (*De periculis*, pp. 52 - 53)

Also, those able-bodied men who take alms and food from the infirm will be punished:

Mes je croi que, selonc la letre,
les aumosnes qui sunt deües
aus lasses genz povres et nues,
foibles et vieuz et mehaigniez,
par cui pains n'iert mes gaaigniez
por ce qu'il n'en ont la poissance,
qui les menjue en leur grevance,
il menjue son danpnement,
se cil qui fist Adan ne ment.
(RR, v. 11,336 - 44)

Igitur validis et potentibus laborare non debent dari eleemosynae pauperum mendicorum; praecipue quando contemnendo praeceptum Apostoli, 1. Thessal. 4. *Operimini manibus vestris, sicut praecepimus vobis*, iniuste petunt; et ideo non debemus eis dare quod petunt, sed potius correctionem . . . (CP) Item, sicut *Clericus potens de opibus parentum sustentari, si eleemosynas pauperum receperit, sacrilegium committit, et per abusionem talium iudicium sibi*

*manducat et bibit....ita videtur, quod
Validus corpore, qui labore suo vel aliunde
sine peccato vivere potest, si eleemosynas
pauperum mendicorum recipit, sacrilegium
committit. (FL) (De periculis, p. 52)*

In fact, when Christ told the rich young man to sell all that he possessed and follow him, he did not intend for him to beg; rather, he meant for him to work with his hands and follow him by doing good works:

Et sachiez, la ou Dieu conmande
que li preudon quan qu'il a vande
et doint aus povres et le sive,
por ce ne veust il pas qu'il vive
de lui servir en mendiance,
ce ne fu onques sa sentance.
Ainz entant que de ses mains euvre
et qu'il le sive par bone euvre . . .
(RR, v. 11,345 - 52)

*omnia pro Christo relinquere, et sequi
Christum, eum imitando in bonis operibus,
opus perfectionis est, Luc. 18. Vende
omnia, quae habes, et da pauperibus,
et sequere me; nimirum, bene operando;
non autem mendicando, nam hoc
prohibetur ab Apostolo, ut dictum est
supra. (FL) (De periculis, p. 49)
(De valido mendicante, p. 337, no. 8)*

Saint Paul, he says, also commanded the apostles to work to provide for their needs, and not to beg from others:

car saint Poul conmandoit ovrer
aus apostres por recovrer
leur neccessitez et leur vies,
et leur deffendoit truandies
et disoit: "De vos mains ovrez,
ja seur autrui ne recovrez."
(RR, v. 11,353 - 58)

*dicat Apostolus 1.Thessal. 4. Operemini
manibus vestris, sicut praecipimus vobis,
et nullius aliquid desideretis, Glos.
nedum rogetis, vel tollatis . . .(FL)
(De periculis, pp. 48 - 49)*

In addition, they were not to ask any recompense for their preaching lest they, in effect, sell the Gospel:

Ne voloit que riens demandassent,
a quex que genz qu'il preeschassent,
ne que l'evangille vendissent . . .
(RR, v. 11,359 - 61)

*Isti ergo predicatorum, qui propter lucrum
temporale . . . praedicant, non sunt veri
Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . . Illi ergo
Predicatores, qui circumveniunt homines
ut dent eis bona temporalia . . . non sunt
veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. . . .(CP) Illi
ergo Predicatores, qui . . . illorum munera
recipiunt, qui magis dant propter
importunitatem tollendam, vel praesentem
verecundiam, quam propter Deum; non
sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo . . . (FL)
(De periculis, p. 61; p. 64; p. 67)*

Because many people would give because they were ashamed to refuse or in order to get rid of the preacher, they would thus lose both their gift and the merit to be derived from it:

qu'il sunt maint doneür en terre
qui por ce donent, au voir dire,
qu'il ont honte de l'escondire;
ou li requeranz leur ennuie,
si donent por ce qu'il s'en fuie.
Et savez que ce leur profite?
Le don perdent et la merite.
(RR, v. 11,364 - 70)

2.Cor. 9. *Hilarem datorem diligit Deus.*
Gloss. *Qui propter praesentem pudorem*
dat aliquid, ut taedio interpellantis
careat, et rem et meritum perdit. (FL)
(De periculis, p. 67)

And when his audience begged Saint Paul to take something from them, he never did, sustaining himself by manual labor:

Quant les bones genz qui oaient
le sarmon saint Poul li prioient
por Dieu qu'il vosist dou leur prendre,
n'i vosist il ja la main tendre,
mes du labeur des mains prenoit
ce don sa vie soutenoit.
(RR, v. 11,371 - 76)

cum multis aliis locis Epistolarum, quid
hic sentiat Apostolus, apertissime doceat.
Vult enim Servos Dei corporaliter operari,
unde vivant; ut non compellantur
egestate necessaria petere. (CP)
(De periculis, p. 49)

At this point, the god Amour intervenes, asking if it is possible for someone to give all he has to the poor and to give his life over to prayer, and yet to sustain himself without working. Faus Semblant replies that it is, if he lives in a monastic community:

Di moi donques, comment peut vivre
fors hon de cors qui Dieu veust sivre,
puis qu'il a tout le sien vendu
et aus povres Dieu despendu,
et veust tant seulement orer
sanz ja mes de mains laborer?
Le peut il fere? . . . Oil . . . Conmant?
S'il entroit, selonc le conmant
de l'escriture, en abbaie,
qui fust de propre bien garnie . . .
(RR, v. 11,377 - 86)

QUALITER ergo vivendum est, inquires,
viro perfecto, postquam reliquerit omnia?
Respondemus: *Aut operando corporaliter*
manibus; Aut intrando Monasterium,
ubi habeat necessaria vitae. (FL) (De
periculis, pp. 49 - 50)
Sed dicis quis: melius est mendicare quam
esse in monasterio habente possessiones
quia melius est nichil habere neque in
proprio, neque in communi, quam habere
aliquid in communi; quia minoris est illud
perfectionis. Respondeo: contrarium dicit
Prosper . . .¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹Guillaume de Saint-Amour, De quantitate eleemosynae, ed. Andrew G. Traver, "William of Saint Amour's Two Disputed Questions De quantitate eleemosynae and De valido mendicante," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age 62 (1995) : 329.

He continues, however, that there are some special cases in which a healthy man is allowed to beg. This list is taken from the Responsiones of Guillaume de Saint-Amour; briefer references may also be found in De periculis and De valido mendicante. One may legitimately beg, he says, if (1) through no fault of his own he knows no trade, (2) he cannot work because of illness, (3) he is too young, (4) or too old, (5) his upbringing has not prepared him to work and he cannot earn enough to feed himself properly, (6) he cannot find work that he can do in a reasonable amount of time, (7) he works, but cannot sustain himself from his wages, or (8) he chooses to defend the faith through arms, letters or any other honorable occupation until he is able once again to work:

qu'il n'ait de nul mestier sciance . . .
(RR, v. 11,409)

qui non habet scientiam operandi,
nec habet ignorantiam affectatam . .

ou s'il laborer ne peüst
por maladie qu'il eüst,
Ou por viellege ou por enfance . . .
(RR, v. 11,415 - 17)

qui habet impotentiam naturalem,
ut pueri, senes et infirmi . . .

ou s'il a trop, par aventure,
d'acoustumee norreture
vescu delicieusement . . .
(RR, v. 11,419 - 21)

qui habent impotentiam ex consuetudine,
utpote, sicut dicit Augustinus *De opere
monachorum*, "non melius sicut multi
putant, sed, quod est verum, languidius
educati," id est delicate nutriti, et ideo
"laborem operum corporalium sustinere
non possunt". . .

ou s'il a d'ovrer la sciance
et le volair et la puissance,
presz de laborer bonement,
mes ne treuve pas prestement
qui laborer fere li veille . . .
(RR, v. 11,427 - 31)

qui non inveniunt qui eorum operas
velint conducere . . .

ou s'il a son labeur gaaigne,
mes il ne peut de sa gaaigne
souffisaument vivre sus terre . . .
(RR, v. 11,435 - 37)

qui operantur quod possunt, et tamen
eorum opus non sufficit eis ad victum . . .

ou s'il veust, por la foi deffendre,
quelque chevalerie enprendre,
soit d'armes ou de letreüre
ou d'autre covenable cure,
se povreté le va grevant,
bien peut, si con j'ai dit devant,
mendier . . .

(RR, v. 11,441 - 47)

si quis vult erudire animum suum ad ea
quae sunt ei necessaria in militia
Christiana . . . (FL)

(Responsiones, p. 341, no. 7)¹⁶⁰

Faus Semblant concludes by citing Guillaume de Saint-Amour as his reference, saying that if the people and the University theologians were not all in agreement with him (Guillaume), may he (Faus Semblant) be forever deprived of bread and wine:

Ja ne m'eïst ne pains ne vins
s'il (Guillaume) n'avoit en sa verité
l'acort de l'Université
et du peuple comunement.

(RR, v. 11,462 - 65)

Faus Semblant thus speaks in favor of Guillaume de Saint-Amour. Yet if Guillaume had prevailed, Faus Semblant and his ilk would have been deprived of the lifestyle that they enjoyed, something which he readily admits. He also boasts that it was his mother, Ypocrisie, who caused Guillaume to be exiled, again underlining the link between hypocrisy and the mendicant orders and blurring the lines of his argument. It is clear that Jean de Meun takes the side of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and the secular clerics in the University Quarrel. But even as he does this, he adopts for his own text the duplicitous tactics of those he condemns. Thus he plays the same double game as his protagonists Faus Semblant and Amant, who has learned from the master.

¹⁶⁰Other works by Guillaume allude to the same reasons given in the Responsiones:

De periculis, p. 52: *Idcirco aetas praescribitur, ut illae tantum accipiant pauperum cibos, quae iam laborare non possunt. Et (Hieronimus) 82. cap. I. dicitur, Episcopus pauperibus, vel infirmis, qui debilitate faciente suis manibus laborare non possunt, victum et vestitum, inquantum sibi possibile fuerit, largiatur...*

De valido mendicante, p. 341: *De pauperibus, peregrinis, scholaribus, debilibus, qui casualiter mendicant nec ordinaverunt vitam suam ad mendicandum, non idem dicendum. (that begging is against the dictates of Scripture).*

After an exchange with the god Amour, who professes to be horrified at what he is hearing, Faus Semblant returns once more to the theme of 'ministering' to the rich for monetary gain, as well as a share in their life of ease that this brings to him. He comments that in his simple robe, he deceives the deceivers as well as their victims; he robs thieves and their victims, too:

Mes je, qui vest ma simple robe,
lobant lobe et lobeurs,
robe robe et robeurs.
(RR, v. 11,520 - 22)

These verses, which play upon the words *lober* et *rober* and the nouns derived from them, are strikingly similar to four lines from Rutebeuf's poem "De l'Estat du Monde" in which he criticizes the mendicants stating that:

cil lobent les lobeors
Et desrobent les robeors
Et servent lobeors de lobes,
Ostent aus robeors lor robes.¹⁶¹

Faus Semblant uses the wealth acquired from hearing the confessions of the rich and receiving their legacies to build great houses and to live a life of luxury (RR, v. 11,557 - 63), a concern also found in Rutebeuf, and to which Guillaume de Saint-Amour returns often in chapters twelve and fourteen of *De periculis*, and in *De valido mendicante*:

Audivimus enim quosdam inter vos ambulare inquiete nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes, Glos. de negotiis alienis; et hoc modo merentur pasci Quod factum abhorret disciplina Dominica; eorum enim Deus venter est, qui foeda cura necessaria sibi provident. . . .

Glos. Ministri Dei non adulantur, sicut faciunt Pseudo, studentes lucro . . .

Veri Apostoli non quaerunt favorem mundi, nec placere hominibus . . .

Veri Apostoli oblati sibi cibo et potu sunt contenti, nec quaerunt cibaria lautiora . . .

Veri Apostoli non quaerunt hospitia opulentiora . . .

¹⁶¹Rutebeuf, "De l'Estat du Monde," vol. 1, p. 384, v. 43 - 46. This is one of the few similarities between Rutebeuf and Jean de Meun which Faral mentions.

Illi ergo qui quaerunt , et amant confortia, et convivia, et officia potentum secularium, et divitum; non videntur esse veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo.
(De periculis, p. 48; p. 62; p. 66; p.67; p. 68)

Rom. ult. (16:18): *Huiusmodi Christo Domino non serviunt, sed sui ventri*. Glossa: "aliis adulantur, aliis detrahunt, ut possint suum ventrem implere."
(De valido mendicante, p. 342)

Faus Semblant seeks to become the confessor of the rich nobility, gaining their confidence at the expense of the parish priest, and learning their secrets (RR, v. 11,573 - 94), encouraging his 'flock' to abandon their parishes and to support him with their donations. He embodies the *penetrans domo* of De periculis cited above, the dangerous men so feared by Guillaume de Saint-Amour that he returns to them repeatedly:

Ex iis sunt, qui penetrant domos . . . Qui autem sint penetrantes domos, sic exponit Glos. ad literam. Illi penetrant domos, qui ingrediuntur domos illorum, quorum regimen animarum ad eos non pertinet, et rimantur proprietates, id est, secreta eorum . . .

quod licet non habeant curam, vel regimen animarum sibi commissum, tamen autoritate propria callide subintrabunt domos singulorum, rimantes proprietates, sive secreta cuiusque: quod constat fieri non posse nisi ingerant se ad audiendum confessiones eorum. [Cum autem fuerint secreta rimati, et proprietates hominum per confessiones eorum, vel alio modo . . .(FL)] Adeo autem seducunt eos, id est, ad se vel ad consilia sua ducent . . . ut relictis consiliis Praelatorum suorum, qui eorum praesunt regimini animarum, et quorum consilia deberent requirere . . .

quoniam *Sunt fures et latrones*; qui enim penetrant domos . . .

Et isti sub specie sanctitatis multos seducunt, id est, a consiliis Prelatorum ad sua consilia ducent . . .

Veri Apostoli non penetrant domos . . .
(De periculis, p. 22 - 23; p. 32; p. 35; p. 40; p. 57)

Continuing his revelatory discourse, Faus Semblant states that to better recognize traitors who continue to deceive everyone, one should read the twenty-third chapter of Saint Matthew (Matt. 23:1 - 8) where the Evangelist speaks of the Pharisees, those hypocrites who preach what is right but do not carry out their words in actions. Do what they say, he says, not what they do. They do not hesitate to impose heavy burdens upon

the people, while they do nothing. They are interested in doing 'good' only if someone is watching and in lengthening their phylacteries and broadening their fringes. They like the highest seats at banquets and the first seats in the synagogues; they like to be greeted in the streets and to be called 'rabbi,' that is, 'master' (RR, v. 11,603 - 40).

This passage is charged with inflammatory language. Not only does it echo the refrain of *dire et fere* found throughout the poetry of Rutebeuf, it also refers directly back to De phariseo et publicano of Guillaume de Saint-Amour, who used it frequently to link the mendicants to their Scriptural ancestors, the Pharisees. Verse twenty-three of this same chapter is mentioned also in De periculis, chapter fourteen, to illustrate one of the signs by which the false prophets may be recognized (De periculis, p. 57). Jean de Meun, through Faus Semblant, is reaffirming Guillaume's arguments: that the mendicants were hypocrites whose lifestyles mirrored those of the Pharisees and that this lifestyle was clearly counter-(or *contraire*) Christian. By including the passage from Matthew stating that the Pharisees liked to be called 'rabbi' or 'master,' which William had also shown was counter to the teachings of Christ and which was an issue in the University Quarrel of the 1250s, the specter of this dispute, some twenty years past, is also raised. As he uses these references and this language, Faus Semblant is openly stating that he and his friends are just what Guillaume de Saint-Amour feared: the hypocrites who signal the end times of the Apocalypse. *Dire et fere* is also an important tool which must be utilized when analyzing the Roman de la Rose. Just as Rutebeuf returns repeatedly to this phrase, so does Jean de Meun. As it came to be the measure by which the mendicant orders were judged, so, too, in the Roman, it becomes the standard by which the text is judged. And like its protagonists, the text is also a verbal hypocrite.

Echoing sentiments expressed in De periculis, Faus Semblant says that he and his companions work together to destroy a person's wealth or reputation (RR, v. 11,607 - 30) ["Illi ergo Predicatores, qui oderunt illos, quos inimicos reputant, et eos diffamant;

non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo"]. They also claim responsibility for another's success (RR, v. 11,631 - 38) ["Illi ergo, qui multa iactanter loquuntur, et multa sibi attribuunt, quae per eos non fiunt, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo" (De periculis, p. 69; p. 71)]. Faus Semblant continues that he and his friends, by using flattery, obtain letters of recommendation from the rich which testify to their goodness; thus, everyone thinks that they are the epitome of virtue, while in fact they have everything while appearing to have nothing (RR, v. 11,639 - 11,648). The use of letters of recommendation is one of the attributes mentioned by Guillaume de Saint-Amour in De periculis as one way in which false prophets may be recognized:

Et pour avoir des genz loanges,
des riches homes par losanges
empetrons que letres nous doignent
qui la bonté de nos tesmoignent,
si que l'en croie par le monde
que vertu toute en nous habonde.
(RR, v. 11,639 - 44)

*Veri Apostoli non indigent commendatiis
litteris; nec faciunt se ab hominibus ad
homines per literas commendari.
2.Corinth. 3. Numquid egemus
commendatiis litteris, sicut quidam?
Glos. sicut Pseudo. Ergo, qui contrarium
faciunt, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed
Pseudo. (De periculis, p. 58)*

Flattery is a word which appears again and again throughout Guillaume's works as well, sometimes with a warning that dependence upon others for one's material needs leads to this vice, at other times as a sign of those who signal the beginning of the last times:

Veri Apostoli non adulantur hominibus quaestus causa, sicut Pseudo adulantur . . .
(De periculis, p. 62)

*Veri Apostoli non frequenter conveniunt ad alienam mensam, ne adulatores fiant,
secundum quod dicit Gloss. 2.Thess. 3 super illud, Ut nos metipsos formam daremus
vobis ad imitandum nos. Gloss. Qui frequenter ad alienam mensam convenit otio
deditus, aduletur necesse est pascenti se . . . (De periculis, pp. 68 - 69; De valido
mendicante, p. 339, no. 18)*

Quod queritur de predicatoribus, utrum possint petere, credo quod non, ne videatur
esse occasio avaritiae. 1 Thess. 2: et ne videatur esse questus. 2 Cor. 4: Neque
adulterantes verbum Dei. Glossa: "pro questu predicantes, vel ne compellantur adulari,
ut dictum est, vel etiam detrahere." Rom. ult: Huiusmodi Christo Domino non
serviunt, sed suo ventri. Glossa: "aliis adulantur, aliis detrahunt, ut possint suum
ventrem implere." (De valido mendicante, p. 342)

Faus Semblant has assumed some of the functions normally reserved to the parish priest, such as presiding at marriages and funerals; in addition, he serves as executor of estates or as proxy in the business affairs of others who are his friends (RR, v. 11,649 - 62). The assumption of these functions by the mendicant orders is found in De periculis as markers of the false prophets; Guillaume insists repeatedly that the functions of the parish priests can not be taken over by the mendicants, since they are not properly sent (*non missi*) ["*Veri Apostoli non praedicant nisi missi. Rom. 10. Quomodo praedicabunt, nisi mittantur. Glos. Non sunt veri Apostoli nisi missi, nulla enim signa virtutum eis testimonium perhibent . . . Qui vero non missi praedicant, Pseudo sunt*" (De periculis, pp. 24, 28; pp. 35, 36; pp. 58 - 59)]. He also labels those who meddle in other people's business affairs (*aliis negotiis*) as Pseudo:

De Otiosis autem, Gyrovagis, et Curiosis evitandis, quoniam et ipsi frequenter Pseudo fiunt, et ideo periculosi sunt toti Ecclesiae, et contra doctrinam Apostoli vivunt . . . (citing 2 Thess. 3:6-7): Et non secundum traditionem quam acceperunt a nobis; ipsi enim scitis, quia non inquieti fuimus inter vos, Glos. sicut illi, qui aliena negotia curant. . . . (De periculis, p. 47)

Quod autem de curiositate, sive, de curando negotia aliena, eis non liceat vivere; patet per Apostolum dicentem, (FL) 2. Thessal. 3 (citing same verse as above). Et infra (2 Thess. 3:11), Audivimus enim quosdam inter vos ambulare inquiete nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes, Glos. de negotiis alienis.... Unde isti vere dici possunt se immiscere saecularibus negotiis, quoniam ex tali cura plenumque colligunt magnam pecuniam, contra Apostolum dicentem, 2. Timoth. 2. Nemo militans Deo implicat se saecularibus negotiis . . . (De periculis, p. 48)

Veri Apostoli non laborant curare negotia aliena . . . (citing 2 Thess. 3:11) . . . Illi ergo Praedicatores, qui talia faciunt, non sunt veri Apostoli, sed Pseudo. (FL) (De periculis, p. 68)

Faus Semblant reserves the right to criticize others, but, like the men of the last times, he does not want to be criticized in return (RR, v. 11,663 - 70) ["*Illi autem dicuntur amare seipsos, qui licet velint alios corrigere, tamen nolunt ab aliis hominibus corrigi in factis suis, quamvis aliquando perversis*" (De periculis, p. 21)]. He does not care for the hard life of the hermit, preferring to live in society in lavish surroundings, claiming that he is not of the world while immersing himself in it (RR, v. 11,671 - 82).

Earlier in his discourse, Faus Semblant has labeled the new disciples (i.e., the mendicant orders) as wolves in sheep's clothing; now he states plainly that he, as one of the *vallez antecrist*, is also one of those who appear holy but live a life of hypocrisy; they appear to be gentle lambs, while they are in fact ravenous wolves (RR, v. 11,683- 88). He thus openly appropriates for himself the identity of one of Guillaume de Saint-Amour's men of the last times: he is a false prophet who proclaims the coming of the Antichrist, a wolf in sheep's clothing who appears to be an exemplary Christian, yet whose mission is to destroy the Church from within, as his is to destroy the Roman de la Rose as a love quest from within the text. The image of the wolf in sheep's clothing who thus disguises himself to deceive the lambs and lead them astray appears in Rutebeuf, as well as in De periculis as cited above, although here the wolf's disguise is a religious one. "La Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins" states that if a wolf had a round hat, one would think that he was a priest ["S'uns leus avoït chape roonde / Si resambleroit il provoïre"].¹⁶² "Du Pharisian" contains the same idea in slightly different language, stating that the mendicants wear the lamb's simple woolen robes ["Granz robes ont de simple laine"], but are crueller and more wicked than the lion, the leopard, or the scorpion:

Et sont cruel et deputaire
Vers cels a cui il ont afaire
Plus que lyon
Ne liépart ne escorpion.¹⁶³

"De la Vie dou Monde" states that some clergy are so "*légier*" that the bishop can say that he has made a shepherd of a wolf ["Et s'en i at de tiez qui par sont si legier / Que l'evesques puet dire: 'Je fas do lou bergier.'"].¹⁶⁴ Thus, when Faus Semblant uses the

¹⁶²Rutebeuf, "La Descorde de l'Université et des Jacobins," vol. 1, p. 240, v. 47 - 48.

¹⁶³Rutebeuf, "Du Pharisian," vol. 1, pp. 252 - 53, v. 51; v. 56 - 59.

¹⁶⁴Rutebeuf, "De la Vie dou Monde," vol. 1, p. 397, v. 59 - 60.

term "sheep's clothing," his audience knows exactly what garment he means: the religious habits of the mendicant orders. These "*larrons*" roam the world, punishing those misdeeds which have come to their attention with harsh penance, imprisonment or death; it is only by bribing them with the most delicious food and drink that one may escape the sentence that they have imposed (RR, v. 11,689 - 756), a clear reference to the Inquisition and to the Dominicans, who had been designated by the pope as 'defenders of the Faith.' The friar concludes this part of his discourse by warning his audience that they will never know a person by dress or outward appearance; actions are the key to one's real identity (RR, v. 11,757 - 60), which sums up concisely what he, with the aid of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf, has gone to great lengths to point out.

Faus Semblant then passes to a discussion of the Evangile pardurable, the broad title given to the principal works of Joachim de Fiore, although from the phrases he cites, he is referring to its Liber introductorius by Gerard de Borgo de San-Donnino (RR, v. 11,761 - 814). This gospel, he says, comes from the devil and deserves to be burned, for everyone would have read it if they could. It surpasses the gospels of the four Evangelists as the sun surpasses the moon in light and heat, and as the kernel surpasses the shell of the nut. These two illustrations also appear in De periculis:

autant con par sa grant valeur,
soit de clarté soit de chaleur,
seurmonte li soleuz la lune,
qui trop est plus trouble et plus brune,
et li noiaus des noiz la quoque . . .
(RR, v. 11,783 - 87)

. . . ibi enim comparatur Evangelium
Christi ad Evangelium Aeternum, et
invenitur minus perfectionis habens,
et dignitatis, quam Evangelium Aeternum;
quanto minus lucet Luna, quam Sol;
quanto minus valet testa, quam
nucleus . . . (FL) (De periculis, p. 39)

(There are other comparisons and insights to be gleaned from the Procès d'Anagni, to which I shall return in chapter seven). The University of Paris reared its head and fought against its dissemination, in which it was successful, and the book's defenders, not knowing how to respond to the accusations made against it, hid it until such time that they

might better defend it (RR, v. 11,795 - 11, 814). And although Faus Semblant does not say so, it remains hidden in the Roman de la Rose. It is interesting to note that in the minutes of the Procès d'Anagni, Joachim is quoted as warning one of his followers, Johannes, not to let the pages that he has sent him fall into the hands of those who want to be called 'rabbi' and appear to be holy but refuse interior virtue:

Item habetur apertius in libello ipsius Joachim de articulis fidei descripto ad quendam filium suum Johannem, quod opus suspectum est ex ipso prologo, ubi sic incipit dicens: 'Rogasti me attentius, fili Johannes, ut tibi compilatos traderem articulos fidei et notare illa, que occurrerent scripturarum loca, in quibus solent simplices frequenter errare. Ecce in subjecta pagina invenies quod petisti. Tene apud te et lege sub silentio, observans ne perveniat ad manus eorum, qui rapiunt verba de convallibus et currunt cum clamore, ut vocentur ab hominibus rabbi, habentes quidem speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus penitus abnegantes.' (Anagni, p. 138)

Whether these words are truly Joachim's or those of a later disciple, they attest to the fact that this radical branch of the Franciscan order considered some of their more 'liberal' brothers just as dangerous as did the regular clergy, but for different reasons.

