

THE "ROMAN DE LA ROSE" AND A TREATISE
ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD DE FOURNIVAL :
TWO MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY

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TWO¹ manuscripts of the "Roman de la Rose" are at present in the John Rylands Library, the one² forming part of the Library's own collection of French manuscripts, and the other deposited by its owner C. C. Rattey, Esq. The former, Rylands French MS. 66, has been the subject of a short note in *Romania* by Dr. Fawtier³ whose intention was, however, mainly to draw attention to the existence of the volume,⁴ and there is need for a more complete account of it. The manuscript formed part the collection of books assembled at Longford Hall by Mrs. Rylands, who later gave it to the Library. It bears traces of former ownership on the recto of the second folio, where, in the upper margin, is a note written in a seventeenth-century French hand, which reads : *De Conventu Patrum Minimorum Montensium*, showing that it formerly belonged to the convent of the Friars Minim at Mons. The Minims, an offshoot of the Franciscan order, were established by Saint Francis of Paula in 1435, and

¹I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Rattey for permission to consult his manuscript, now deposited in the John Rylands Library, for the purposes of this article ; to Father Gennaro Moretti for his generous assistance with regard to the order of the Minims ; to Dr. R. Fawtier for his kindness in allowing me to refer to his notes, now in the John Rylands Library, on which his own article is based ; and to Dr. F. Taylor for constant encouragement during the preparation of this article.

²Rylands French MS. 66.

³R. Fawtier, "Deux Manuscrits du 'Roman de la Rose'", *ap. Romania*, Vol. LVIII (1932), pp. 265-73. See also M. Tyson, *Hand-List of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1930*, p. 26. (Reprinted from the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. XIV.)

⁴"Au reste, ce manuscrit se trouvant dans une bibliothèque publique, l'examen détaillé en est plus accessible à ceux qu'il pourrait tenter et il suffit d'en signaler ici l'existence" (*op. cit.*, p. 273).

convents were founded in France and the adjoining countries at an early date. The order flourished throughout Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. The convent at Mons, which was founded in 1617, prospered to such an extent that it transferred to a larger building in 1706.¹ The Minims normally had a good working library,² and the foundation at Mons had a tradition of scholars.³ It has so far been impossible to determine at what date the manuscript entered this library, but it may well have been there from the foundation of the convent, since, as stated above, the note of ownership is in a seventeenth-century hand. It doubtless left the convent at the time of the French Revolution, for according to the audit of the property of the Minims of Mons then compiled, the library consisted mainly of printed books. The more valuable items, including the manuscripts, had been hidden, and were later sold to an English merchant from whom some volumes were acquired for the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps.⁴ It is not known how this particular volume passed from its hiding place into the hands of the London bookseller from whom it was purchased by Mrs. Rylands. Some of the other manuscripts from the library of the Minims are now in the Bibliothèque Publique at Mons, and others, especially those of Belgian interest, were acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels as they became available at the various Phillipps sales. Those at Mons⁵ all bear a note of provenance similar to that on our manuscript and in all cases the press-marks are similar. In the case of the Rylands manuscript this press-mark consists of the letters P. J. J. written in a large hand in the centre of the lower margin of the recto of the second leaf. No other traces of earlier ownership occur.

The manuscript consists of 163 vellum leaves (280×201 mm.)

¹ Guiseppe Maria Roberti, *Disegno storico dell'Ordine dei Minimi dalla morte del santo istitutore fino ai nostri tempi*, 3 vols., Rome, 1902, 1908, 1922; Vol. II, p. 126, no. 327; Vol. III, pp. 225-26.

² The Minims of Tonerre also possessed a manuscript of the "Roman de la Rose". See Méon's edition, Vol. I, p. 102.

³ For instance Father Giangiacomo Courvoisier, twice Provincial, and author of many ascetic works.

⁴ Paul Faider, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Mons*, Ghent and Paris, 1931, p. xxviii.

⁵ Numbers 403, 647 and 896 of the Catalogue; manuscripts 244/96, 84/95, 415.

in gatherings of eight, which are preceded and followed by three modern vellum fly-leaves. The text is written in double columns, usually of 35 lines each, the written area being 212×153 mm. As in the case of most verse texts, the initial letter of each line is placed a little (some 3 mm.) to the left of the main body of the text, which is decorated with alternate red and blue initials and red rubrics: some of the proper names are inserted in the text in red, and marginalia, both in red and black, are very frequent. Catchwords are still visible, but the old signatures have been cut away by the binder's knife, though a modern series, a-v, in pencil, survives in the lower right-hand corner of the recto of the appropriate leaves. There are two foliations, both the same, both modern and in pencil, the one in the top right-hand corner of the leaf, and the other in the lower left-hand corner, usually between the first and second letters of the last line of the first column. Prickings are visible, especially in the outer margins of ff. 107 and 115, in each case the first leaf of a gathering. The blue morocco binding,¹ bearing the library's monogram on the cover, was executed during the early years of the present century by Fazakerly of Liverpool. The volume contains the whole of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris (ff. 7-40v.), and most of the continuation of Jean de Meun (ff. 41-163v.), breaking off on f. 163v. at line 21007, according to the most recent edition of the whole of the "Roman de la Rose".² The last gathering, containing the remaining 773 lines, is missing. The first line of the second leaf of the "Roman de la Rose" (f. 8) is *Enclos d'un haut mur bataillié* (v. 131).

In addition to the rubrics there are four miniatures; the first one, on f. 7, is surrounded by a decorated border and grotesques. This opening miniature, which heads the romance, is an historiated capital M,³ showing a tastefully executed portrayal of the sleeping author. The M is in gold against a decorated azure background, and the whole is surrounded by a plain yellow

¹ Measuring 292×205 mm. The title *Le Roman de la Rose MS.* is on the spine.

² Ernest Langlois, *Le Roman de la Rose, par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, publié d'après les manuscrits*, 5 vols., Paris, 1914-24 (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*).

³ 34×41 mm.

border. The composition is headed by the rubric *Chi commenche li roumans de la Rose*, and the opening lines follow :

Maintes gens dient que en songes
 N'a se fables non et mensonges ;
 Mais l'en puet tel songe songier
 Qui ne sont mie mensongier. . . . (vv. 1-4)

The remaining three miniatures are of a completely different style from the first, resembling coloured drawings. The second one (64×37 mm.), preceding v. 2077 on f. 22 col. i, is entitled *De la maniere comment il doit oeuvrer en ses commandemens*, and depicts, within a simple yellow border, against a red background relieved by a pattern of small white flowers, on the left a crowned angel-like figure clad in a blue and fawn robe, with a blue nimbus, addressing the author who is on the right. The angelic figure is Amour. The third miniature (64×53 mm.), preceding v. 10495 on f. 87 col. i, depicts the same angelic figure in a red and light fawn robe with a red nimbus, beckoning with a raised right hand to her barons, of whom five can be seen on the left ; and with her left hand she indicates the castle of Jalousie, on the right of the miniature, from the door of which an ugly dwarf is issuing, bearing a club on his left shoulder. A man and a woman, with expressions of terror, are seen on the battlements. The whole is against a background of blue with a white floral decoration, surrounded by a simple yellow border, and introduced by the rubric : *Comment Amours mande ses baronz pour prandre le chastel Jalousie*. The fourth miniature (69×40 mm.), on f. 87v. col. i, is that depicting the continuator, Jean de Meun. On the left Amour, a crowned angel clad in blue with a blue nimbus, sitting on a chair, directs the writings of Jean de Meun who is seated on a similar chair with his back turned towards her. He is represented as a clerk. A scroll with the name Jean Chopinel is over the desk. The border is again a simple yellow one, and the background red with white flowers. The rubric *Comment Amours prophete a maistre Jehan Chopinel qu'il persera et continuera le joli Rommans de la Rose* is followed by the lines :

Puis venra Jehan Clopinel
 Au cuer joli, au cors ysnel. . . . (vv. 10565-66)

The original form of the name seems to have been Chopinel, and the variant Clopinel perhaps developed with the idea that the

author of the continuation was in some way deformed, a fact which is hard to reconcile with the description *au cors ysnel*.¹

In this volume the “ Roman de la Rose ” starts on f. 7. The earlier leaves are filled with the first five “ Capitle ”² of the romance which refer to the first fifty lines, and precede the following account of the dual authorship and the rubrication of the work, the whole of which is written in red :

Chest livre que on appelle le Roumans de la Rose commença maistre Guillaumes de Loris, et le fist duskes a chest vers : ch'est li songes, etc. Après le mort Guillaume, le continua maistre Jehan Chopinel de Meun, et ambedoi dient que des choses escriptes en ce roumans estoit uns songes, mais riens n'i avoit que tout avenu ne soit ; et est a savoir que en che songe sont contenu mout de beaus dis, de beaus exemples, et de autres soutilletés par rubrikes notees, et a l'arme et au corps profitables, che semble a celui qui ches rubrikes et les autres ordena et fist ; et s'il a errei, il rapelle ses erreus, et le veut amender. (f. lv. col. i.)

The rest of the leaf is blank.

Ff. 2-4 contain a short prose treatise on the nature of love, which is discussed in the third part of the present article, and edited in the Appendix.³ This is followed on ff. 4v-6v. by the *Table de Capitle*, which are summaries of the romance. They are written not in double columns, but right across the page. In parts three or four items are crowded into the space normally occupied by only two lines. There are signs of rather hurried compilation of the list, which contains items inserted after the establishment of the main body of the text. Each *capitle* on f. 4v. is introduced by a red initial, and subsequently by alternate blue and red initials ; some are numbered. That the list was intended to facilitate the reading of this rather long, though extremely popular work, is seen by the note :

Che sont li capitle et li tite des materes du Rommans de la Rose determiné et noté par ordene et par certain nombre pour trouver legierement cascune matere. (f. 4v.)

