

THE REINVENTED ROMANCE: A STUDY OF MANUSCRIPT BNF 60

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ABSTRACT
THE REINVENTED ROMANCE: A STUDY OF MANUSCRIPT B.N. FRENCH 60
(Under the direction of Daniel O'Sullivan)

This thesis examines a fourteenth century manuscript of the *Roman d'Enéas*, currently held at the Bibliothèque nationale in France, for significant textual changes against the other surviving manuscripts. Careful study of the manuscript exposed considerable modifications to characterization and genre. Examination of the textual changes present in the manuscript, BnF 60, revealed an amplification of female figures and subtle developments of romance elements. In BnF 60 most changes occur in the exposition and the revised ending. The writer of this version appears to draw from copies of both the *Roman d'Enéas* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. It demonstrates the inconsistencies present in manuscripts of the *Roman d'Enéas*. Illustrations in the manuscript reinforce the textual differences and connect the *Roman d'Enéas* to other *romans d'antiquité*. Themes of the illustrations range from *chanson de geste* to romance in representation of the text. The manuscript reinforces the view many scholars hold about the mixing of genre in medieval literature. In BnF 60 the *Roman d'Enéas* expands into a story focused on the love match that is part of a cycle of histories. The text indicates the importance of imitating Classical works to medieval France's literary development.

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INTRODUCTION

French writers in the twelfth century, like the neoclassical movement of the seventeenth century, engaged in a revival of Classical learning. Romance scholar Raymond Cormier even suggests that an educated man of the era saw himself as a part of the Classical culture and no distinction between the two civilizations was drawn until more modern study (Cormier 1973, 11). In this renaissance of Classical scholarship, a new genre, the *romans d'antiquité*, emerged in French and Anglo-Norman literature in which authors translated and revamped Latin epics for the medieval audience (Basewell 2000, 30). These early works of translation into the vernacular produced the first examples of the developing romance genre although there is some debate about the nature of the early texts of this genre—whether they are merely translations or contain nuanced advancements in genre. There are several surviving examples of this genre including: the *Roman d'Alexandre*, *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman de Troie*, and *Roman d'Enéas*. Whether translation or reinterpretation, this genre in its familiarity with Roman context and language, testifies to the significant influence of Classical authors in twelfth-century education and the desire of aristocratic audiences to learn about their perceived ancestors (Basewell 2000, 30).

In the twelfth century, the system of education in France revolved around the major Christian monasteries that were the centers of learning (Kay 2000, 87). As a result, Christianity pervaded the scholarship and infused its beliefs in all artistic expression often

altering the translations of ancient authors. Humanist education in medieval France flourished in the wake of the Carolingian revolution that sparked a return to Classical learning. While most learning concentrated on Christian texts, Classical authors constituted a significant portion of the curriculum, and so education necessitated the knowledge of Latin (Kay 2000, 87-88). According to Vernet's study of medieval manuscripts, Virgil is the most frequently cited author in medieval writing (Vernet 1982, 767). Virgil was revered as an historian, grammarian, and philosopher. Perhaps Virgil's importance as literary inspiration stimulated or even compelled the French translation of his famous epic (Basewell 2000, 30-32). The influence of another classical author, Ovid, is easily found in the poetry of the Middle Ages (Viarre 2009, 22-23). Faral frequently connects Ovidian poetry to the adaptations celebrated as the first of the romance genre in *romans d'antiquité* (Faral 1913, 47). Vernet concludes the many facsimiles and interpretations imbedded in medieval work hint that Ovid's style and themes from his *Metamorphoses* were studied and memorized like the Psalms (Vernet 1982, 764) (Tilliette 1985, 143). The prevalence of Ovidian motifs and tropes of love in the *romans d'antiquité* supports this argument. The Latin sources of these *roman d'antiquité* are also helpful in the comparison to the medieval texts. It is with the awareness of these sources that one can analyze the author's choices in changes and track the development of the new genre.

After the fall of Rome access to Latin manuscripts by Classical authors was limited until the revival of learning in the ninth century. Two of the oldest copies of Virgil's epic found themselves in France around the Carolingian era as the revitalization of Latin learning arose. The *Vergilius Romanus* (vat. lat. 3867) resided in the monastery

at Saint-Denis after its placement in 814 by Charlemagne (Wright 1992, 12-13). Another manuscript housed in Tours in the ninth century, the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (vat. lat. 3225) provides another source from which French authors of *romans d'antiquité* could have drawn information (Wright 1991, 15). The many corrections added by Carolingian scribes as well as the appearance of the *romans d'antiquité* suggest the availability and frequent study of the manuscripts.

These projects of research and translation occurred as a result of the desire for literary works in the French language by aristocrats. Writers and artists often depended on wealthy patrons to finance their work to whose preferences they catered. Powerful patrons in this era like Eleanor of Aquitaine and her second husband, the Norman king Henry II, hosted the finest artistic talent in the French and Anglo-Norman world including Benoît de Sainte-Maure, author of the *roman d'antiquité*, the *Roman de Troie* (Guynn 2007, 51-92). A widespread belief of the aristocracy at the time was *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii* that learning and power transferred westward from Troy to Greece to Rome to Europe over the course of the centuries (Simpson 2008, 198-200).¹ Lineage quoted in the prophecies of *Roman d'Enéas* and the constant allusions to future great royal dynasties referred medieval readers back to the Roman Empire and promoted heroes of antiquity as the ancestors of the Plantagenet rulers.

¹ This concept of *translatio studii et imperii* appears in Chretien de Troies' romance, *Cligès* vv. 31-44 trans. W.W. Comfort. "The book is very old in which the story is told, and this adds to its authority. From such books which have been preserved we learn the deeds of men of old and of the times long since gone by. Our books have informed us that the pre-eminence in chivalry and learning once belonged to Greece. Then chivalry passed to Rome, together with that highest learning which now has come to France. God grant that it may be cherished here, and this it may be mad so welcome here that the honour which has taken refuge with us may never depart from France: God had awarded it as another's shar, but of Greeks and Romans no more is heard, their fame is passed, and their glowing is dead."