Guillaume de Saint-Amour devotes chapter eight of De periculis to arguing that the dangers of the last times which have been predicted are not far off, rather they are near or have already begun. Contrary to Joachim de Fiore and his disciple Gerard de Borgo de San Donnino, who foresaw a new golden age of spirituality, Guillaume awaits the cataclysmic reign of the Antichrist. After citing Scripture to back up his assertion that the world is in the last age, he gives eight signs which also show that these dangers are beginning. The first three of these relate directly to the Evangelium aeternum: (1) This new gospel has already been preached for fifty-five years, working to change the gospel of Christ into another gospel which surpasses it; thus, the time of the Antichrist is here. (2) This doctrine, which will be preached in the time of the Antichrist, had been placed for explication at Paris in 1254, and would have already been preached had it not been for

the opposition of the Church hierarchy.¹⁶⁵ (3) The words *Mane, Tekel, Phares*, from the book of Daniel are used in the *Evangelium aeternum* to signal the end of the hierarchical Church and the replacement of the gospel of Christ with the new gospel in the year 1260.¹⁶⁶ Guillaume then uses the same comparisons of sun / moon and kernel / shell from the *Introductorius* that Faus Semblant does. The remaining signs deal with the tribulation and death brought by those who, while they may appear holy, do what is displeasing to Christ; with the scandal brought by those whose holiness is but a sham; with the preachers who will rise up and glory in their own preaching, turning many from their parish priests; with the appearance of those seemingly holier and more zealous Christians who will abandon the gospel of Christ and adhere to the *Evangelium aeternum*; finally, these signs will be announced so that God-fearing people will understand that the end is near. The first three signs are cited below:

(1) . . . iam sunt 55. anni quod aliqui laborant *ad mutandum Evangelium Christi in aliud Evangelium, quod dicunt fore perfectius, melius, et dignius, quod appellant Evangelium Spiritus Sancti, sive Evangelium Aeternum; quo adveniente evacuabitur, ut dicunt, Evangelium Christi. . . .*

(2) . . . illa doctrina, quae praedicabitur tempore Antichristi, videlicet *Evangelium Aeternum*, Parisius, ubi viget sacrae Scripturae studium, iam publice posita fuit ad explicandum anno Domini 1254. unde certum est, quod iam praedicaretur, nisi esset aliud quod eam detineret . . .

(3) . . . ibi enim numeratur regnum Ecclesiae, scilicet, *Evangelium Christi*, et concluditur in 1260. annis ab Incarnatione....ibi enim comparatur *Evangelium Christi* ad *Evangelium Aeternum*, et invenitur minus perfectionis habens, et dignitatis, quam *Evangelium Aeternum*; quanto minus lucet Luna, quam Sol, quanto minus valet testa, quam nucleus; et multe tales sunt ibi scriptae comparationes, quibus probatur minus valere *Evangelium Christi*, quam *Evangelium Aeternum*.... ibi invenitur, quod regnum

¹⁶⁵The inconsistency of the dates in the first two signs may be due to the fact that Guillaume de Saint-Amour revised *De periculis* several times between 1254 and 1256 in an effort to have its conclusions accepted, an endeavor which proved to be unsuccessful.

¹⁶⁶The date 1260 is first mentioned in an anonymous Jeremiah commentary.

Ecclesie dividetur post praedictum tempus ab illis, qui tenent Evangelium Christi et dabitur tenentibus Evangelium Aeternum. (FL) (De periculis, pp. 38 - 39)¹⁶⁷

Faus Semblant relays the content of the first three signs to his audience; however, according to him, some of these events have already taken place, while others remain yet unfulfilled or unlikely to happen. He himself embodies the characteristics outlined in signs four through eight. As discussed in chapter three, his influence upon the Roman de la Rose is dominant; and as the reader becomes more aware of the extent to which Amant has taken on his identity and the Roman has adopted his strategies, it is apparent that the Roman de la Rose has become the vehicle for duplicitously concealing and perpetuating the diabolical message of Faus Semblant and of the Evangelium aeternum.

Rutebeuf also refers to the Evangelium aeternum in "La Complainte de Constantinople" when he talks about those who are creating a new belief, a new God, and a new gospel ["nueve creance, / Novel Dieu et nueve Evangile"],¹⁶⁸ and in "Les Ordres de Paris" where, in reference to the Cordeliers (Franciscans), he states that one of them has written a book with which he disagrees ["Fu par un d'aus et acordé / Un livres dont je me descorde"].¹⁶⁹ "Du Pharisian" contains several verses which may also refer to this same work. He says that the orders do not believe in the true writings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ or in His words; rather in place of the truth they speak frivolous words and lies to deceive the people:

Ne croient pas le droit escrit
De l'Evangile Jesucrist
Ne ses paroles;
En leu de voir dient frivoles

¹⁶⁷Although Félix Lecoy has cited these passages, he has placed them on the wrong pages of De periculis.

¹⁶⁸Rutebeuf, "La Complainte de Constantinople," vol. 1, p. 426, v. 44 - 45.

¹⁶⁹Rutebeuf, "Les Ordres de Paris," vol. 1, p. 325, v. 71 - 72.

Et mençonges vaines et voles,
Por decevoir
La gent . . .¹⁷⁰

In addition, one may convincingly argue that Jean de Meun, in spite of his stand against the mendicants and their hypocrisy, is guilty of the same charge that Rutebeuf levels against them: his Roman, by introducing Faus Semblant, mirrors the deception of these preachers and has become a place where lies deceive its readers. "De sainte Eglise" also has suggestive references to a fifth evangelist and a fifth epistle whose adherents will be thrown out of God's kingdom:

Vous devin, et vous discretistre,
Je vous jete fors de mon titre,
De mon titre devez fors estre,
Quant le cinqueime esvengelitre
Vost on fere mestre et menistre
De parler dou roi celestre.
Encor vous feront en chanp [p]estre,
[Si] com autre berbiz chanpestre,
Cil qui font la nouvelle espitre.
Vous estes mitres, non pas mestre:
Vous copez Dieu l'oroille destre;
Diex vous giete de son regitre.¹⁷¹

Faus Semblant and his companions, he says, are awaiting the Antichrist, and those who do not follow them will be killed, as it says in the book (obviously the Evangelium aeternum or its Introductorius, although he does not identify it) which recounts and interprets these things. It states that as long as Peter (*Pierre*) is master, John (*Jehan* or *Jean*) cannot show his force or his strength ["tant con Pierres ait seigneurie, ne peut Jehan moutrer sa force" (RR, v. 11,826 - 27)]. He then goes on to explain what this means: Pierre symbolizes the pope and the secular clergy who will keep and uphold the law of Jesus Christ against all its enemies; Jehan symbolizes the preachers (mendicants)

¹⁷⁰Rutebeuf, "Du Pharisian," vol. 1, p. 254, v. 104 - 09.

¹⁷¹Rutebeuf, "De Sainte Eglise," vol. 1, p. 280, v. 37 - 48.

who say that all one must follow is the Evangile pardurable. It is interesting to notice that Jean de Meun, through the mouth of Faus Semblant, groups all mendicants together, as did the secular clerics of the University of Paris and Guillaume de Saint-Amour, while the mendicants themselves, as cited above from Joachim or more likely his later adherents, saw clear differences among the different factions in the orders. The force of Jehan symbolizes the grace that this book claims converts sinners so that they may return to God (RR, v. 11,828 - 44).

While Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf do not use the symbolism of *Jehan* and *Pierre*, it is found in the minutes of the Procès d'Anagni, where Joachim is quoted as saying in the Introductorius apocalypsis that Peter signifies the active life of the second state (clergy) and John the contemplative life of the third (mendicants). Joachim continues that Peter's time has arrived in the Acts of the Apostles, while John's is yet to come. The time will arrive when Peter will pass away and John will remain:

Quia unus Jacob duas duxit uxores, Lyam videlicet et Rachel, videtur, quod ordo monachorum, quem secundum significatum diximus pertinere ad Johannem, duplex sit propter duas vitas quibus innititur, activam scil. et contemplativam, et propter duos intellectus, quorum unus pertinet ad secundum statum, alius ad tertium. Etenim significatum Petri sic accipiendum est in secundo statu, ut nunquam tamen ut jam diximus transeat ad tertium; significatum vero Johannis sic accipiendum est in secundo statu, ut multo tamen dignius refundatur ad tertium (terminum) . . . (In the Acts of the Apostles) ubi multa narrantur mirabilia Petri et nulla Johannis . . . tanquam si Johannes expectaret et diceret: *tempus meum nondum venit*. Interim cedendum est Petro, cujus nunc proprie tempus est . . . (Anagni, pp. 117-118)

Jean de Meun was thus quite familiar with at least some portions of the Evangelium aeternum and its Introductorius, the third source that he draws upon to create the discourse of Faus Semblant. Several critics, Kevin Brownlee and Daniel Poirion among them, have equated this Jehan with Jean de Meun. Poirion comments that a Jehan encountering resistance from the Church applies to Jean de Meun, as well as to the Jehan

of the Third Age.¹⁷² And if the Roman de la Rose had not successfully masked its message under the cover of a love quest, Jean de Meun's clear partisanship for the cause of the secular clerics would have raised definite questions concerning his orthodoxy. But because at that time his *jeu de feinte* had not been unmasked, no censure was forthcoming.

There are many other *diablies* in this book, says Faus Semblant, which are against the law of Rome and uphold the Antichrist. It commands its adherents to kill all those in Pierre's camp, as Guillaume de Saint-Amour warns in De periculis:

Lors commenderont a occierre
touz ceus de la partie Pierre,
mes ja n'avront poair d'abatre,
ne por ocierre ne por batre,
la loi Pierre . . . (RR, v. 11,851 - 55)

. . . quod appropinquante fine saeculi, et
adventu Antichristi, quidam, qui
apparebunt in Ecclesia sanctiores, cum
facient quod displicet Christo, corrigentur
per aliquos, iuxta visionem Beati Ioannis de
correctione Ecclesiarum, Apoc. 2. et 3.
Ipsi autem correctores tradent in
tribulationem, et procurabunt, ut ab
omnibus odio habeantur; et ut aliqui ex eis
occidantur . . .

(De periculis, pp. 39 - 40)

They will never be able to completely annihilate them all, however, so in the end, the law of Jehan will be destroyed and that of Pierre will endure. This observation is interesting, because it directly contradicts the beliefs of Joachim's followers, who firmly believed that they were the men of the Third Age who would succeed the Church of Rome as the means of salvation for the world. One can only speculate that by the time the Roman was written it was clear that Rome would prevail, and that Jean de Meun believed that the radical fringe of the mendicant orders would not survive to carry out their agenda. Faus Semblant admits that he would be better off if this book had survived; he still has enough friends in high places, however, to assure that he remains well off (RR, v. 11,815 - 66).

¹⁷²Poirion, "Signification," p. 176; Kevin Brownlee, "The Problem of Faus Semblant," p. 268.

Faus Semblant says that his father, Baraz or Fraud, and his mother, Hypocrisy, rule the world, in spite of the Holy Spirit, and it is only right that they do, so well do they know how to deceive people that no one realizes it, an opinion which Rutebeuf shares:

De tout le monde est empereres
Baraz, mes sires et mes peres;
ma mere en est empereiz.
Maugré qu'an ait Sainz Esperiz,
Mous reignons or en chascun reigne,
et bien est droiz que noz resnons,
qui tretout le monde fesnons
et savons si les genz deçoivre
que nus ne s'en set aperçoivre . . .
(RR, v. 11,867 - 77)

Seignor qui Dieu devez amer . . .
A vous toz faz je ma clamor
D'Ypocrisie,
Cousine germaine Heresie,
Qui bien a la terre saisie. . .
Le siecle gouverne et justice . . .
Ypocrisie est en grant bruit:
Tant a ouvré,
Tant se sont li sien aouvré
Que par engin ont recouvré
Grant part el monde.¹⁷³

Tant a Ypocrisie ovrei
Que grant partie a recovrei
En cele terre dont je vin.¹⁷⁴

If anyone does notice it, he does not dare reveal the truth, for he fears Faus Semblant and his friends more than he fears God, Who will surely punish him for this:

ou, qui le set apercevoir
n'en ose il descovrir le voir;
mes cist en l'ire Dieu se boute
quant plus que Dieu mes freres doute.
(RR, v. 11,877 - 80)

Rutebeuf's poem "La Lections d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei" contains this same phrase in relation to speaking the truth. The chevalier Cortois describes the poet (Rutebeuf) as a man who writes the truth, thus the coward is afraid to listen to his rhymes. In this way one can tell who fears God more than he fears the hypocrites:

Rutebeuf, biaux tres doulz amis,
Puis que Dieux saïans vous a mis,
Moult sui liez de vostre venue.
Mainte parole avons tenue

¹⁷³Rutebeuf, "Du Pharisian," vol. 1, pp. 250 - 54, v. 1; v. 6 - 9; v. 36; v. 93 - 97.

¹⁷⁴Rutebeuf, "La Lections d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei," vol. 1, p. 297, v. 291 - 93.

De vos, c'onques mais ne veïmes,
Et de voz diz et de voz rimes
Que chacuns deüst conjoïr;
Mais li coars nes daingne oïr
Pour ce que trop i at de voir.
Par ce poeiz aparsouvoir
Et par les rimes que vos dites
Qui plus doute Dieu qu'ypocrites.¹⁷⁵

"La Chanson de Puille" says that the hypocrites have everyone so spellbound that no one dares speak the truth although he sees it plainly:

Mais le siecle (li fauz cuer) ont si enchantei
C'om n'oze dire veritei
Ce c'on i voit apertement.¹⁷⁶

In addition, Rutebeuf comments on the danger of speaking the truth when he comments in "De Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour" that doing this has cost him (Guillaume) much and will continue to cost him ["Voir dire a cousté a mains / Et coustera . . ."].¹⁷⁷ Once again the issues of truth and of hypocrisy which are so important in the Roman de la Rose are raised, and they must be applied to the text as well, for as Barat and Ypocrisie rule the world, so do they rule the world of the Roman.

As for Faus Semblant and company, the mendicant continues, they are honored by men, and are considered to be so virtuous that they may accuse others without being accused themselves. And if the world does not honor them, who appear so holy, whom then should it honor (RR, v. 11, 893 - 96)? Faus Semblant concludes by saying that he, the consummate hypocrite by his own admission, does not dare lie to Amour and his barons. If, however, he thought that he could get away with it, he would certainly do it,

¹⁷⁵Rutebeuf, "La Leçons d'Ypocrisie et d'Umilitei," vol. 1, p. 289, v. 47 - 58.

¹⁷⁶Rutebeuf, "La Chanson de Puille," vol. 1, p. 434, v. 38 - 40.

¹⁷⁷Rutebeuf, "De Maistre Guillaume de Saint Amour," vol. 1, p. 264, v. 157 - 58.

and he would abandon them if they mistreated him for doing so (RR, v. 11,939 - 46). And as the discourse ends, it is clear that the introduction of Faus Semblant into the Roman is not simply a digression on the part of Jean de Meun, but a deliberate altering of the whole tenor of the text as a playing out of the scenario which evolves as a result of the presence of the mendicant and his companion. In revealing who he is and what he does, Faus Semblant lays out the rules for the remainder of the Roman. The text adopts his duplicity and hides its true message, that of the Evangelium aeternum, under the guise of a love quest. *Guile* has turned the Roman de la Rose into *évangile*.

5.5. The City of the Devil

There is yet another insight into the Roman de la Rose which may be gleaned from the works of Rutebeuf and from Guillaume de Saint-Amour. In the two poems of Rutebeuf cited earlier in this chapter which directly concern Guillaume de Saint-Amour, the poet alludes to the fact that the enemies of the Church (Sainte Yglise), who are also Guillaume de Saint-Amour's enemies, operate under a system in which traditional values are reversed. As cited above, he says in one that "*droiz es tors et voirs noianz*," and in the other that Guillaume would be left alone if he were willing to swear

Que voirs fust fable,
Et tors fust droiz, et Diex déable,
Et fors du sens fussent resnable,
Et noirs fust blanz.¹⁷⁸

These verses describe the value system under which Guillaume de Saint-Amour's enemies operate, values to which he must subscribe if he wishes to put an end to the persecution that he is experiencing. He refuses and is exiled; his enemies, and those of Sainte Yglise hold sway. Guillaume de Saint-Amour himself expresses essentially the same idea in chapter six of De periculis when he states that those who fail to recognize the

¹⁷⁸Rutebeuf, "Le Dit de Guillaume de Saint Amour ou De Maistre Guillaume de Saint Amour," vol. 1, p. 245, v. 46; and "Complainte de Guillaume ou De Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour," vol. 1, p. 263, v. 128 - 31.

dangers he signals, or recognizing them, fail to take precautions against them, move from the city of God to the city of the Devil, where he will be held captive ["qui non prevederint predicta pericula, aut previsa non precaverint, peribunt illis; sciendum est, quod qui haec pericula non prevederint, transferentur procul dubio a civitate Dei in civitatem Diaboli, et ibi captivi detinebuntur" (De periculis, p. 34)]. I would argue that Jean de Meun, with the entrance of Faus Semblant, has in fact created the City of the Devil in the space of the Roman de la Rose and uses his text to warn his readers what awaits them if they do not act against the perceived threat of the mendicant orders. Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf have both described a world in which *choses contraires* to the accepted norm are in ascendance: *Déable, fable, tors, fors du sens, noirs*. Certainly, all of these elements appear in the text of the Roman. Faus Semblant, the mendicant, identifies himself as *Déable*, the *vallet* of the Antichrist. He acts against the ideals of the Gospel; he seduces by pretending to be what he is not (he is a liar and a hypocrite, thus he speaks *fable*, and *voirs [es] noianz*); and he entices others to practice his hypocrisy because they (notably Amant) can thereby more successfully achieve the end that they seek, thus justifying their actions (claiming *torz es droiz*). In his quest for the object of his erotic desire, Amant continually rejects Raison, thereby becoming *forsené*. With the entrance of Faus Semblant into the *verger* of Deduit, Jean de Meun's Roman becomes the world which would be created by the ascendance of the mendicant orders. This further interpretation also moves Amant / Faus Semblant's attack, which prompted the foregoing textual research, from the *sens propre* of a man attacking a church through Joachimite exegesis to an allegorical rendering of the mendicants destroying the Church to a further tropological interpretation of universal moral degeneration similar to that of John Fleming.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, in allowing the devil, Faus Semblant, into the text, the garden of the Roman

¹⁷⁹Fleming, Allegory and Iconography.

de la Rose has become a place where "*voirs fust fable et tors fust droiz, et Diex déable, et fors du sens fussent resnable, et noirs fust blanz.*" Jean de Meun is too subtle a thinker not to be aware of this. He, too, is playing a double game, condemning hypocrites, yet adopting their strategy, as he creates a text which is not what it appears to be.

5.6. Conclusions

The analysis of Faus Semblant's discourse undertaken above reveals that he initiates textual strategies which extend beyond his designation as the *contraire* protagonist who influences the actions of Amant in relation to his love quest. For as the Roman incorporates each of the major parent texts related to the University Quarrel, it also adopts their issues and their strategies, thus further changing the Roman de la Rose from its initial categorization of love quest. Examining each in turn will show that: (1) The De periculis of Guillaume de Saint-Amour not only validates the reading of the attack scene as the destruction of the Church by the mendicant orders, as it discusses how one may recognize False Religious, it also brings into the text the more universal question of signs and their meanings, an issue which the Roman also appropriates, and one which has important repercussions for *senefiance*. (2) In adopting Rutebeuf's standard of *dire et fere* and his character Faus Semblant, Jean de Meun incorporates the possibility of false signs into his text as well. And by warning his readers repeatedly against taking anyone or anything at face value, Jean de Meun, through Faus Semblant, is advertising that there is also a difference between what he, the author, has said and what he has done; that although the Roman de la Rose appears to be a love quest, this assumption may be challenged by applying the criteria of Faus Semblant: *dire et fere*. (3) The inclusion of references to the hidden Evangile pardurable serves to equate it with the hidden *contraire* gospel that Faus Semblant proclaims through his words and actions in the second part of the Roman, and, as a result, the Roman de la Rose in fact becomes the Evangelium aeternum or Evangile pardurable. Let us examine this multiple textual reciprocity, bearing

in mind that it is not easy to completely separate one text and its influence from the others, since the issues are related.

When Faus Amant / Faus Semblant comes to the end of his quest, what does he do? He attacks (there is no other word for it) and destroys the statue of a lady, a sanctuary which contains precious relics (i.e., he destroys the Church). The mendicants' opponents, Guillaume de Saint-Amour being the most vocal, were sure that this would be the result of the ascendancy of these orders. The statue which appears so suddenly in the text is not found anywhere in Guillaume's part of the Roman de la Rose. It appears only at the conclusion of the Roman as part of the château of Jalousie, a part which was not mentioned when the construction of the château was described. And Jean has taken such care to set up the sexual imagery of *reliques / coilles* in Raison's discourse that what the reader has been programmed to understand is a sexual conquest. But if one takes the words and images in the text at face value, what is recounted is the desecration and destruction of a sanctuary / church. Does the text itself justify this reading?

To analyze this imagery completely, one must begin early in the Roman, Guillaume's Roman, in fact, where Amour, in describing the travail that Amant must undergo, alludes to the lady as a *saintuaire*. He speaks of the high sanctuary from which you may not have pleasure ["haut seintuaire / de quoi tu ne puez avoir aise" (RR, v. 2,522 - 23)] and later alludes to the woman as a precious sanctuary ["le saintuaire precieus / de quoi i sont si envieus" (RR, v. 2,711 - 12)]. According to Greimas, *saintuaire* may mean reliquary, as well as sanctuary or holy thing. Thus, the lady is compared to an object which houses relics. The metaphor builds during Raison's discourse when she tells him that she, who is the daughter of God the sovereign father ["fille Dieu, le souverain pere / qui tele me fist et forma" (RR, v. 5,786 - 87)], has been charged by Him with naming all created things, a power that is hers to use as she wishes.

Had she chosen, she continues, she could have named *reliques* "*coilles*" (relics

"testicles") and *coilles* "*reliques*," and Amant would be objecting to the word *reliques*:

je te di devant Dieu qui m'ot,
se je, quant mis les nons aus choses
qui si reprendre et blasmer oses,
coilles reliques apelasan
et reliques coilles clamasse,
tu, qui si m'en morz et depiques,
me redeïsses de reliques
que ce fust lez moz et vilains.

(RR, v. 7,078 - 85)

And had this been the case, Amant would have adored *coilles* and kissed them in churches decorated with gold and silver:

Et quant pour reliques m'oïsses
Coilles nommer, le mot prisses
Pour si bel et tant le prissasses
Que partout coilles aorasses
Et les baisasses en eglises
En or et en argent assises.

(RR*, pp. 434 - 436, v. 7115 - 20)¹⁸⁰

Amant is shocked at her language; Raison, however, is unperturbed. One word is as good as another to designate any given object, and there is nothing wrong in using its assigned name. Moreover, she says that she is used to speaking plainly about things without glossing:

Par son gré sui je coutumiere
de parler proprement des choses,
quant il me plest, sanz metre gloses.

(RR, v. 7,048 - 50)

There follows the oft-cited discussion on glossing alluded to earlier, and as one comes to expect in this text, no definitive answer is given. However, there are two interesting quotes regarding glossing where the two words, *reliques* and *coilles*, are concerned.

¹⁸⁰These lines are not found in the Lecoy edition, based on mss. B.N. 1573; they appear in the Strubel edition, which is based on mss. B.N.12786 and B.N. 378.

First, Raison says that she has pronounced two words which, if Amant has properly understood her, must be understood "*a la letre*," without glossing:

Mes puis t'ai tex .ii. moz renduz,
et tu les as bien entenduz,
qui pris doivent estre a la letre
tout proprement, sanz glose metre.
(RR, v. 7,151 - 54)

Second, Amant, who in general disdains glossing ["ne bé je pas a gloser ores" (RR, v. 7,162)], says that in the case of the two words under discussion, he will not waste his time in glossing them, so properly has Raison named them:

et des .ii. moz desus nomez,
quant si proprement les nomez
qu'il ne m'i covient plus muser
ne mon tens en gloser user.
(RR, v. 7,171 - 74)

It seems clear that these two words may be read in their first meaning. Their equivalence has been introduced into the text in such a way, however, that it catches the reader's attention, even though s/he may have missed the first element introduced earlier. Thus, when Jean sets up the final scene as a 'pilgrimage,' the reader is quick to pick up on what is being described as a sexual encounter. Amant, dressed as pilgrim, as was Faus Semblant with the traditional *bourdon* (staff) and *escharpe* (sack), approaches the statue and, falling on his knees, adores it and the precious relics it contains. He proceeds to assault its narrow opening with his *bourdon*, encountering resistance; but finally he succeeds in penetrating it, thus gaining access to Bel Accueil and to the rose. The word 'assault' is deliberately used, for that is what it is. At this point, there is nothing resembling love or tenderness in Amant's actions: what he perpetrates is nothing less than a rape, a violent attack on the statue which gives him access to the object(s) of his desire.

The sexual imagery is so strong that, while it certainly cannot and should not be ignored, the reader is likely to completely bypass the overt message of the text: a pilgrim making a pilgrimage to a shrine to adore the relics housed within. His initial attitude of

adoration and obsequiousness rapidly changes to one of conquest and destruction, however, and in a scene replete with violence and desecration, the pilgrim subsequently attacks the reliquary or *saintuaire* with his staff and finally breaking it open, destroys it, ultimately plundering the *saintuaire* of its *relique*. Faus Amant / Faus Semblant in his attack on the woman-statue destroys the sanctuary - Church as well, an image which passes immediately into the apocalyptic Joachimite reading just delineated.¹⁸¹

Yet at this important juncture of the Roman, its conclusion, so strong is the association between *coilles* and *reliques* that when these words reappear in the context of Amant's assault on the statue, the ecclesiastical language of the text is ignored. Why is this? It is due to two factors: first, because the Roman is an allegory, the reader is accustomed to looking for meaning hidden beneath the veil of the *sens propre*; and second, s/he has been lured by Jean into making the association between relics and sexual organs because of the discussion between Raison and Amant. One must admit that by introducing the pairing of *reliques* with *coilles*, Jean has set up a relationship that resonates whenever one encounters it. He could have had Raison exchange *coilles* for many other words, yet he chose *reliques*, linking it to the depiction of the lady as *saintuaire*. The fact that both Raison and Amant counsel against glossing these two words is easily lost amid twenty-one thousand lines of verse. What the reader remembers is the word associations which Jean has set up, which lead him / her to gloss this scene as a sexual attack, just as s/he is supposed to do. In this way, although the ecclesiastical elements are certainly obvious, Jean de Meun effectively subverts any other glossing of this episode, especially since the Roman is ostensibly a love quest. Yet the ecclesiastical sense is plainly there, if one but looks at the allegory without any pre-conceived notions.

¹⁸¹Szitty comes to the same conclusion, pp. 184 - 190.