Many of the rubrics given here correspond verbatim with those of the text ; some of the items in the table are a condensed version of several rubrics. The first twenty-six items are numbered, and the numbering starts again on f. 6v. going as far as 133, the intervening numbers having been erased. The numbers do not refer

¹ Langlois, *ed. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

² Printed in full by R. Fawtier, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

³ *Infra*, pp. 349-365.

to the leaves of the volume, but are simply an enumeration of the various items of the table. That the volume was at one time complete is shown by the last three of the *capitle* :

Comment Venus traist le brandon
Des estrumens que Nature donne
Au fait et enseignement comment le rose fu ceuillie,

which refer to the final episodes of the romance.

The text presented by the manuscript offers several interesting features. Guillaume de Lorris composed his poem about the year 1237,¹ and his death was no doubt the reason why the story breaks off uncompleted at line 4058. After an interval of about forty years Jean de Meun added his conclusion of 17722 lines ; before this, however, a short anonymous passage had been added to round off the story. It is similar in language and style to the work of Guillaume de Lorris, and consists of seventy-eight octosyllables. Langlois found it in only six manuscripts ; a seventh may now be added to that list, for it is found also in Rylands French MS. 66, which gives seventy-two lines of it.² This apocryphal termination is the work of an unskilful writer who, although writing in a similar dialect to that of Guillaume de Lorris, betrays his inexperience by introducing no less than five new allegorical personages. In our manuscript the conclusion is announced by the rubric : *Comment Beauté, Bel-Accueil, Loyaulté, Douz-Regart et Simplesce yssirent de la Tour et abandonnerent la Rose.*³ The termination follows, beginning at the seventh line of the version printed by Langlois. The five personages mentioned come out of the tower of which Bonne-Amour has opened the door while Jalousie slept. Male-Bouche does not know of this, and Peur is vanquished. They come to the Lover to whom Beauté presents the rosebud. After a night of pleasure, the Rose is secretly replaced in the tower, and the sleeper awakens. The beginning and the end of the passage are marked by the rubrics : *Chi fine Guillaumes de Loris* and *Chi commenche maistre Jehan Chopinel de Meun a continuer le Rommans de la Rose.* Only one manuscript is extant which ends at this point.⁴ The re-

¹ Langlois, *ed. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 2.

² Ff. 40v. col. i-41 col. i ; see Langlois, *ed. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 330-333.

³ F. 40v. col. i, line 30.

⁴ MS. B.N. fr. 12786.

maining five containing the continuation go on, as does Rylands French MS. 66, to give the poem of Jean de Meun.

Since an interval of forty years separates the two parts of the romance, the textual tradition of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris had evolved considerably before Jean de Meun set to work. Two classifications of the manuscripts are therefore necessary: one for each part of the poem. A work such as the “ Roman de la Rose ”, and in particular the second part of it, lends itself to many insertions and digressions, and so the classification of the manuscripts can often be established by means of these differences. Ernest Langlois suggested a means of classifying the two parts of the romance,¹ and we attempt to fit the Rylands manuscript into the pattern which he provides. For both parts, Langlois suggested a division into two categories: those preserving an earlier and more authentic form of the work, and those which are in fact later remaniements. There are others which have readings of both groups, and within the groups there are sub-divisions. It would be out of place in an article of this kind to do anything other than indicate the general place in the tradition of the manuscripts concerned.

The classification of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris turns on the passage in which the guardians of the Rose are described. Langlois has shown² that what is probably the earlier form of the poem describes four guardians—Dangier, Male-Bouche, Honte and Peur. In some manuscripts only three are mentioned, for Peur is omitted. The Rylands manuscript not only mentions all four of the guardians by name,³ but also contains the lines:

Or sunt as rose garder quatre
Qui se leroient ainçois battre, (vv. 2863-64, f. 32 col. i.)

which clearly indicates that the text belongs to Group I, the smaller but more authentic group. This is not unexpected, for the manuscript shows signs of an earlier tradition by including the anonymous continuation anterior to Jean de Meun.

In the case of the second part of the romance, however, the

¹ E. Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose. Description et classement*, Lille and Paris, 1910 (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, nouvelle série, I Droit, Lettres*, Vol. 7).

² *MSS. du Rom. de la Rose*, p. 242.

³ F. 31v. cols. i-ii.

problem is more complicated, for this is a long work abounding in interpolations and digressions. Manuscripts which belong throughout to one and the same group are indeed rare. Our text does not contain the interpolation of two lines between vv. 8178-79¹ the absence of which is characteristic of Group I, although it has also elements which are characteristic of the less authentic Group II. On ff. 43v. col. i to 44 col. ii there is an interpolation of some 106 lines, between vv. 4400 and 4401, which is an addition to the *Diffinicion d'Amour par Raison*. It is in the form of a litany, and many of the lines are of the following pattern :

Amours est fors, amours est dure,
Amours soustient, amours endure,
Amours revient, et tousjours dure.²

This interpolation is found in at least twenty-eight other manuscripts of Group II. Although here at least our manuscript clearly belongs to Group II, its reading of v. 9628 :

Trens et rentes leur baillierent (f. 81 col. i.)

is clearly that of Group I.³ It is not possible, however, to assume that the copyist followed a manuscript of Group II as far as about f. 69, in order to abandon it for a Group I source for a few leaves, for we find a little further on⁴ a long interpolation between vv. 11222-23 occurring only in Group II manuscripts, an interpolation which is itself full of digressions. It is described by the rubric *Comment Faus Semblant dit qu'il a pooir de confesser et d'absouldre, mes il dechoit le monde, che dit*. Our manuscript contains all but lines 58¹³⁻³⁰ of it.⁵ Shortly afterwards, however, the manuscript preserves what is probably the older form of the romance by retaining four lines which many manuscripts of Group II omit, although a meaningless passage results.⁶ Again, Rylands French MS. 66 reads for vv. 15015-16 :

Que service nous y faciez
Bien savons que vous ne traciez, (f. 120v. col. i.)

¹ F. 70v. col. i.

² See Langlois, *Mss. du Rom. de la Rose*, p. 425.

³ Group II reads : *Et tuit et toutes li baillierent*. See Langlois, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Ff. 92 col. ii-93 col. ii.

⁵ Langlois, ed. of *Rom. de la Rose*, Vol. III, pp. 311-15 ; *Mss. du Rom. de la Rose*, pp. 426-30 (vv. lviii¹³⁻³⁰).

⁶ Rylands French MS. 66, f. 114v. col. i, vv. 14169-74.

whereas many of the manuscripts of Group II open the couplet with some phrase such as *que se metre* or else alter the passage completely.¹

Of the five passages used by Langlois for classifying the manuscripts of the poem of Jean de Meun, Rylands French MS. 66 contains a reading of Group I in three cases, and in the remaining two cases, both of which are lengthy interpolations, follows Group II. It seems as though the scribe followed a Group I model, turning to Group II only when it contained lengthy passages which he felt to be an integral part of the work, and which were not in his Group I source.

One of the most striking features of Rylands French MS. 66 is the larger number of marginal notes, of which the majority are in red. Many of them are rubrics, or else, very frequently, the word *Nota* placed against a line. Some of the marginalia seem to be the work of a corrector, as on f. 20v. col. i, where line 1862, which is written in the lower margin, is inserted in its correct place near the top of the column by means of the letters a, b. Again, leaves 27-30, containing lines 2152-2730, which are already copied on ff. 22v. col. i (line 34)-26v. col. ii (line 24), are crossed out in red, and the error noted by the rubricator who wrote at the top of f. 27 col. i *Chil quaterre foellet sont escrit devant*. The two copies of this part of the text are by no means verbally identical, and the mistake in copying was not noticed immediately by the rubricator, for some of the rubrics have in fact been inserted in these four duplicate leaves.

Although a space of one or two lines is left in the body of the text for the rubrics, this has often proved to be insufficient, and so the rubrics overrun into the margins. Where no place has been reserved, they are written in the lower margins, and their correct situation indicated by means of a sign such as a cross within a circle, or a star. These rubrics are usually summaries of the text, as that on f. 72v. col. ii. :

Chi commence le sarmon que li jalous fait a sa feme quant il cuide estre sages,
et cuide avoir la maistrise et la signorie de lui, et de l'avoir, che dit l'Amis a
l'Amant, qui li Jalous parle a sa feme ainsi,

which refers to lines 8467 *sqq.*

¹ E.g. to *Or tost ailleurs vous pourchaciez / Bien savons que vous ne traciez*. See Langlois, *Mss. du Rom. de la Rose*, pp. 432-34.

The majority of the remaining notes in red consist simply of the word *Nota* ; this frequently occurs in black also. It has been inserted extensively, occurring on most pages, in some instances very frequently ; as on f. 57v. where it is found fourteen times, or on f. 110v. where it is repeated no less than sixteen times. Again, on f. 116v. col. i, it occurs thrice side by side, once in red and twice in black, against line 14455. The value of the notation could readily be understood were its use less common, but when it is added against so many lines, it loses its force and value. Occasionally proper names are written in red. Much of the "Roman de la Rose" consists of direct speech or of description of series of allegorical and other personages, and it was perhaps to facilitate the reading of the text that these names were written in red in the margin, and sometimes in the body of the text as well. In the description of the images ornamenting the wall of the garden of the rose, the name of each is written in red in the margin at the opening of each account. Again, in the case of direct speech, the name of the speaker is similarly added, and when the speeches are very long, as is not unusual, the name is also written in red in the centre of the top margin of the page.¹ Other subdivisions of the narrative are similarly indicated, e.g. *La premiere bataille, la seconde bataille* and *la tierche bataille*.² In the same way the commandments of love are enumerated.³ The breaking up of the direct speech in this way suggests that this copy may have been used for reading aloud by several people in a semi-dramatic form.

In addition to the red marginalia, there are on many leaves the markings of a corrector. This hand is almost contemporary with that of the copyist, though much smaller in size. The corrections vary from the alteration or insertion of one or two letters and the indication of the correct order of lines⁴ to the insertion of groups of lines omitted from the text, and the addition of variant read-

¹ E.g. *L'Aucteur* on ff. 18-19, and *Raison* on ff. 44-63.