Influenced by the Anglo-Norman patronage system in the middle of the twelfth century, the *Roman d'Enéas* translates the *Aeneid* into *ancien français*. Virgil's epic, produced during the reign of the first emperor Caesar Augustus, builds a legendary and divine ancestry for the imperial family. In the first century B.C., the political purpose of the *Aeneid* was to confirm the lineage for an autocratic leader following a period of civil war. The *Enéas* author perhaps selected this particular story, which served as a history of France's mythological Trojan ancestors, to legitimize the view of rulers of France and England as descendants of the Trojan refugees. Even with over a thousand years separating their creation, the political motivations of the two authors strangely mirror each other. Recast in the vernacular, the Classical epic adduces the achievements and politics of a revered civilization and provides a protective space for the medieval author to write about his own culture (Simpson 2008, 202). Through literature with a foreign setting and culture, the patrons of authors could validate their power as descending from an ancient lineage (Basewell 2000, 29-35). Though this romance does not explicitly extend that trajectory to the court of the Angevin kings, nonetheless there is an uncanny resemblance between Enéas's imperial descent and the dynastic genealogies of the French and English nobility—genealogies that were used to legitimize increasingly autocratic, centralized, and expansionist regimes (Gynn 2007, 51). Aristocratic audiences delighted in the works, which connected them by genealogy to the powerful Roman culture yet explored medieval themes of feudalism, Christian forgiveness, and courtly love (Basewell 2000, 29-33).

Many examples of these *romans d'antiquité* appear in the middle of the twelfth century. Dated to the second half of the twelfth century, the *Roman d'Enéas* retells

Virgil's first century B.C. epic. Early scholarship attributed the *roman* to Benoît de Sainte-Maure although Salverda de Grave proved otherwise in his analysis of the work in 1899 (Cormier 1973, 20). The popular story retells the *Aeneid* in the vernacular with new interpretations that appeal to the medieval reader. Early scholars of the *Roman d'Enéas* saw it as inferior to the Roman epic. The study and assemblage of the manuscripts concentrated on obtaining the purest adaptation from Latin. While early scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (like Edmond Faral 1913) carefully compared the medieval text with Virgil with the view that the Latin texts expressed perfection and the later translations only trampled on the original beauty, more modern scholarship concentrates on the elements of romance in the manuscript as signs of the emerging genre. Differences between the texts serve as moments of helpful contrast that reveal the cultural context and literary development of the French author and his audience.

Despite the concerns of early scholars, in the past fifty years the *Roman d'Enéas* has enjoyed renown as fine example of the early romance genre. The writing of the *roman d'antiquité* coincided with the development of Chrétien de Troyes' cycles of romances, and the *Enéas'* combination of *chanson de geste* and the entirely new courtly romance validates the theories of literary historians about the rising popularity of the genre. While the author simplifies the text's characters and action into a chronological story unlike the poetically disjointed Virgilian narrative, his *roman* brought a millennium old epic to life in his era. The author at times directly translates from Virgil while at others he adjusts the details to appeal to his readers (Cormier 1973, 90-91). In the characterization of female characters in particular, the author amplifies stereotypes and confines them to permissible roles. He frequently demotes the roles of the gods and

inserts certain Christian themes. His interpretation changes the epic into a digestible reinterpretation of Virgil for his readers.

Nine manuscripts of the *Roman d'Enéas* remain from the Middle Ages with no clues about the authorship. One of the manuscripts, Bibliothèque nationale de France. French 60 (hereafter BnF 60) from the early fourteenth century provides the focus of this study. The romance appears after the *Roman de Thèbes* and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. This manuscript differs from the other manuscripts with changes in verse, plot, and the addition of an epilogue. Scholars have debated the source and dating of these changes. Salverda de Grave, one of the first to study the romance, claims the additions came with a later scribe while others disagree offering evidence that BnF 60 originates from an earlier version (Salverda de Grave 1925, iv-xi).

According to the research conducted by Laurence Harf-Lancner, this 430x320 millimeter manuscript is composed of 186 pages and was illustrated in Ile-de-France between 1315 and 1340 AD (Harf-Lancner 1992, 293) (Jung 1996, 147). By the fourteenth century, a medieval manuscript underwent a number of steps before reaching its full glory. First, the compiler of the manuscript outlined the general format including the borders, illuminations, and capital letters; then, the copyist carefully wrote the text in columns. Next, a rubricator added red headlines, captions, and initials of sections. Finally, the manuscript was sent to the illuminator who painted figures and designs and applied gold foil burnishing the decorations. In BnF 60, there are three columns varying between 44 and 48 lines per column with a red capital letter indicating a new section. At the start of each *roman*, an entire page is illuminated with multiple scenes. There are also medallions featuring a flower with four petals enclosing a knight or a king bordering the

title page illustration (Jung 1996, 149). There are miniature illustrations imbedded in the stories with captions in red. These visual elements, the title page, illustrations and captions, act as transitions from one epic to the next.