Once again we see that Jean de Meun is playing a double game, as he carries on the love quest, yet constructs it in such a way that he also pursues his other agenda, the creation of the decadent world of the devil and his gospel. Because it is written as personification allegory, however, and also because of the prevailing tendency of the times to read for the hidden meaning, the Roman has successfully concealed this *contraire* allegory by recounting it openly, as its historical and literary perspectives reveal. This is not to say that this is the only reading possible. I would argue, however, that when the historical and literary ramifications discussed above are taken into consideration, this reading is verified in the strongest way possible. For in his adoption of the identity of Faus Semblant, the devil and the father of the Antichrist, Amant must be seen as carrying out his, that is Faus Semblant's, mission as well as his own. And indeed, their ends are the same: the destruction of the rule of the G(g)od of Love, whether this be through the distortion of love into self-love or the destruction of the Church established by Christ.

As significant as this reading is for a more complete understanding of the Roman de la Rose, the ramifications which arise from it are far more important, for they extend beyond this one scene through the whole text. In adopting the De periculis, Jean de Meun has also taken up its preoccupation with the reading of signs that becomes the predominant concern of the Roman de la Rose. As Guillaume de Saint-Amour delineates the characteristics of the False Religious and how one may recognize them, he is raising the issue not only of sign, but of false sign, which becomes most important in the Roman with the appearance of Faus Semblant. And as the theological masters of Paris applied Guillaume's Biblical references to identify the mendicants with the pseudo-prophets of the last times, so Alexander IV refuted their interpretations and declared that these orders were beloved sons of the Church. The *senefiance* of the relevant texts in the Quarrel was imposed from without, with radically different results.

The Roman de la Rose mirrors this exercise, as it invites the same search for *senefiance* that lured the parties of the University Quarrel, yet fundamentally undermines it by introducing the false sign. In this way, it becomes a *mise en abîme* of the issues of the Quarrel and of literature itself. By not revealing the *senefiance* promised, Jean de Meun leaves the reader to select his own particular stance in relation to the text. It does not mean that s/he has *carte blanche*; it does mean that, according to the critical criteria by which the text elaborates the validity of given signs, the Roman is open to the possibility of multiple readings, as were the Biblical verses chosen by Guillaume de Saint-Amour to elaborate his arguments.

As for the poetry of Rutebeuf, its overall relevance to the issues raised in the Roman in relation to the University Quarrel has been delineated in this chapter. However, its most important contribution in terms of textual reflexivity is the refrain of *dire et fere* which Faus Semblant introduces as a criterion of judgment and which comes to infect the whole text. Moreover, its prominence invites an analysis of the text from the perspective of *dire et fere*, as well as from that of the false sign, for if the Roman has appropriated the ambiguity of signs into its text as a result of the incorporation of De periculis, it is logical to postulate the same phenomenon in relation to poetry of Rutebeuf. If the major characters of the Roman, especially Amant and Faus Semblant, as well as the text itself, are approached in this manner, the reader may question with even more certainty exactly what Jean de Meun has created in writing, as tradition holds, the continuation and conclusion of the Roman de la Rose. For as Amant does not act like a lover (according to Raison's definition) and Faus Semblant does not act like a friar (according to his own definition), neither does the text act like a love quest, as it deals with issues far removed from the mythical garden of Deduit. The warnings scattered throughout the text concerning sophistry, appearance, *contraires choses*, *dire et fere*, and promises to reveal the 'true' significance of the dream all combine to encourage the reader

to look for hidden meaning. The assumption into the text of the arguments concerning the reading of signs and the entrance of Faus Semblant, the false sign, raise the additional possibility of signs whose meaning may be subverted by their inner reality. It seems that the genius of Jean de Meun has created a text which, by virtue of its genre as personification allegory, promises meaning(s) which lie hidden beneath its allegorical veil of a love quest, while at the same time setting up a system of *contraire* allegories arising from the same text which also contain their own opposing *senefiance*. In addition, the reading of a false sign as a valid sign, or vice versa, greatly multiplies the possibilities of meaning. This strategy not only alters the *senefiance* of the whole text, it plays with the very question of *senefiance* as well, as the text deals with the very fundamental question raised by the University Quarrel of signs and their meanings, as well as Rutebeuf's false sign (Faus Semblant) and his method of identifying it. As a result, it would be foolish to insist that there is the only level at which the Roman de la Rose may be read.

The identification of the *contraire* gospel of Faus Semblant with the Evangelium aeternum or Evangile pardurable and consequently with the Roman de la Rose, is also a tantalizing possibility which, while it will be delineated more fully in chapter seven, is worth exploring briefly here, given the text's predilection for appropriating the issues of its parent texts, as shown above. Kevin Brownlee has also drawn this parallel between the second part of the Roman de la Rose and the Evangelium aeternum in his article, "The Problem of Faus Semblant."¹⁸² It may be logically argued that in fact this is not possible, given the historical evidence that the adherents of this 'gospel' intended to return to the true Gospel values espoused by Christ in the Sermon of the Mount, a lifestyle which they felt had been increasingly abandoned as the Church became wealthier and more powerful. Their intentions, however, pure as they may have been, were not

¹⁸²Kevin Brownlee, "The Problem of Faux Semblant."

viewed in the same way by the established Church authority. The hierarchical Church saw clearly that the ascendance of the Evangelium aeternum would result in its (the Church's) abolishment. And while the Church's agenda, unlike that of Jean de Meun, did not include a sweeping condemnation of the mendicant orders as well, it is quite understandable that its official position was that this new gospel of the radical Franciscan fringe was indeed diabolical. Jean de Meun, however, like Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Rutebeuf, viewed all mendicants as the diabolical false prophets whose presence signaled the arrival of the end times. Thus, when he draws his character who, according to the New Testament of Christ, so clearly portrays *diablerie* on the personal as well as the apocalyptic levels, it must be concluded that his character is witnessing to a gospel and a way of life which is also diabolical. The pen of Jean de Meun, therefore, has transformed the Evangelium aeternum from what it was supposed to be to something that its adherents did not intend it to be. And in so doing, he has created another dichotomy between *dire* and *ferre*. For while the words of the Evangelium aeternum spoke of the vision of a higher order of goodness, the deeds resulting from the interpretation of this vision were, according to Jean de Meun, diabolical. And since actions hold the key to true understanding, the Evangelium aeternum must therefore be seen as *un livre de par le deable* (RR, v. 11,771), or diabolical. That the Roman de la Rose becomes the space in which the Evangile pardurable continues to deliver its message is bound up with the importance of Faus Semblant to the Roman. Having shown that he deserves to be considered a protagonist, and that his *modus operandi* becomes that of the traditional protagonist as well, it becomes more and more apparent that the text also adopts his deceptive practices. Faus Semblant tells us that the Introductorius has been hidden until its followers might better defend it. If one assumes that its defenders are Faus Semblant and his friends, as he says, then their approach would be to hide their gospel under an innocuous and deceptive cover. And what better disguise for the devil's book than a love

quest, love being his *contraire*? This conclusion is affirmed by the close affinity between Rutebeuf's and Guillaume de Saint-Amour's descriptions of a world gone wrong and the actions of Amant and Faus Semblant in the Roman. It is intensified by the parallel which may be drawn between the two books of the Roman de la Rose and the Old and New Testaments. For men of the Third Age were supposed to be able to understand the 'spiritual' meanings of the existing testaments, whose literal meanings only were accessible thus far. In the same way, if the Evangile pardurable lies concealed within the Roman, an understanding of the 'spiritual' meanings in the text should reveal its presence, a comparison strengthened by the fact that theologians generally considered one testament to be a foreshadowing or a completion of the other, and the total meaning bound up in the two as a whole. The comparison of the Evangelium aeternum to the nucleus and the Old and New Testaments to the shell and the seed (allegorical imagery which Faus Semblant uses) also point to an interpretation which would reveal the Evangile pardurable within the Roman de la Rose. Further, as Christ, the Word made Flesh, has His gospel, it is logical to posit that Faus Semblant, the hypocritical word made 'flesh,' also has his. Finally, the imagery which Jean de Meun has appropriated from the Introductorius to describe his paradisiacal Park of the Lamb and which will be examined in detail in chapter seven also leads the reader to this same conclusion.

In the Middle Ages, opinion concerning profane secular texts was divided. As noted in the second chapter, some theologians held that any text that was not sacred in nature was suspect at best. They believed that the only justifiable access to these texts was through the practice of allegorical reading which might reveal a hidden truth. The presence and importance of Faus Semblant in the text in relation to truth (which he and his companions attack everywhere), his being named as the devil, and the Evangile pardurable as "*un livre de par le deable*" with its subsequent implications for the Roman, lead one to suspect that the Roman de la Rose could have been labeled as diabolical by a

thirteenth-century theologian with some justification, had the ramifications of Faus Semblant's role for the Roman been recognized. This was not done, however, and the Roman de la Rose was subject only to the same suspicion and scrutiny accorded any secular text. Yet Jean de Meun has concealed an important *senefiance* of his text as cleverly as Faus Semblant conceals his true identity, by relying on the appearance of a traditional personification allegory just as heavily as his protagonist relies on the appearance of holiness. And just as Faus Semblant states plainly what he is about to all who are willing to listen, so does Jean de Meun state plainly his agenda in the Roman de la Rose. It is up to his readers to 'listen' and to take note. If they do not, then they will suffer the same fate as those who ignore the warning signs of the end times; they also will become victims of duplicity.

VI

AMANT: A LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

... e compuse este nuevo libro, en que son escriptas algunas maneras e maestrías e sotilezas engañosas del loco amor del mundo que usan algunos para pecar.

Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor

[... and I composed this new book in which are written down some of the ways and tricks and deceitful wiles of the mad love of this world, which some people employ to commit sin.

The presence of dialectical opposition, which is so intricately bound up in the structure of the Roman de la Rose, leads to the next question: Having validated a *contraire* allegory as it concerns Faus Semblant, are there any other aspects of the Roman de la Rose which may also offer an opposing interpretation? Because the reading discussed in the previous chapter involves the *contraire* protagonist Faus Semblant, the logical *locus* of another *contraire* reading would center around his alter-ego, Amant. And although he is not rooted historically in time, nevertheless, an examination of his actions and relevant literary sources also reveals a similar ambivalence, thus opening the whole text to the impossibility of a defining *senefiance*. And, as before, the several literary sources which Jean de Meun has used in constructing this aspect of the Roman are quite useful; for each of these works carries with it into the text a pre-fabricated set of ideas and associations, that is pre-texts, which the text adopts for itself and which color the reading of the Roman de la Rose. Further, the textual strategies of these texts, like those of the previous chapter, are also incorporated into the writing strategies of the Roman, thus intensifying the reflexivity which exists between it and its parent texts. In this chapter, the principal works in question are De planctu naturae by Alain de Lille, and the myths of Narcissus

and Pygmalion in Ovid's Metamorphoses. Because Ovid's Ars amatoria has already been extensively treated, it is not dealt with here.

6.1. Love Defined

To approach this second reading, one must begin by questioning just what kind of love the author is portraying: is it heterosexual or is it homosexual?¹⁸³ Further, as an examination of De planctu naturae will make clear, since heterosexuality is linked to *orthographia* and homosexuality to *falsigraphia*, the answer to this question has clear and important implications for the text and for Jean de Meun as author. But beyond that, does this love (no matter which it is) really deserve to be called love? Because the theme of love is not limited to one specific discourse and because the sources mentioned appear and sometimes reappear in different parts of the text, it is more difficult to draw the parallels which exist between them and the Roman. In some cases, it is possible to compare similarity of ideas; in others, the reader must draw his own conclusions based on Amant's actions, for he is the lover in this tale who lives out a model of love that must be held up to the various mirrors that the text offers in order to determine how he does, or does not, follow the criteria and / or the examples offered in the text. In addition, it is only at the end of the Roman that the total impact of these sources can be felt, for their cumulative effect builds throughout the text.

Let us begin with the more general question of love itself, more specifically, the love which should exist between a man and a woman and whose ultimate expression is physical union. How is it defined, first by Nature in De planctu naturae, and then by Reason in the Roman de la Rose? Nature states that she has formed man as a union of body and spirit. On man's spirit she has "impressed the seal of reason, to set aside by the winnowing fan of its discrimination the emptiness of falsehood from the serious matters

¹⁸³Simon Gaunt's perceptive article cited earlier considers the text and its illuminations in support of a homoerotic reading.

of truth"¹⁸⁴ ["Cui etiam rationis impressi signaculum, que sue discretionis ventilabro falsitatis inania a seriis veritatis secernat"].¹⁸⁵ And just as the universe is kept in balance by the tension of opposing forces, so in man there is "a continual hostility of lust and reason. . . Now . . . lust leads the human mind into the ruin of vices, so that it perishes; . . . reason bids it, as it rises, to ascend to the serenity of virtue" (Moffatt, prose 3.87 - 88, 94 - 97) ["sic in homine sensualitatis rationisque continua reperitur hostilitas. . . Hec mentem humanam in viciorum occasum deducit ut occidat. Hec in orientem virtutum ut oriatur invitat" (Häring, part 6.53 - 54, 58 - 59)]. She goes on to describe how in all his actions, here specifically those of a sexual nature, man should act with the head (wisdom) commanding, the heart (magnanimity) administering, and the passions (pleasure) serving:

Iam nimis nostre ratiocinationis series evagatur, que ad ineffabile deitatis archanum tractatum audet attollere. Ad cuius rei intelligentiam nostre mentis languescunt suspiria. Huius ergo ordinatissime reipublice in homine resultat simulacrum. In arce enim capitis imperatrix Sapientia conquiescit, cui tamquam dee ceterae potentie velut semi-dee obsequuntur. Ingenialis namque potentia potestasque logistica, virtus etiam preteritorum recordativa, diversis capitis thalamis habitantes, eius fervescunt obsequio. In corde vero velut in medio civitatis humane Magnanimitas suam collocavit mansionem, que sub Prudentie principatu suam professa miliciam, prout eiusdem imperium deliberat operatur. Renes vero tanquam suburbia cupidinariis voluptatibus partem corporis largiuntur extremam que, Magnanimitatis obviare non audentes imperio, eius obtemperant voluntati.

(Moffatt, prose 3.146 - 161; Häring, part 6.89 - 100)

Nature's description of man's proper mode of operation stands in stark contrast to that of Amant, who twice rejects Raison as she counsels a more moderate course. Like Nature, Raison also defines love as a long list of irreconcilable opposites (RR, v. 4,263ss.):

¹⁸⁴Alain de Lille, *The Complaint of Nature*, trans. Douglas M. Moffatt (New York, Henry Holt: 1908), prose 3.59 - 62. Subsequent English quotes from this work will give the citations according to this translation, hereafter referred to by the translator's name.

¹⁸⁵Alain de Lille, *De planctu naturae*, ed. Nicolas M. Häring (Spoleto, Centro Italiano de Studi sull'Alto Medioevo: 1978), part 6.36 - 37. Subsequent Latin quotes from this work will give the citations according to this edition, hereafter referred to by the editor's name.

Pax odio fraudique fides, spes iuncta timori
 Est amor et mixtus cum ratione furor;
 Naufragium dulce, pondus leve, grata Caribdis,
 Incolumis langor, insatiata fames
 Esuriens sacies, sitis ebria, falsa voluptas,
 Tristicies leta, gaudia plena malis;
 Dulce malum, mala dulcedo, sibi dulcor amarus
 Cuius odor sapidus insipidusque sapor;
 Tempestas grata, nox lucida, lux tenebrosa,
 Mors vivens, moriens vita, suave malum;
 Peccatum venie, venialis culpa, iocosa
 Pena, pium facinus immo suave scelus;
 Instabilis ludus, stabilis delusio, robur
 Infirum, firmum mobile, firma movens;
 Insipiens ratio, demens prudentia, tristis
 Prosperitas, risus flebilis, egra quies;
 Mulcebris infernus, tristis paradisos, amarus
 Carcer, hiemps verna, ver hiemale, malum.

(Moffatt, metre 5.1 - 18; Häring, part 9.1 - 18)

Echoing Nature's sentiments, Raison says that whoever wishes to enjoy love should desire that it be fruitful, that is, that progeny should be the result ["qui veust d'amors joïr sanz faille,/ fruit i doit querre et cil et cele" (RR, v. 4,516 - 17)]. She speaks of the reciprocity of love ["Ainsinc leur queurs emsanble joignent,/ bien s'entraiment, bien s'intredoignent" (RR, v. 4,557 - 58)]; and she defines "*bone amour*" by saying that it should arise from a pure heart; gifts and corporal pleasure should not be the lover's most important concerns:

Bone amor doit de fin queur nestre:
 don n'en doivent pas estre mestre
 ne quel font corporel soulaz.
 (RR, v. 4,567 - 69)

Here Raison is once more in agreement with Nature, who has stated that she "does not deny the essential nature of love honorableness if it is checked by the bridle of moderation . . . for all excess disturbs the progress of well-regulated temperance, and the pride of unhealthy extravagance fattens, so to speak, into imposthumes of vices" (Moffatt, prose 5.13 - 15, 21 - 24) ["Non enim originalem Cupidinis naturam inhonestatis redarguo, si circumscribatur frenis modestie . . quoniam omnis excessus temperate mediocritatis

incessum distubrat et habundantie morbidantis inflatio quasi in quedam apostemata viciorum exuberat" (Häring, part 10.8 - 9, 14 - 16)]. Furthermore, as Raison has pointed out to Amant in the course of their discussion, what he labels as love arises solely from physical desire; he is trapped in the snares of carnal pleasures:

Mes l'amor qui te tient ou la
charnex deliz te represente,
si que tu n'as ailleurs entente.
Por ce velz tu la rose avoir,
tu n'i songes nul autre avoir.
(RR, v. 4,570 - 74)

Amant's passions do not serve him, as Nature has said they should; rather, he serves them. In his preoccupation with his own physical gratification, he has inverted the order by which he should govern himself. And, Raison warns, when one is trapped in this kind of love, a person may lose his mind, his possessions, his time, his body, his soul, and his reputation:

Car en l'amor ou tu t'entrapes,
maint i perdent, bien dire l'os,
sens, tens, chatel, cors, ame, los.
(RR, v. 4,596 - 98)

It is, therefore, clear that when Amant rejects Raison and the kind of love that she counsels, he is choosing lust, which leads to "the ruin of vices." His actions thus embody the kind of intemperate, disordered passion condemned by Nature and by Raison and do not fit the designation of love that they set forth. Thus, it seems that the designation of the Roman de la Rose as a love quest is problematic from the outset, since the text itself, in defining "*bone amour*" and then overtly stating through Raison that Amant's love for the rose does not fit this definition, has pointed out the fundamental anomaly which exists within it. Having thus removed Amant's quest from the sphere of love, the text places it, through the mouth of Raison, into the sphere of lust, that is, a disordered passion, as both Nature and Raison have defined it. As a result, the reader should approach with caution any sweeping generalizations concerning Amant and his

'love' quest that have accrued unchallenged through the centuries, including the fundamental assumption that the object(s) of Amant's passion are exclusively heterosexual. And while a heterosexual reading of the text is not disputed here, a case can also be made for its *contraire*.

6.2. Amant as Narcissus

At the beginning of Guillaume's text, the author / narrator dedicates his efforts to the lady who is so worthy of being loved that she ought to be called "rose:"

cele qui tant a de pris
et tant est digne d'estre amee
qu'el doit estre Rose clamee.
(RR, v. 42 - 44)

And the whole of the Roman is devoted, albeit with much discourse and digression, to Amant's quest and conquest of the rose whose reflection he sees in the fountain of Deduit's *verger*. This rose is supposedly the allegorical symbol of the lady mentioned above, and once again, the allegorical reading is too strong to be ignored; indeed, it should not be. There is, however, as in the case of Faus Semblant / Amant's attack on the lady / Church, a counter or *contraire* allegory which must be considered as well. This reading centers around Amant's relation with Bel Accueil, the winsome young man who, according to his name, personifies a fair welcome to Amant on the part of the lady. He is, however, much more than that: he is the other, or *contraire*, object of Amant's desire.

Bel Accueil's overtly masculine gender causes no problems to most readers; the fact that the word *accueil* is masculine in French seems reason enough to portray him as a young man, and those who subscribe to a psychoanalytical approach understand him as a masculine substitute for the feminine which cannot be expressed or captured in words. Once again, however, if the text taken at face value, Amant seems to be pursuing Bel Accueil on the one hand and the lady / rose on the other, although he sometimes seem to lose sight of her. An examination of the text bears this out.

The homosexual images begin with Guillaume's use of the fountain of Narcissus in the *verger* of Deduit. In Ovid's Metamorphoses, when Narcissus first sees his image in the pool, he does not realize that it is only his reflection. "He loves an unsubstantial hope and thinks that substance which is only shadow. . . Unwittingly he desires himself . . . so serious is the lover's delusion" ["spem sine corpore amat, corpus putat esse, quod umbra est. . . se cupit inprudens . . . tantus tenet error amantem"].¹⁸⁶ And while he comes to recognize his mistake, as well as the futility of his passion, at its inception his love is a response to his desire for what he perceives to be another like himself. David Hult observes that "the main reason for rejecting the comparison between Narcissus and the Lover results from the mistaken assumption that the myth can only have a sexual meaning." I would argue that it is this sexual meaning which does in fact link them. Hult goes on, however, to link them in terms of preoccupation with Self versus the Other, which I also endorse. He states that "it is not the self perceived internally --as Self-- which seduces and destroys, but rather the self perceived externally--as the Other and as a creature of fiction."¹⁸⁷ Thus, homosexuality as a metaphor for writing clearly has implications for Jean de Meun as a writer. In addition, the metamorphosis of Narcissus himself from a young man into a flower mirrors Amant's metamorphosis from a heterosexual lover to a homosexual one, and from a lover of any sort to a 'luster.' This myth, therefore, reinforces and extends the same problematic of sign for Amant that has already been linked to Faus Semblant. It also adds a further element of instability or mutability to the already difficult question of the reading of signs and the interpretation of

¹⁸⁶Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. Frank Justus Miller, revised G. P. Gould, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 3.416 - 417, 425, 447.

¹⁸⁷David Hult, "The Allegorical Fountain: Narcissus in the Roman de la Rose," Romantic Review 72, no. 2 (March 1981) : 143. Hult finds other reasons for linking Narcissus and Amant.

meaning. This same reference to homoeroticism as applied to Narcissus carries over to De planctu naturae when Nature, giving mythical examples of perversion, says:

Narcissus, when his shadow falsely told of another Narcissus, was filled with dreamy thoughts, and, believing his very self to be another, ran to the danger of passion for himself. And many other youths, clothed by my favor with noble beauty, have turned their hammers of love to the office of anvils.

(Moffatt, prose 4.121 - 127)

[Narcisus etiam, sui umbra alterum mentita Narcisum, umbratiliter obumbratus, seipsum credens esse se alterum, de se sibi amoris incurrit periculum. Multi etiam alii iuvenes, mei gracia pulcritudinis honore vestiti, siti debriati pecunie, suos Veneris malleos in incudum transtulerunt officia.]

(Häring, part 8.76 - 80)

Thus when Amant gazes into the fountain of Narcissus in the text of the Roman de la Rose, he may be understood as re-enacting the Narcissus myth. Kevin Brownlee points out that Narcissus and the Amant / Narrator are both referred to as "li damoiseaus" (v. 1,439 and v. 20,341), an appellation that he considers to be significant in linking the two.¹⁸⁸ For while he sees the rose, Amant must also see his own face, which is entirely consistent with Jean de Meun's strategy of *contraires choses*. And although his gazing into this fountain ostensibly results in the quest of the rose (whose initial description is rather phallic)¹⁸⁹ and which occupies him throughout the rest of the Roman, it becomes more and more obvious that in addition to the rose, Amant, like Narcissus, also desires one like himself. For in his attempts to possess the rose, Amant's attention becomes fixed more and more upon Bel Accueil. Because this is an allegory and Bel Accueil is

¹⁸⁸Brownlee, "Genius as Rewriter," p. 125.

¹⁸⁹Karl D. Uitti, "'Cele [qui] doit estre Rose clamee': Guillaume's Intentionality," in Rethinking the Romance of the Rose, ed. Brownlee and Huot, pp. 39 - 64:

la tige est droite con jons,
et par desus siet li botons
si qu'il ne cline ne ne pent. (RR, v. 1,663 - 65)

Simon Gaunt also mentions the fact that "Guillaume and Jean often refer to it (the rose) as '*le bouton*' (bud), rather than '*la rose*.'" Gaunt, p. 71.

one of its personifications, the issue of Bel Accueil himself as an object of Amant's desire has been largely ignored. Yet Guillaume's part of the Roman ends with Amant gazing despondently upon the tower where Jalousie has imprisoned Bel Accueil; and as the Roman continues under the pen of Jean de Meun, Amant's focus upon Bel Accueil continues, and the rose seems to hover between representing the lady as well as the virginity of Bel Accueil and finally that of the lady / statue itself. To understand how this shift occurs, it is necessary to scan the text, because it is the language used that marks the change or the expansion of Amant's erotic desire. It also marks a change, or expansion, of the literary theory of Jean de Meun, as he flirts with the temptation of *falsigraphia*, creating an idolatrous text which mirrors him as its creator.

6.3. Bel Accueil: Amant's Other Love

Bel Accueil first appears in the Roman when Amant is wondering how to pass through the hedge to reach the rose. He sees a young man approaching whom he describes as handsome and likable and in whom there are no defects ["un vallet bel et avenant / en cui il n'ot rien que blasmer" (RR, v. 2,774 - 75)]. This is Bel Accueil, the son of Courtoisie, who graciously offers to allow Amant to smell the rose. He leads Amant through the hedge to the rose bush bearing his rose, allowing him to touch it, and plucking one of the leaves which grow close to it, presents it to Amant. Amant, however much he prizes it, is not satisfied with this. He asks Bel Accueil to give him the rose itself ["ja les dolours n'en seront tresetes, / se le bouton ne me bailliez" (RR, v. 2,886 - 87)]. It is, he says, his love and his life; he desires nothing else ["ce est ma mort, ce est ma vie, / de nule rien n'ai plus envie" (RR, v. 2,889 - 90)].¹⁹⁰ Bel Accueil refuses, horrified; he will not separate the rose from its bush for anyone, no matter how much he loves him:

¹⁹⁰The Strubel edition reads: "ce est m'amors . . .," which makes more sense in the context. Therefore, I have used that translation above.

nou voudroie avoir deserté
dou rosier qui l'a aporté
por nul home vivant, tant l'ains.
(RR, v. 2,901 - 03)

Although at this point Bel Accueil is only a means of obtaining the rose, it is worth noticing that Bel Accueil's statement does imply that *he* loves Amant and that possession of the rose depends upon his acquiescence. Later, when Bel Accueil reappears to lead Amant back into the rose garden where he approaches the rose for the second time, Amant mentions how much he loves Bel Accueil and how pleasant a companion he finds him to be ["qu'em Bel Acueil grant amor é / et grant compaignie trovee" (RR, v. 3,362 - 63)]. These sentiments mark the beginning of a shift in the focus of Amant's affections from the rose to Bel Accueil. Amant next requests permission to kiss the rose. When this is refused, Venus arrives on the scene and persuades Bel Accueil to grant the permission which Amant seeks; thus the kiss so long desired by the lover is finally accomplished. The appearance of Venus indicates to the medieval reader, however, the ascendance of passion and intemperate behavior. Nature has stated in Alain de Lille's text that Venus, far from being her helper in the continuation of the human race, has become her enemy, by giving primacy to passion in her own life and encouraging this disordered behavior in others (Moffatt, prose 5.200 - 234; Häring, part 10.124 - 144). This is the second marker in the text (the first being the mention of Narcissus) that all is not well in this lovers' paradise. As a result, Bel Accueil is imprisoned in the tower of Jalousie to prevent any further indiscretion, leaving Amant more distressed than ever and less hopeful of accomplishing his avowed desire of possessing the rose.