² Vv. 10719, 10729, 10737 ; f. 88v. col. ii.

³ Vv. 2077 *sqq* ; ff. 22 *sqq*.

⁴ E.g. on f. 40 col. ii, where vv. 4005-06 are placed in the correct order by means of the letters *b a* in the margin, on f. 136 col. i, where this small hand of the corrector has indicated the emendation of v. 17244, and on f. 23v. col. ii, where the words *escrie un quidier* (v. 2323) are added.

ings. Sometimes the scribe himself has written a group of lines at the bottom of a leaf,¹ but more usually these alterations are in the corrector's hand, which sometimes makes an insertion actually in the text.² Some of the variant readings offered by the corrector are of interest, as on f. 38 col. ii where the text reads :

Lors leva le villain l'aumuce
Sez iex euvre, si les beluce,
Fronce le nes, les yiex roeille
Et fu plain d'ire et de roeille. (vv. 3731-34.)

The corrector has added in the lower margin the version :

Lors leva le vilain la hure
Car il ot tres laide figure,
Que ne vous estre sanquicie
De vo service aveis failly

which has no equivalent among the variants of the Langlois edition. Sometimes it seems as though the corrector's additions are his own versified expansion of ideas already contained in the text. The lines :

Une feme et un vilain home,
Li homs Male Bouche se nomme,
Nes fu $\epsilon\eta$ sachiés en Normendie,
C'est uns vilain cui Dieux maudie,
Et sa feme ot nom Honte,
Et sachiés qui a droit conte . . .

inserted on f. 31v. col. i before line 2838 seem to be an expansion of the idea contained on f. 39v. col. i :

Male Bouche que Dieux maudie
Ot soudoieurs de Normandie (vv. 3889-90.)

This addition seems to be peculiar to our manuscript. Sometimes the corrector is too enthusiastic, as on f. 93 col. ii where he has added two lines after line 11244 :

J'aim riches qui ont poosté
Nule poverté je ne daigne

which have no equivalent in this place in other manuscripts, and which seem to refer to lines 11237-40. A similar mistake has been made on f. 95v. col. ii, where, after line 11568, the lines :

Ne troverés tournoi ne jousté
Que ne me trouvissiés dejousté

¹ Vv. 9212-15 are added in this way on f. 78.

² V. 19360 is so added on f. 153v. col. i.

are added. The other manuscripts contain interpolations at this point, but none seems to contain this couplet. The text, then, shows signs of careful revision and completion. Apart from the corrections of the type noted, there are minor additions¹ and erasures of rubrics,² all of which have the object of completing and improving the text.

It is possible to distinguish more than one hand in the copying of the volume itself. There is a change of ink at the first line of f. 140 col. i, and again at line 17 of f. 156 col. i. There is an undoubted change of hand at the beginning of the new gathering on f. 147. It would appear that two scribes worked on the volume, the second taking over the task of copying when the work was almost completed. It seems likely from the language that the whole of the volume was written in North-Eastern France, in Picardy. The forms *ches* for *ces*, *le* for the feminine of the definite article are Picardisms, and many others can be readily noted in the extracts already quoted, and in the Appendix.³ The decoration of the manuscript also supports the view that it is a Picard product. The language is that of the first half of the fourteenth century, and although the text is thus a comparatively late one, it belongs mainly to Group I, the earlier and more authentic version of the poems of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, and is completed by interpolations from other groups.

II

The other manuscript of the "Roman de la Rose" in the Library contains the whole of the work of Guillaume de Lorris and the continuation of Jean de Meun, followed by the anonymous literary gem, "La Châtelaine de Vergy".⁴ Of all the manuscripts described by Langlois, only two others contain the

¹ On ff. 12v. (vv. 807-14); 58v. (vv. 6443-46); 78 (vv. 9212-15); 78v. (v. 9303); 110v. (v. 13652, added and then wrongly crossed out); and 125 (vv. 15646-49). In some of these cases a reviser had written the lines before the scribe inserted them.

² On ff. 127v. col. i, 129v. col. i, and 131v. col. i.

³ An account of the peculiarities of the Picard dialect is to be found in M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, Manchester, 1934, pp. 491-93, § 1321.

⁴ The "Roman de la Rose" occupies ff. 1-154 col. ii, and the "Châtelaine de Vergy" ff. 155-61v. col. i.

" Châtelaine de Vergy " as well as the " Roman de la Rose ".¹ The volume is bound in seventeenth, or perhaps early eighteenth-century French red morocco,² on which has been stamped at a subsequent date the arms of Hudson Gurney (1775-1864), the well-known Norfolk bibliophile. It appears that the volume was one of those which in 1820 passed from John Patteson, through the hands of a Norwich bookseller, to Hudson Gurney.³ The Patteson collection of books had been assembled by Cox Macro (1683-1767), who had in his turn acquired them either from Bury Abbey, or from Sir Henry Spelman (1564-1641), the antiquarian.⁴ The only other traces of former ownership in the manuscript are on the last leaf, of which the verso is glued to the end paper. Here, in the upper margin of the recto, is written in an ornate seventeenth-century hand, *A CeLe La RaNdRe HoNeVr PLUS DE VIL Que Joye*, and beneath it, in the centre of the page, is a monogram, which, when expanded, may be read as *OSPORINACE*, neither of which devices we have been able to trace. The manuscript was sold in 1936, together with a part of the Keswick Hall collection from the library of Major Q. E. Gurney, and has now passed into the hands of Mr. Rattey.

It consists of 162 vellum leaves (295 × 218 mm.) written in double columns, usually of thirty-six lines each, the written area measuring 204 × 147 mm. Two paper fly leaves, contemporary with the binding, precede and follow the vellum leaves. The text, which is written throughout in the same careful middle or late fourteenth-century hand, is decorated with alternate blue and red initials. The incipit of f. 2 is *Tout clos de haus murs bataillié* (v. 131). There are two miniatures. The first,⁵ at the beginning of the " Roman de la Rose ", depicts the sleeping author with a

¹ Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 243 ; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MSS. 9574-75. Both contain only the " Roman de la Rose " and the " Châtelaine de Vergy ".

² The binding measures 306 × 225 mm., and the title *Roman de la Rose, manuscrit*, is on the spine.

³ See *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, edited by Raynaud and Foulet, Paris, 1912 (*Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age*), p. v, n. 1.

⁴ On the Macro collection, see *The Macro Plays*, edited by F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, London, 1904 (*Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. XCI*), p. 1.

⁵ F. 1 col. i. It measures 67 × 53 mm.

figure standing by his bed, inspiring him, and a highly stylised tree between them, the whole being set against an orange background with a simple coloured border. There is no rubric, and a nineteenth-century hand has added the title *Le Roman de la Rose*. The text opens with the lines :

Maintes genz cuident que en songes
 N'ait se fables non et mensonges ;
 Mais l'en puet tel songe songier
 Qui ne sont mie mensongier. . . . (vv.1-4.)

The continuation of Jean de Meun is introduced by an initial six lines in depth.¹ The second miniature² is at the beginning of the tale of the "Châtelaine de Vergy",³ and is in fact an historiated V. The lover, dressed in blue, is seen on the left ; a stylised tree in the centre, at the foot of which is the little dog running towards him, separates him from a doorway on the right, in which a lady is standing, dressed in an orange surcoat with a blue shift. The whole is set against a magenta background.

At the end of the "Roman de la Rose", the last leaf⁴ of which is of a thicker, whiter vellum than the rest of the volume, is the explicit, *Fin du Rommant de la Rose*, in the hand of the copyist. There is no title at the beginning of the "Châtelaine de Vergy", but at the end,⁵ there is likewise a note, *Explicit li Roumanz de la Chastelaine de Vergi*. There are no rubrics in either text, although spaces, usually of two lines each, have been left for them. Occasionally as many as seven lines⁶ have been left blank for the rubric, and perhaps for a miniature as well. The foliation is in modern pencil, in the lower right-hand corner of the recto of the leaf, but there are traces of a foliation in roman numerals, perhaps of the fifteenth century, in the top right-hand corner of the recto of the leaf. Other annotations include, on f. 151 col. ii, against a blank line, *Cy parole l'Amant*,⁷ and on f. 153v. col. ii, *Encore parole l'Amant*.⁸ The only annotation in the "Châtelaine de Vergy" is the word *hic* against line 194.⁹ The remaining marginalia, other than crosses against occasional

¹ F. 29v. col. i.

² 43 × 55 mm.

³ F. 155 col. i.

⁴ F. 154.

⁵ F. 161v. col. i.

⁶ F. 12 col. ii, before v. 1615.

⁷ V. 21346.

⁸ V. 21587 ; vv. 21583-86 are omitted.

⁹ F. 156 col. ii.

lines, refer to a binder's error. In the lower margin of f. 66v. col. ii, in a hand very similar to that of the earlier foliation, is the note :

Verte usque ad octo folia
[Ubi ?] Devant les voisins qui la viennent,

which refers to the first line of f. 75 col. i :

Devant les voisins qui la viennent (v. 9379.)

On f. 74v. col. ii, again in the lower margin, in the same fifteenth-century hand, is the note :

Verte usque ad vj folia
Ubi de froit de faim crier et braire,

a reference to the first line of f. 81 col. i :

De faim de froit crier et brere (v. 11247.)

A similar note, partially erased, is found at the foot of f. 80v. col. ii ; it has not been possible to decipher this, even with the aid of the ultra-violet lamp. These markings indicate the correct order in which the text should be read, for folios 67 to 74, which contain lines 10239-11246, should have been placed between the present folios 80 and 81. The mistake made by a binder during the fifteenth century was repeated when the volume received its present binding, no doubt because the catchwords, which occur at the end of every eight-leaf gathering, had in some instances been cut away.