When more than one medieval manuscript of a romance survives, modifications of the narrative, ranging from slight to substantial, are almost always present. In Sylvia Huot's research of romances, the many examples of this phenomenon indicate the motivations of the scribe. Some writers choose "greater clarity or simplicity" while others "highlight or suppress particular themes, motifs, or characters" for edification or entertainment (Huot 2000, 60-62). This idea of the textual differences in manuscripts forms the basis of the first three chapters of this study. Manuscript BnF 60 differs significantly from the others in literary content, placement with other *romans*, and illustrations. The literary departures in the manuscript are supported by the illustrations in it. Of the nine surviving *Roman d'Enéas* manuscripts, BnF 60 is the only one that includes the three *romans d'antiquité* that correspond to the epic cycles of Classical texts (Harf-Lancner 1992, 293). The position of other *romans* in a manuscript helps scholars determine the relationship between the stories thus giving evidence of genre and public interest. For the *Roman d'Enéas*, this manuscript follows the basic story of the *Aeneid* translated into the vernacular in octosyllabic verse, as do the other eight versions; however, the substantial differences in text require further study to extract meaning and understand the reasoning for variations. In addition to the textual departures present in BnF 60, the many illustrations, their captions, will be discussed in the fourth chapter alongside their significance in the *Enéas*.

Varying in his narrative and descriptive decisions, the anonymous author of the BnF 60 manuscript departs considerably from the other manuscripts, necessitating a focused analysis of the modifications. The majority of the changes within the manuscript occur before verse 1200 and after 9947 (Jung 1996, 149). In these early verses, the author frequently inserts allusions to Virgil. With these references, a comparison between the classical *Aeneid* and the medieval *Roman d'Enéas* shows both the author's attitudes towards his own culture and his perspectives on Antiquity. Throughout the text, the author reorders the plot of the *Aeneid* into a simpler, chronological story and revamps Virgil's writing into the *roman*. The text aligns in several sections with the Virgilian epic, unlike other manuscripts, while deviating significantly in the overall message. The manuscript inserts conflicting messages about the nature of pagan gods, whose role the author sometimes amplifies and other times eliminates. The final third of the manuscript expands the *roman's* famous courtly romance between Enéas and Lavine that Edmond Faral suggested drew heavily from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and fourth-century Virgilian commentators like Donatus in addition to Virgil (Faral 1913). While he expands upon the perversion of several sexual relationships, his ending conforms with the other *Romans d'Enéas* but with the addition of an epilogue that places a marriage as the height of action rather than a war.

Changes in BnF 60 to the *Roman d'Enéas* present problems to existing analyses of the text, and so the alterations in this manuscript warrant their own investigation. Textual alterations in the manuscript transform the Virgilian story of a heroic fate destined from the gods into a romance narrative while the illustrations evoke the concerns of the medieval audience with scenes of violence and romance. The addition of the

romance elements into the later manuscript highlights the rising popularity of the genre since by the time of the manuscript's compilation the *Roman d'Enéas* had already influenced romance authors.

SUMMARY OF THE *ROMAN D'ENÉAS* IN BnF 60

When Menelaus destroys the city of Troy, Enéas son of Anchises flees with survivors of the war to found a new city in Lombardy. After surviving a tempest sent by the goddess Juno, the band of refugees is welcomed into the glorious city of Carthage by its clever queen Dido. Venus, the mother of Enéas, tricks the queen into falling in love with Enéas. The gods soon command Enéas to continue his journey to Lombardy, but his departure crushes the anguished Dido, who kills herself on a fiery bier as the hero sails away. Enéas descends into Hades, encountering old comrades from Troy and Anchises who shows his son the descendants of their line. Anchises also prophesies that Enéas will conquer Italy, marry the king's daughter Lavine, and found a dynasty.

Upon arrival in Lombardy, Enéas meets King Latinus who offers his daughter Lavine to the foreigner. This betrothal enrages the king's wife prompting her to send a message to Lavine's current fiancé Turnus. The scorned suitor unites several Italian tribes including the Volsci queen Camille while Enéas urged by Anchises forms an alliance

with King Evandre who gives his son Pallas as a knight to the Trojan. Four major clashes between the Italian tribes and the Trojans end with the deaths of youthful heroes, Pallas and Camille, who receive elaborate funerals. As a result of these bloody battles, Turnus proposes to Enéas a single combat: winner gains Lombardy and Lavine.

The scene cuts to the women's quarters where the princess Lavine questions her mother about Love; the queen urgently encourages the marriage to Turnus. Once Lavine sees Enéas, she falls madly in love and shoots an arrow with a letter at him. Symbolically pierced by Lavine's arrow, Enéas falls for her in turn. The hostilities resume, and the Trojans attack the city of Laurente setting it on fire. Turnus finally duels Enéas, and Enéas triumphs, killing his enemy and securing the kingdom.

Having won the war, Eneas sends a messenger Maupriant (a character unique to BnF 60) to Lavine with a gift and a message to prove his love; Lavine reciprocates with a reassurances and a gift. The couple marries, and Enéas becomes a wise and respected king after Latinus dies.

CHAPTER I: CONTRARY FEMALE FIGURES

In BnF 60, the modifications to the text warrant additional scrutiny in regards to the female characters. Nearly all scholars of the *Roman d'Enéas* have evaluated the female characters according to manuscript Plutei, XLI. 44 (referred to in this chapter as manuscript A) in Florence dated to the end of the twelfth century and deemed the oldest by Salverda de Grave (Salverda de Grave 1915, vi-viii). Often, the differences in BnF 60 imbue alternative meaning to the interpretation of characters and plots. As the BnF 60 author adapted the *Roman d'Enéas*, some of the most evident and interesting alterations are to female characters, who become objects of interest and individuals even while limited by the masculine gaze of the author (Krueger 2000, 132). A careful analysis of the women in the BnF 60 *Enéas* involves three components: consideration of the changes in BnF 60 against manuscript A, a comparison to the *Aeneid* for the medieval author's modifications, and exploration of the revisions in the context of scholarly analysis of *chanson de geste* and romance narratives. Attention to these three elements gives a more

robust understanding of the *roman*'s place in inventing the romance genre and the unique moments of manuscript BnF 60.

An important element to consider is the contemporary popularity of *chansons de geste*, whose plots, like much of the *Aeneid*, focus on the military escapades of opposing forces (Kay 1995). All of the *Enéas* manuscripts translate directly from the *Aeneid* in some sections while in others they show adaption in the style of *chanson de geste*.