Throughout this segment of the Roman, each character who speaks to Bel Accueil uses the masculine. From Amant, who addresses him four times as *sire* (RR, v. 2,791, v. 2,870; v. 3,368; v. 3,374) and once as *beau sire* (RR, v. 2,882), to Venus, who also calls him *beau sire* (RR, v. 3,424), to Male Bouche who uses the term *garce neanz* (RR,

v. 3,518), there is no deviation. He is male, and as Amant continues to focus on him, the implication is obvious. Amant bemoans his plight, saying that his joy and his well-being rest with Bel Accueil *and* the rose ["que ma joie et ma guerison / est tout en li et en la rose" (RR, v. 3,968 - 69)]. His attention is now equally divided between the two, a further shift from the beginning of the Roman. In fact, he says that for him to be cured of the pangs of love which he has suffered, Bel Accueil must be released from prison ["et de la covendra qu'il isse/ s'Amors veut ja que j'en garrisse" (RR, v. 3,971 - 72)]. There is no mention of the rose.

As Amant's lament continues, his focus shifts completely to Bel Accueil, and, calling him his *biau dous amis*, he begs him to keep loving him ["Se li cors em prison remaint,/ gardez se viaus que li cuers m'aint" (RR, v. 3,985 - 86)]. And, as is consistent with Amant's preoccupation with himself, he remarks that he is in a far worse situation than Bel Accueil, a statement that the imprisoned young man might find hard to endorse. In a more altruistic mode, however, he asks Amour to remember Bel Accueil after he (Amant) has died: Bel Accueil who has been the cause of his death without doing him any wrong:

Mes comment que de moi aviegne,
je (Amant) li (Amour) pri qu'il li souviene
de Bel Accueil enprés ma mort,
qui sanz moi mal fere m'a mort.
(RR, v. 4,179 - 82)

He also, as a loyal lover, makes his will and leaves his heart to the *valet*:

si com font li leal amant,
(je) veill fere mon testamant:
qu departir mon queur li les,
ja ne seront autre mi les.
(RR, v. 4,187 - 90)

The rose no longer seems to be important to him.

Thus ends Guillaume's part of the Roman de la Rose. It should be pointed out that Bel Accueil, the figure who has been chosen to speak for the rose, is masculine, a *valet*. The other figures which supposedly equally represent other qualities of the lady flit here

and there, exclaiming, encouraging, discouraging, impeding; Bel Accueil, however, is clearly the principal figure around whom the action centers. This choice was a deliberate one on the part of the author, whom tradition claims is, at this point, Guillaume de Lorris. He might have chosen Pitié or Franchise as the principal *porte-parole* for the rose, personifications whose names are feminine and whose qualities are sympathetic, and thus avoided what is definitely an obstacle to a heterosexual reading of the text if one reads Bel Accueil's gender literally. And indeed, why should not the gender of each character be taken literally? If one begins to question the validity of the sexual identification of all characters in the Roman, the result is chaos. Further, this is not a question of a woman with a masculine name; Bel Accueil is masculine; he is a young man; the text explicitly states this. Yet it must be admitted that as long as Amant's attention is centered principally upon the rose, Bel Accueil, while a rather puzzling figure, does not cause a great deal of trouble for the reader; he can be explained away, as he has been for centuries. It is only as Amant's focus begins to shift from the rose to Bel Accueil that it becomes more and more difficult to accept the traditional reading of this character as only one aspect of the lady's personality. And this shift begins to occur at the end of the text of Guillaume de Lorris, giving the reader reason to question the double-author tradition.

With Jean de Meun's continuation of the Roman, the shift in Amant's attention from the rose to Bel Accueil becomes more marked. As Amant's lament continues, he regrets pledging allegiance to the Dieu Amour and not accepting the advice of Raison to abandon this foolish quest. Yet in his next breath he says that the devil must have made him think like this, for if he had done so, he would have betrayed both Amour and Bel Accueil; there is no mention of the rose:

Maufez m'avroit bien envaï,
j'avroie mon seigneur traï!
Bel Acueill reseroit traïz.
(RR, v. 4,127 - 29)

Bel Accueil does not reappear until much later in the Roman, after the château's defenses have breached and access to the enclosure has been achieved. And as the text continues, each time that Bel Accueil is addressed or referred to, it is in the masculine, and the repetition, even in a work of over twenty thousand lines, should cause even the casual reader to begin to wonder. The author refers to him as *il*. La Vieille, his guardian, addresses him as *biau filz* or *biaus tres douz filz*,¹⁹¹ a title that she uses no less than twelve times, as well as calling him *filz* (RR, v. 14,648) and *chier filz* (RR, v. 12,863). When La Vieille begins to advise him on the ways of the world, she says that it is dangerous for a young man to play the games of love without someone to teach him about it ["car perilleusement s'i baigne (dans les cuves de Vénus) / jennes hon qui n'a qui l'ensaigne" (RR, v. 12,727 - 28)]. La Vieille's attitude is interesting, because she is ostensibly addressing the plight of the woman; yet she refers to Bel Accueil in the masculine and urges him to accept the advances of Amant, whom she praises for the sincerity of his love for the *juene hon*. She has encouraged him to accept, also, the gift of a garland of flowers, which the *valet* places upon his head and, reminiscent of Narcissus, he admires his image in a mirror, as Jean admires himself in the mirror of his text. Amant intervenes mid-way through her discourse to comment that if Bel Accueil had followed the advice of La Vieille, he surely would have betrayed him, yet he did not. The lover continues to use the masculine to refer to Bel Accueil, and his focus is now entirely upon the *valet*.

As she continues her advice, La Vieille makes a comment that further demonstrates the shift in the significance of the rose. She counsels Bel Accueil to encourage several rich suitors at the same time and to promise each one his rose, all the while swearing to each that he is the only one to possess it:

¹⁹¹RR, v. 12,525; v. 12,971; v. 12,981; v. 13,007; v. 13,037; v. 13,469; v. 13,855; v. 14,009; v. 14,054; v. 14,057; v. 14,413; v. 14,511.

s'il est qui bien plumer les sache.
Bel Accueil quan qu'il veut en sache,
por qu'il doint a chascun entendre
qu'il ne voudroit autre ami prendre
por .M. mars de fin or molu,
et jure que, s'il eüst volu
soffrir que par autre fust prise
sa rose, qui bien est requise,
d'or fust chargiez et de joiaus . . .
(RR, v. 13,077 - 85)

S'il sunt mil, a chascun doit dire:
"La rose avrez tous seus, biau sire . . ."
(RR, v. 13,089 - 90)

With the use of the possessive adjective, the rose has now become something that belongs to Bel Accueil; it is subordinate to him. This situation is the reverse of that which existed at the beginning of the Roman. As Faus Semblant would say, echoing Rutebeuf, "*Mout est . . . muez li vers*" (RR, v. 11,191). The rose is now Bel Accueil's to grant or to withhold, as he sees fit. Finally, La Vieille, once again using the possessive adjective to refer to the rose, urges the *valet* to heed her advice and to take advantage of his youthful beauty to assure security in his old age, for with age desirability diminishes:

Si sagement vos demenez
que mieuz vos soit de ma mestrie;
car quand vostre rose iert flestrie
et les chenes vous assaudront,
certainement li don faudront.
(RR, v. 14,512 - 16)

After she finishes speaking, Bel Accueil agrees to receive Amant, but he warns that he considers him a friend like any other, and Amant must behave properly. This meeting between the two is the first to occur since the imprisonment of Bel Accueil, which was prompted by his granting permission to Amant to kiss the rose.¹⁹² When Amant sees the young man, whom he continues to refer to in the masculine, he addresses him, as before,

¹⁹²Simon Gaunt makes an interesting observation when he points out that La Vieille's comparison of an 'ever-open door' to her sexual availability and her counsel to Amant to enter the castle of Jalousie by the back door is possibly a reference to heterosexual and homosexual encounters. Gaunt, p. 72.

as *sire* (RR, v. 14,744), thanking him for receiving him and offering him anything that is in his power to give. Bel Accueil responds in kind, saying that if he has anything which Amant desires, he may take it. Once again calling him *sire* (RR, v. 14,771), Amant signals his intention of possessing the rose, yet again is thwarted by the intervention of Dangier, Paours, and Honte. They repulse Amant, calling him *le fol sage*, and rebuke him for deliberately misinterpreting the offer made by Bel Accueil. He would never, they say, offer Amant the rose, for that would not be a virtuous act on his part, and Amant should not request it, nor take it without permission:

Ja ne vos offre il pas la rose,
car ce n'est mie honeste chose
ne que requerre la daiez
ne que san requeste l'aiez.
(RR, v. 14,837 - 40)

Has he come here to trick Bel Accueil into giving him his rose ["Fu ce de venir le lober / por li de sa rose rober" (RR,v. 14,843 - 44)]? The use of the words *lober* and *rober* link Amant even more closely with Faus Semblant, who boasted how cleverly he tricked and robbed others, offering further evidence that these two characters are but one. In this confrontation, while the three protectors do not initially designate the rose as belonging to Bel Accueil, several lines later, it is once more *his* rose. The rose, moreover, is now linked with Bel Accueil's virtue: for when the protectors say that to grant the rose to Amant would not be an *honeste chose*, it is clear that the rose has moved from an ordinary possession which has no moral value to being associated with the virtue of Bel Accueil, which in this context would seem to imply his virginity, though this is not overtly stated. As Bel Accueil's guardians continue to assail Amant verbally, they also refer to Bel Accueil in the masculine, calling him *li damoisiaus* (RR, v. 14,889), an appellation also shared by Amant and Narcissus, as noted earlier.

Bel Accueil having been whisked back into prison by his protectors, Amant uses every argument at his disposal to try to persuade Dangier to reunite him with Bel Accueil.

During this debate, both Dangier and Amant continue to refer to Bel Accueil in the masculine, and Amant's willingness to be imprisoned if that is the only way he can be with him once again points to a major preoccupation with the *valet*.

Throughout this part of the Roman, there is a decided difference between the attitude of Bel Accueil toward Amant and his perceived attitude on the part of his protectors, an attitude which has shifted somewhat since the encounters between the two young men in the part of the Roman authored by Guillaume de Lorris. Every time that there is an occasion to do so, Bel Accueil's guardians emphasize that he is not to be trusted with Amant, that he will readily hand over his rose, and that they must keep him under constraint to prevent him from doing so. This is in stark contrast to the sentiment expressed by Bel Accueil when La Vieille is trying to persuade him to receive Amant in appreciation for the garland that he has sent to the *valet*. Bel Accueil makes it quite clear that he will see Amant out of the friendship and courtesy that he would offer anyone. He knows nothing of love, he says, nor does he wish to learn; he has no desire to amass material goods by enticing lovers to give him gifts, for he has everything that he needs:

Mes quant parlé m'avez d'amer,
du douz mal ou tant a d'amer,
ce m'est trop estrange matire.
Riens n'an sai for par oïr dire,
ne ja mes n'an quier plus savoir.
Quant vos me reпарlez d'avoir,
qu'il soit par moi granz amassez,
ce que j'ai me soffist assez.
(RR, v. 14,581 - 88)

As for Amant, while Bel Accueil does not hate him, neither does he love him, and he calls him "*ami*" as one commonly uses the word to signify a friend:

nou hé je pas certainement,
ne ne l'ain pas si finement,
tout aie je pris son chapel,
que por ce mon ami l'apel,
se n'est de parole commune,
si con chascuns dit a chascune.
(RR, v. 14,599 - 604)

Bel Accueil also states that he puts all his efforts into cultivating noble and beautiful manners ["D'avoir bele maniere et gente./ la veill je bien metre m'entente" (RR, v. 14,589 - 90)]. That Amant is completely oblivious of the niceties of gentle behavior is obvious, as during their last encounter, he takes Bel Accueil's gracious speech at its face value and moves to seize the rose. The attitude of Bel Accueil toward Amant is not the all-embracing one that his name might imply; rather it is that of a young man of gentle upbringing who courteously (and he is the son of Courtoisie) extends his friendship in the well-bred manner one might expect of him. He is not at all inclined to offer his rose indiscriminately as his protectors seem to believe. Instead, he is perhaps rather naïve in the ways of the world and is no match for someone as cunning and determined as Amant.

6.4. Nature's Intervention

With the siege at an impasse, Amour calls upon his mother, Venus, for help. With her arrival upon the scene of the assault, Jean de Meun shifts from this battlefield to the celestial dwelling of Nature, who, during her discourse to her priest Genius, bemoans having created man. While the modern reader may not recognize the implications of her appearance, the medieval reader, who was familiar with the works of Alain de Lille, certainly would have. Nature appears in *De planctu naturae* in response to the author's lament upon the state of the world. That homosexuality is a major preoccupation of the text is clear from the beginning, as, in metre 1, Alain de Lille weeps when he beholds:

the decrees of Nature in abeyance; when society is ruined and destroyed by the monster of sensual love; when Venus, fighting against Venus, makes men women when with her magic art she unmans man . . . The sex of active nature trembles shamefully at the way in which it declines into passive nature. Man is made woman, he blackens the honor of his sex, the craft of magic Venus makes him of double gender. He is both predicate and subject, he becomes likewise of two declensions, he pushes the laws of grammar too far . . . Such deserve anathema in the temple of Genius, for they deny the tithes of Genius and their own duties.

(Moffatt, metre 1.2 - 6, 16 - 22, 63 - 65)

[Cum sua Nature video decreta silere./ Cum Veneris monstro naufraga turba perit:/
Cum Venus in Venerem pugnans illos facit illas / Cumque sui magica devirat arte
viros . . . Activi generis sexus se turpiter horret / Sic in passium degenerare genus/

**Femina vir factus sexus denigrat honorem./ Ars magice Veneris hermafroditat eum.
Predicat et subicit, fit duplex terminus idem./ Gramatice leges ampliat ille nimis . . .
A Genii templo tales anathema merentur / Qui Genio decimas et sua iura negant.]
(Häring, part 1.3 - 6, 15 - 20, 59 - 60)**

Clearly, Alain de Lille is bemoaning the homosexuality that he sees all around him, although he begins by decrying the "monster of sensual love," a more general term. It is in response to his sadness at this state of affairs that Nature makes her appearance, and her complaint is heavily weighted against homosexuality, although she condemns all intemperate and lustful relationships which ignore the responsibility of procreation. Speaking to the author and calling herself the "vicegerent of God the Creator" (Moffatt, prose 3.34) ["dei auctoris vicaria" (Häring, part 6.21)], she says that it is to her that God has entrusted the task of the continuation of all the species of life on earth. She continues:

Since all things are by the law of their being held subject to my laws, and ought to pay to me a rightful and established tribute, almost all, with just dues and with seemly presentation, regularly obey my commands; but from this general rule man alone is excluded by abnormal exception. He, stripped of the cloak of decency, and prostituted in the shameless brothel of unchastity, dares to stir tumult and strife not only against the majesty of his queen, but also to inflame the madness of intestine war against his mother.

(Moffatt, prose 4.19 - 29)

[Cum omnia lege sue originis meis legibus teneantur obnoxia michique debeant ius statuti vectigalis persolvere, fere omnia tributarii iuris exhibitione legitima meis edictis regulariter obsequuntur. Sed ab huius universalitatis regula solus homo anomala exceptione seducitur, qui pudoris trabea denudatus impudicitieque meretricali prostibulo prostitutus, in sue domine maiestatem litis audet excitare tumultum, verum etiam in matrem intestini belli rabiem inflammare.]

(Häring, part 8.10 - 16)

She states further:

Man alone rejects the music of my harp and raves under the lyre of frenzied Orpheus. For the human race, derogate from its high birth, commits monstrous acts in its union of genders, and perverts the rules of love by a practice of extreme and abnormal irregularity. Thus, too, man, becomes the tyro of a distorted passion, turns the predicate into direct contraposition, against all rules. Drawing away from power to spell of love aright, he is proved an unlettered sophist. He avoids the fitting relation of the Dionean art, and falls to vicious perversion.

(Moffatt, prose 4.87 - 98)

[Solus homo, mee modulationis citharam aspernatus, sub delirantis Orphei lira delirat. Humanum namque genus, a sua generositate degenerans, in constructione generum

barbarizans, Venereas regulas invertendo nimis irregulari utitur metaplasmo. Sic homo, Venere tiresiatus anomala, directam predicationem per compositionem inordinate convertit. A Veneris ergo orthographia deviando recedens sophista falsigraphus invenitur. Consequentem etiam Dionee artis analogiam devitans, in anastrophēn viciosam degenerat.]

(Häring, part 8.54 - 61)

The allusion to Orpheus is clearly a reference to homosexuality, Orpheus being deemed by Ovid the originator of pederasty.¹⁹³ And although the greater part of her complaint is given to condemning the homosexual activity which runs directly counter to her command that man reproduce himself, Nature also remarks that Venus, who in the beginning was her helper in her efforts to insure the continuation of the human race, has also fallen victim to intemperate and lustful passion:

Hiis apparatus nobilitate presignibus Veneri terrestis incolatus cessit in patriam. Quem cum suis suffraganeis instrumentis ad humane geneseos seriem contexendam desudando laborans Parcarumque manibus intersecta subtili acu resarciens subtilius renodabat. Sicque aliquandiu stipendiariae administrationis iura michi officiosissima curiositate persolvit. Sed quoniam ex matre sacietatis idempnitatem fastiditus animus indignatur cotidianique laboris ingruentia exequendi propositum appetitus extinguitur, unitas operis tociens repetita Cytheream infestavit fastidiis continuataque laborationis effectus laborandi secluserat affectum.

Illa igitur magis appetens oculis effeminari sterilibus quam fructuosis exerceri laboribus, serialis operationis exercitatione negotiali postposita, nimie ociositatis enervata desidiis cepit infantiliter iuvenari. Et quoniam apud quem desidia torpor castrametatur, ab eo omnis virtutis milicia relegatur oculique sterilitas prave sobolis solet fecunditate pregnari. Potus etiam inundans diluvium in nimias despumat libidines cibique effrenis ingurgitatio consimiles nauseas superfluitatis eructuat.

(Moffatt, prose 5.200 - 234; Häring, part 10.115 - 136)

Venus, therefore, can no longer be relied upon to further Nature's goals of the continuation of the human race, since she herself has yielded primacy to passion in her own life. So it seems that on two fronts Nature's commands are being thwarted: by homosexual activity (which seems to be her greater concern) and by heterosexual activity which has as its object physical gratification and not the propagation of the species. In employing grammatical terms to speak of homosexuality, Nature overtly links sexuality to

¹⁹³Alexandre Leupin, *Barbarolexis*, trans. Kate M. Cooper (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 65.

writing; she links homosexuality to a perversion of grammar, and therefore to *falsigraphia*. By contrast, heterosexuality must be seen as correct grammar, or *orthographia*. Jean de Meun is playing with fire as he continues to hide this *contraire* reading by giving it the appearance of personification allegory. As Amant continues to be fascinated with Bel Accueil, so is Jean de Meun fascinated by this perverted or inverted theory of writing, which does not reflect the Other, but mirrors the author as creator.

6.5. The City of the Devil Revisited

Speaking through the mouth of Nature, Alain de Lille, like Rutebeuf a century later, also gives a more general description of a world gone wrong:

All the beauty of virtue is banished; the bridles of madness are loosed for evil; the day of justice fades . . . While the lurid lightning of crime blasts the world, the darkness of guile clouds the planet of faith, and no stars of the virtues redeem the abyss of that darkness. The evening of faith lies upon the world, and night of the chaos of falsehood is everywhere. Faith sickens with fraud; fraud, too, deceives itself by fraud, and thus guile is upon the heels of guile. In the sphere of conduct, morals lack morality; laws lack law; justice loses the righteousness of its course. For all justice is executed without justice, and law flourishes without law. The world grows worse, and now its golden age departs. The poverty of iron clothes it; of old the glory of gold invested it. Now guile does not seek the robe of hypocrisy, nor does the foul odor of vice look for the balsams of the virtues to furnish a mantle for its stench . . . Without shame inhuman man repudiates the proper practices of humanity. Then, degenerate, he takes up the base actions of a brute, and thus, worthy to be unmanned, forsakes his manhood.

(Moffatt, metre 6.2 - 4, 7 - 23, 35 - 38)

[Virtutis species exulat omnis/ Laxantur vitio frena furoris/ Languet iusticie lucifer . .
Dum fulgur scelerum fulminat orbem/ Nox fraudis fidei nubilat astrum / Virtutumque
tamen sidera nulla / Istius redimunt noctis abissum, / Incumbit fidei vespera mundo /
Nocturnumque chaos fraudis habundat/ Languet fraude fides, fraus quoque fraudem /
Fallit fraude, dolo sic dolus instat/ Mores moris egent moribus orbi. Leges lege carent
iusque tenoris / Perdunt iura sui. Nam sine iure / Fit ius omne, viget lex sine lege./
Mundus degenerat, aurea mundi / Iamiam degenerant secula, mundum / Ferri pauperies
vestit. Eundem / Olim nobilitas vestiit auri/ Iam non ypocrisis pallia querunt / Fraudes
nec scelerum fetor odorus/ Ut pravo clamidem donet odori/ Virtutum sibimet balsama
querit . . . absque pudore / Humanos hominis exuit usus / Non humanus homo.
Degener ergo / Bruti degeneres induit actus / Se sic exhominans exhominandus.]

(Häring, part 11.3 - 5, 9 - 28, 44 - 48)

These words have a familiar ring. Certainly not identical to Rutebeuf's complaints, they, nevertheless, speak of a world where traditional values and virtues have been replaced by

their opposites, a world turned upside-down, the city of the Devil of Guillaume de Saint-Amour. While the focus of Rutebeuf and Guillaume is the morality of the Church, Alain de Lille's focus is that of the morality of man, more specifically, his sexual morality.

And Nature links this lack of general morality to man's sexual morality when she says:

While it has been told how the whole world is endangered by the almost universal fire of impure love, there now remains to be shown how it is shipwrecked on the most universal flood of intemperance. Seeing that intemperance is a sort of preface to the performance and excitement of love, and antecedent to the amorous consequent.

(Moffatt, prose 6.12 - 18)

[Quia ergo iam dictum est quomodo totus orbis in native Veneris fere generali periclitatur incendio, nunc restat dicendum qualiter idem generalissimo gulositatis naufragatur diluvio quoniam gulositas est quasi quoddam Veneree executionis prohemium et quasi quoddam ad consequens Venereum antecedens.]

(Häring, part 12.7 - 12)

Man's sexual morality, therefore, is bound up in his total morality, since intemperance and self-indulgence of any kind, whether it be gluttony, drunkenness, avarice (which leads to idolatry), envy, or flattery can lead to sexual self-indulgence or a perversion of his sexual nature. And as Faus Semblant is the embodiment of Guillaume de Saint-Amour's and of Rutebeuf's world gone wrong, so is Amant the embodiment of the ills decried by Alain de Lille in De planctu naturae.

6.6. Nature's Response to Man's Disobedience

Her counsel being universally ignored, Nature's response is to punish, to the extent of her power, those men who are driving virtue (Hymen [marriage], Chastity, Temperance, Generosity, Humility) from the earth. But she cannot "root out the poison of this pestilence completely" (Moffatt, prose 8.259 - 261) ["Sed quia excedere limitem mee vitutis non valeo nec mee facultatis est huius pestilentie virus omnifariam extirpare" (Häring, part 16.171 - 172)]. She says, therefore, that she will "brand the men caught in these crooked vices with the mark of anathema" (Moffatt, prose 8.261 - 263) ["homines predictorum viciorum anfractibus irretitos anathematis cauteriabo caractere" (Häring, part 16.173 - 174)]. She will ask her priest Genius "to cast out . . . with the pastoral rod of

excommunication, those men from the catalogue of the things of nature, from the bounds of my jurisdiction" (Moffatt, prose 8.264 - 269) ["Genium vero, qui michi in sacerdotali ancillatur officio, decens est sciscitari, qui a naturalium rerum cathalogo, a mee iurisdictionis confinio, mee iudicarie potestatis assistente presentia, vestre assentionis covivente gracia, pastoralis virga excommunicationis eliminat" (Häring, part 16.175 - 178)]. Genius responds to her request, and issues the following proclamation:

By the authority of the Absolute Being and of His eternal thought, and with the approbation of the celestial soldiery, and the agreement of Nature and the assisting ministry of the attendant virtues beside, let him be separated from the kiss of heavenly love, as the desert of ingratitude demands, let him be degraded from the favor of Nature, let him be isolated from the harmonious assembly of the things of Nature, *whoever turns awry the lawful course of love*, or is often shipwrecked in gluttony, or swallows greedily the delirium of drunkenness, or thirsts in the fire of avarice, or ascends the shadowy pinnacle of insolent pride, or suffers the deep-seated destruction of envy, or keeps company with the false love of flattery. *Let him who makes an irregular exception to the rule of love be deprived of the sign of love.* Let him who is deep in the abyss of gluttony be chastised by shamefaced beggary. Let him who sleeps in the Lethean stream of drunkenness be tormented with the fires of perpetual thirst. Let him in whom burns the passion to possess incur the continual needs of poverty. Let him who, exalted on the precipice of pride, throws out a spirit of arrogance, fall ingloriously into the valley of dejected humility. Let him who envies and gnaws like the moth of detraction at the riches of another's happiness first find himself an enemy to himself. Let him who hunts gifts from the rich by the hypocrisy of flattery be cheated by a reward of deceptive worth. (italics added)
(Moffatt, prose 9.214 - 242)

[Auctoritate superessentialis Vsyae eiusque Notionis eterne, assensu celestis milicie, coniuncte Nature etiam ceterarumque officialium virtutum ministerio suffragante, a superne dilectionis osculo separetur ingratiitudinis exigente merito, a Nature gracia degradetur, a naturalium rerum uniformi concilio segregetur omnis qui aut legitimum Veneris obliquat incesum aut gulositatis naufragium aut ebrietatis sentit insomnium aut avaricie sicientis experitur incendium aut insolentis arrogantie umbratile ascendit fastigium aut precordiale patitur livoris exicium aut adulationis amorem comitatur ficticium.