The other markings in the volume, especially on the fly-leaves and end-papers, include pen-trials and the name *daingier*,¹ booksellers' notes,² a mention that the manuscript had been listed by Langlois,³ as well as a note in an early nineteenth-century hand, which reads : “ This is a very good and valuable ms of the Roman de la Rose, at the end is the pathetic tale of the Châtelaine de Vergy. D.” A modern hand has completed the name Douce in pencil. No doubt when the manuscript changed hands during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Francis Douce, the antiquarian and bibliophile and a contemporary of Hudson Gurney, whose manuscript collections now enrich the Bodleian

¹ On the recto of the last leaf.

² Such as *ar*, 120/, *O*, *Ep*. 51, *nvp*, and a dot within a circle, all on the first fly-leaf.

³ *Ed. of Rom. de la Rose*, Vcl. I, page 49, note 1 (p. 51).

Library, had occasion to examine the volume, perhaps at the invitation of one of the owners, or of a bookseller. Other notes and correspondence suggest that the manuscript is of about the year 1380, or else of the early fourteenth century; it is probably of the latter half of the fourteenth century, for the language and state of the text indicate a somewhat late version of both parts of the romance. The palaeographic and artistic evidence points to a similar conclusion.

The poem of Guillaume de Lorris is of a later version than that of Rylands French MS. 66, for although on f. 20v. col. ii Male-Bouche, Honte and Peour are listed as guardians of the Rose, together with Dangier, on f. 21 col. i, we read :

Or sont as rosiers gardier troi. (v. 2863.)

Thus the manuscript has the readings of both Groups I and II, and so belongs to the conflated Group III, as it is styled by Langlois.¹

For the poem of Jean de Meun, there is no interpolation after line 8178,² and so here the text belongs to Group I, but neither this manuscript, nor Rylands French MS. 66, although both predominantly of Group I at this point, has the drawings of the hands at lines 11479-80.³ The Litany of Love between lines 4400 and 4401⁴ is not to be found in the Rattey manuscript, which on f. 76v. col. i reads :

Treuz et rantes li baillierent (v. 9628.)

and so belongs to Group I in both these respects. On the other hand, on f. 74 col. i lines 11213-22 are omitted, and eighty-four lines interpolated concerning the privilege of confession claimed by Faus Semblant—a characteristic of Group II. On f. 100v. col. ii we have a modified version of the reading of Group I, for a different version of lines 14169-79 is interpolated from a group of manuscripts.⁵ Again, on f. 106v. cols. i-ii, there is the Group II version of lines 15007 and 15015-16, namely :

Que servisse vous i faciez
Nous savons que vous ne traciez.⁶

¹ *Mss. du Rom. de la Rose*, p. 243.

³ Langlois, ed. of *Rom. de la Rose*, Vol. III, p. 202.

⁵ *Ba, Bâ, Be, Co.*

⁶ Langlois, *Mss. du Rom. de la Rose*, pp. 432-34.

² F. 58v. col. i.

⁴ F. 31v. col. i.

The manuscript offers then a linguistically and stylistically modernised version of a text which is predominantly Group I with interpolations from Group II—a phenomenon typical of mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts of this work. It is, in fact, a conflated text, as is that of the “*Châtelaine de Vergy*”.¹ These considerations do not, however, detract from the interest and importance of this beautiful and carefully executed copy of these two great works of medieval French literature.

III

The short prose treatise at the beginning of Rylands French MS. 66² is a dissertation on the nature, causes, characteristics and signs of love. It is anonymous and without title. The same work is found in one other manuscript, MS. 526 of the Bibliothèque Municipale at Dijon,³ where it is followed by a short Latin account of the twelve signs of love and friendship,⁴ the *Comment d'Amours* of Richard de Fournival,⁵ the *Puissance d'Amours*⁶ and the *Bestiaire d'Amours* or *Arrière Ban*⁷ as it is sometimes styled, two more works of Richard de Fournival, the *Réponse du Bestiaire d'Amours*,⁸ the *Roman de la Rose*⁹ and other miscellaneous works, some of which are attributed to Baudouin de Condé.¹⁰ In view of the fact that the first anonymous treatise of this manuscript, that which is found also in the Rylands manuscript, is similar in language, style and composition to the other prose works of Richard de Fournival, Langlois¹¹ was inclined to attribute it to him also. Moreover, in some

¹ *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, ed. F. Whitehead, Manchester, 2nd edition, 1951, p. xlv.

² Ff. 2 col. i-4 col. ii.

³ Ff. 1 col. i-3 col. ii.

⁴ Ff. 3 col. ii-3v. col. ii.

⁵ Ff. 4-11.

⁶ Ff. 11-20.

⁷ Ff. 20-31. Edited by Célestin Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire d'Amour par Richard de Fournival suivi de la Réponse de la Dame . . . publiés pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris (Aubry), 1860 (*Collection des écrivains français du moyen âge*). An edition based solely on MS. B.N. fr. 412. A critical text based on all French manuscripts is to be found in J. Holmberg's edition of the Middle Low Franconian version, pp. 166-232. See below, p. 352, n. 4. See also *Histoire de Littéraire de la France*, Vol. XVI, p. 220, and *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc., Vol. V, pp. 277-78.

⁸ Ff. 31-38.

⁹ Ff. 38-157.

¹⁰ Ff. 157-161.

¹¹ “*Quelques Oeuvres de Richard de Fournival*”, *ap. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. LXV (1904), pp. 101-15, esp. p. 103. See also the article by Paulin Paris in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 708-33.

manuscripts, works ascribed to Richard de Fournival in the Dijon manuscript are anonymous.

The treatise opens with the statement that ignorance concerning the nature of love has caused many to fall into sin. It is therefore necessary to define love, its origins and causes, and the means of keeping it alive. The author proceeds to quote definitions of love by Saint John, Cicero and Solomon, as well as citing other authorities. The eyes are the first cause of love, and then come speech and thought. Happiness, desire, hope and will all play their part in the engendering of love, which is nourished by eight virtues. These are listed, and authorities are quoted in support. He who possesses these eight virtues is indeed to be desired as a friend. He who has such a friend will never be lonely, and will never want, for such friendship enriches even the poorest, and calms those who are distressed. Love of this kind is a spiritual thing, and without price. Faith, intention, discretion and patience are the means of testing friendship. Friends must have no secrets from each other, and must be quite equal. The treatise closes with a list of the twelve signs of love. The author takes care to announce his subject and its divisions, and after treating each aspect of it, summarises what has been said. Numerous authorities are cited throughout, authorities such as Ovid and Solomon, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustin. Although pagan authors are frequently quoted, the tone of the treatise is thoroughly Christian, and it is a refreshing change from the many medieval accounts of the conventions of "amour courtois".

There are indeed similarities of subject and of atmosphere between this treatise and the works of Richard de Fournival, who, in addition to those already mentioned, is the author of a *Consaus d'Amours*,¹ a *Biblionomia*,² that is a catalogue in Latin of the

¹ Edited by William M. McLeod, "The 'Consaus d'Amours' of Richard de Fournival", *ap. Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), Vol. XXXII (1935), pp. 1-21.

² "Biblionomia ms. M. Richardi de Furnivalle, cancellarii Ambianensis", *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. X (1751), col. 1181c. See also *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XVII, p. 71, and Vol. XXIII, pp. 711-13, and the edition of *De Vetula* by Cocheris, p. xxi. The manuscript of this curious and interesting work is at present in the Library of the Sorbonne. See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Vol. II, Paris (1866), pp. 518-36.

municipal library of Amiens, whose nucleus may well have been Richard's own private library, a *De Vetula*¹ and various short love poems and songs.² The *Panthère d'Amours*,³ an imitation of the “ Roman de la Rose ”, was also mistakenly attributed to him by the copyist of MS. B.N. fr. 24432. Of these, it is perhaps the *Consaus d'Amours* which has the closest relationship with our treatise. Both works discuss the same topics of love and friendship and both use arguments taken from the pagan writers and the Bible. There is a remarkable likeness in the way in which both support almost every argument advanced by a reference to some authority. Frequent verbal similarities may be noted between the two, many of which occur in passages which are nothing other than translated quotations from Cicero's *De Amicitia*. Perhaps a yet more convincing reason for attributing the work to Richard de Fournival is the fact that our text is mid-thirteenth-century Picard,⁴ which was no doubt the language he used, for his home village of Fournival is between Amiens and Beauvais. The outline of his life is well known. He was the son of Roger de Fournival, physician to Philip Augustus, and of Elizabeth de Pertica. Before 1240 he had become a canon of the cathedral of Amiens, of which he later became chancellor. He was also a surgeon. He died on 1st March, 1260.⁵ This ecclesiastical dignitary was

¹ *La Vieille ou les dernières amours d'Ovide, poème français du XIV^{ème} siècle traduit du latin de Richard de Fournival par Jean Le Fèvre, publié pour la première fois . . . par Hippolyte Cocheris, Paris (Aubry), 1861.* This work has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Ovid. See also *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 708-33.

² Edited by Paul Zarifopol, *Kritischer Text der Lieder Richards de Fournival*, Halle a. S. (1904). This edition attributes twenty-one lyrics to Richard. See also the article by Paulin Paris in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 708-33.

³ *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours, par Nicole de Margival, poème du XIII^{ème} siècle*, publié par Henry A. Todd, Paris (1883) (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*), p. xxvii.

⁴ The forms *solaus, coses, ki, che, chou, louiaus, degrei, amistei, engenree, oeilg*, are merely a few of the Picard traits, of which many more may be readily noted. See M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, Manchester (1934), §§ 1320-21.