Although some of the transformed actions and representations of women in the *Enéas* can be ascribed to the author's adaption of the *Aeneid* narrative into the style of *chanson de geste*, others, more significant in innovation, find more correlation with Ovidian themes and later courtly romances (Gaunt 2000, 45-59). The *Roman d'Enéas* is one of the earliest texts that features courtly love and themes that later enjoyed popularity, for example, the Arthurian romances. Roberta Krueger notes that with *romans d'antiquité* and early romances, gender and sexuality became the focus of the plot in the place of military action (Krueger 2000, 132). The female characters of the *Roman d'Enéas* absorb new traits of the medieval era and exemplify many of the gender norms though modern scholarship concludes femininity is the means to discover masculine identity since the authors of this era were undoubtedly male. This chapter explores the gender representation in BnF 60, examining the text for a medieval author who reconstructs the female of the *Roman d'Enéas* with the *Aeneid*, developing the early French romance.

Though it has a male protagonist and numerous scenes of war, the *Roman d'Eneas* also offers several depictions of women. Ranging from goddesses to warrior queens, these portrayals offer contrast to the romantic heroine, the naïve and virginal

Lavine, and the masculine protagonist Enéas.² In the BnF 60 *Enéas*, there are three women whose change in characterization from the other manuscripts presents evidence of the medieval perspectives on femininity, masculinity and sexuality. Throughout the story, characters that tread outside the realm of acceptability in medieval culture find violent deaths. The *Enéas* manuscripts veer notably from Virgil's rendering of the Carthaginian queen Dido, the Amazonian queen Camille, and the mother of Lavine, the queen of Lombardy. While the women receive more dialogue and description, their roles are reduced and their character changed into a more acceptable form that ultimately contrasts with Lavine. The various themes of romance in the *Eneas* begin with the episode of "Paris and the Golden Apples" and continue to the end with the long-awaited marriage of Lavine and Enéas. Their compliance or noncompliance with *chanson de geste* or Classical tropes highlights the comparable themes present in contemporary and later romances

The first female characters that the *Eneas* author introduces are the powerful and vengeful goddess Juno and her favorite, Dido queen of Carthage. Juno harries Eneas in his flight from Troy as a result of her, "coilli en hé touz ceulz de Troie [une haine féroce aux Troyens] [ferocious hate for the Trojans]," following the Judgment of Paris while Dido bids Enéas, "...ne mon sejour ne mon conroy ne li faudra plus que a moy. [...je l'accueillerai et le traiterai comme s'il s'agissait d'un autre moi-même] [I will welcome him and treat him as if he were myself] [alternative translation: ... with my welcome and my preparations he will not need more than I]" (vv. 84. 588-589).³ A victim of the

² The roles and characterizations of Lavine and Enéas are discussed in depth in chapter 2.

³ Original text and modern French translations come from *Le Roman d'Eneas*. Trans. Aimé Petit. Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1997. Translations from modern French into English are the author's own with deference to the *ancien français*.

goddess Venus, however, Dido is “...de la flambe d’amor l’esprent... [incendie de la flamme d’amour] [lit by the flame of love]” and unable to suppress her physical desire for Enéas despite her protection under Juno, and for her “...mortel raige [passion fatale] [fatal passion]” her punishment is shame and death at her own hands (vv. 1350 and 1385). BnF 60 includes several important changes in plot and characterization of Dido including the opening description of her kingdom. Her interactions with Enéas serve as the first great obstacle in his path to establishing a dynasty of kings in Italy and demonstrate the various complexities of gender and power in medieval society.

In BnF 60, the manuscript includes a description of Dido and her city that situates her more firmly as a pagan queen. She meets the Trojan emissaries in front of her temple to Juno in her full queenly regalia.

.I. grant temple faisoit Dydo
ou coultee fust Juno
tres en milieu de la cité;
moult y avoit or et argent,
moult y metoit de son entent.
Devant le temple ert la roïne:
d’une porpre alexandrine,
tout senglement a sa char nue,
estroitement estoit vestue.
Afublee fu la roïne
d’un chier mantel d’un blanc ermine
couvert d’un bon tyret porprin,
et li orlez fu sebelin;
a un fressel s’ert galonnee,
d’un cercle d’or fu coronnee.
La roïne estoit moult belle
Et tenoit d’or une vergelle;
Ceuz qui oevrent amonnestoit,
Aus citeains preceps dounoit,
Moult par estoit cortoise et sage.

[Didon construisait un grand temple voué au culte de Junon, au beau milieu de la cité; une extrême richesses s’y étalait, il y avait profusion d’or et d’argent, et elle y consacrait tous ses soins. La reine était devant le temple, elle était étroitement enserrée dans une

pourpre d'Alexandrie à meme sa chair nue. Elle avait revêtu un précieux manteaux d'hermine blanche couvert d'une belle étoffe pourpre de Tyr, tandis que la bordure était de zibeline; ses cheveux étaient ornés d'un ruban, elle était couronnée d'un cercle d'or. La reine était très belle et tenait une petite baguette d'or; elle encourageait ceux qui étaient au travail et imposait ses prescriptions aux gens de la cité. C'était un modèle de courtoisie et de sagesse.]

[Dido built a great temple dedicated to the worship of Juno, right in the middle of the city; an extreme opulence spread out there, there was a profusion of gold and silver, and there she consecrated all her attention. The queen was in front of the temple, she was closely clasped in the purple of Alexandria, even her bare flesh. She had clothed herself in a precious cloak of white ermine covered in the beautiful purple cloth of Tyre, while the border was of sable; her hair was adorned with a ribbon, she was crowned with a circle of gold. The queen was very beautiful and held a small wand of gold; she encouraged all those who were at work and enforced her orders on the people of the city. She was a model of courtesy and wisdom.] (vv. 520-540).