Qui a regula Veneris exceptionem facit anormalam, Veneris privetur sigillo. Qui gulositatis mergitur in abisso, mendicitatis erubescencia castigetur. Qui ebrietatis leteo flumine soporatur, perpetuate sitis vexetur incendiis. Ille, in quo sitis incandescit habendi, perpetuatas paupertatis egestates incurrat. Qui in precipicio arrogantie exaltatus spiritum elationis eructuat, in vallem deiectionis humilitatis ruinosae descendat. Qui aliene felicitatis divicias tineae detractionis invidendo demordet, primo se sibi hostem inveniat. Qui adulationis ypocrisi a divitiis venatur munuscula, sophistici meriti fraudetur in premio.]

(Häring, part 18.141 - 158)

This, then, is the ban of excommunication that has been issued by Nature and proclaimed by Genius in De planctu naturae, the ban that is in effect when Nature and Genius reappear in the Roman de la Rose. "Whoever turns away from the lawful course of love" is excommunicated, and from the text it is clear that although homosexuality is the predominant concern, anyone who lets his passions dictate his actions is also included. In addition, one learns that the punishment for sodomy seems to be castration, a separation from the procreative activity preordained for the human species by God. It should be observed as well that the other vices mentioned in Nature's proclamation mirror the description of man given by Nature in the Roman de la Rose:

Orgueilleus est, murtriers et lierres,
fel, couvoiteus, avers, trichierres,
desesperez, gloz, mesdisanz,
et haïneus et despisanz,
mescreanz, anvieus, mantierres,
parjurs, fausaires, fos, vantierres,
et inconstanz et foloiables,
ydolatres, desagraables,
traïstres et faus ypocrites
et pareceus et sodomites . . .
(RR, v. 19,195 - 204)

This list also bears a striking similarity to the description of the pseudo-prophets of De periculis, further linking Amant to Faus Semblant as they mirror each other, becoming more and more entwined until it is virtually impossible to distinguish one from the other. For not only do they resemble each other, their textual sources also bear striking similarities that reinforce and intensify the merging of their identities. Thus, in the Roman de la Rose, when Nature sends Genius to revoke her ban of excommunication and offer pardon to all those who promise "to be fruitful and multiply," the clear implication is that everyone to whom Genius speaks, that is, every baron in Amour's army, as well as Amant himself, is presently under this ban and thus guilty of the sins cited by Nature in De planctu naturae, which she repeats in the Roman de la Rose. By extension, continuing the parallel between sexuality and writing, Jean de Meun must also

be seen as guilty of *falsigraphia*, that idolatrous form of circularity in writing that, by its refusal to look beyond itself to the Other, creates its own universe and its own god.

6.7. Venus's Intervention

Bel Accueil is not mentioned again until near the end of the Roman. Venus has now taken charge of the assault upon the château, and the reader realizes that if Venus is necessary to insure the success of Amant's quest, as she appears with her torch to inflame the passions of the lovers, once again Nature's counsel is being ignored, as reason is abandoned in favor of lust. Venus says that when she has finished, Bel Accueil will let all the roses and rosebuds be taken, some given, some sold:

Et Bel Acueill lera tout prandre,
boutons et roses a bandon,
une heure en vante, autre heure an don.
(RR, v. 20,708 - 10)

And as she speaks, the roses are not so closely linked to Bel Accueil and his virginity. She does not refer to them as his, and her remarks seem to be of a more general nature, shifting back to any sexual conquest, as she says that when her assault is completed, the château and its passages will be opened so that everyone will be able to pluck the roses, clerics and laymen alike, be they members of the regular orders or of the secular clergy:

tuit i queudront san nul delai
boutons et roses, clerc e lai,
religieus et seculer.
(RR, v. 20,721 - 23)

Once more, the worlds of Faus Semblant and Amant merge. The only difference, Venus continues, is that some will act openly and be regarded as having loose morals, while others will do the same thing secretly and be considered as men of good reputation, remarks which hark back to the discourse of Faus Semblant, who relies so heavily upon the appearance of good to be effective. Venus, however, takes the matter one step further, stating that there are those who ignore the roses to do worse, in this context a reference to homosexuality, and it is, she says, the devil who incites them to do this:

Si rest voirs qu'aucun mauvés home
(Que Dex et seint Pere de Rome
confonde e eus et leur affere!)
leront les roses por pis fere;
et leur donrra chapeaus d'ortie
deables, qui si les ortie.
(RR, v. 20,735 - 40)

To be sure that her listeners understand her exactly, she continues that Genius, acting for Nature, has condemned those who engage in this vile practice:

Car Genyus de par Nature,
por leur vilté, por leur ordure,
les a touz a santance mis
avec nos autres anemis.
(RR, v. 20,741 - 44)

The reader should remember that Faus Semblant has been called '*deable*' by Amour; it seems, therefore, that he plays a role in influencing the actions of some, Amant included, in this direction. He has also influenced the writing of Jean de Meun, changing the love quest into an idolatrous exercise of self-love, mutating the text into a mirror of its author and his protagonists, as they play with deceptive appearance and the mutation of signs. Venus then concludes her speech with an invective against Raison, who is uniformly maligned and rejected by almost everyone in this tale of the world gone wrong.

The advent of Venus makes it clear that the 'love' of Amant for Bel Accueil / rose is indeed a disordered one in which the passions rule, the kind of intemperate love decried by Nature in her complaint, one which her once-valuable ally, Venus, now promotes at the expense of a properly-directed love relationship. If the reader has missed the other indications in the text, Venus's presence and decisive role in the *dénouement* of the Roman indicate a desire for sexual fulfillment which, ignoring the dictates of Nature and the guiding influence of Raison, does not discriminate in the choice of sexual partners.

6.8. Amant: Narcissus Fulfilled, Pygmalion Reversed

As the Roman moves toward its conclusion, Courtoisie, rushing into the prison in order to find Bel Accueil, also addresses him twice as *biau filz* (RR, v. 21,297;

v. 21,307), and also as *biau tres douz filz* (RR, v. 21,281) and *biau douz filz* (RR, v. 21,293), counseling him to receive Amant and to grant him the rose ["Otroiez li la rose an dons" (RR,v. 21,309)]. Bel Accueil agrees to do this:

Dames, je la li habandons,
fet Bel Acueil, mout volantiers.
Cueillir la peut andemantiers
que nous ne soumes ci que dui.
(RR, v. 21,310 - 13)

The wording of his acquiescence reinforces the idea that the rose represents his virginity, as he requests that it be done privately, with only the two of them present.

Then follows the scene in which Amant in effect rapes the statue. The author compares this statue to the ivory statue created by Pygmalion, which prompts a retelling of that story, also taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, which again reinforces the textual instability alluded to earlier.¹⁹⁴ Pygmalion, who has fallen in love with his own creation, laments that this love which he is experiencing is so horrible that it could have never come from Nature ["mes ceste amour est si horrible / qu'el ne vient mie de Nature" (RR, v. 20,832 - 33)]. And yet, he says, others have loved as foolishly; namely, Narcissus, who fell in love with his own image:

maint ont plus folement amé.
N'ama jadis ou bois ramé,
A la fontaine clere et pure,
Narcisus sa propre figure,
quant cuida sa saif estanchier.
(RR, v. 20,845 - 49)

The reintroduction of Narcissus into the narrative links these two myths, bringing the reader back to the beginning of the Roman and calling up the image of Amant gazing into the fountain, the action which precipitated all that has followed. In addition, Jean Dornbush comments that in his telling of the Pygmalion myth, Ovid "manipulates the

¹⁹⁴Jean M. Dornbush, Pygmalion's Figure (Lexington, Kentucky: French Forum, 1990) discusses mirroring and mutability of the text in reference to Ovid, pp. 49 - 98.

indeterminacy (of the statue's gender), playing with double meanings and invertible genders to stress the possibilities of reading the text 'otherwise,'"¹⁹⁵ implications which were probably recognized by Jean de Meun. This coupling of the unnatural love of Pygmalion with that of Narcissus clearly implies that the love which Amant professes is un-Nature-al, too, whether its object is Bel Accueil or the lady / statue / rose; that is, it does not follow the directives which have previously been set down by Nature in the course of her Complaint, nor the guidelines offered by Raison. And just as the introduction of Narcissus's homosexual proclivities serve as guide to Amant's relationship with Bel Accueil and his rose, so does the presence of Pygmalion's idolatrous and incestuous, albeit supposedly heterosexual, relationship with the statue which was his own creation serve as a mirror to the relationship of Amant with the statue through which he gains access to Bel Accueil and then the rose.

As one reads Jean de Meun's text and recognizes the extent to which Pygmalion becomes preoccupied with his own creation, it is clear that this is another example of the idolatrous writing of *falsigraphia*, which mirrors the inverted sexual relationship that parallels it. For Amant, like Pygmalion and Narcissus, has created his own love-object, a creation which is nothing more than an externalized projection of himself. Furthermore, the metamorphosis of Pygmalion's statue from stone into a living woman is reversed in the Roman, when the rose is petrified as a stone statue giving access to the château. Once again, as in the Narcissus myth, the reader is confronted with the mutability of sign which pervades the Roman de la Rose. With the added emphasis accorded metamorphosis through the addition of the Pygmalion myth, Jean de Meun is insisting upon the textual strategy of the unstable meaning or mutability of signs. Although the problem of the interpretation of signs was incorporated into the text through the character

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 81.

of Faus Semblant, it now becomes apparent that Ovid's Metamorphoses also contributes to the difficulty of interpreting signs already inherent in the text. And as always, by extension, Narcissus and Pygmalion may be seen to mirror Jean de Meun, as he creates his own idol and his own image in his text, thus further substantiating the validity of the label of falsigrapher.

6.9. *Dénouement*

Amant, having successfully gained entry to the inner reaches of the château, then proceeds to the rose which he is ready to seize. Bel Accueil begs him to restrain himself and not to go beyond the bounds of acceptable behavior; and Amant agrees, saying that he would not do anything against the wishes of Bel Accueil:

Bel Acueill por Dieu me priaït
que nul outrage fet n'i ait;
et je li mis mout en couvant,
por ce qu'il m'an priaït souvant,
que ja nule riens ne feroie
for sa volenté et la moie.

(RR, v. 21,669 - 74)

Yet he cannot control himself and ends by using force to disengage and to examine the rose. Amant defends his actions, saying that this was the only way he could fulfill his desire, and that Bel Accueil did not hold this against him and let him do whatever he wanted. Bel Accueil, however, did accuse him of going against his word and abusing *him*, but, declares Amant with satisfaction, he did not put any obstacle in his way:

Mes de tant fui je bien lor fis
c'onques nul mau gré ne m'an sot
li douz, qui nul mal n'i pansot,
ainz me consant et seuffre a fere
quan qu'il set qui me doie plere.
Si m'apele il de couvenant,
et li faz grant desavenant,
et suis trop outrageus, ce dit.
Mes il n'i met nul contredit
que ne preigne et debaille et cueille
rosier et rains et fleur et fueille.

(RR, v. 21,702 - 12)

During this commentary, Amant refers to Bel Accueil as *li douz*, another masculine address. And as indicated by the italics used above, Bel Accueil seems to take this assault in a very personal way and indicates by the use of the personal pronoun *li* that Amant's attack is centered upon him. Further, Bel Accueil submits to Amant's advances as if he cannot prevent him from violating him as he has violated the statue. And Amant, as is his nature, is completely insensible to anything but the gratification of his own desire. Although the rose figures into the last scene as Jean de Meun plays out the text begun by Guillaume de Lorris, it appears almost as an afterthought, and seems to symbolize Bel Accueil's virginity (as well as perhaps that of the lady / statue). Thus, Amant has played out the story of Narcissus and has become enamored of one like himself, a union that reinforces Nature's opinion of men as sodomites who do not seek to be fruitful and multiply. He has mirrored Pygmalion as he enacts the parody of sexual intercourse with a statue. Both of these images are sterile; both play directly back into the writing of Jean de Meun, as his writing becomes increasingly self-centered and circular.

6.10. Conclusions

The presence of the textual sources discussed here, along with their principal characters, should cause the reader to wonder just exactly what the text is dealing with in terms of sexuality, and in terms of literary theory. By the thirteenth century, Narcissus and Pygmalion were literary archetypes associated with metamorphosis, as well as with idolatry of different kinds. The metaphors that Nature and Genius use to describe sexual reproduction, that is, the pen and the page, the plow and the furrow, and the hammer and the anvil had, in the course of the hundred years separating those two texts, passed into general usage, since the whole of Alain de Lille's text enjoyed a wide readership. Jean de Meun does not find it necessary to explain the mission entrusted to Genius by Nature, assuming that his readers know what ban of excommunication Nature is willing to lift, as well as the actions that had caused the ban to be executed in the first place. Thus, the

presence of Ovid's two mythical characters, as well as that of Alain de Lille's Nature and Genius, indicates that there is a homosexual reading of the text of the Roman de la Rose, although it is one that has been generally neglected or ignored.

With the introduction of these homoerotic elements, which are too closely entangled with the normative reading of the text to ever be definitively separated, Jean de Meun once again uses the dialectical ploy of *contraires choses* that appears in so many guises throughout the Roman de la Rose, a strategy which allows him to tell one story while claiming to be telling another which is quite different. It allows him to maintain the fiction of a heterosexual love quest just as the reader has decided that this tale is something quite different. And once again, both readings are valid. Yet while the reader will have no trouble in accepting the traditional heterosexual reading of the text, it is important that s/he also acknowledge the oppositional homosexual reading. Further, it is unequivocally clear from the pre-texts used by Jean de Meun and from the discourse of Raison herself that in neither case is Amant's love worthy of the name; rather, he shamelessly follows his passions wherever they lead him, using whomever he wishes to gratify himself. As a result, he cannot hope to have Nature's ban of excommunication lifted, nor will he enjoy the rewards promised by Genius in the Park of the Lamb.

This *contraire* reading of Amant's amorous quest(s) also leads to other equally important insights concerning the Roman de la Rose as it manifests the author's literary theory. For just as the *contraire* reading of Faus Semblant's actions lead to the designation of the text as a *contraire* gospel, so this *contraire* reading reveals a *contraire* author: Jean de Meun. This designation flows from two observations: (1) The relation between grammar and sexual conduct as drawn by Nature in De planctu naturae,¹⁹⁶ and (2) The statement by Amour mid-way through the Roman de la Rose that Jehans

¹⁹⁶Leupin offers a thorough analysis of this analogy in Barbarolexis, chapter three.

Chopinel de Meun will also reject Raison ["Puis vendra Johans Chopinel (RR, v. 10,535) et sera si tres sages hon / qu'il n'avra cure de Reson" (RR, v. 10,541 - 42)]. Let us take each in turn.

Among the equivalencies drawn by Nature between proper grammar and proper (i.e., heterosexual and procreative) sexual conduct, there lies a telling sentence: "Drawing away from power to spell of love aright, he (man) is proved an unlettered sophist" (Moffatt, prose 4.95 - 96). This line is not so striking in the English translation as it is in the original Latin: "A Veneris ergo *orthographia* deviando recedens sophista *falsigraphus* invenitur" (italics added) (Häring, part 8.58 - 59). Orthography is equated with heterosexuality; falsigraphy with homosexuality. By introducing a strong homosexual element into the text, Jean de Meun is also placing his writing in the realm of falsigraphy. As Alexandre Leupin points out in *Barbarolexis*, "falsigraphy is constructed as an autonomous constitution of meaning. Just as the feminized man is fascinated by a male reflection showing him no more than his own double, so the sophistic writing that he produces can only allegorize captivation by the self." Falsigraphy, therefore, rejects the cardinal rule that art should imitate nature. In so doing, it makes itself the object of its art; or as Leupin puts it: "This kind of writing, characterized by a sterile circularity, is spurious because it subverts the Aristotelian distinction between the intrinsic and the extrinsic. Writing for oneself, or writing simply in order to write, is to attribute to the created being what should originate with the Creator. Since this writing begins and ends with sameness, its movement yields to the passion of idolatry."¹⁹⁷ In addition, then, to mutability, idolatry is another definitive characteristic which Ovid, through Narcissus and Pygmalion, imposes upon the text, and which Jean de Meun as writer assumes, as his inclusion of the homoerotic elements in the text indicates. Each one of these three has, in

¹⁹⁷Leupin, p. 66; p. 59; p. 66.

his own way, broken the connection which exists between himself and the Other, finding in himself both the source and the object of his art. Pierre-Yves Badel also recognizes this tendency in Jean de Meun's text, characterizing the multiple discourses in the Roman as the manifestation of a writer's nature whose pleasure in writing carries him happily away upon the irresistible urge to demonstrate it. Jean de Meun, he says, possesses an intense joy for writing ["la manifestation d'une nature d'écrivain chez qui le plaisir d'écrire l'emporte heureusement sur la volonté, pourtant impérieuse, de prouver. Il y a chez Jean de Meun une intense jubilation à écrire"].¹⁹⁸ Badel also remarks on the equivalence drawn between sexual activity and writing and work; but he does not perceive the distinctions between orthography and falsigraphy pointed out by Alexandre Leupin and confirmed in De planctu naturae. Yet by describing Jean's writing as an invention of self and of the world by a study of a language, French, for which Jean de Meun's undertaking has no real models ["invention de soi et du monde par un travail sur une langue, le français, où l'entreprise de Jean de Meun n'a pas de véritables modèles"],¹⁹⁹ he clearly perceives the circularity inherent in the Roman between text and author. For Jean de Meun, this results in the kind of exuberant poetic described by Simon Gaunt in which Jean de Meun sets up axioms of what is right (*droit*) and proper (*propre*) only to undermine them through his allegory(s). He makes his own rules and then breaks them or follows them in an 'improper' way. Through Genius, he equates proper or 'straight' writing with 'straight' sex; yet he says through Raison that it is 'proper' to speak plainly of sexual matters, then speaks plainly of 'improper' or homosexual sex, and allegorically

¹⁹⁸Pierre-Yves Badel, Le Roman de la Rose au XIV^e siècle: l'étude sur la réception de l'oeuvre (Geneva: Droz, 1980), p. 54.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 54.

of 'proper' or heterosexual sex.²⁰⁰ Like Narcissus and Pygmalion, he is completely captivated with self and with his own creation, making rules for his universe and then breaking them if he pleases, all the while reveling in his creative poetics with an exuberance and a *jouissance* that parallels the creative sexual act, yet at the same time repudiates it through his text. Clearly, he has moved beyond the rules of 'proper' writing dictated by the *auctoritas* of his age into a realm of literature which would emerge only centuries later. While this 'heresy' renders him perhaps suspect in the thirteenth century by those who perceived the complexity of his art, it is also what makes him, in twentieth century, a fascinating author whose text still speaks to a variety of readers.

It has already been pointed out that Amant twice rejects Raison, and in so doing he chooses the path of self-gratification and immoderation that ultimately leads him to choose to become a *faus amant*, that is, a *faus semblant*. As Amour prophesies, Jean de Meun "n'avra cure de raison" (RR, v. 10,542); Raison, who might have turned him away from acting "contre bien et contre droiture:"

Car quant, de sa propre nature,
contre bien et contre droiture
se veust home ou fame atourner,
Reson l'an peut bien destourner.
(RR, v. 17,057 - 60)

Through the words of Venus, also, Jean warns his readers not to believe Raison if she comes ["Se Reson vient, point n'an creez" (RR, v. 15,730)]. Thus, from this viewpoint, also, it is logical to postulate that by following the same un-reasonable path as Amant, Jean becomes in this case not the *faus amant*, but the *faus écrivain* or falsi-grapher. He manipulates language much as Amant manipulates his love-objects and Faus Semblant manipulates his victims, using language to hide his true intentions, seducing his readers into accepting his writing by making it appear to be that which it is not. In this way, too,

²⁰⁰Gaunt, p. 89.

he imitates Narcissus and Pygmalion and incorporates Ovid's textual strategy of metamorphosis as he deals with changing appearance. The metamorphoses also present in the myths of these characters relate back to the deceptive appearance of Faus Semblant. Thus, both Amant and Faus Semblant use the Roman to change it into something which in the beginning it was not. For Amant, it became an indiscriminate lust quest; for Faus Semblant, the Evangile pardurable. But by using personification allegory so cleverly, Jean tricks his readers into condoning actions and attitudes which, if confronted directly, would be rejected. He warns his readers that those who do not observe closely will not perceive sophistry:

qu'il n'i sevent apercevoir
ne la mençonge ne le voir,
ne le soffime deviser
par defect de bien aviser.
(RR, v. 8,897 - 900)

In addition, sophists never follow Nature:

qui euvrent de sophisterie:
travaillent tant con il vivront,
ja Nature n'aconsivront.
(RR, v. 16,116 - 18)

In the literary arena, they imitate Orpheus, reading Nature's rules backwards and perverting the true sense of the reading:

quant a rebours ses regles lisent,
et qui, por le droit san antandre,
par le bon chief nes veulent prandre,
ainz pervertissent l'escriture
quant il viennent a la lecture.
(RR, v. 19,628 - 32)

Jean de Meun is a sophist, but not an unlettered one, as Moffat's English translation of De planctu naturae would have us believe. Rather he uses his skill with language to deceive, luring his readers with the familiar signs of a personification allegory, yet all the while drawing them into his net of deception. He is the *oiselierre* who traps birds by

deceiving them with imitations of bird calls. And he warns his readers repeatedly against taking his text at face value. Yet he lulls them into doing just that.

VII

GENIUS'S DISCOURSE: THE *DIFFINITIVE SANTANCE*

Les écrivains du XIII^e siècle ont peut-être calculé leurs ambiguïtés. Pour eux la lecture est la quête d'un sens possible, et non la recherche d'une signification réelle.

Daniel Poirion (Le Roman de la Rose)

[Thirteenth-century writers perhaps calculated their ambiguities. For them, reading is the quest for a possible sense, and not the search for an authentic meaning.]

Having examined the readings concerning both Amant and Faus Semblant, it now remains to consider the discourse of Genius, Nature's priest. Nature sends him to Amour and his barons, as well as to Amour's mother Venus, with an offer to pardon them and to lift the ban of excommunication that she has proclaimed if they will but follow her dictates. Before he leaves, however, she overtly states that her pardon does not extend to Faus Semblant and Astinance Contrainte, because Faus Semblant associates with those arrogant apostates, those dangerous hypocrites that Sacred Scripture labels as false prophets, while Astinance Contrainte is suspected by Nature to be like Faus Semblant:

fors seulemant a Faus Semblant,
por qu'il s'aut ja mes assemblant
avec les felons orgueilleus,
les ypocrites perilleus,
des quex l'Escriture recete
que ce sunt li pseudo prophete.
Si rai je mout sospeçoneuse
Attenance d'estre orgueilleuse
et d'estre a Faus Samblant samblable . . .
(RR, v. 19,315 - 23)

Once again, the University Quarrel intrudes into the Roman de la Rose, as Nature, too, condemns the activities of the mendicant orders, making the same pejorative associations

as does Guillaume de Saint-Amour. Like the men described in De periculis, Faus Semblant and Astinence Contrainte embody all the vices which Nature attributes to humanity. This, however, is not why she denies them her pardon. Rather it is because in their apocalyptic identities as the Devil and his consort they are beyond the bounds of Nature's jurisdiction. Thus, while she may refuse them her pardon, in reality it is not hers to bestow in the first place.

Like the discourse of Faus Semblant, Genius's discourse is also one that is easily ignored, since at first reading it seems to have no real bearing on the Lover's quest and no influence on the final outcome of the Roman. Indeed, some medieval illuminations seem to treat Genius's sermon as a joke, given the style in which it is illustrated and in the response of Amour's barons depicted there. John Fleming calls the sermon a parody, labeling it "jaunty and burlesque," and finds it hard to believe that any critic would take it seriously.²⁰¹ Rosamund Tuve comments that an illustration found in the Harley manuscript 4425, in which Genius is portrayed in his ecclesiastical robes delivering his *santance* from a scaffold of wine barrels, clearly shows what the illustrator thought of the seriousness of his message.²⁰² Denise Baker points out that while Jean de Meun emphasizes Genius's role as bishop, Nature as a moral guide has been replaced in the Roman by Raison, thus undercutting Genius's activities as a spiritual advisor. She continues that "Jean de Meun makes it hilariously clear that Genius is a false priest. The mass which he offers is a celebration . . . 'De toutes choses corrompables' (RR, v.

²⁰¹Fleming, Allegory and Iconography, p. 205.

²⁰²Rosamund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 257n. and fig. 94.

16,282).²⁰³ Pierre Badel argues that in the Roman de la Rose, because Raison has assumed part of the role traditionally assigned to Nature, Genius is thus limited to advocating sexual reproduction, although he also promises paradise, which Badel finds disconcerting. He states that Raison's earlier failure to bind together reason and desire is accomplished by Genius's "*éloquence chaleureuse*," an opinion which I cannot endorse. He also seems to consider Genius principally a comic figure, since he comments that buffoonery might well be the only way to present Genius's audacious message of vigorous sexual activity.²⁰⁴ Although George Economou agrees that Genius's role has been limited, he has a different perspective on what he terms "Genius' ironic treatment by the God of Love and his mother." It is that Genius has unwittingly been transformed into their priest, rather than Nature's, as they use his speech to motivate the barons to assault the castle without regard for Nature's concerns regarding procreation and the continuation of humankind.²⁰⁵

Daniel Poirion, however, states that in the Middle Ages humor did not necessarily carry with it irony or parody:

Il y avait aussi, dans la fréquentation des récits mythiques, une familiarité nuancée d'humour qui n'impliquait pas le même détachement qu'aujourd'hui. Le sourire ne marquait pas la distance et l'éloignement, mais l'intimité et la complicité. Différent de l'ironie, qui souligne la dénonciation du mal, l'humour signale la présence d'un bien à dévoiler. . . . L'humour accompagne donc les récits mythiques hors de toute croyance, sans pour autant les priver de signification.²⁰⁶

²⁰³Denise N. Baker, "The Priesthood of Genius: a Study of the Medieval Tradition," in Speculum 61, no. 2 (April 1976) : 285.

²⁰⁴Badel, p. 52; p. 51; p. 53.

²⁰⁵George D. Economou, "The Character Genius in Alan de Lille, Jean de Meun, and John Gower," The Chaucer Review, no. 4 (1970) : 208.

²⁰⁶Daniel Poirion, Le Roman de la Rose (Paris: Hatier, 1973), p. 187.