⁵ “ *Patria Ambianus Arnulfus, filius Elisabethæ de Pertica, Rogeri de Fournivalle, Ludovici VIII et Sancti Ludovici regum medici privignus, Theobaldi Rotomagensis archiepiscopi consobrinus Richardi de Fournivalle cancellari ecclesiæ Ambianensis ex matre frater, doctor erat theologus, quum anno 1227 interfuit conventui Parisiis apud Franciscanos habito, in quo theologi Parisienses post longam disputationem desinierunt neminem sine peccato mentali pesse*

also an expert in the theory of love—in the *Consaus d'Amours* he professes to answer a letter from his sister who wishes to know how *amer par amours*, and he defines love as *ardeurs de pensee ki gouverne le volenté du cuer*:¹ the *Poissance d'Amour* is a dialogue between Richard and a pupil on the subject *par coi ne de coi ne comment corages de femme est par force de nature esmeus en amour*. In the *Comment d'Amours* he explains *par exemples d'amours et de chevaleries . . . comment il (a lover) se doit au commencement a sa dame acointier et comment il le doit requerre de s'amour*.² The love lyrics show that this theoretician could practise his teaching.

His work was popular. The *Bestiaire d'Amour* survives in several manuscripts, and was re-written in verse,³ as well as being translated into Middle Low Franconian.⁴ Although his writings have several times been described, no comprehensive published study and no complete modern edition exist.⁵ The extent of his work, too, is still not completely defined, and although much has been attributed to him by earlier literary historians,⁶ it is clear

habere duo beneficia, quorum alterum ad sustentationem est sufficiens", *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. X (1751), col. 1184A-B.

¹ Ed. McLeod, p. 5, § 1, p. 6, § 3.

² Dijon, MS. 526, f. 4, col. i.

³ The verse form has been preserved in one manuscript as well as in a sixteenth-century printed edition. It has been recently edited by Artur Långfors, *Le Bestiaire d'Amours en vers*, ap. *Mémoires de la Société neo-philologique de Helsingfors*, Vol. VII (1924), pp. 291-317. Another modern edition has been prepared by Arvid Thordstein, *Le Bestiaire d'Amour rimé, poème inédit du XIIIème siècle*, Lund and Copenhagen (1941) (*Études Romanes de Lund*, II). See also *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 632-33. Even during the middle ages the prose form of the *Bestiaire d'Amour* underwent remaniement and expansion by means of the addition of further creatures and examples. Such a version is to be found in MS. B.N. fr. 15213.

⁴ *Eine mittelniederfränkische Übertragung des Bestiaire d'Amour, sprachlich untersucht und mit altfranzösischem paralleltext*, edited by John Holmberg, Uppsala (1925) (*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*).

⁵ The work of Suzanne Vitte, *Richard de Fournival, Étude sur sa vie et ses oeuvres, suivie de l'édition du "Bestiaire d'Amours", de la "Reponse de la Dame" et des "Chansons"*, mentioned in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. LXXXIX (1928), p. 439, has apparently not been published. Paul Meyer's note in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1879, p. 74, only lists the manuscripts.

⁶ E.g. Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie françoise, ryme et romans, plus les noms et sommaire des oeuvres de CXXVII poètes françois vivans avant l'an MCCC*, Paris (Patisson), 1581, pp. 145-46; or La Croix du Maine et du Verdier, *Les Bibliothèques Françaises*, Vol. I, p. 266, Vol. V, p. 377.

that until the whole of his works, of which some are attributed to him only in the Dijon manuscript, are made available, it will be difficult to establish the limits of his literary activity. In the case of the treatise which we reproduce below, the most we can say is that there is nothing to disprove the suggestion made by Langlois that the work is that of Richard. It is almost certain that it is the work of a clerk. The acquaintance with the writings of the Church Fathers, as well as those of the pagan authors, would suggest this. It is significant that the most frequently quoted of all authorities by the Old French writer is Saint Ambrose, and, furthermore, that most of the quotations are from a single chapter, the twenty-second of Book III of *De Officiis Ministrorum*.¹ Not all of the quotations are attributed to this source in the Old French, many of them are designated as sayings of “ Le Sage ” or “ Le Philosophe ”, though such is clearly not the case. The chapter on friendship in Saint Ambrose opens by discussing the problems of conflicting loyalties, and then proceeds to define the nature, duties and characteristics of friendship. The plan of the chapter is very similar to that of the Old French treatise, and both lead up to the sayings on friendship quoted in the Gospel of Saint John. The conclusion of the French treatise, it is true, differs from the Latin in that it partially resumes all that has preceded in the twelve signs of love. Saint Ambrose himself used the work of Cicero, thus some of the quotations from the *De Amicitia* may have found their way into the French text through the medium of Saint Ambrose. This is not true of all of them, however, and it is a curious fact that most of the references to Cicero which cannot have reached our treatise in this way are found also in the *Consaus d'Amours*.² The similarities between the anonymous treatise and the other prose works of Richard de Fournival may of course be explained as being coincidences, as caused entirely by the similarities of the subject, for it would not be surprising if two writers, both trained in the same manner, should, when dealing with the very popular medieval topic of love, draw upon the same sources, and produce very similar results. It is, however, rather striking that in the majority of cases in which there is close

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XVI, cols, 190-94.

² See notes to lines 11, 151 of the Appendix.

agreement between the *Consaus d'Amours* and our treatise, it is when there is a departure from the text of Saint Ambrose. It would be strange if a medieval author were to abandon his ecclesiastical source in order to quote a part of Richard's translation of the *De Amicitia*. The more satisfactory explanation is of course that Richard wrote both Old French treatises. Linguistic considerations too, point to the fact that the treatise in the Rylands and Dijon manuscript may well be attributed to Richard de Fournival, but until further evidence should come to light, this attribution must remain merely probable.

APPENDIX

The text printed below is that of Rylands French MS. 66, transcribed with the minimum of change. Only in those cases in which it is clear that the scribe has erred, as for example in the first few lines where a group of words has fallen through homoeoteleuton, has the editor intervened. All such emendations and departures from the base text are placed within square brackets. Rejected readings are to be found in the Variants, and are preceded by the siglum *R*. The Variants from the Dijon manuscript are indicated by means of the siglum *D*.¹ Punctuation and paragraphing are, for the sake of clarity, in accordance with modern usage, although the treatise is partially punctuated in both manuscripts and paragraph marks are very frequent. Other changes are the differentiation of "i" and "j", "u" and "v", the use of the acute accent to distinguish final accented "e" from "e" feminine, of a tréma to denote vowels in hiatus, and of the cedilla to indicate "soft c". All but the purely orthographical variants are given, and many of the quotations are identified and their original form indicated in the footnotes, which also include some of the parallel passages from the *Consaus d'Amours*.

On ² voit souvent aucunes gens de diverses manieres ki par nature sont espris de si noble vertu comme d'amours, ki ne seivent nekedent c'amours est, s'en usent par non savoir et par fole acoustumanche [autrement qu'il ne doivent par faute de cog-
5 nissance]; et niche [apresure] fait l'omme caoir mainte fois de

¹ I am indebted to the Bibliothèque Publique of Dijon as well as to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris for having supplied me with photographs of MS. 526 of the library of Dijon.

² *R* f. 2 col. i; *D* f. 1 col. i.

1 *D* diverses condiconns qui. 4-5 autrement—cognissance *not in R*.
5 *R* niche des apres faire fait; *R* loume *with 'u' expunged and nasalisation of 'o' indicated*. 5-6 *D* fait maintes fois cheir loume de vertu ou vice.

virtu en vice. Si voel a brief mos descrire et par raison demou-
 strer k'est amours, et dont ele est engenree, et de quele vertu ele
 doit estre nourrie, selonc chou ke j'ai apris de divers aucteurs.
 Amours est selonc le Philosophe concordances de diverses
 volentés [de dois] esperis acordans a toutes coses humaines sans 10
 departie.¹ A chou s'acorde Salemons qui dist : “ Tous tans
 aime ki amis est, et sans fin ”.² Et messires Sains Jehans li
 Ewangelistes dist : “ Amours ki defaut ne fu onques vraie, car
 vrais amis ne peut fauser,³ jasoit che k'on li fache de durteis a
 souffrire ; et s'il fause chou k'il aime, s'amistés ne fu onques 15
 vraie, car amours est si loiale en soy meismes c'a toutes les
 necessités de son ami s'aploie, et conferme en tout souffrir ”.⁴
 Et plus grieve au loial amant li compassions k'il a de son ami
 quant chose a ki li grieve, k'il ne fait [a] celui ki le seuffre. Dont
 est amours moult noble virtus, et loiaus sour toutes choses. 20
 Aucuns metent autres diffinicions⁵ en amours, et dient : “ Amours
 est druerie de pensee, estraigne privauiés, amonestemens de
 courtoisie, invisible possessions, pais sans repos, amissions de
 maniere, bataille sans haine, grevanche, (f. 2 col. ii) /plaisans, puis

¹ Cf. *Consaus d'Amours* : “ Tullus . . . dist . . . amours est consentemens en boine volenté et en carité de toutes coses devines et humaines ” (Ed. McLeod, p. 7, § 6). Cf. Cicero, *De Amicitia* : “ Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio ” (20 vi. 20).

² Prov. xvii. 17, “ Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est ” (*Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae editionis* . . . Paris, 1922).

³ This is a reflection of St. Jerome : “ Amicitia quae desinere potest vera nunquam fuit ” (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXII, col. 335).

⁴ St. Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministrorum, Liber III, Caput XXII*, § 128 : “ Etenim si amici secundae res amicos adjuvant, cur non et in adversis amici rebus amicorum adjumentum suppetat ? ” (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 191B).

⁵ D mettent au—(f. 1 col. ii) /—tre diffinicion.

6-7 D demoustrer ke est. 7 D ele (vient) (*expunged by scribe*) est engenree ;
 D queles vertus. 9 D le prophete. 10 de dois *not in R* ; D accordans
 en toutes. 10-11 D sans departies et a chou. 14 D chou ke on ; D face
 moult de. 15 D aime pour chou samistie ne fu. 17 D en tous souffrirs.
 18 D grieve a loial. 19 a *not in R*. 20 D loiaus sus toutes. 21 D aucun
 mettent autre diffinicion en amour. 22 D est deruerie de. 23 D possessions
 ou passions ; D repos aministrations de. 24-25 D pais de soutiue.