This scene of Dido presiding over the city at the temple of Juno comes straight from Virgil's epic although the *Enéas* expands the portrait adding details about clothing and physical description (*Aen.* 1. 712-717).⁴ The author references Dido's relationship with the city of Tyre, mentioning purple robes and the name of the city in his initial description of her. Here the author inserts a clear reference his readers would understand to power since the "porpre alexandrine" is similar to the "pourpre romaine," which is a garment worn by the cardinals in the Catholic Church.⁵ Manuscript A offers no words about the physical body of Dido while this passage mentions her beauty and details her royal garments. The Dido in BnF 60 conducts business and affairs in front of the temple to Juno while manuscript A places her "sus el chastel desoz la tor [in the hall of the castle beneath the tower]" a more recognizable place to the medieval audience with no allusions

⁴ English translation are used for simplicity from Virgil. *The Aeneid*. trans. Allen Mandelbaum. (New York: Dantam Dell, 2004.) First number refers to book number and second to verse.

⁵ The reference to Alexandria reflects Virgil's association of Dido and the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra. The comparison of the wealthy, foreign queens would have been clear to ancient readers.

to pagan temples (v. 557).⁶ The narrator tells the audience that she is wise and well mannered, which are the same qualities that Enéas's messenger uses to characterize his lord. The Trojans in this manuscript are “se merveillerent [étaient stupéfaits] [were stupefied]” and say Dido is “preus et saige [d'une valeur et d'une sagesse exemplaires] [{full of} valor and wisdom]”(vv. 700-701).

The BnF 60 manuscript allows Dido more direct speech. She is the first to mention Enéas' father's name and his connection to Venus in her welcoming speech (vv. 708-735). BnF 60 introduces a different Dido than the other manuscripts; a wise and beautiful queen dedicated to Juno who manages the affairs of her kingdom, harkening back to Virgil's Dido. Her character revels in the power she holds as queen, and many times in this manuscript her name is associated with wisdom and valor. She overthrows the former Carthaginian prince “par sa richece, par son savoir, par sa prouesce [par sa puissance, sa sagesse et sa valeur] [by her power, her wisdom, and her valor]”(vv. 290-291). The author describes the city at great length—the fortresses, the walls and the wealth. In BnF 60, the author devotes even more lines to the architecture of the city. He adds a lengthy list of the costly goods traded in the markets of Carthage, proving the success and profitability of the city under Dido's rule. In the manuscript too the narrator interlaces famous historical figures with which to compare the prosperity of Dido's Carthage, “...li palays...tel n'ot Dayres ne Octovïen, Neron ne Cesar Julïen. [...le palais...n'eurent la pareille ni Darius ni Octave, ni Néron ni Jules César] [the palace never had an equal not Darius, Octavian, Nero nor Julius Caesar]” (vv. 438-439).

⁶ Manuscript A text from *Eneas: Roman du XIIIe Siècle*. Ed. J.-J. Salverda de Grave. Paris: Libraire de la Société des Anciens Textes français, 1925. v. 557. and English translation from *Eneas: A Twelfth-Century French Romance*. Trans. John A. Yunck. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

It is clear that Dido controls this formidable city and the many male barons through her cleverness and her refusal to marry again. Her machinations, which fool the Carthaginians into subjection, end when she becomes obsessed with Enéas. Although the initial dialogue between Dido and Enéas that the BnF 60 author invents reflects the position of him as a suppliant, Dido's humiliation subjugates her after Venus sends Cupid. BnF 60 reflects the *Aeneid* in the interference of Venus who through her power ensnares Dido. The other manuscripts describe Venus as imparting her power on Enéas' son Ascagne while this one follows Virgil's account of Venus disguising her son Cupid as Enéas' son (*Aen.* 1. 766-799).

Dido's feelings of desire inflamed by Venus make her an easier obstacle to overcome. She becomes "la dame defanmee [la dame est perdue de réputation]" and her once proud name is "mal est essaucié [est décrié]" (vv. 1662. 1664). Her barons, humiliated by her repeated refusal of their suits, become enraged and rebel against her rule. Dido's seizure of power contrasts with Enéas' inherited power and represents a powerful female force that endangers traditional male rule. His destiny, told through the direction of his father, constitutes the plot of the epic, and his desire for the queen threatens this goal. Noah Guynn concludes that Carthage, with a woman at the head, stands as a direct threat to the patriarchal power of the Trojans and Italians (Guynn 2007, 55-56). The upheaval is resolved in the course of the narrative with Enéas' abandonment of Dido because of his familial obligations and destiny.

The relationship between Eneas and Dido symbolizes the devastation that awaits those who seek to dismiss the fate of heroes. It is rife with lust and takes place outside the bonds of marriage. Enéas carries a destiny to found a new Troy and marry a virginal girl

to produce legitimate offspring. His relationship with the Carthaginian queen defies the moral standards set in his destiny. Dido laments in BnF 60, "...Amors n'est mie a moy egaux/ quant nel sentons communement [Amour n'est pas equitable envers moi puisque nous n'éprouvons rien en commun] [Love is not fair to me since we do not feel the same]" (vv. 1909-1910). Dido understands the doom that love can spell if the love is not mutual. This understanding of reciprocal love becomes part of the conflict later with Lavine.

In contrast to the *Enéas*, Virgil's Dido feels little shame for her sexual relationship with Aeneas and even righteous anger at his abandonment (*Aen.* 4. 843-868). Her suicide follows an impressive curse laid upon his progeny that parallels the prophecy Anchises sees for his son (*Aen.* 4. 898-1148). Dido after her summation of her life commands her progeny "do not let love or treaty tie our peoples" (IV. v. 624). While the Roman audience would have noted the curse as the beginning of the enmity between the Carthage and Rome that later resulted in Punic Wars, the medieval author eliminates the curse and replaces it with a Christian concept—forgiveness.