[There was also, in the practice of retelling myths, a subtle humorous familiarity which did not imply the same detachment as today. A smile did not mean distance and separation, but intimacy and complicity. Different from irony, which emphasizes the denunciation of evil, humor marks the presence of good to be revealed. . . . Humor thus accompanies completely unbelievable mythical tales without their losing their significance.]

Jane Chance Nietzsche believes that the greatly differing opinions concerning Genius stem from his dual role as generation god and priest. She finds that Jean de Meun has brilliantly combined the two in his Genius character, which explains Genius's insistence upon procreative sexual activity, as well as his competence to lay down the rules for entering the Park of the Lamb. She does not, it seems, acknowledge a limitation of Genius's role as a consequence of Nature's reduced role in the Roman.

Yet no matter what stance the critics take regarding the character, there is general agreement as to the content of Genius's message, although for some readers the call to sexual activity completely overshadows anything else. Critical opinions aside, however, Genius's sermon is, as the text asserts, truly the *diffinitive santance* of the Roman. Isidore of Seville defines *sentencia* as a "*dictum impersonale*" or an impersonal saying (Isidore, 2.11.1). According to Greimas the word *santance* may be understood to mean "sense," "judgment," or "condemnation." And it appears that it holds all of these meanings in relation to the discourse of Genius. For as he issues Nature's edict, Genius is passing judgment upon the actions of his audience, condemning certain actions while affirming others; this judgment, in turn, offers one interpretation of the *senefiance* contained in the Roman de la Rose. Moreover, the qualifying word *diffinitive* should cause the reader to take this discourse seriously. There is general agreement that Genius is advocating vigorous heterosexual activity in order to insure the continuation of the human race, revoking the decree of excommunication presently in force and promising the reward of a delightful eternity spent in the Park of the Lamb to those who follow his exhortations. Just how this fits into the whole of the Roman, however, remains a topic

for debate. Yet if one follows the threads of the readings discussed in the previous chapters and reads the text without labeling it as comedy or parody, the pronouncements which Genius utters are applicable both to Amant as he pursues Bel Accueil and ostensibly the rose, and also to Faus Semblant, the hypocritical mendicant incarnate, whose actions and influence destroy the Church. Further, his words are backed by the authority of the Church; for before addressing the barons of Amour's army, the dieu Amour has furnished him with a chasuble, a ring, a crosier, and a miter, that is, with the robes and accouterments of a bishop.²⁰⁷ His *santance*, therefore, has all the earmarks of an official proclamation of the Roman Catholic Church; his pronouncements carry the weight of the teaching authority of the Church. He speaks with the authority or *auctoritas* of the écrivain as he establishes the rules for Amour's barons and for the text, rules which Jean de Meun subverts.

His discourse is made up of two parts: (1) An exhortation to follow the commandments of Nature that he lays out to his audience, addressing homosexuality on one level, while treating mendicancy on another; and (2) A description of the paradisiacal Park of the Lamb which awaits those who obey Nature's dictates, as he urges his listeners to reject the corruptible earthly paradise offered by Guillaume and to choose instead his heavenly paradise.

7.1. Nature's Commandments

As he begins, Genius reiterates the ban of excommunication for all who fit the description of man previously given by Nature; however, he offers pardon to those who will follow Nature's laws, confess their sins and promise to repent:

saient tuit exconmenié
li delleal, li renié,
et condampné san nul respit,

²⁰⁷Rosemund Tuve sees a parallel in the dichotomy between the ecclesiastical garbs of Faus Semblant and Genius and their respective messages. Tuve, p. 272.

qui les euvres ont en despit,
 soit de grant gent soit de menue,
 par cui Nature est soutenue.
 Et cil qui, de toute sa force,
 de Nature garder s'efforce
 et qui de bien amer se peine
 sanz nule pansee vileine,
 mes qui leaument i travaille,
 floriz en paradis s'an aille.
 Mes qu'il se face bien confés,
 g'en praign seur moi tretout son fes
 de tel poair con jou puis prandre,
 ja pardon n'anportera mandre.

(RR, v. 19,497 - 512)

He restates his and Nature's condemnation of those who do not use their reproductive 'tools' as Nature intended (RR, v. 19,513 - 52). He dances around the question of those who take the vow of chastity, obviously not willing to condemn them for their sexual abstinence nor for the choice of a lifestyle that was considered a higher calling than the married state. He does, however, soundly condemn those who sow their seed upon sterile ground or do not use their pens or hammers correctly. They, states Genius, follow Orpheus, who did not know how to plow, write, or forge properly ["qui ne sot arer ne escrivre / ne forgier en la droite forge" (RR, v. 19,622 - 23)]. For as stated in the previous chapter, the name of Orpheus brings with it the connotation of homosexuality, and with it the implication of falsigraphy. Kevin Brownlee points out, however, that Orpheus was also known as a master poet. He argues that Jean de Meun, in appropriating myths sung by Orpheus in Ovid's Metamorphoses, assumes Orpheus's designation as master poet, but not as homosexual.²⁰⁸ I would, however, disagree with this second conclusion. For Jean de Meun does not practice what he (or Genius) preaches. This is but one more indication that the charge of *falsigraphia* is to be taken quite seriously.

²⁰⁸Kevin Brownlee, "Orpheus' Song Re-Sung: Jean de Meun's Reworking of Metamorphoses X, in Romance Philology 36, no. 2 (November 1982) : 208.

As he continues, Genius says that these should be hung ["panduz soit il par mi la gorge" (RR, v. 19,624)], excommunicated (which sends them to Hell) ["o tout l'esconmeniemant / qui touz les mete a dampnemant" (RR, v. 19,633 - 34)], and castrated:

..... puissent il perdre
et l'aumosniere et les estalles
don il ont signe d'estre malles.
(RR, v. 19,636 - 38)

He begs the barons not to follow their example, but to follow Nature's dictates and to use their hammers, their pens, and their plows upon the anvils, tablets, and fallow fields that await their mark:

Metrez touz voz ostiz en euvre
.....
Arez, por Dieu, baron, arez,
et vos lignages reparez.
(RR, v. 19,669 - 72)

These are metaphors which were used by Alain de Lille's Nature to describe sexual intercourse which, properly directed, results in the continuation of the species so desired by Nature and which was the only valid reason to engage in this activity, according to the Church. As he condemns homosexuality, Genius's words echo the sentiments found in De planctu naturae; indeed, the punishment he describes for those who engage in homosexual activity is harsher and more explicit, overtly stating that the result of excommunication is eternal damnation and clearly spelling out castration as punishment for sodomy. And the reader must recognize that if homosexuality were not a preoccupation of the text, there would be no need for the inclusion of such an extensive treatment of this subject in a heterosexual love quest, nor for the appearance of these two characters at all. As Genius continues, the sexual activity he suggests to the barons is vigorous and brutal, calling to mind Amant's rape of the statue at the conclusion of the Roman. Genius's call for reproductive sexual activity is so blatant that most commentary

centers on this part of his discourse. Yet after reiterating the consequences of failing to use one's reproductive powers properly, Genius sets forth to the assembled throng Nature's commandments, whose content is usually ignored.

It is important to recall that Nature's commandments are not the only commandments found in the Roman de la Rose. As outlined in chapter three, Amour has explicitly stated his ten commandments to Amant; Faus Semblant has implicitly rendered his throughout his discourse. As in the case of Amour, Nature's commandments are explicitly listed:

First, to fight against the twenty-six vices named earlier by Nature:

contre les vices batailliez
que Nature, nostre mestresse,
me vint hui conter a ma messe.
(RR, v. 19,836 - 38)

In describing man's vices, Nature has described him as arrogant, a murderer and a thief, a criminal, greedy, stingy, treacherous, despairing and slanderous, hateful and despicable, suspicious, envious, untruthful, a perjurer, false, foolish and boastful, gluttonous, fickle and superficial, an idolater, disagreeable, a traitor and a false hypocrite, and lazy and a sodomite:

Orgueilleus est, murtriers et lierres,
fel, couvoiteus, avers, trichierres,
desesperez, gloz, mesdisanz,
et haïneus et despisanz,
mescreanz, anvieus, mantierres,
parjurs, fausaires, fos, vantierres,
et inconstanz et foloiables,
ydolatre, desagraables,
traïstres et faus ypocrites,
et pareceus et sodomites.
(RR, v. 19,195 - 204)

These vices are remarkably similar to those found in Paul's second letter to Timothy, chapter three, and listed by Guillaume de Saint-Amour as he describes the men of the last times in De periculis. The only one which does not find mention somewhere in these two texts is sodomy, which is treated in such detail by Alain de Lille. Interestingly enough,

Genius states that it is not necessary to dwell at length upon these since they may be found in "*li jolis romanz de la rose*" (RR, v. 19, 852). Does he refer to the listing of the vices given by Nature and cited above, or does he mean that these vices are to be found throughout the Roman as exemplified by Amant and Faus Semblant? While both interpretations are permissible, it appears that the second is certainly worthy of equal consideration, given the readings advanced here. And once more, the texts cited play back and forth into each other, creating mirrors of textual reflexivity which continue to multiply as each in turn describes man in much the same way.

Second, to try to lead a good life ["Pansez de mener bone vie" (RR, v. 19,855)], for if you loyally love one another, no blame will come to you ["Se leaumant vos antr'amez,/ ja n'an devroiz estre blamez" (RR, v. 19,859 - 60)]. This commandment seems to modify to some degree the vigorous reproductive activity previously urged by Genius, since with this statement a moral element appears, which would take into consideration love for one's partner.

Third, to try to confess sincerely, to do good and to avoid evil, and to claim the celestial God that Nature claims as master:

pansez de vos bien confessier,
por bien fere et por mal lessier,
et reclamez le dieu celestre
que Nature reclaime a mestre.
(RR, v. 19,863 - 66)

This multiple commandment intensifies the moral element, and the mention of confession sets it in a recognizably Christian context.

At the end of his discourse, Genius reiterates what is necessary to enter the Park of the Lamb: Try to honor Nature; serve her by working hard, and if you have anything which belongs to another, return it, if you are aware of it. And if you cannot, make reparation when you can. Do not commit murder; keep your hands and mouth clean; be loyal and merciful. Then you will go to the delightful Park of the Lamb:

Pensez de Nature honorer,
servez la par bien laborer;
et se de l'autrui riens avez,
rendez le, se vos le savez;
et se vos randre ne pouez
les biens despanduz ou jouez,
aiez an bone volanté,
quant des biens avrez a planté.
D'occision nus ne s'aprouche,
netes aiez et mains et bouche,
saiez leal, saiez piteus:
lors irez ou champ deliteus,
par trace l'aiglelet sivant.
(RR, v. 20,607 - 19)

Because this is a love allegory, these commandments, when they are remembered at all, have always been read in a sexual context, although not in one that also recognizes at the same time a condemnation of homosexuality as applied to Amant.

Yet on another level, when the words are taken in their *sens propres*, Nature is commanding everyone to work by plowing fields, by forging, and by writing. She is simply requiring that one work, which is contrary to the lifestyle of the mendicants represented by Faus Semblant. The three occupations specifically mentioned are also among those traditionally associated with monasteries, whose members, unlike the mendicants, did work. The command to love one another resonates with the command of Jesus to "love one another as I have loved you," an ideal of chaste Christian love certainly pursued by religious orders. Confessing sincerely may relate to the controversy concerning confession involving the mendicants, although here the penitent is addressed rather than the confessor. Further, one must do good and avoid evil, giving to others what is rightfully theirs, avoiding murder, and keeping hands and mouth clean. In a study of the English fourteenth-century poem Cleanness, Elizabeth B. Keiser states that "the *clannesse* God loves is finally understood less as a matter of avoiding or removing filth than of affirming and participating in the more encompassing splendor of divine

order."²⁰⁹ It is contrasted with "filth of the flesh," or sodomy. It seems, therefore, that the "cleanness" referred to by Genius probably has repercussions on the sexual level which the twentieth-century reader might miss. Finally, one must be loyal and compassionate. These commandments should apply to any Christian. However, in the thirteenth-century world of Jean de Meun, these exhortations, while they may concern everyone, also point out some of the concerns voiced by the opponents of the mendicants who saw them as pseudo-prophets. "Giving to others what is rightfully theirs" could be seen as referring to the mendicants' preaching *non missi*, thereby depriving the parish priests of their parishioners, and to the Dominican practice of having the order named as beneficiary in the wills of the persons for whom they served as confessors. In addition, it might also be a directive to the mendicant orders to give up the magisterial chairs at the University of Paris that Jean de Meun obviously felt did not belong to them. "Avoiding murder" might refer to the fear that the disciples of 'Jean' (or Joachimites) would kill the disciples of 'Pierre' (or Rome). "Keeping hands and mouth clean" might apply to the sumptuous food and drink many so-called mendicants enjoyed at the expense of their benefactors, while professing to live a life of poverty. In light of the implications for "cleanness" just mentioned above, however, this phrase might also be a reference to the manner in which the hypocrisy of the mendicants' lives did not reflect positively the splendor of God's order. Finally, loyalty and compassion were virtues which were certainly not associated with the mendicants by their enemies. They were seen as ravenous wolves who destroyed the flock of the faithful to gain their own ends, and were not considered to be loyal to the Church of Rome, as they moved outside of the traditional structure of the hierarchical Church.

²⁰⁹Elizabeth B. Keiser, Courtly Desire and Medieval Homophobia: the Legitimation of Sexual Pleasure in Cleanness and Its Contexts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 23.

How are Nature's laws different from those of Amour? Taking Nature's commandments in the context of sexuality, what is present there which is obviously lacking in Amour's tenets is the reference to 'work' or procreation. Thus, in following Amour's commandments, while the lover is enjoined to have as his object pleasing his beloved and being faithful to him / her, he has no obligation beyond this. Nature, however, calls for a higher level of commitment. She calls upon mankind to 'work' on her behalf by continuing the species. While she encourages them to love and please each other, it is the act of procreation that she considers of paramount importance. Thinking back, the reader becomes aware that since Amour's commandments are not tied in any way to procreation, they are not necessarily restricted to heterosexual love, although Amant's 'beloved' is referred to in the feminine. There is, thus, a radical and fundamental difference between the two on the sexual allegorical level. In the ecclesiastical context which keeps intruding into the text, Nature's laws must be seen as validating those who work to sustain themselves and condemning mendicancy. Further, the rules of behavior laid out by Faus Semblant, which are in stark contrast to those enumerated by Genius, must also be condemned. And Jean de Meun uses the ecclesiastical imagery involved in this section, namely Genius's priestly garb, the Trinitarian theology alluded to in Son to validate the message which is delivered through Genius's discourse and to denigrate what has been stated earlier by Guillaume through Amant and Amour as *truffles et mensonges*. Genius's message is clear: if the context is sexual, Amour's commandments must be modified to exclude homosexuality and amplified to require procreation; if it is ecclesiastical, then the mendicant orders must be rejected. For once Jean de Meun takes up his pen to complete it, the Roman de la Rose becomes first, a vehicle to condemn the mendicant orders and second, the deterioration of a love quest into a lust quest whose object (and indeed object is the proper word) is indiscriminate. For Faus Semblant, as Sire Penetrans Domo, enters into the 'house' or

conscience of Amant, infecting him with his philosophy and corrupting him further (for I am not convinced that this is a dewy-eyed lover to begin with), leading him to pursue his own gratification wherever he pleases. As one reads the Roman, it becomes more and more apparent that Jean de Meun moves back and forth between two levels of meaning, the sacred and the sexual, and within the sexual level between heterosexuality and homosexuality. He sets up his imagery in such a way that the reader immediately jumps beyond the text to the more obvious sexual reading. Yet the Roman also tells another story: a story of the Church corrupted and destroyed from within by the mendicant orders, as well as a society caught up in sexual promiscuity and deviance. It must be recognized that Jean never quite commits his text to the ecclesiastical and the homosexual. He always veers back to the more conventional reading in an attempt to seduce the reader into believing that this is what he *really* means. Faus Semblant has warned the reader against being taken in by appearance; it is a warning that should be taken seriously. For Jean de Meun subverts his own message by condemning mendicancy and its duplicity, yet turning his text into its 'gospel' and adopting the hypocritical sign into it; and by condemning homosexuality, thus implicitly condemning the perverted or inverted writing that homosexuality symbolizes, while adopting the literary stance of the falsigrapher. Like its traditional protagonist Amant, the 'joli' Roman de la Rose itself has undergone a metamorphosis: it may truly be seen as the place in which the art of *deablie* "*est toute enclose*." Faus Semblant has done his work well.

7.2. The Park of the Lamb

The description of the Park of the Lamb as contrasted to the *verger* of Deduit has elicited much commentary in terms of Christian symbolism, resulting in the obvious identification of the *verger* with a corruptible and corrupting Eden, and the Park with the Christian paradise. Those parallels are certainly valid and are not challenged here. What

has not been addressed, however, are other parallels which exist between the Park of the Lamb and the Third Age of the Evangelium aeternum.

Genius's insistence upon the label "*pardurable*," or eternal, in describing the Park (RR, v. 20,350 and 20,354) immediately calls up the *evangile pardurable*, Faus Semblant's name for the Evangelium aeternum, similarities which further corroborate the subversion of Jean de Meun's text into this heretical gospel. As he compares the two gardens, Genius describes the three streams which are the source of the fountain in the Park, saying that they are so close to one another that they join together as one, so that when you see them, they appear to be one and three at the same time. You will never find four, but always one and always three; that is their common nature:

Cele fontaine que j'ai dite . . .
rant tourjorz par .iii. doiz soutives
eves douces, cleres et vives;
si sunt si pres a pres chascune
que toutes s'assamblent a une
si que quant toutes les verroiz,
et une et .iii. en trouverroiz . . .
ne ja n'an i trouverroiz .iiii.,
Mais tourjorz .iii. et tourjorz une:
c'est leur proprieté commune.

(RR, v. 20,435 - 48)

This seems to be orthodox Trinitarian imagery, yet this comparison describes the image of the Godhead beginning with the three Persons, rather than the one God. According to Paul Fournier, this approach is more Greek than Latin in origin, and he finds that Joachim de Fiore follows this model with its emphasis upon personhood in his division of the three Persons of the Trinity in historical time, designating his First Age as that of the Father / Old Testament, the Second Age as that of the Son / New Testament, and the Third Age belonging to the Holy Spirit.²¹⁰ (According to Joachim, this age was not to be associated a testament; rather, men would gain a deeper understanding of existing

²¹⁰Joachim's Trinitarian doctrine may be found in Anagni, pp. 36 - 38.

Scripture. His disciple, Gerard, seems to hold a different opinion.) More telling, however, is the aside that one will never see four streams. This must allude to Joachim's criticism of the Trinitarian doctrine of Peter Lombard, who believed that there was a divine essence which the members of the Trinity shared beyond their activities of generation, arising from, and proceeding. Joachim held that this essence constituted a fourth Person.²¹¹ Thus, for the subtle reader, Jean de Meun, like Joachim before him, denounces the Trinitarian doctrine of Peter Lombard.

The carbuncle which lights the Park is also described in Trinitarian terms, although here the oneness of the stone is what is first stressed. There then follows a description of its three facets, which are equal in value:

. . . en ceste fontaine, . . .
luist uns carboncles merveillables
seur toutes merveilleuses pierres,
tretouz roonz et a .iii. quierres, . . .
Si sachiez que chascune quierre,
tex est la vertu de la pierre,
vaüt autant con les autres deus,
tex sunt antr'eus les forces d'eus,
ne les .ii. ne valent que cele, . . .
ne nus ne les peut deviser, . . .
ne si joindre par avisees
qu'il ne les truisse devisees.

(RR, v. 20,495; v. 20,498 - 500; v. 20,507 - 11;
v. 20,513; v. 20,515 - 16)

The description of the carbuncle is perhaps a more Latin approach to Trinitarian imagery. And while the obvious Christian and Trinitarian symbolism is interesting, the triune stream and stone hold a further meaning which will be delineated later in the chapter.

The word *pardurable* returns as Genius describes the Park as a place where night has been exiled, and the sun contained in the carbuncle lights the Park in everlasting daylight:

. . .cil carboncles flamboianz:
C'est li soleuz qu'il ont loianz,

²¹¹Paul Fournier, *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines* (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva GMBH, 1963), p. 92.

qui plus de resplendeur habonde
que nus soleuz qui soit ou monde.
Cist la nuit en seeil anvoie;
cist fet le jour que dit avoie,
qui dure pardurablement . . .

(RR, v. 20,525 - 31)

Joachim has used many images to illustrate the relationship of the three ages to each other, with the Third Age being in all ways superior to the other two. He compares the First Age to night, the Second to dawn, the Third to full day (*Anagni*, p. 132), the image of an everlasting day also being used in the verses just cited to describe the Park of the Lamb. The light-giving power of the crystals versus the carbuncle is also compared. Like the moon, the two crystals only give off the reflected light of the sun; if the sun does not strike them, they are not capable of showing anything of themselves:

Se li rai du soleill n'i fierent
si qu'il les puissent ancontrer,
il n'ont poair de riens montrer.

(RR, v. 20,428 - 30)

The carbuncle of the Park, however, like the sun, is the source of its own light ["Autres soleuz leanz ne raie / que cil carboncles flamboianz" (RR, v. 20,524 - 25)]. Once again, Joachimite images appear, for he has also compared the three ages to starlight, moonlight, and sunlight (*Anagni*, p. 100).

The *verger* of Deduit also compares unfavorably to the Park of the Lamb when one considers the clarity of the waters of the two fountains. The fountain of Narcissus arises from a double source ["El sort, ce dit il, a granz ondes / par deus doiz creuses et profondes" (RR, v. 20,395 - 96)]. It allows the viewer to see only half of the *verger* at a time, has been described as being clear as fine silver, yet Genius warns that it is so obscure and ugly that no one could recognize his reflection in it:

Puis si redit
qu'ele est plus clere qu'argenz fins.
Vez de quex truffes il vos pleide!
Ainz est voirs si trouble et si leide

que chascuns qui sa teste i boute
por soi mirer, il n'i voit goute.
(RR, v. 20,401 - 06)

By contrast, the fountain of the carbuncle reflects clearly, allowing one to see not only himself but everything in the garden:

toutes les choses du parc voient
et les connoissent proprement,
et eus meïsmes ansement.
(RR, v. 20,542 - 44)

In addition, one sees more clearly, without being dazzled by the brilliance and clarity of the light:

de cestui soleil li rai
ne troblent pas ne ne retardent
les euz de ceus qui les regardent
ne ne les font essabouir,
mes ranforcier et resjouir
et revigourer leur veüe . . .
(RR, v. 20,550 - 55)

There are two parallels with the Evangelium aeternum which arise from these images. The first pertains to the clarity of vision enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Park as compared to Deduit and his companions. As Jean de Meun reinterprets the symbols in Guillaume's garden, the fountain of Narcissus loses much of its transparent quality; the objects reflected in it are now so obscure that they are difficult to recognize. He contrasts this with the absolute clarity of vision one enjoys in the Park of the Lamb. Once again, these are images which are found in the Evangelium aeternum, as Joachim compares the First and Second Ages of the Old and New Testaments with the Third Age of the Spirit, saying that the Age of the Spirit will be without the "enigmate figurarum duorum testamentorum." He cites Saint Paul (1Cor. 13:9, 10): "ex parte cognoscimus et ex parte prophetamus" --- et hoc quantum ad secundum statum --- "cum autem venerit quod perfectum est," scilicet tempus caritatis, quod est tercius status mundi, "evacuabitur quod ex parte est" ["For we know in part and we prophesy in part" --- and this concerns the

second age — "But when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away"]. He continues that in this Third Age "tunc cessabunt omnes figure et veritas duorum testamentorum sine velamine apparebit" ["all figures will end and the truth of the two testaments will appear without a veil"]. Joachim once again cites Paul (1Cor.13:12): "videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate / tunc autem facie ad faciem nunc cognosco ex parte / tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum" ["We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known" (*Anagni*, pp. 100 - 01)]. Joachim's references to obscurity (*enigmate*) / clarity (*sine velamine*), to knowing in part and to knowing completely, to not recognizing oneself and knowing oneself as one is known all resonate with vision in the two gardens of the Roman de la Rose. For in Deduit's garden, one sees or knows only part, just as Paul has stated, and has trouble recognizing one's own reflection. In the Park, however, everything is seen and its fortunate inhabitants know themselves, just as Paul predicts. In addition, the concept that all will be seen without a veil brings implications for the reading of the Roman itself which cannot be ignored. Yet much like Jean de Meun, Joachim seems to also validate allegorical or spiritual meanings when he states that "Sciendum quod littera veteris testamenti commissa fuit populo judeorum, littera novi testamenti populo Romano, spiritualibus autem viris spiritualis intelligentia, que ex utraque procedit" ["knowing that the letter of the Old Testament was sent to the Jewish people, and the letter of the New Testament to the Roman people, the knowledge regarding the spiritual meanings which proceeds from each (was sent) to spiritual men"]. There are thus levels of meaning in the Roman de la Rose which Jean de Meun exploits as he plays off the text of the Evangelium aeternum and its Introductorius, meanings which were perhaps quite obvious to his contemporaries, but soon lost to posterity as the text of the Introductorius was destroyed and the doctrines of Joachim fell into disfavor. And as the Old and New Testaments reveal the truths of the Evangelium aeternum to those who know how to read

them *sine figurate et sine velamine*, so too do the two books of the Roman de la Rose reveal the Evangile pardurable of Faus Semblant (and of Jean de Meun). To carry this parallel one step further, it appears that while both Jean de Meun and Joachim de Fiore speak of literal and spiritual (or allegorical) understanding, they contradict themselves at various points in their arguments as to which is which, leading the reader to conclude that while there are many different ways of approaching a text, it is all but impossible to definitively label a given reading, so complex are the factors which play into it.

There is one further point to be drawn from similarities of language between the Roman and the Evangelium aeternum. Both texts refer to different ages of man's earthly existence in terms of metals. Jean de Meun has repeatedly referred to the myth of the Golden Age of man, which ended with the castration of Saturn. Not only does Genius refer to it in his exhortation to the barons, Raison has mentioned it earlier, as have Ami and La Vieille. So much textual reference attracts the reader's attention. This tradition tracks man's existence as a decline, from gold to silver to bronze to iron. Joachim (or Gerard), on the contrary, characterizes his three ages as corresponding to bronze, silver, and gold (Anagni, p. 129), which is a reversal of Greek mythic history. Moreover, Genius has linked the eternal day of the Park of the Lamb to the Golden Age, saying that never had such a beautiful eternal day existed unless it was during the reign of Saturn:

fet le jour en un point estable,
tel c'onc an printans pardurable
si bel ne vit ne si pur nus,
neïs quant regnoit Saturnus,
qui tenoit les dorez aages.
(RR, v. 19,999 - 20,003)

With this allusion, as well the coupling of the fountain of Narcissus with silver, and its unfavorable comparison with the fountain of the Park, Jean de Meun is truly an alchemist, turning baser metals into gold, as he recreates the Golden Age, as well as the Third Age of the Evangelium aeternum. The double source of Narcissus's fountain with

its double crystals has turned into the triune source with its triune carbuncle: the two books of the Roman now encompass a third, the Evangelium aeternum or Evangile pardurable. Jean de Meun is indeed concerned with mutability and meaning(s), not only of signs, but of texts, as he condemns Faus Semblant's mendicancy and Amant's homosexuality, yet adopts the *modus operandi* of each in his authorial role as he writes the Roman de la Rose, which he characteristically turns into a text that he ostensibly condemns, the Evangelium aeternum.