25 de soutieutei, yweile a tous, et nului deportans.¹ Or avés oÿ k'est
 amours, si devés savoir dont ele est engenree". Ch'est par
 regart, dont Tulles dist : " Regars est li premier degrei pour
 monter a le perfection d'amistei, car quant li oel s'abandonnent
 au regarder, il denonchent au ceur l'ocoison de son enbrase-
 30 ment".² Li secons degrés est parole, dont Panphiles dist :
 " Douche parole engendre l'amour ke proeche ne peut conquerre".
 Et Ovides dist : " Ulixes ne fu mie biaux, mais il fu enparles".³
 Li tiers degrés est pensee, car quant les paroles sunt dites et oïes,
 penseir convient as paroles oïes, et penseir a chascune selonc son
 35 droit, s'eles sont douches ou ameires, [dures] ou confortans, ou
 deboinaires ou felenesses, et selonc chou par sens et par avise-
 ment sequerre le pour siewir, car pensee d'amant est ausi comme
 li fontaine sourians ki tous tans plaine demeure, et adés s'en ceurt.
 Li quars degrés est plaisanche, et est engenree par pensee delitant,
 40 car se li pensers ne plaist, li amours n'est mie fermement conchute.
 Li quins degrés est desirs, car desirs n'a point de repos, ains
 convoite adés a savoir les biens et les virtus ki appartient au vrai
 amant, dont li Sages dist : " Ceur amoreus doit tous tans

¹ Cf. *Consaus d'Amours* : " Amours est une foursenerie de pensee, fus sans estaindre, fains sans soeler, cous mals, boine douchours, plaisans folie, travaus sans repos, et repos sans travel " (ed. McLeod, p. 9, § 11).

² This is a commonplace of the courtly doctrines of love. Cf. *Consaus d'Amours* : " Nepourquant la droite voie d'amours sont li oeul, car ce sont les fenestres dou cuer, et ont lor racines u cuer, ne li oeul ne pueent pas si mentir con fait li bouce, dont quant il avient que ciex ki aime gete les regars amoureux vers celi qu'il aime se li cuers de celi est dignes de concevoir amours en soi, par se noblece seo vaint et aperçoit l'amour ki le semont et le reçoit en soi sans refuser, car nus boins cuers ne puet refuser a herberger amours en soi.

" En tel maniere que vous oés, l'amour ki vient des iex de l'un entre par les iex et se conçoit u cuer de l'autre. . . ." (ed. McLeod, p. 14, §§ 22-23).

³ Ovid : " plus quam facundus Ulixes " (*Heroides*, III, 129), " ubi nunc facundus Ulixes " (*Metamorphoses*, XIII, 92), etc.

25 D ke est. 26-27 D engenree premierement amours est engenree par resgart et regars est. 28-29 D oeilg donnent un resgarder. 30-31 D degres si est parole encitee et engendre. 31-32 D conquerir ovides. 32 D biaux et si fu. 33 D degres si est pensee ; et oies *not in D*. 34 D oyes et peser cascune. 35 D se eles ; dures *not in R*. 35-36 D con fortans debonnaire. 39 D degres si est. 40 D li puisers ne ; D mie contenue fermement. 41 D degres si est ; D desirs et naist de plaisance car loiaus desirs na point. 42 D les buns et ; D a vrai. 43 amoreus *not in D*.

desireir les virtus par les¹ queis on peut a parfaite joie venir”.
 Li sisimes degreis est esperanche, ki est engenee par delitant⁴⁵
 desirier, selonc che ke li Sages dist : “ Nus ne doit desirier chou
 qu’il n’ose espereir”. Mais esperanche est a pluseurs aventur-
 euse, se— (f. 2v. col. i) —lonc le dispossission de fortune, dont
 Panphiles dist : “ Esperanche refait souvent son signour, et
 souvent le dechoit ”.² Et li Sages dist : “ Ferme esperanche⁵⁰
 abonineurist le cose desiree, et donne au feule vigeur et persever-
 anche de souffrir”. Li septimes degrés est volenteis, car par
 boene volentei de souffrir les contrarietés des amis k’il esteut
 souffrir, ains k’il ait les degrés ; par mainte fois avient souvent
 c’amours l’amant enrichist de don d’amie ains k’il l’ait deservi.⁵⁵
 Et s’amours li fait grace ains terme, dont doit l’otroi resoignier,
 car a l’escondit a recouvrier au loial amant, mais li otrois est fors
 a rapeleir, pour chou doit volenteis bien estre esprovee.

Or aveis oÿ comment amours est engenee ; s’est profis de
 savoir des queis virtus on le doit nourir, et de connoistre chiaus⁶⁰
 k’on veut retenir en amour et en privee familiarité. Voirs est,
 selonc ke messires Sains Jehans li Ewangelistes dist,³ nous devons
 ouvrir les entrailles de nos ceurs a nos proismes, et Ysaies dist que
 nous metons nos proesmes en l’ostel de nos ceurs,⁴ et sans
 difference. Voirs est que nous devons ameir nous proesmes par⁶⁵
 pitié et par compassion, mais Salemons dist en Cantikes c’on doit
 tres pau de gens mener en l’osteil de son ceur. Se tu veus avoir
 dont especial amistei a aucune persone, preng garde ke tu le

¹ *D* vertus / (f. 1v. col. i) / par les.

² Pamphilus, *De Amore*, v. 16 : “ Spes reficit dominum, fallit et ipsa suum ”.

³ John xiii. 34, “ Ut diligatis invicem ”.

⁴ Is. xli. 6 : “ Unusquisque proximo suo auxiliabitur ”. Cf. St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, § 128 : “ Aperi pectus tuum amico ” (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 191A).

44 *D* par les queles. 45 *D* degres si est. 45-46 *D* par desir selonc le
 sage qui dist. 47 *D* qui ne loist esperer. 49 souvent *not in D*. 50-51
D esperance aboinieurist. 52 *D* degres si est. 54 *D* ains ke on ait.
 54-55 *D* par montes avient il souvent kamours lenrichist dou don. 55 *D* quil
 ait. 56 *D* et amours ; *D* terme dame doit. 57 *D* escondit recouvrir
 a loial. 58 *D* chou doit estre volentes bien esprovee. 59 *D* si est. 60
D de queles. 61 *D* ke on. 62 *D* selonc chou ke. 63-64 nos proismes—
 nous metons *not in D* (*homæon-teleuton*). 66 *D* ke on. 67-68 *D* vels dont
 avoir especial. 68-69 *D* ke tu lesprueves.

pregnes en uit virtus ke loial amant doivent avoir, anchois/ (f. 2v. 70 col. ii)/ que tu en faches especial amistei; et s'il a ches virtus¹ en li, seurement le maine en le [privauté] de ton cuer par especial amistié.

Li premiers virtus est sens, car amistei de fol est tost mues [et cangié], et fait de ligier de son ami son anemi; dont Tullus 75 dist: " Il n'est nule si grant honte ke de fauser chelui avoeckes qui on a vescu familiarment, car amours desordenee ne peut venir a autre fin k'en pechié ou en discorde ".² Li seconde virtus est bontés, car mauvais ne seit estre amis, dont Tullus dist: " Je sai bien c'amours ne puet durer entre les mauvais,³ [et] 80 comment porroit il estre amis ki n'est amis en veritei? " Ensi ke Sains Augustins dist: " Nus ne seit a droit amer l'un l'autre s'il n'aime anchois chelui qui l'omme fist ".⁴ Et de chou vient que li loiens d'amours est plus fors et plus durans entre les boins k'entre les mauvais. Le tierche virtus est deboinareteis, car 85 Salemons dist en Proverbes⁵ ke li ireus est ausi comme li tisons

¹ D ces vertus / (fo. 1v. col. ii) / en lui.

² Cf. Cicero, *De Amicitia*: " Nihil enim est turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter vixeris " (xxi. 77).

³ Cicero, *op. cit.*: " Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse " (18 v. 5, and 65 xviii).

⁴ Cf. St. Augustine, *Sermo CXXV*, §7: " Qui amat sæculum, amare Deum non potest . . . Non occupetur amor tuus quo potes ad Deum tendere, et inhaerere ei qui te creavit " (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XXXVIII, col. 694); and St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, §132: " Non potest enim homini amicus esse, qui Deo fuerit infidus. Pietas custos amicitia est " (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 192A-B). Cf. also *Consaus d'Amours*: " Il [Cicero] nous dist des devines et des humaines choses ensamble car nous ne poons avoir amour en Nostre Segneur tant que nous avons haine contre nul homme, ne nule autre amours ne puet estre pourfitaule sans l'amour de Diu. Et de ceste autre amour parolent bien en lor livres S. Jehans li Evangelistes et maint autre saint. Et je n'en parlerai ore plus, ains me voel traire em la mater[e] pour coi j'ai ceste oeuvre commencié " (ed. McLeod, p. 8, §6).

⁵ Prov. xvi. 27: " Vir impius fodit malum, et in labiis eius ignis ardescit ", and xv. 18: " Vir iracundus provocat rixas ", similarly *id.*, xxix. 22.