Despite his abandonment and her madness in the face of love, the author allows the queen Christian morals. BnF 60 copies the expansion and Christianized death of Dido in the other manuscripts almost exactly. The author addresses the audience directly and gives his insight into the lamentations of Dido following her abandonment by Enéas.

Amor l'argüe et demene,
Ne le laira, ce m'est avis,
desi qu'elle ait trebuch pris.

[Amour la presse et la tourmente, Il ne la laissera pas, à mon avis, avant qu'elle ne connaisse un triste sort]

[Love pains and torments her, and will not let her go, in my opinion before she has known a sad fate.] (vv. 2051-2052).

He calls attention to the destructive power of love and inserts his opinion about fornication outside the bonds of marriage. With the dramatic suicide of Dido, the author emphasizes that their breach of the formal marriage relationship results in tragedy for the transgressor beyond simple torments of desire. Dido ends her life in blood and flames scorching the memory of her shame out of existence. The shame given to her by her male subordinates provokes her to misery.

Rather than pursue vengeance as in the *Aeneid*, the Dido of the *Enéas* announces twice that she pardons him for his transgressions against her. The author chooses to keep the scene created in the other *Enéas* manuscripts.

Il m'a occise a grant tort,
je li pardoins yci ma mort:
par fin acordement de pays,
ces garnemens yci en bais;
jel vous pardoins, sire Eneas.

[Il a causé très injustement ma mort que je lui pardonne à present: en signe de parfait reconciliation, j'embrasse ici ces vêtements; je vous pardonne, seigneur Enéas.]

[He is the very unjust cause of my death that I forgive him: as a sign of perfect reconciliation, here I embrace his clothes; I forgive you, lord Enéas] (vv. 2148-2152).

The *Eneas* author transforms the curse into a message of forgiveness that she grants him.

All of the *Enéas* manuscripts include a literal epitaph that freezes her memory as a doomed lover for the crime of “ama trop follement [loved too madly]” while naming her a “païene [pagan]” for any sympathetic readers (vv. 2228. 2226). The forgiveness seems contradictory to her later encounter with the hero in Hades. This time she flees from him after he attempts to shirk blame for his abandonment.

Quant Dydo l'ot ainsi parler,

El le ne pot plus esgarder,
Car moult li estoit ennemie.

[En l'entendant ainsi parler, Didon détourna les yeux, car elle lui était très hostile.]

[in waiting while to speak, Dido turned away her eyes for she was very hostile to him]
(vv. 2734-2736).

Her antagonism does not reflect the clemency earlier granted but rather fits with the Virgilian story of her suicide. The author of BnF 60 conforms to the other *Roman d'Enéas* versions of Dido in Hades yet earlier choose to return to the *Aeneid* with the tale in Carthage. The encounters in Hades are similar in both the *Aeneid* and the *Roman d'Eneas* only minor differences occur, mainly with the half-hearted apology issued by Enéas. The differences reflect the inconsistencies in the medieval author's technique: translation versus reinterpretation. Dido's speech shows the influence of Christian principles and the lack of a cultural malice towards Carthage. The author reinterpreted the suicide scene but shows a close adherence to the Latin text in the second encounter. The discord between the two scenes illustrates an indifference towards a completely consistent plot.

Despite the inconsistencies in Dido's feelings for Enéas in life and in death, her character disrupts the masculine narrative. The *Enéas* author draws attention to the shame of Dido and Enéas' affair. Her pardon of his behavior seems to be an expression of forgiveness for this shame. Rumor acts as the counterbalance to Dido's freedom. Her influence among the barons suffers as a result of her affair since she refuses to wed one of them. Virgil depicts an independent queen who through the whims of the gods becomes inflamed with love for Aeneas. Dido becomes in the *Roman d'Eneas* a figure that demonstrates the harmful effects of an adulterous and non-blessed union. The

medieval version of Dido, with conflicting messages of forgiveness and consequences of adultery, differs significantly from Virgil's depiction. In BnF 60, Dido regains some of the powerful symbolism present in Virgil's account.

Simon Gaunt applies feminist theory to his analysis of romance characters. In the patriarchal society of the *Enéas*, the men are the subjects interacting and exchanging objects, and the women are the objects controlled by men (Gaunt 1992, 3). Gaunt theorizes that since the authors of the period were all male, "women, or more accurately femininity in these texts, is a metaphor" which writers used to "mediate their own [masculine] experiences and subjectivity" (Gaunt 1992, 4). Dido becomes simply an example according to Guynn of the "violent retribution" that follows "any transgression of feudal or conjugal laws" (Guynn 2007, 62-63). James Simpson analyses the Salverda de Grave edition and concludes that Carthage, "impressive though the initial presentation...may be," by the end clearly shows "its prosperity and order are built on the unstable sand of female lordship rather than the rock of patriarchal authority" (Simpson 2008, 203). The analysis of the other texts applies to this manuscript since the same fateful end comes to Dido. Although the BnF 60 manuscript amplifies Dido's dialogue and power as a ruler, in her role as the ruling queen over Carthage she defies the standards present in the patriarchal society and so suffers the same fate as in the other manuscripts.

Dido's character changes with the author's additions and changes to the plot in this manuscript; other female characters stay much the same as in the other manuscripts although they differ enormously from the *Aeneid*. There are three more female characters introduced after Enéas leaves Carthage: Camille, Lavine, and her mother. Like Dido,

Camille and Lavine's mother embody some masculine characteristics and so serve as unacceptable examples of femininity. Camille, ally of Enéas' enemy Turnus, commands soldiers in battle. The first line of Camille's description begins as Dido's does with a confirmation of her beauty.