VIII

CONCLUSION: JEAN'S TESTAMENT

Restat igitur ut me ipse judicem sub magistro uno, cujus de offensionibus meis
judicium evadere cupio.

Saint Augustine, Retractationes

[It remains for me to judge myself before the sole Teacher whose judgment of my
offenses I desire to avoid.]

Merce quier a mon compaignon,
S'anc li fi tort qu'il me perdon;
Et ieu prec en Jesu del tron
En romans et en lati.

Guillaume IX, Duc d'Aquitaine,
"Pqs de chantar m'es près talenz"

J'ai fait en ma jonesce maint diz par vanité,
Où maintes gens se sont pluseurs fois délité
Or m'en doint Diex ung faire par vraie charité
Pour amender les autres, qui pou m'ont profité.

Jean de Meun, Testament

Toward the end of his life, in the tradition of Saint Augustine and the troubadour poet Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine, Jean de Meun also composed a Testament for posterity. According to Sylvia Buzzetti Gallarati, it was written after 1291, since Jean mentions the capture of Acre, and before 1305, his death being dated by correspondence from the act of sale of his house in Paris.²¹² Like Saint Augustine, whose Retractationes provided a model for self-judgment toward the end of one's life, Jean claims that he is offering a

²¹²Sylvia Buzzetti Gallarati, "Nota bibliografica sulla tradizione manoscritta del Testament di Jean de Meun," Revue Romane 13, no. 1 (1978) : 3.

work to God to correct his earlier writings.²¹³ Yet unlike Saint Augustine, whose comments upon each of his numerous works are brief and succinct, Jean de Meun characteristically needs some five hundred lines to comment upon his one principal work. Because the topics he addresses are in great part those which have been raised in the Roman de la Rose, this allows the reader to judge from yet another source the validity of the readings proposed in the preceding chapters. Jean begins by saying that in his youth he has written many things through vanity which have delighted many people (Testament, p. 1). He thus seems to validate the opinion that the kind of writing in which he has indulged may indeed fall into the category of the exuberant activity of the falsigrapher who creates his own universe and makes his own rules of writing, and that now in his old age he wishes to make amends by returning to more acceptable practices. Yet when he does this, his writing loses the creative spark that animated the Roman de la Rose, becoming dull and pedantic. His poetry appears forced and awkward, leaving the reader to wonder how the author of the Roman could sink so low. For as he raises his moralistic commentary, he loses his poetic muse. Nevertheless, a perusal of this document is interesting when viewed as a microcosm of the ideas and themes of the Roman, for like the mirrors which Jean has discussed in his major text, some are reflected clearly, others are ostensibly distorted or reversed from one text to the other, depending upon the reading given the signs in question.

Jean reaffirms that he is writing his Testament to please God and to assure as much as possible his salvation, the glory of God and the edification of his neighbor (Testament, p. 2). He states that one must follow whatever God commands "*selonc la letre, sans autre glose mettre*," using as an example loving one's neighbor as oneself. This is an

²¹³Jean de Meun, Testament, ed. M. Méon (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, 1814), in Le Roman de la Rose of the same edition, vol. 4, p. 1. Subsequent references to the Testament will indicate the page according to this edition.

ideal that Amant and Faus Semblant do not endorse, although "*Raison s'accorde, et Diex et l'Escripture*" (Testament, p. 4). Raison has been rejected in the world of the Roman de la Rose; it seems that she has been reinstated in the Testament.

He touches upon the subject of glossing, saying that there are some works in the arts and in law from which, in their literal meanings, no good comes. These are suitable for glossing, but only if they are glossed favorably for a higher meaning:

Maintes paroles sunt es sept ars et en droit,
Et en divinité, qui bien les entendroit
El sens qui les démonstrent, jà nul bien n'en vendroit;
Pour ce les convient-il gloser en bon endroit.
(Testament, p. 4)

He says that those who glose the works of authors unfavorably do them injury ["Et cil font vilenie qui le piour y glossent" (Testament, p. 5.)], for no one should speak ill of authors if their work does not contain obvious error; they have studied so much in order to teach us that they should be glossed favorably:

Nulz ne doit des acteurs parler senestrement,
Se leur diz ne contiennent erreur apertement;
Car tant estudierent pour nostre enseignement,
Qu'en doit leur moz gloser moult favorablement.
(Testament, p. 5)

A few lines later, he offers the opinion that those who find fault in the works of others are giving voice to their own false thoughts ["Car je cuit que leurs fautes sont en ton faulx cuidier" (Testament, p. 5)]. He is clearly defending his text, telling posterity how he would like his own work to be read (with a gloss), and defusing in advance any unfavorable or "*piour*" gloss by saying that the interpreter's own bias gives rise to it. He praises God Who has created man in His own image and taken on human form to reclaim him (Testament, p. 7), contradicting Nature's pessimistic description. He condemns sin (Testament, p. 8), in direct opposition to Faus Semblant's complacent attitude toward it, warning his readers to flee "*mauveise amor et mauveis avoir*" (Testament, p. 12), once again repudiating his two protagonists.

In an interesting aside on his own life, Jean de Meun says that God has treated him well, leading him through childhood, youth, and many perils without harm; He has given him great honor and wealth and allowed him to serve the greatest people in France (Testament, p. 13). Yet he realizes that, according to Scripture, more is expected from those to whom much is given (Testament, p. 14). He states that God's gifts are to be used for one's spiritual good. For example, if one has a good mind, it is not to be used to trick others or to deceive women by falsely entreating them ["Qui a sens, ce n'est mie por autri conchier / Ne por decevoir fames par fausement prier" (Testament, p. 14)], in direct contradiction to the methods of Faus Semblant and Amant. He counsels his readers to take care of their souls instead of their bodies ["Que du cors pou nous chaille, et pensons bien de l'ame" (Testament, p. 15)]. Like Rutbeuf and Guillaume de Saint-Amour, he characterizes the world as one which is turned upside-down, as alluded to in chapters five and six ["En ce monde qu'en voit tout bestorner" (Testament, p. 15)].

He comments on inheritance, which he says should be returned if the bequests in question have been unjustly acquired ["l'avoir mal acquis / Dois rendre" (Testament, p. 19)]. This is one of Nature's commandments delineated by Genius in the Roman, and, while it was not made explicit in that text, it is clear that in his Testament, Jean de Meun has the mendicant orders in mind when he says that he owes more to his grandchildren than to poor strangers or the Friars Minor ["J'ai mes petis enfans à qui je sui tenus / Plus qu'as povres estranges, ne qu'as freres menus" (Testament, p. 18)].

His observations on marriage are still pessimistic (Testament, pp. 22 - 25); he says that married love seems to be a fraud, to trick women ["ung barat, por fame conchier" (Testament, p. 23)]. He also gives voice to criticism concerning men who mistreat their wives, as well as his familiar complaints concerning women, which appear later. And although marriage is a model used to express the relationship between God and the Church, no one, man or woman, lives up to the ideal of human marriage.

Jean then turns to the mendicants, giving ample evidence in the remainder of the Testament of his preoccupation with the abuses perpetrated by these orders. They flourish "*contre raison*," as did Amant in the Roman (Testament, p. 26). They are robbers who take payment for services performed, alms that should go instead to the Church ["Ainçois sunt cil et cil larron et robéeurs / Des biens de sainte yglise, et faus décevéeurs" (Testament, p. 27)], a description which resembles that of Faus Semblant. Jean warns prelates to treat their clerics properly (Testament, p. 27ss.), saying that when they do not, the clerics are liable to become dishonest lawyers, or marry, or renounce their calling. He again mentions the mendicants, saying that they are winning the loyalty of the people at the expense of the secular clergy (Testament, p. 35).

The refrain of *dire et fere*, so familiar to the readers of the Roman, appears also in this text, as Jean de Meun says that words that are not accompanied by deeds are like a thatch fire, easily extinguished by the foot or the palm of one's hand ["Bien dire sans bien faire, est comme feu de chaume / C'on esteint de legier du pié ou de la paume" (Testament, p. 36)]. He compares the deceptive appearance of those whose words do not match their deeds to a woman who dyes her hair blonde, thereby hiding the black underneath:

Doubles est qui son fait ne concorde à son dit,
Et qui se met à euvre que sa langue escondit:
Tiex gens semblent la fame qui son noir chief blondit,
Qui le noir souz le jaune répont et abscondit.
(Testament, p. 39)

He comments on the alliance between the mendicants and the Court, how worldly the friars have become, and how they learn the secrets of the nobility and thus control them (Testament, pp. 38 -41). He continues that the mendicants have usurped the pastoral offices of the parish priests (Testament, p. 41). Echoing Guillaume de Saint-Amour, he says that the mendicants are flatterers, who thus obtain legacies from the rich (Testament, pp. 43 - 44). They have changed their dress from what it used to be ["Leur habit sunt

changié selonc ce qu'il souloient" (Testament, p. 45)]; now they are better dressed. They are concerned with temporal gain, and their works show this ["... leur proufit temporel qu'il i voient./ Leurs euvres nous font foi de leur entencion" (Testament, p. 46)]. They care nothing for the poor, but consort with the rich, the usurers and the con-artists ["Mès s'il prennent les riches, et des povres n'ont cure" (Testament, p. 49)]. He continues in this vein, repeating his assertions concerning deception in appearance and words, and mentioning the legacies to which the mendicants fall heir as a result of their counseling, and the worldly prosperity which is becoming their trademark. It is clear that Jean de Meun has not changed or softened his opinion of the mendicant orders. This is one part of the Roman that stands unchanged, even after twenty years during which the position of the Dominicans and Franciscans surely became stronger under the leadership of men like Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. Jean, however, is not impressed. He still sees the duplicity that he condemns in the Roman de la Rose and he stands firm against it. In contrast, he has good things to say about monks, especially the Cistercians, praising their humble way of life, their prayers and their almsgiving (Testament, pp. 52 - 53).

He passes on to other subjects, saying that human love is sorrow and shame and that he who relies on it is foolish, for it is not permanent ["Telle est l'amor des hommes, c'est douleur et damages:/ Trop est fols qui s'i fie, ce n'est mie heritages" (Testament, p. 61)]. He tells widows how to behave and women how to dress with his usual misogynistic bent; he tells sinners how to avoid sin, commenting that the devil rides unrestrained everywhere in the world ["Et déables chevauchent sans freïn et sans chevestre" (Testament, p. 73)].

Jean de Meun is overtly concerned with prayer ["Priere a grant vertu" (Testament, p. 74)] and with morality, saying that the world, the flesh, and the devil afflict men everywhere and that they should be wise and watchful against these three enemies ["contre euls sage et guetant" (Testament, p. 73)]. Amant, however, embraced all three

of these. Jean continues to denounce those who think one thing and say another ["pense ung et dit autre" (Testament, p. 75)]. He counsels giving one's heart to God (Testament, pp. 76 - 77), unlike Amant who gave it to Amour; he describes those who do not give their hearts to God as carnal, deceptive, gluttonous, and prone to anger, qualities which Amant and Faus Semblant share (Testament, p. 78). He defines sin as nothing (*noiant*), because God has not created it, and says that those who live in sin, live in nothingness, for sin destroys everything, though it may seem pleasant. He quotes the adage so often used by Rutebeuf: "Mès tout ce n'est pas or, c'on voit par dehors luire" (Testament, p. 79).

He roundly denounces the devil who is deceptive and full of vices, taking pains to revoke the mantle of acceptability with which he had clothed Faus Semblant in the Roman de la Rose. He preaches reliance on God, and then discusses the seven deadly sins, devoting more space to *luxure*, or the sins of the flesh, than to any of the others (Testament, pp. 90 - 93). Everyone is susceptible to this vice which tempts through the five senses; this temptation arises from the devil, who infects men through deception ["Ainsi nous enveniment la char et li déables,/ Par ses baraz couvers, soutilz et decepvables" (Testament, p. 91)]. In language reminiscent of the Roman, he refers to the devil as "li faus traistres," a label also assigned to Faus Semblant. *Luxure* is against God, marriage, chastity, modesty, and the religious. It destroys everything; it is so vile and despicable that it destroys more than it delights: this, he says, is the vile sin of the sodomites, which is the other preoccupation of the Roman de la Rose:

Luxure est si vil chose, si orde et si despite,
 Qu'elle put assés plus qu'elle ne nous délite;
 La paine est sans fin, et la joie est petite:
 De cest ort vil pechié se font li sodomite.
 (Testament, p. 93)

While its mention is not accorded the same weight as the subject of mendicancy, reflecting the relative attention given to each in the Roman de la Rose, the fact that he

devotes several pages to discussing the vice which encompasses sodomy is telling, noting a preoccupation with sexual excess and aberration that seems to permeate the Roman de la Rose, although in that text there is no censure of indiscriminate heterosexual behavior.

Jean concludes by speaking of heaven and hell and of the rewards and punishments which await men after death. He uses language reminiscent of the description of the time of the Third Age and of the Park of the Lamb, when he says that in heaven, God will be seen face to face ["l'en voit face à face Diex sans division" (Testament, p. 95)] and nothing will be covered ["n'i ara riens couvert" (Testament, p. 95)]. He says that the torments of hell await those who practice deception, and among this group are the *faux religieux*, of whom Faus Semblant is an example:

Tormens y a por papes, por roys, por chevaliers,
Por faus lays, por faus clers, et por faus réguliers,
Por faus religieux et por faus séculiers,
Tormens y a communs, propres et singuliers.
(Testament, p. 100)

Those who are damned because of *fole amour* will suffer their punishment together; Amant seems to fit this category:

S'aucuns por fole amour se sunt entredampné,
Là seront mis ensemble, joins et enchainé,
Batu et desrompu, froissié et ahané,
Et maudiront le jour qu'il furent d'Adam né.
(Testament, pp. 100 - 101)

He thus definitively rejects the kind of 'love' pursued by Amant, and, unless one is inclined to accord him the favorable gloss that he requests, now rejects the whole theme of a very carnal love quest.

He comments that although some excuse sins of the flesh, saying that these are natural appetites, man may always choose a higher path by using reason, and quotes St. Paul who says that all debauchers and fornicators, the greedy and the idolaters will not be part of the kingdom of Heaven. There is no such thing, he states, as being a 'little guilty' of debauchery; one mortal sin kills the soul just as completely as ten. He concludes by

saying that he has commented more upon the vice of *luxure* than the other six, because it is firmly embedded in the flesh and almost everyone is or has been guilty of it. It is a murderer and abounds everywhere:

J'ai parle de ce vice plus que des autres six,
Pour ce qu'il est en chars et fichiez et assis.
Que près que tous li mondes en est ou fus passis:
C'est un murtrier de peuple et un droit assasis.
(Testament, ms. 1492, p. 107, n. 1)

To those who say that they cannot do without this kind of love, he replies that it is the devil who tempts them so strongly ["ce font li déables qui si forment les tentent" (Testament, p. 108)]; furthermore, it brings with it more pain and suffering than delight ["S'en a paine et travail ains que folz déliz viengne" (Testament, p. 109)]. Jean even goes so far as to couple 'love' (*amours*) and 'vice' together, and while it is clear that he is speaking of concupiscence, it is nevertheless startling to see. And this 'vice' is the one which should be especially avoided, lest one be burned by its flame, language which calls up the image of Venus and her torch which she used to enflame the passions of reluctant lovers. The carnality of the flesh is the hardest to combat; one must fight it by fleeing and flee it by fighting ["Fuions en combatant, combatons en fuiant" Testament, p. 110)]. He seems to have completely abandoned the philosophy of a good and natural sexuality attributed to him by some critics of the Roman, and returned to the fold as a meek lamb of the Good Shepherd. Finally, he encourages his readers to think about the rewards of heaven and the torments of hell and to follow the right path, calling for aid from God, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus. He ends characteristically by saying that he must limit himself, not taking ten days to say what can be said in eight ["met dix jours à dire qu'il puet dire en huit" (Testament, p. 115)]. Finally, Jean de Meun says that if there is any good in what he has written, he hopes that it will go to the glory of God, to the salvation of his soul, and be of value to his readers. And if there is evil, he hopes that it will not bother them: that they will keep the kernel and throw away the shell ["Mès retiengnent le grain et

jettent hors la paille" (Testament, p. 115)], which is in direct contrast to Faus Semblant's statement that he leaves the kernel and takes the shell. Here Jean seems to be equating 'good' with '*grain*' and 'evil' with '*paille*,' which has interesting implications for *senefiance* in the Roman de la Rose.

Thus, the themes which dominate the Roman de la Rose also dominate the Testament of Jean de Meun, although in this instance the vehicle is quite different. How do the two works compare?

First of all, it is obvious that Jean de Meun is still preoccupied with the topics discussed in the two major readings of this study: the mendicant orders and homosexuality. He still criticizes the mendicant orders at length for the abuses which were attributed to them. He has not changed his stance on this subject at all, thus further strengthening the reading of the assault on the statue / sanctuary in the Roman as the mendicant orders' destruction of the Church. As for homosexuality, it falls under the category of *luxure*, or concupiscence, as he points out, and this is the vice that he discusses the most thoroughly. Thus, it seems that the reading proposed in regard to Amant and Bel Accueil is also valid; for, at the point in time when he wrote the Roman, Jean was also concerned about and condemned homosexuality in that text. Yet he has, it seems, reversed his position regarding Amant, for many readers see in the Roman an endorsement of natural heterosexual activity; yet in the Testament, he soundly denounces carnal love in no uncertain terms. Further, the devil is seen solely as a figure to be condemned and avoided at all costs.

As he 'amends' the text of the Roman de la Rose in his Testament, by pointing out in his commentary what he considers the good (the kernel or *grain*) and throwing out the bad (the shell or *paille*), Jean de Meun glosses his own text. If we may further assume that, in addition to 'good' and 'evil,' *grain* and *paille* may also hold their conventional meanings in relation to writing, and that what he keeps is indeed the inner meaning or

grain, then it becomes clear that it is all but impossible to assign an objective label of 'literal' or 'allegorical' to any given reading. For it seems that, rather than coupling *la letre* or the *sensus proprius* to the discrete words of a given segment, Jean has assigned it a more global meaning by considering it to be the generally accepted meaning of a given episode. In the end, if, according to the guidelines in the Testament, the *sens propre* versus the *integument aus poetes* is to have any meaning at all in the Roman de la Rose, it is that the *sens propre* is the most obvious meaning, and that which is allegorical is the least obvious. And Jean de Meun's definitive (though certainly not his only) *senefiance* can be explained in this manner, as he states plainly what he believes, without subterfuge.

Two messages stand out clearly in the Testament: (1) the condemnation of the mendicants and their practices, and (2) the condemnation of sexual concupiscence, both homosexual and heterosexual. If we then turn to the Roman de la Rose, what we find is that these messages are *not* found to be the most common readings assigned to the Roman. Let us take each one in turn.

Concerning the mendicant orders, while it is quite clear that Jean de Meun is attacking them in Faus Semblant's discourse, most readers and critics have acknowledged this fact, and passed on to other issues. The complacency of Faus Semblant as he lays bare the odious practices of his *confrères* and the fact that he and his deceptive ways are admitted into the Roman as a means of accomplishing Amant's quest, however, give his presence a certain validity and tacit approbation. In addition, there is no general recognition of the extent to which he has influenced Amant. Thus, the figure attacking the statue / sanctuary is not connected to him or to the mendicant orders in general. It is widely read as a sexual encounter in which Amant plays the principal role. If we want to call the *sensus proprius* the most obvious meaning, it seems that this would be it, and that in rejecting the *paille*, that this is the sense that Jean de Meun would like to amend, while

keeping the less obvious reading of the Church being attacked and destroyed by the mendicant orders.

Turning to sexual concupiscence, one may further argue that if the *grain* is the less obvious meaning, then Jean de Meun is affirming the fact that the homosexual reading concerning Amant and Bel Accueil, which he condemns via Nature's excommunication in Genius's discourse, is valid. Further, the more obvious meaning of Amant's obviously carnal heterosexual quest would also be *paille* which is rejected. For in arguing against indiscriminate heterosexual carnality, Jean argues for the kind of implicit moral reading that John Fleming finds in the Roman de la Rose and which I endorse, a reading that is validated by the vision of the world turned upside-down alluded to in the preceding chapters.

As he makes his final case for posterity, Jean de Meun thus continues to play with meaning, showing once again that in the allegorical world of language and of symbol it is well nigh impossible to pin a definitive label upon anything. He has exploited this quality of "speaking other" to a far greater degree than his contemporaries, which is the reason that the Roman de la Rose continues to be read and discussed today.

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APPENDIX A
PROPOSITIONS CONDEMNED BY THE COMMISSION OF ANAGNI

Charles duPlessis D'Argentré, in Collectio Judiciorum, vol. 1, pp. 163 - 164, gives a listing of the propositions condemned by the commission of Agnani as listed in B.N. Latin 16533 (Sorbonne ms. 1706):

[Haec invenimus de Introductorio in Evangelium aeternum misso ad Dominum Papam ab Episcopo Parisiensi, tradito tribus Cardinalibus, scilicet Domino Tusculano, Domino Praenestino, et sanctae Sabinae Presbytero Cardinali.

Quod circa millesimum ducentessimum annum Incarnationis Dominicae, exivit Spiritus vitae de duobus Testamentis, ut fieret Evangelium aeternum. Probatur hoc 15. cap.

Quod liber Concordiarum, vel Concordiae veritatis appelletur primus liber Evangelii aeterni. Probatur 17. cap.

Et quod liber iste Concordiae sit Joachim. Habetur per totum istud capitulum.

Et quod liber ille, qui dicitur Apocalypsis nova, vocetur secundus liber ejusdem Evangelii. Probatur vicesimo capitulo.

Similiter, quod liber, qui dicitur decem Cordarum, sit tertius liber ejusdem Evangelii. Probatur 21. cap.

Item, 28. capitulo, ponuntur haec verba: (In Manuscripta desunt)

Item, 24. capitulo ante finem, comparatur vetus Testamentum primo coelo, Evangelium Christi novo coelo, Evangelium aeternum.... coelo. Et expressius 25. capitulo, ubi comparat vetus Testamentum, claritati Stellarum; novum, claritati Lunae;

Evangelium aeternum, sive Spiritus Sancti, claritati Solis: Item, 27. comparat vetus Testamentum, Sanctuario; novum, Sancto; aeternum, Sancto Sanctorum: Item, 30. comparat vetus Testamentum cortici; novum, testae; aeternum, nucleo: Item, 29. dicit Evangelium aeternum esse spirituale; Evangelium Christi, litterale; et quòd Evangelium aeternum, est illud, de quo Jerem. 31. *Dabo legem meam, etc.*

Item, quod Evangelium Christi, sit litterali, expresse dicitur primo et vicesimo capitulo; ubi etiam afferit, quod Evangelium Regni, vocatur Evangelium Spiritus Sancti. Et, ad hoc probandum, adducit argumentum ex textu Evangelii, Math. 24. Quod, cum Evangelium Christi praedicatum sit in universo mundo, nondum tamen venit consummatio.

Quod item, 30. capitulo dicit, quod alia est Scriptura divina, quae data est fidelibus eo tempore, quo Deus Pater dictus est operare; et alia, quae data est Christianis eo tempore, quo Deus Filius dictus est operari; et alia, quae danda erit eo tempore, quo Spiritus Sanctus proprietates Mysterii Trinitatis operabitur.

Item dicit, quod tertius status mundi, qui proprius est Sancti Spiritus, erit sine aenigmate, et sine figuris. Unde, circa medium dicti capituli, ponit haec verba Apostoli, 1. Cor. 13. loquens de Charitate et Fide, distinguendo status, dicit, statum Fidei esse aenigmaticum, a statu Charitatis, qui est proprius Spiritui Sancto. Unde ibi dicit: *Ex parte cognoscimus; Ex parte prophetamus. Cùm autem venerit, quod perfectum est, etc.* quasi dicat: Tunc cessabunt omnes figurae, et veritas duorum Testamentorum sine velamine apparebit. Et statim subdit: *Videmus nunc per speculum, et in aenigmate.*

Et in 28. capitulo dicit, quod, sicut in principio primi status, apparuerunt tres magni viri, scilicet Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob; quorum tertius, scilicet Jacob, habuit XII. Et, sicut in principio novi, (*end of p. 91, ms. 1726*) apparuerunt tres, scilicet Zacharias, Johannes Baptista, homo Christus Jesus, qui similiter secum habuit duodecim; sic, in principio tertii, erunt tres similes illorum, scilicet vir indutus lineis; et Angelus quidam,

habens falcem acutam; et alius Angelus, habens signum Dei vivi. Et habebit similiter Angelus XII. inter quos ipse fuit unus; sicut Jacob in primo, Christus in secundo.

Item, quod per virum indutum lineis intelligitur scriptor Joachim.

Item, quod Evangelium aeternum traditum sit, et commissum principaliter illi ordini, qui integratur et procedit aequaliter ex ordine Laicorum et Clericorum. Probatur 13. capitulo circa medium; quem ordinem appellat Independentium...

In nono capitulo, ponit haec verba. Primus status sub lege: secundus sub gratia.. Primus in timore, secundus in fide, tertius in charitate...

Item, in 7. capitulo, in fine ponuntur verba ista: De generationibus autem tertii status mundi nondum scimus, quot menses, vel annos habeat quaelibet generatio. Sed hoc tantum scimus per multa scripturarum testimonia, quod illae generationes valde breves erunt.

Istos errores et fatuitates invenimus in isto libro. Et, quia totus liber istis et similibus respersus est, ideo nolimus plura scribere, quia credimus, ista sufficere ad cognoscendum de huiusmodi libro.

Praemissa, et similia falsa, et erronea, et contraria textui sacri Canonis, maxime divi Pauli, ponentis Evangelium praedicatum a Christo, et legem in eo expressam, esse finalia. Unde, Heb. 1. *Multifariam*, etc. Novissime locutus est in filio, etc. Item, si quis vobis evangelizaverit aliud, quam evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit: Item, in Evangelio: Ecce palam loqueris, et proverbium nullum dicis. Et sic nulla erit particularis, vel saltem, nulla erit magis Evangelica, aut magis clara lex. Item, Christus: Spiritus Sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, docebit vos omnia, quae dixero vobis. Et alibi: Non enim a semetipso loquitur, sed quaecumque audiet, loquetur. Et sic non est aliud Evangelium, aut lex data a Spiritu Sancto, quam quae praedicta est a Christo; nec dignior, nec excellentior erit.]