69 RD viij. 69-70 D avoir avant ke tu. 70 D especial ami. 70-71 D en lui. 71 R pivanche. 73 D li premerainne vertus si est sens. 74 et cangie not in R (*homæoteleuton*). 75 D nule-plus grans honte. 77 fin not in D. 78 D vertus si bontes. 79-80 R mauvais he comment. 80 il not in D. 80-81 D verite aussi comme dist sains augustins. 81-82 D amer home sil. 82 D naimme avant celui. 83 D loiens damis est. 83-84 D fors entre les boins et plus durans kentre. 84 D vertus si est. 85 ke not in D.

ardans qui brule tous chiaus qui l'atouchent, et ausi comme li bos espineus qui point tout chiaus qui l'enbrachent ; nequedent fait il amer selonc les communes creatures, mais les familiariteis fait a eskiever, car li loiens d'amours seroit tost bruleis par le fu d'ire, et envenimee par le pointure de felenie. Li quarte virtus est 90 humilités, car orguilleres ne seit estre compains, ains veut tous tans moustrer signourrie, et quide adés miex/(f. 3 col. i)/valoir ke chiaus qui asseis mieus sont de lui ; et teis ne seit estre compains ne amis, car amours porte yweileté,¹ et samble al humele qui quide que chascun soit mieudre de lui, dont Sains Jehans dist : “Amours 95 ou ele se prent fait tout ywel, pour chou ne puet ceur orgueilleus loiaument² amer, ains est acceptables a tenches et a laidaaignes”, ausi ke escrit est en Proverbes.³ Le quinte virtus est loiautés, car loiaus ceurs maintient amours ausi bien en tans d'aversitei k'en prosperitei, dont li Sages dist : “Tous tans ayme qui 100 loiaus amis est”.⁴ Toutes fois a tel ami n'a nule comparison, ensi ke escrit est en Cantikes : “Loiaus amis n'a son pois n'en or n'en argent”,⁵ car loiaus amis [aimme tous tamps, et nommeement après la mort, che ne fait ors ne argens. Et dist li Sages en Cantiques : “Loiaus amis est medecine de vie”,⁶ et dist 105 encore, “Loiaus amis] garde ausi bien le vie espirituele ke le

¹ Cf. Cicero, *op. cit.* : “ Sed maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori ” (xix. 69), and St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, § 128 : “ Amicitia enim nescit superbiam”, and § 132, “ et [amicitia] aequalitatis magistra. . . . Inter dispares enim mores non potest esse amicitia ” (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, cols. 191A and 192B).

² *D* amer/(f. 2 col. i) loiaument ains.

³ Prov. x. 12 : “ Odium suscitatur rixas : et universa delicta operit charitas ”.

⁴ Prov. xvii. 17 : “ Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est ”. Cf. Jean de Meun, *Rom. de la Rose*, v. 4930, “ Toujourz aime qui est amis ”.

⁵ Prov. xxii. 1 : “ Super argentum et aurum, gratia bona ”.

⁶ Cf. St. Ambrose. *op. cit.*, § 128 : “ Fidelis enim amicus medicamentum est vitæ ” (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 191A).

87 *D* embracent nepourquant fait. 88 *D* il a amer ; *D* le familiarites.
 90 *D* vertus si est. 91 *D* car orgueilleus. 91-92 *D* tous jours moustrer sa signourrie.
 93-94 *D* chilg qui trop miex valent de lui et tels ne seit estre amis car amours.
 94 *R* in text ki dient, *corrector's note in margin* : qui quide.
 94-95 *D* samble a lui ke cascuns soit mieudres. 96-97 *D* orgueilleus amer loiaument ains.
 98 *D* aussi comme il est escrit en ; *D* vertus si est.
 100 *D* ke de prosperite. 100-101 *D* qui amis est une fois a teil ami na.
 102 *D* aussi comme il est escript en cantiques. 103 *R* nen en argent.
 102-103 *D* na or na argent. 103-106 aimme tous—loiaus amis *not in R* (*homæotcleuton*).
 106 *D* espirituele comme le.

temporele ". Li sisimes virtus est cremeurs, car amours ne peut estre sans cremeur, mais cremeurs peut estre sans amour, dont Sains Augustins dist : " Se li hom ne commenche par cremeur, 110 il ne peut parvenir a vraie amistei, car nature d'amistei est si franke en lui meisme k'ele ne se donne en nul ceur, s'il n'est cremeus de courechier celui a qui il a si grant cose donnei comme son ceur, par l'umilitei de vrai amour ". Dont Senekes dist : " Tous tans crient qui loiaus amis est ". Li septimes 115 virtus est patienche, car ausi que Sains Augustins dist : " Savoirs ne treuve lieu ou patience n'abite ". Et si dist li Poetes : " Patience est noble virtus de vaincre aspretés dont a a souffrir par patience/(f. 3 col. ii)/et especiaument de ton ami ".¹ Car ausi que li Sages dist : " Miex valent aspres parçles d'ami ke blandes 120 de flateur ".² Grans amistés est de reprendre son ami en ses defautes, et le doit on asprement reprendre au commenchieur pour esprouver sa patience, et puis quant patience i est trouvee, courtoisement et douchement enseigner.³ Li witisme virtus est courtoisie, ki son lieu tient en toutes les autres vertus, et par 125 li sont toutes virtus enluminees, et plus font a prisier les courtoisies du ceur honeste que les courtoisies d'avoir, car courtois

¹ Cf. St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, §129: " Si necesse est, toleremus propter amicum etiam aspera. . . . Sed ut in adversis amici patientia et tolerantia necessaria " (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 191B).

² Prov. xxvii. 6: " Meliora sunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odientis ", and *idem.*, xxviii. 23: " Qui corripit hominem, gratiam postea inveniet apud eum magis quam ille, qui per linguæ blandimenta decipit ". Cf. also Cicero, *De Amicitia*: " nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benevole fiunt " (xxiv. 88).

³ D courtoisement /(f. 2 col. ii)/ enseigner.

107 D vertus si est. 107-108 D puet bien estre. 110 D il ne ne puet.
 111 D ke ele ; R sadonne *corrected to* se donne. 111-112 D ne sadoune a nul cuer si nest cremeteus de. 113 D par lamistie de vraie amour.
 114 D qui vrais amis est. 115 D vertus si est ; D aussi comme dist sains augustins. 116-117 D liu ou patience est noble vertus est de vaintre se tu vels vaincre apren dont a souffrir. 118-119 D aussi comme dist li sages.
 119 R damir ; R blankes *corrected to* blandes ; D blanches paroles. 120 R Nota *against this line*. 121 D au commencement pour. 122-123 D se patience i est trouvee et courtoisement enseigner. 123 D li witime vertus si est.
 124 D qui son liu tient entre les autres vertus. 125 virtus *not in D*. 125-126 D courtoisies del cuer. 126 D courtoisies del avoir. 126-127 D courtois cuers ne.

ceur ne daigneroit vilenie penser, et doit courtois ceurs avoir volentei de son ami aydier esperituelment et corporelment sans faintise et sans escusanche.

Or avés oï briefment les uit vertus que chascuns loiaus amans 130 doit avoir en lui selonc son pooir. Bien le doit on tenir a ami qui ches uit poins a en li, et mout fait a desireir teiles amistés, car ausi k'escrit est: “ Nule cose sent on plus douchement, nule cose ne desire on plus saintement, nule cose ne regarde on plus profitalement, car chis qui est sans amis n'a a qui il puist avoir 135 confort de ses grevanches, ne a qui il puist descouvrir les secrés de son ceur et de sa conscienche ”. Seuls est ki est sans ami ou amie, car s'il chiet, il n'a qui le relieve. Mout est grant seurtés d'avoir loial ami a qui on ose parler et descouvrir les secrés/ (f. 3v. col. i)/de son ceur ausi fiaublement comme soi meisme, 140 et conseil prendre li un a l'autre en tout leur afaire, en prosperitei et en adversitei, esperituelment et corporelment.¹ Quel cose fait plus a desireir ke si faites amistés, car li vertus de vraie amisteis est selonc le Philosophe ki dist que li ami ki departi sont corporelment sont souvent ensamble esperituelment; souvent 145 avient qui li povre en devient rike, li feule virtueus, et donne pais as despaisiés, et as malades medicine.²

[Or avés oï] comment amours est engenree, et comment on le doit nourrir. Et sachiés que chil ki veulent oster l'amour des ceurs as vrais amans sont ausi, che dist le Philosophe, comme 150

¹ St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, § 131 : “ Solatium quippe vitæ huius est, ut habeas cui pectus aperias tuum, cum quo arcana participes, cui committas secretum pectoris tui; ut colloques tibi fidelem virum, qui in prosperis gratuletur tibi, in tristibus compatiatur, in persecutionibus adhortetur ” (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 192A).
² medici—/(fo. 2v. col. i)/—ne Or.

128 *D* esperituelment et temporelment sans. 130 *D* oi a bries mos les ;
RD viij. 131 le *not in D*. 132 *R* viij. 131-132 *D* ami celui qui ces
 vertus a en lui. 133 *D* comme il est escript ; *D* cose ne sent. 134-135
D ne garde on plus pourfitablement. 135 *D* car chile qui est sans ami na ou
 il puist. 136 *D* ni a cui. 137 *R* son *corrected to sa* ; *D* cuer ne de se
 conscience. 138 *R* *Nota against this line*. 137-138 ou amie *not in D*.
 139 *D* de avoir un ami. 139-140 *D* le secre de son. 140 *D* comme a soi ;
 142-143 *D* quels cose. 143 *D* faite amisties. 144 *D* le prophete. 144-
 145 *D* qui soient departi corporelment. 145 souvent *not in D*. 146 *D* li
 plus povres en. 148 *R* exemple comment. 150-151 *D* aussi comme chilg
 qui voelent oster la lumiere dou monde car aussi comme li solaus.

chil qui veulent oster le lumiere du monde,¹ car ausi ke li solaus est lumiere au monde, ausi est amours lumiere a le vie humaine. Mais je ne tieng mie a vraie amour, s'il i a cose deshoneste, faintise, n'atente de bien temporelment, car vraie amours est si
 155 povre qu'ele ne quiert en guerredon ke soi meisme. Amours ki vient par carnel convoitise mondaine est fause et pau durans ; dont Sains Ambrose dist : " Amours n'est mie acatee, ains est franke et simple virtus. Ele n'est mie aquire par avoir, ains vient par grace." ² Nus n'est amis vrais ki defaut pour peryl
 160 ne pour grevanche, ne pour nule adversitei, dont nous trovons exemple ou Livre des Roys de David, comment uns siens amis li dist quant il fuioit son filg Absalon : " Sire, dist il, che fache Diex, n'a mort n'a vie je ne/(f. 3v. col. ii)/vous faurai ".³ Il amoit miex a fuir et tout laisier pour aler en peril de mort avoec
 165 son ami k'estre en gloire avoec Absalon.