Camille ot non la maoiselle,
a grant merveille par fu bele

[cette demoiselle s'appelait Camille, d'une extraordinaire beauté]

[this young woman called Camille, an extraordinary beauty] (vv. 4048-4049).

The author then describes her more masculine characteristics and details her abandonment of women's work "oeuvre a femme" for "chevalerie" (vv. 4058. 4056). She refuses the traditional role of a female inside the home and pursues training in combat. The *Aeneid* refers to Camille as an "Amazon" while the *romans* eliminate this reference common in Antiquity (*Aen.* 11. 855. 868). The author waxes on about the various details of her beauty and her garments but also he insists that she commands fifteen thousand knights (vv. 4174-4175). He describes in detail her blond hair, which covers her cloak and armor. Although the author describes her prowess as a warrior and leader, he assures the reader of her femininity with frequent references to her physical attributes and confirmation of her virginity.

Like Dido, Camille rules over a kingdom. Her sovereignty goes unquestioned in the description of her person. The author describes her rule as "a merveilles tenoit bien terre [elle gouvernait sa terre à merveille][she governed her land wonderfully] (v. 4054)." While Dido at times relies on her male barons and even is at their mercy, Camille's character encounters no such conflicts. While the city of Carthage served as a metaphor for Dido's power and craftiness, Camille's power comes from her virginity and

beauty. The author describes Camille's rule as kinglike but in her romantic relationships her behavior was blameless.

Et demenoit moult grant barnage...
Le jour ert roys, la nuit roÿne;
ja chamberiere ne meschine
environ lui le jour n'alast,
ne la nuit nulz homs n'I entrast
ens en sa chambre ou ele estoit.

[Elle était de très nobles moeurs...Le jour c'était un roi, la nuit une reine; jamais chambrière ni suivante ne l'aurait approchée le jour, et la nuit nul homme n'aurait pénétré dans la chambre où elle se trouvait.]

[She was of very noble morals...She was a king in the day, and a queen at night; never a chambermaid nor a vassal would have approached her during the day, and no man would have entered into her bedroom at night where she slept.] (vv. 4053. 4064-4068).

Camille experiences no sexual desire, unlike Dido whose expressions of love indicate her dependence. The author tells the audience that she is a virgin and offers no object of desire unlike other female characters like Dido and Lavine.

Although she garnered respect and trust from her allies, in her final scene Camille experiences ridicule from her Trojan opponents. On the battlefield accompanied by her maidens, Camille kills many Trojans including Tarcon. The Trojans begin to mock her, despite her capability, because she is female. They offer her money in exchange for sex. Camille's death, the author explains, is the result of her momentary greed for the gilded helmet of Euryalus. Her distraction in the moment allows a Trojan to kill her with a javelin. Although her purity and beauty garner admiration, according to the political analysis by James Simpson she dies "as a result of failing to control her Dido-like lust for trophies in battle" (Simpson 2008, 205). The amplification in the *Enéas* serves like that of Dido "to control her unruliness by transforming her hermaphroditic body into a site of ongoing correction and always-impending violence" and warn the other characters of

“the brutal consequences of violating gender norms”(Guynn 2007, 64-67). BnF 60 differs little from the other manuscripts in its description and characterization of Camille. Her character although deviating from the *Aeneid*, remains the same throughout the manuscripts. His conscious choice to keep the character and the continuity of the middle section is notable.

Another prominent feature in the *Enéas* is that while in the Virgilian epic the Trojans clearly are the heroes, the medieval epic presents a less clear cut viewpoint. The author frequently mentions in his descriptions of Camille his admiration of her beauty and the Trojan who jeers and slurs her name is characterized as boorish and cowardly. This treatment of both sides in battle appears more often in *chanson de geste* narratives. This genre, popular and developed before the translation of the *Enéas*, explains in part the author’s portrayal of women. Female characters in *chanson de geste* frequently exhibit the same mannerisms and behaviors (Kay 1995, 35-40). Like in the *Aeneid* heroes in *Enéas* are not blameless nor are their opponents truly wicked.

The final deviant female is the mother of Lavine, named Amata in the *Aeneid*, but conspicuously lacks a name in the *Enéas*. The motivation of her hatred for Enéas is missing in the *Roman d’Eneas* while it appears in the Virgil epic. The *Aeneid* continues the narrative of Juno as the antagonist who pursues Aeneas even to Italy to enact her revenge including inciting one of the Furies, Allecto, to spread discord and exploits Amata’s existing objections to this match (*Aen.* 7. 712-792). The queen in BnF 60 proffers a further explanation of her defamation of Enéas.

S’il eüst point de hardement,
morir vousist miex o sa gent
qu’en tel maniere defoïr:
preudom doit a honor morir,

mais ycil vit comme mauvais,
ja pris ne loz n'I avra mais.

[S'il avait eu la moindre vaillance, il aurait préféré mourir avec son peuple plutôt qu de s'enfuir de la sorte: un brave doit mourir dans l'honneur, mais lui vit en lâche, il ne recueillera jamais gloire et renom.]

[If he had had the slightest courage, he would have preferred to die with his people rather than flee in this way: a courageous man must die with honor, but he lives in cowardice, he will never receive glory and renown.] (vv. 3450-3456).

The Italian queen becomes the mouthpiece of the Trojan's enemies and indeed her accusations have validity in their honor-bound culture. Like Dido, her hatred has validity but ultimately her enmity is overcome by Enéas' victory. After the queen unsuccessfully attempts to discredit Enéas in her daughter's eyes by accusing him of a variety of nefarious activities, Lavine chooses to follow her emotions and pursue a marriage with Enéas.