Ernest Renan in Etudes d'histoire religieuse, p. 477, notes 2 and 4, adds these phrases from the same listing in B.N. 16397 (Sorbonne ms. 1726) missing or incomplete in D'Argentré's transcription of B.N. 16533:

2)Haec notavimus et extraximus de Introductorio in Evangelium aeternum, misso ad dominum papam ab episcopo Parisiensi, et tradito nobis tribus cardinalibus ad inspiciendum ab eodem domino papa, videlicet O. Tusculanensi, Stephano Praenestino episcopis, et Hugoni Sanctae Sabinae presbytero cardinali.

4)Item in XII capitulo, versus finem, ponit haec verba: Usque ad illum angelum qui habuit signum Dei vivi, qui apparuit circa MCC incarnationis dominicae, quem angelum frater Gerardus vocat et confitetur sanctum Franciscum.

APPENDIX B

PARTIAL TEXT OF THE *PROCES VERBAUX* AT ANAGNI

Renan has reproduced extracts from B.N. Latin 16397 (Sorbonne ms. 1726), giving the introduction of the *procès-verbaux* of Anagni, as well as passages which mention Gerard on pp. 478-479, notes 6 and 1:

6) Anno Domini MCCLV VIII idus Julii, Anagniae, coram nobis, Odone episcopo Tusculano, et fratre Hugone presbytero cardinali, auditoribus et inspectoribus datis a papa, una cum reverendo patre Stephano Praenestino episcopo, se excusante per proprium capellanum suum, et nobis quantum ad hoc vices suas committente, comparuit magister Florentius, episcopus Acconensis, proponens quaedam verba de libris Joachim extracta, suspecta sibi, ut dicebat, nec publice dogmatizanda aut praedicanda, nec in scriptis redigenda, ut fieret inde doctrina sive liber, pro ut sibi videbatur. Et ad haec audienda et inspicienda vocavimus una nobiscum duos alios, scilicet fratrem Bonevaletum, episcopum Pavendensem, et fratrem Petrum, lectorem fratrum praedicatorum Anagniae, quorum unus tenebat originalia Joachim de Florensi monasterio, et inspiciebant coram nobis utrum haec essent in praedictis libris quae praedictus episcopus Acconensis legerat et legi faciebat per tabellionem nostrum, et incipiebat sic: “Primo notandum est fundamentum doctrinae Joachim. Et proposuit tres status totius seculi, IIII capitulo secundi libri, quod incipit: *Intelligentia vero illa*, etc., dicens: *Aliud tempus fuit in quo vivebant homines secundum carnem, hoc est usque ad carnem, cui initiatio facta est in Adam...*

1) Fol. 94: Quod exponens frater G. scripsit: "Haec abominatio erit pseudopapa, ut habetur alibi." Et istud "alibi" reperitur longe infra, V. libro Concordiae de Zacharia propheta, ubi dicitur: "In Evangelio dicitur: Quum videritis abominationem desolationis quae dicta est a Daniele, etc...." Rursus et ibi frater G.: "Haec abominatio quidam papa erit simoniaca labe respersus, qui circa finem sexti temporis obtinebit in sede, sicut scribit in quodam libello ille qui fuit minister hujus operis."

Fol. 96v: (Après une citation du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse) Hucusque verba Joachim et fratris Gerardi.

Fol. 99: Item habetur per notulam fratris Gerardi super principium ejusdem capituli Danielis, ubi dicit sic frater Gerardus: "Haec tribulatio, quae erit talis qualis nunquam fuit, debet fieri, ut ex multis locis apparet tam in hoc libro quam in aliis, circa MCCLX annum incarnationis dominicae; post quam revelabitur Antichristus. Haec tribulatio erit in corporalibus et spiritualibus maxime. Sed tribulatio maxima, quae statim sequetur interposito tamen cujusdam spatio quantulaecumque pacis, erit magis in spiritualibus; unde erit periculosior quam prima."

Fol. 100v: Super hoc Gerardus in glossa: "In hoc mysterio vocat terram scripturam prioris Testamenti, aquam scripturam novi Testamenti, ignem vero scripturam Evangelii aeterni."

Ibid: Super hoc glossa fratris Gerardi: "Declaratio est ejus quod dicitur Evangelium aeternum in secundo libro Psalterii decem chordarum, scilicet XIX capitulo, quod incipit: *In primo sane tempore.*"

Fol. 102: Notula fratris Gerardi: "In hoc loco vir indutus lineis, qui fuit minister hujus operis, loquitur de se et de duobus qui secuti sunt eum statim post MCC^{um} annum incarnationis dominicae; quos Daniel dicit se vidisse super ripam fluminis; quorum unus dicitur in Apocalypsi Angelus habens falcem acutam, et alius "icitur Angelus qui habuit

signum Dei vivi, per quem Deus renovavit apostolicam vitam.” Idem ibidem, super illud verbum Evangelium regni, dicit similiter Gerardus in notula: "Evangelium regni vocat Evangelium spirituale, quod beatus Joachim vocat Evangelium aeternum, quod in adventu Helyae praedicari oportet omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet consummatio."

Fol. 102v: Dicit frater Gerardus in notula: "Iste doctor sive angelus apparuit circa MCC annum incarnationis dominicae, hoc est ille liber de quo loquitur hic, in quo VII tonitrua locuta sunt voces suas, quae sunt mysteria VII signaculorum."

APPENDIX C

SECOND LISTING OF ERRORS APPEARING IN COLLECTIO JUDICIORUM, VOL. 1, PP. 164 - 165 (B.N. LATIN 16533, SORBONNE 1706), AND SIMILAR TO THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS EYMERIC

[De prima parte libri, qui appellatur Evangelium aeternum, quae pars dicitur Praeparatorium in Evangelium aeternum, trahi possunt errores, qui sequuntur.

1. Quod Evangelium aeternum, id est, doctrina Joachim, excellit Evangelium Christi, etiam novum et vetus Testamentum.
2. Quod Evangelium Christi non est Evangelium regni, ac per hoc, nec aedificatio Ecclesiae.
3. Quod novum Testamentum, sicut vetus, evacuandum est.
4. Quod novum Testamentum non durabit in virtute sua, nisi per sex annos proxime futuros, scilicet, usque ad annum 1269.
5. Quod illi, qui erunt ultra tempus praedictum, erunt in statu altiori, quam erant.
6. Quod, sicut Evangelio Christi, aliud Evangelium succedet, ita etiam Sacerdotio Christi, aliud Sacerdotium.
7. Quod nullus est simpliciter idoneus Evangelio, nisi illi, qui nudis pedibus incedunt.

Haec de prima parte. De secunda parte ejusdem libri, quae appellatur Concordantia novi et veteris Testamenti, sive Concordantia veritatis, isti errores possunt extrahi, qui sequuntur, de primo libro hujus partis.

1. Quod quantumcumque Deus affigit Judaeos in hoc mundo, ipsos salvabit, quibus bene faciet, in fine tamen manentibus in Judaismo: Et quod in fine, illos liberabit ab impugnatione hominum, etiam in Judaismo manentes.

2. Quod Ecclesia nondum peperit, nec pariet filios ante finem regni temporalis, quod finietur post sex annos proximos, post sequentes. Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod Religio Christiana, quae jam multos peperit vocatos ad fidem Christi, non est Ecclesia.

De secunda libro hujus partis, extrahi possunt isti errores, qui sequuntur:

1. Quod Evangelium Christi...
2. Quod, reviviscente Evangelio Spiritus Sancti, sive clarescente opere Joachim, quod dicitur Evangelium aeternum, seu Spiritus Sancti, evacuabitur Evangelium Christi.
3. Quod spiritualis intelligentia novi Testamenti, non est commissa Papae Romano, sed tantum intelligentia litteralis. Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod Ecclesia Romana non habet judicare de spirituali intelligentia novi Testamenti. Et, si judicat, temerarium est iudicium ejus, et non est acquiescendum ejus iudicio, quia Ecclesia Romana litteralis est, et non spiritualis.
4. Quod recessus Ecclesiae Graecorum a Romana, bonus fuit. Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod viri spirituales non tenentur obedire Romanae Ecclesiae, vel acquiescere ejus iudicio in his, quae Dei sunt.
5. Quod tertius Ordo Clericorum (qui, secundum librum, est Ordo Religiosorum) non tenetur se exponere morti pro defensione fidei, aut pro conservatione cultus Dei in aliis hominibus.
6. Quod Papa Graecus magis ambulat secundum Evangelium, quam Papa Latinus. Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod magis est propinquus statui salvandorum, et quod magis adhaerendum est ei, quam Papae Romano, sive Ecclesiae Romanae.
7. Quod, sicut Filius operatur salutem Papae Romani, sive Latini, quia ipsum repraesentat, sic Spiritus Sanctus operatur salutem Papae Graeci, quia Spiritum repraesentat. Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod Pater salvum faciat, vel faciet, populum Judaicum, quia ipsum repraesentat.

8. Quod, sicut veniente Johanne Baptista, ea, quae praecesserunt, reputata sunt vetera, propter nova supervenientia: ita, adveniente tempore Spiritus Sancti, sive tertio statu mundi, ea, quae praecesserunt, reputabuntur vetera, propter nova, quae [165b] supervenient. Ex quo datur intelligi, quod novum Testamentum reputabitur vetus, et projicietur.

De tertio libro hujus partis secundae, unicus error potest capti, videlicet, quod Spiritus Sanctus recipit aliquid ab Ecclesia; sicut Christus, in quantum homo, accepit aliquid a Spiritu Sancto.

De quarto libro hujus, duo errores extrahi possunt. Primus, est error ennumerandi Annales genealogias, quae fuerunt in primo statu mundi; et spirituales hujus status mundi, contra Apostolum dicentem ad Timoth. 1. v. 3. *Ut denunciares quibusdam, ne aliter docerent, neque intenderent fabulis, et genealogiis interminatis, etc.*

Secundus, quod studium erit noscendi momenta et tempora eorum, quae venient et veniunt in secundo statu mundi, per ea, quae veniunt in primo statu mundi, etc. Contra illud Actum 1. *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate.*

APPENDIX D

LIST OF THIRTY-ONE ERRORS SENT BY THE THEOLOGIANS AT PARIS TO THE POPE WHICH APPEAR IN THE CHARTULARIUM UNIVERSITATIS PARIENSIS, VOL. 1, NO. 243, PP. 272 - 275.

De prima parte libri qui appellatur *Evangelium eternum*, que prima pars dicitur *Preparatorium* in *Evangelium eternum*, extrahi possunt hi errores qui sequuntur.

Primus error est, quod *Evangelium eternum*, quod idem est quod doctrina Joachim, excellit doctrinam Christi et omne novum et vetus Testamentum.

Secundus est, quod evangelium Christi non est evangelium regni ac per hoc nec edificatorium ecclesie.

Tertius, quod novum Testamentum est evacuandum, sicut vetus est evacuatum.

Quartus, quod novum Testamentum non durabit in virtute sua, nisi per sex annos proximo futuros, id est usque ad annum Incarnationis MCCLX.

Quintus, quod illi qui erunt ultra tempus illus, non tenebuntur recipere novum Testamentum.

Sextus, quod evangelio Christi aliud evangelium succedet.

Septimus, quod nullus simpliciter idoneus est ad instruendum homines de spiritualibus, nisi illi qui nudis pedibus incedunt.

De secunda parte ejusdem libri, que appellatur *Concordia novi et veteris Testamenti* sive *Concordantia veritatis*, possunt isti errores extrahi qui sequuntur.

De *primo* enim libro hujus operis primo potest extrahi error iste, videlicet: Quantumcunque Dominus affligat Judeos in hoc mundo, tamen aliquos reservabit quibus

benefaciet in fine, etiam manentibus in judaismo, et quod in fine illos liberabit ab omni impugnatione hominum etiam in judaismo manentes.

Secundo, quod etiam nondum peperit neque pariet filios ecclesia ante finem regni temporalis, quod finietur post sex annos proximo sequentes. ---Et per hoc datur intelligi quod religio christiana, que jam multos peperit vocando ad fidem Christi, non est ecclesia.

De *secundo* libro ejusdem partis extrahi possunt isti errores qui sequuntur.

Primus est, quod evangelium Christi neminem ducit ad perfectum.

Secundus est, quod adveniente evangelio Spiritus Sancti, sive clarescente opere Joachim, quod dicitur Evangelium eternum sive Spiritus Sancti, evacuabitur evangelium Christi.

Tertius est, quod spiritualis intelligentia novi Testamenti non est commissa populo romano, sed tantum litteralis. --- Et per hoc datur intelligi quod ecclesia Romana non potest judicare de spirituali intelligentia novi Testamenti, et si judicat, temerarium est ejus judicium, et non est adquiescendum ejus judicio, et quod ipsa Romana ecclesia animalis est non spiritualis.

Quartus est, quod recessus ecclesie Grecorum ab ecclesia Romana fuit a Spiritu Sancto. --- Et per hoc datur intelligi quod viri spirituales non tenentur Romane ecclesie obedire, nec adquiescere ejus judiciis in hiis que Dei sunt.

Quintus est, quod tertius ordo electorum, qui secundum eundem librum est ordo religiosorum, non tenetur se exponere morti pro defensione fidei, aut pro conservatione cultus Christi in aliis hominibus.

Sextus est, quod populus Grecus magis ambulat secundum Spiritum Sanctum quam populus Latinus. --- Ac per hoc magis est in statu salvandorum, et quod magis est adherendum ei quam populo Romano sive ecclesie Romane.

Septimus, quod sicut Filius operatur salutem populi Latini sive populi Romani, quia ipsum representat, sic Spiritus Sanctus operatur salutem populi Greci, quia ipsum representat. --- Et per hoc datur intelligi, quod Pater salvum faciet populum Judaicum, quia ipsum, representat.

Octavus, quod sicut veniente Johanne Baptista ea que precesserant reputata sunt vetera propter nova supervenientia, ita adveniente tempore Spiritus Sancti sive tertio statu mundi ea que precesserant reputabuntur vetera propter nova que supervenient. --- Et ex hoc datur intelligi quod novum Testamentum reputabitur vetus et proicietur.

De *tertio* libro ejusdem partis unus error extrahi potest, videlicet, quod Spiritus Sanctus accepit aliquid ab ecclesia, sicut Christus in quantum homo accepit aliquid a Spiritu Sancto.

De *quarto* libro ejusdem partis in primo tractatu duo errores extrahi possunt.

Primus est studium enumerandi et concordandi carnales genealogias, que fuerunt in primo statu mundi, et spirituales status secundi mundi contra apostolum dicentem primo ad Thimotheum, 1: "Rogavi te ut denuntiares quibusdam, ne aliter docerent, neque intenderent fabulis et genealogiis interminatis, que questiones magis prestant quam edificationem."

Secundus est studium manifestandi momenta atque tempora eorum que evenient in secundo statu mundi per ea que evenerunt in primo statu mundi, contra illud Actus primo: "Non est vestrum noscere tempora vel momenta, que Pater posuit in sua potestate."

In secundo ejusdem libri tractatu duo errores inveniuntur.

Primus est, quod Christus et sancti apostoli ejus non fuerunt perfecti in vita contemplativa.

Secundus est, quod activa vita usque ad tempus Joachim fructuosa fuit, sed modo non est fructuosa; contemplativa vero ab ipso Joachim fructificare cepit, et amodo in perfectis successoribus suis perfectius manebit. --- Et per hoc datur intelligi quod ordo

clericorum, ad quos pertinet activa vita, amodo non fructificabit in edificatione et conservatione ecclesie, nec omnino in regimine, sed ordo monachorum amodo in his fructificabit.

De *quinto* libro ejusdem partis. In tractatu *de septem diebus* inveniuntur quatuor valde suspecta et diligenter examinanda.

Primum est quod aliquis de ordine religiosorum futurus est, qui preferetur omnibus ordinibus dignitate et gloria, in quo implebitur promissio psalmi dicentis: "Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare," etc.

Secundum est, quod ille ordo, in quo implebitur predicta promissio psalmi, tunc convalescet quando ordo clericorum desinet parere, --- qui partus, secundum quod credit ecclesia, non cessabit usque ad tempus antichristi.

Tertium est, quod ordo parvulorum erit ille ordo in quo implebitur predicta promissio psalmi.

Quartum est, quod sicut in primo statu commissum fuit regnum totius ecclesie. Patre aliquibus de ordine conjugatorum, in quo auctorizatus est ille ordo, et in secundo statu commissum est a Filio aliquibus de ordine clericorum, in quo ab ipso glorificatus est ille ordo, sic in tertio statu committetur alicui vel aliquibus de ordine monachorum a Spiritu Sancto, in quo ab ipso Spiritu ille ordo clarificabitur.

Item in eodem quinto libro, in tractatu *de Jacob* invenitur unum suspectum, videlicet quod isti qui presunt collegiis monachorum diebus istis, cogitare debent de recessu a secularibus et parare se ad redeundum ad antiquum populum Judeorum.

In eodem quinto libro, in tractatu *de Joseph et pincerna* cui sompnum aperuit, invenitur quod predicatorum, qui erunt in ultimo statu mundi, majoris erunt dignitatis et auctoritatis quam predicatorum ecclesie primitive, id est apostoli.

Item in eodem libro, in tractatu *de tribus generibus hominum*, videlicet Israelitis, Egiptiis, et Babilonicis invenitur, quod predicatorum et doctores religiosi ipsi infestabuntur

a clericis et transibunt ad infideles. — Et timendum est ne ad hoc transeant ut cogantur ire ad prelium contra Romanam ecclesiam, juxta doctrinam beati Johannis in Apocalipsi XVJ.

Ex his autem, que dicuntur in expositione historie *de David*, potest intelligi quod ille, qui composuit opus quod dicitur *Evangelium eternum*, non fuit Joachim, sed aliquis vel aliqui moderni temporis, quoniam ibi facit mentionem de Frederico imperatore persequente ecclesiam Romanam.

Item in eodem libro invenitur quod sacramenta nove legis evacuabuntur in tertio statu mundi, et per evacuationem sacramenti altaris infert evacuationem aliorum sacramentorum.

Item in eodem libro, in tractatu *de historia Judith* invenitur quod sacramenta nove legis non durabunt amodo, nisi per sex annos.

APPENDIX E

THE TEXT OF THE CONDEMNATION OF JOACHIM DE FIORE'S WORKS ISSUED BY A REGIONAL COUNCIL AT ARLES IN 1260 (COLLECTIO JUDICIORUM, VOL. 1, PP. 166 - 168)

Inter quos non modicum locum et valde perniciosum tenent illi, qui, in fundamento suae vesaniae vera, quaedam in parte, et varia jaciendo temaria, eademque perniciose adaptando, doctrinam foedissimam Concordantiarum suarum, contextu nefario, statuere moliuntur; et malitiosa veneratione Spiritus Sancti, quem, secundum ordinem nominandi tertiam dicimus in Trinitate personam, singulari Redemptioni factae per Filium, tam impudenter, quam nefarie obnituntur; dum tempus et opera Filii, sub annorum curriculo, et seculi hujusmodi parte quadam, signata et media claudere perhibentur: ut, quemadmodum dicit Filius, in carne mundo apparens visibilis: *Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor*: (Joan. 5.) Sic et Spiritus Sanctus, completo Filii tempore, dicat: *Hactenus, post Patrem operatus est Filius, et ego de caetero operabor*; operationem Filii sub illo annorum numero claudendo, quo Satanas olim ligatus per Filium, denuo pronunciatur solvendus. Hoc exemplum a mille ducentis sexaginta annis: ac, si solennius et magnificentius quodammodo sigillatim, et approbante Spiritu Sancto, operatus sit deinceps, quam hactenus a principio nascentis Ecclesiae fuerit operatus.

Quis autem sententiare praesumat, Spiritum Sanctum gloriosius Paraclitum infundendum deinceps in cursu praesentis seculi, quam cum repente super Apostolos Christi vehementer insonuit, et linguis apparens igneis, dispartitis super singulos, requievit et sedit, genera linguarum tribuens, corda coram tam patenter et potenter

inflammans, ut totum, doctrina salutis, illustrarent, et fervore charitatis accenderent mundum.

Isti tamen Joachimitici, quorundam Ternariorum intercatenatione fictitia, nituntur astruere, Spiritus Sancti tempora cum lege magori fore deinceps revelanda. In fundamento erroris sui primitus jacentes sacratissimum, id est, supercoeleste Ternarium ineffabilium personarum individuae Trinitatis, Patris videlicet, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et super quod omnis stabilitur veritas, erroris sui vanitatem firmare conantur: nulla siquidem adeo falsa et pestifera est doctrina, quae non aliqua vera intermisceat.

Huic igitur summae veritati alia quaedam subnectunt, et contexunt Ternaria, dicentes, tres status, vel ordines hominis sibi invicem, successione quadam temporum, clarificandos. Primus, est ordo Conjugatorum, qui, tempore Patris, claruit in veteri Testamento. Secundus, est status Clericorum, qui, tempore Gratiae, claruit per Filium in hoc statu mundi medio. Tertius autem status, est Ordo Monachorum, clarificandus tempore majoris Gratiae in Spiritu Sancto.

Addunt etiam cum iis aliud doctrinae sacrae Ternarium, videlicet veteris et novi Testamenti, ac deinceps Evangelii aeterni, sive Evangelii Spiritus Sancti, duabus rotis in visione Prophetica tertiam phantastice subnectentes, et comparatione secuturi, quod spirituale nunciabamus, Evangelium spirituale Filii, litterale, ore blasphemio et sacrilego, dicere non formidant. Dividunt etiam et distinguunt totum hoc spatium labentis seculi, in tria tempora, quorum partem primam Patri attribuunt, scilicet, Spiritus, et legis Mosaicae: Secundum attribuunt Filio, quam appellant Spiritus Gratiae, et duravit annis 1260. Tertiam, Spiritui Sancto, quam dicunt tempus amplioris Gratiae, et veritatis revelatae, ad quod referunt Evangelium, id est, Filii: *Cùm venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.* (Joan. 16.) quod in sacro die Pentecostes impletum fuisse in Apostolis, et deinceps continue in Apostolicis viris implendum, omnes Catholici hactenus exposuere Doctores.

Adnectunt etiam ad praedicta quoddam vivendi Ternarium, trium praedictorum temporum distinctione variatum. Per primum namque, tempus posuerunt, in quo vivebant homines secundum carnem. Secundum, quod illi adjunxerunt inter utrumque, hoc est, inter carnem et spiritum, usque in praesens tempus. Et ex hoc sequetur aliud, in quo vivent secundum spiritum, et ab eo videlicet usque ad finem mundi.

His igitur, et hujusmodi sibi invicem coaptatis et connexis Ternariis, quid ab hac perfida et perniciosa contextitur concordia, nisi quod exsuffletur deinceps Redemptio per Christum facta, et finem habeant Ecclesiae Sacramenta? Quod Joachimitici, ore polluto, ut expressimus, quodammodo dicere non formidant; dum evacuandas his temporibus, et abjiciendas asserunt omnes figuras et signa; vivida tantummodo maneat Unitas, et absque Sacramentorum velamine penitus revelata. Quae omnia debet detestari, abominari et abjicere quilibet Christianus, qui a Sanctis accepit, et firma fide tenet, invisibilis gratiae visibiles esse imagines et figuras Ecclesiastica Sacramenta, sub quorum visibilibus speciebus quibusdam, ipse Dei Filius, Dominus, Salvator noster, se in Ecclesia sua, usque ad finem mundi, manere promisit.

Et, licet nuper, praesentibus nobis et procurantibus, a Sancta Dei Sede Apostolica damnata fuerit nova quaedam, quae ex his pullulaverat, doctrina venenata Evangelii Spiritus Sancti pervulgata nomine; ac si Christi Evangelium, non aeternum, nec a Spiritu Sancto nominari debuisset; tanquam pestis hujusmodi fundamenta non discussa fuerint, nec damnata, libri videlicet Concordantiarum, et alii libri Joachimitici, qui a majoribus nostris usque ad haec tempora remanserunt intacti, ut pote latitantes apud quosdam Religiosos in angulis et antris, Doctoribus indicussi: a quibus, si ruminati fuissent, nullatenus inter sacros alios, et Sanctorum codices mixti remansissent; cum alia modica Joachimitica opuscula, quae ad eorum pervenire notitiam, tam solemniter sint damnata.

Nos ergo, qui praedicta cum aliis quibusdam majoribus nostris diligenter inspeximus, contulimus et notavimus; timentes, non immerito, ne posteris maneat in

laqueum et ruinam; praesertim, cum in partibus Provinciarum, quibus, licet immeriti, in parte praesidemus, jam plurimos etiam litteratos hujusmodi phantasiis intellexerimus eatenus occupatos et illectos, ut plurima super iis Commentaria facta descripserint, et de manu ad manum danda circumferentes, ad externas transfuderint nationes. Ne ergo error peccans ulterius serpat ut cancer, et paulatim occupet curiosos, nos, quantum debemus et possumus in hac parte consulentes, nostri Provincialis sacri auctoritate Concilii, praedicta, prout ad manus nostras devenerunt, reprobantes: ne subditi nostri de caetero talibus utantur, aut ea ultra recipiant, sub anathematis interminatione prohibemus.

VITA

Camilla Rachal Pugh is a native of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where she has lived all of her life. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees in French from Louisiana State University. She is a former instructor of French at Louisiana State University, having retired in order to pursue her doctoral studies. Her major interest lies in the medieval languages and literatures of France, especially in regard to the passage of Latin texts into the vernacular. She is also interested in the editing of medieval manuscripts, having completed an edition of an Old French version of Saint Benedict's Rule. A second endeavor, an edition of Li Livre des Filz Israël, awaits. She is married to Gordon Alexander Pugh, her husband of thirty-six years, and also claims five children, a daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. She will earn the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in December, 1999.

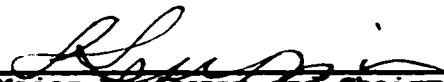
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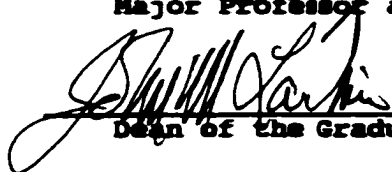
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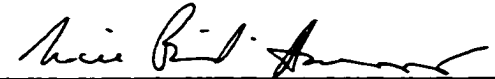

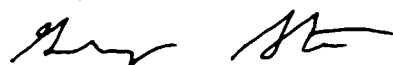


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