On doit au commenchier eslire son ami, après le doit on esprouveir, et dont primes retenir et recevoir en son cuer. Quatre choses sont par les queles on peut esprouver vraie amours. Ch'est par foy, par intencion, par discrecion, et par patience :
 170 par foy c'on puist croire son ami de tout son cors, et de tout son avoir, sans soupechon : par intencion, ke nule cose fors l'amours de chelui qui on aime ne veulle on aquerire ne convoitier : ⁴ par

¹ Cf. Cicero, *op. cit.*, : " Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur ei qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius " (47, xiii. 46), and *Consaus d'Amours* : " Tulles . . . : dist ' Cil tolent bien le soleil et la clarté du monde ki tolent amour et amistié " (Ed. McLeod, p. 7, § 5).

² Cf. St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, § 133 : " Virtus est enim amicitia, non quæstus : quia non pecunia paritur, sed gratia " (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 192c).

³ 2 Kings xv. 21 : " Vivit Dominus, et vivit dominus meus rex ! quoniam in quocumque loco fueris, domine mi rex, sive in morte, sive in vita, ibi erit servus tuus ".
⁴ D acquerre ne convoi—/(f. 2v. col. ii)/—tier par.

152 D est vraie amours. 153-154 D mie amour a vraie sil i a deshoneste faintise. 154 D bien temporel car. 154-155 D est si povre et si fine ke ele ne quiert. 156 D carnele ou mondaine convoitise est. 157 D ambroises dist ; D mie achatable. 159-160 D vrais qui pour grevanche ne pour peril ne pour nule adversite le puet retraire damours dont. 161 D exemple *not in D* ; D el livre. 161-162 D amis quant il fuioit absalon son filg sire. 163 D dius ke na mort ne a vie je ne. 164-165 D perilg avoec son ami ke estre. 166 D au commenchement eslire. 169 chest *not in D*. 170 D ke on ; tout *not in D* ; tout *not in D*. 171-172 D lamour de celui.

discrecion, ke on sache quel cose faire et quel cose laisier pour son
 ami en coy reprendre, ke on sache atendre tans et lieu, point et
 mesure, de parler et d'envoyer a son ami : par patience, se ses 175
 amis mesprent [en aucune maniere ke on largue belement, se ne doit
 on mie son cuer retraire de son ami pour chou s'il mesprent] doi
 fois ou troi, ne s'il en est coustumiers, on le doit douchement et
 courtoisement reprendre et secreement castoier et enseigner,
 et ne ne doit mie son ceur pour chou retraire de son ami, s'il n'en 180
 est acoustumiers, car nus n'est si parfais ki a le fois ne mesprengne.
 Quant amours est si afermee, on le doit nourir des virtus desseure
 dites en grant diligence par maniere ke toute soupechon en
 soit ostee, car ch'est li venins ki estaint et ochist le pais et l'amour
 entre les amans, et pour chou doit on toute bonteï croire de 185
 son ami ; et on ne doit nule deshoneste cose et nul pechié desireir
 ne con— (f. 4 col. i) /—voitier, ains soient en amour nourri, de si
 honeste maniere, si ke leur paroles soient adés joians, lor costumes
 deboinares, lor gieus sans vilenie, lor maintieng honestes, et
 l'une volenteï et l'autre apareillié sans dechevanche, si que d'un 190
 meisme voloir et desvoloir soit ferme et parfaite li amisteis.
 Nostre Sire nous moustre d'amisteï le droite fourme, la [ou] il
 dist : “ Vous estes mi ami, se vous faites che que je vous com-
 mande ”.¹ Et si dist ailleurs : “ Je ne vous clamerai pas mes
 sers, mais mes amis, car je vous ai tout dit quant que j'ai oï de 195
 mon peire ”.² Ensi doit vrais amans tenir cheste fourme, car

¹ John xv. 14 : “ Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quæ ego præcipio vobis ”.

² *Idem*, xv. 15 : “ Iam non dicam vos servos, quia servus nescit quid faciat dominus eius. Vos autem dixi amicos, quia omnia quæcumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis.” Cf. also St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, § 135 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 193A-B).

173 *D* sache ke faire ; *R* sache quel cose faire et quel coise faire. Et quel cose
 faire *expunged by copyist*. 174 *D* ami en quoi loer en quoi reprendre et ke on
 sace ; *D* lui et point. 176-177 en aucune—pour chou k'il mesprent *not in*
R (homæoteleuton). 177 *R D* ij. 178 *R D* iij ; *D* s'il nen est. 178-181
 on le doit—acoustumiers *not in D (homæoteleuton)*. 181 *D* ke a le. 182 si
not in D ; *D* vertus dessus. 183 *D* diligence si ke toute souspechons.
 185-187 *D* amans nul mal ne doit amans croire de son ami ne pechier ne con-
 voitier ains. 187-188 *D* en amour—paroles soient *not in D (homæoteleuton)*.
 190 *D* et li une volentes a lautre ; si *not in D*. 191 et parfaite *not in D*.
 192 *D* nostres sires nous demoustre de amistie ; ou *not in R*. 193 *D* chou
 ke je. 193-194 *D* vous ai commande. 194-195 *D* clamerai mais sers mais
 mes. 195 *D* dit quanques jou ai oi. 196 *D* vrais amis tenir.

il doit faire volentiers les commandemens de son ami, et
 apareilliement, et descouvrir tout le secrei de son cuer par fianche
 d'amistei, car nous secreis devons nous descouvrir a nos amis,
 200 et devons faire leur volentei, che nous dist Sains Ambroses,¹
 et qui chou faire ne veut,² il n'est mie vrais amis, ains porte
 rachine de mauvaise soupechon ou il ne croit autre ki teus se
 sent ke creus ne doit estre.

Li premiers signes d'amours est ke li loiaus ceurs ne peut
 205 riens cheler vers son ami. Li secons est ke ceurs qui s'entr'aient
 ne doivent avoir couverture, n'en fais, n'en dis. Li tierch est
 k'on doit laisser se volentei pour le volentei de son ami. Li
 quars est k'il ne souffist mie s'on laise se volentei pour le
 volentei de son ami, se on a plus d'affection de chele volentei
 210 lassier dont ses amis li prie, ke du faire ./(f. 4 col. ii)/. Li quins
 est quant amours est affremee, ele ne peut a autrui acompaignier.
 Li sisimes est c'amans ne peut estre aisé, s'il n'est avoeckes chou
 qu'il aime espirituelment ou corporelment. Li septimes est
 que li un ceurs doit estre garde de l'autre, selonc le Sage qui dist :
 215 " Autant vaut amis que garde du cuer ". Li witismes est ke
 doi cuer [ki] s'entr'amment deivent estre contei pour un. Li
 neufimes est ke quant cuers a a souffrir pour son ami, liement et

¹ Cf. St. Ambrose, *op. cit.*, §135: " Dedit formam amicitiae quam sequamur, ut faciamus amici voluntatem, ut aperiamus secreta nostra amico quaecunque in pectore habemus, et illius arcana non ignoremus. Ostendamus illi nos pectus nostrum, et ille nobis aperiat suum " (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XVI, col. 193A-B).

² D faire ne /(f. 3 col. i) velt.

198-199 D découvrir toute le fianche de son cuer par le secre damistie car.
 201 il *not in D*. 202-203 D autrui pour chou ke teil se sent ke. 203-204
 D estre vees ichi les xij signes de vraie amour Li. 204 D premiers signes de
 vraie amour si est li loiaus cuers qui ne. 205 D secons signes si est ken
 cuers qui. 206 R *corrector's hand has added* vent ; D ne doit ; D ni en dis ni
 en d (*expunged by scribe*) fais. 206-207 D li tiers signes si est ke on. 207
 D se propre volente ; de *not in D*. 207-208 D li quars signes si est. 208
 D souffise mie se on laist. 209 D volentei son ; D se on na plus. 210-211
 D li quins signes si est ke quant. 211 a *not in D*. 211-212 D acompaignier
 ke son amant li sisimes signes si est ke amans ne. 212 D estre a aise. 213
 R espirituelment *has been added by the corrector* ; D aime ou corporelment ou
 espirituelment ; D li septimes signes si est. 215 D amis comme garde de
 cuer ; D li witismes signes si est. 215-216 R ke quant doi. 216 ki *wrongly*
expunged in R ; D qui bien sentraiment. 216-217 D li noevimes signes
 si est. 217-218 D ami kil le doit souffrir liement et en pais.

en pais le sueffre. Li disisme est c'on doit resoignier de coure-
 chier son ami. Li onzisme est k'en vraie amour ne doit avoir
 refroidement, ains doit amours croistre de plus en plus. Li 220
 douzismes est c'amis ne doit mie atendre le pryere¹ de son ami,
 s'il aperchoit de quoi il a mestier. Che sont les signes d'amours
 que chascuns vrais amans doit sentier en luy meisme, ou il n'est
 mie parfaits amans, ne acceptables en amour : je proie avoec le
 Philosophe : *Non gratos de muentis, sed veniam de onustis.* 225

¹ D le pri—,(f. 3 col. ii)/—ere de son.

218 D li disimes signes si est ke on doit molt ressoignier. 219 D li
 onsimes signes si est ke en. 219-220 D avoir point de refroidement. 220
 D doit vraie amours croistre. 220-221 D li dousimes signes si est ke amis.
 222 D il a y (*y expunged by scribe*) mestier. 222-223 D li signe de vraie amour
 ke cascuns vrais. 224 D amans ni acceptables en amours explicit. (*End of D*).