Once the narrative moves into the non-Virgilian additions of the romance, Lavine's mother seeks to further discredit the foreign invader in her daughter's eyes through accusations of adultery and homosexuality. She asserts that he will be a bad husband because his sexual interest in men will keep him away from Lavine and the procreation of a new generation. In Gaunt's analysis, Enéas represents a threat to the heterosexual norms in the society, yet because the words come from a villain's mouth, they are untrue and refuted by the readers' knowledge of the future of Eneas' descendants as Roman kings. The queen even in this moment "endorse[s] heterosexuality" and ensures that "the hero stays on the straight and narrow" (Gaunt 1995, 81). The female character supports the heterosexual culture of Italy and sees Enéas as a threat to this patriarchy. She accuses him of another sexual deviation and carelessness in his affair with and subsequent abandonment of Dido. The queen performs the role of an antagonist and

challenges the fated marriage to Lavine. She acts similarly to Dido and Camille as a physical and emotional barrier. Eventually, Enéas proves his prowess through the defeat of Turnus and the queen loses all her power over Lavine. She becomes, like Dido and Camille, ineffective in her ability to control her life.

These three important women in the *Roman d'Eneas* occupy places of political authority and provide physical and emotional obstacles to the fate of Enéas. The author is generous at times with his characterization of the feminine characters. Dido's role as the lovesick queen and her forgiveness of her tormentor humanize her. She becomes a weakened, pitiable figure rather than admirable and powerful character of Virgil. Camille while stripped of any sexuality attracts admiration from her allies and receives a prestigious funeral that immortalizes her for the medieval audience. Lavine's mother speaks truthfully of the reputation of Enéas and invites the reader to question and confirm his heroism. All three female characters fall after Enéas "defeats" them. This manuscript's author chooses at moments to change the plot and characters, sometimes back to the Virgilian model and other times towards a romance representation. Dido enjoys considerable amplification and the manuscript reinforces descriptions of her feudal power. The manuscript offers a physical description that develops her into a tragic figure in a romance. Her adultery is still shameful as in the other manuscripts but is balanced by her power and beauty. The manuscript retains the idealized depiction of Camille as a virgin warrior present in the middle portion of other *romans*. Like Dido, Lavine's mother receives more dialogue and reasoning. All these characters serve to balance the extension of the role of Lavine at the end added to this manuscript. Through

increased references and verses spent in description of female figures, the BnF 60 author shows the popularity of the romance genre in the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER II: ROMANCE ELEMENTS

The *Roman d'Enéas* demonstrates the author's interests in clarity and simplicity in his translation of the *Aeneid* and his tendency to rationalize the actions of the characters to his medieval Christian audience. Baswell theorizes that the *romans d'antiquité* utilized the narrative and thematic elements of both *chanson de geste* and romance (Baswell 2000, 32). The *Enéas* author adheres to Baswell's model, clinging in some respects to the Classical narrative with near direct translation from the Latin while diverging in his long war sequences, private quests, and courtly love and thereby showing his contemporary literary influences. Manuscript BnF 60 in particular represents the evolving romance genre in comparison to the other eight surviving manuscripts of the *Roman d'Enéas*. The manuscript includes a resolution to the courtship of Lavine and Enéas and an epilogue that expands their relationship after the duel that ends the *Aeneid*

and the other *Enéas* manuscripts. In BnF 60 additions augment the *Enéas*' new narrative of romance and courtship that are the central elements of the last third of the manuscript.

This particular manuscript roughly divides into three sections that show the influence of multiple styles: *roman d'antiquité*, *chanson de geste*, and romance. The *roman d'antiquité* involves near direct translation of the Virgilian epic with simplification and Christianization in deference to his audience. This section begins with a brief summary of the Trojan War and ends with the start of the war in Italy against Turnus.⁷ The previous chapter delved into the continuity and transformations of female characters from the *Aeneid* to the *Enéas*. The second section of the *Enéas* moves into long passages describing the war between the Trojan invaders and the defending Italians in the style of *chanson de geste*. *Chansons de geste* consist primarily of martial conflicts, and the characters constantly encounter hostilities, dealing primarily with homosocial bonds (Kay 1995, 50-51). The final third of the manuscript is a new genre that the author explores, romance. BnF 60 illustrates the evolution of romance through its adaption of the popular epic into the fashionable style of the thirteenth century.

Important themes and plot devices of romance are explored in the manuscript that bridges the *chanson de geste* and the new genre. The differences between the romance and the *chanson de geste* are subtle in this narrative. The main change occurs when the plot abruptly shifts from accounts of wars to the personal reflection and courtship of two lovers. The narrative becomes concentrated on the progression of love between two people, and through this change the *chanson de geste* and Virgilian hero becomes a

⁷ Although the first third of the manuscript is here classified as *roman d'antiquité*, the remaining sections are also part of that genre but involve significant restructuring and additions that require further classification.

romance hero. Matilda Bruckner summarizes the basic plots shared by narratives in early romances.

An initial problem or lack launches the hero on a quest, which is realized in a series of episodes. The hero's success is celebrated by marriage with his beloved, discovered and won as a result of his prowess. But a crisis soon disrupts their happiness. The hero's reputation cast in doubt, he must once again set out on a series of adventures to redefine his identity. His success in these further trials sets a new level of extraordinary achievement and culminates in the celebration of the hero's triumph (Bruckner 2000, 13-28).

In his narrative, the *Enéas* author shows that Enéas' character undergoes a transformation through his leadership experiences and the tumults of courtship shape him. He progresses from a refugee to a battle-tested warrior to a sensitive swain and finally to a respected king. Sarah Kay contrasts the nature of heroes in romance and *chanson de geste* narratives. Kay concludes that romance deviates from *chanson de geste* with an emphasis on the journey and a hero's self-discovery rather than on continual warfare (Kay 1995, 49-76). While the manuscript ends with the romance hero, the *Enéas* author spends the majority of the text on the elaborate war preparations, specific warriors in combat, revenge and bloodlust, and funerals for heroes.⁸ The *Enéas* spans both genres although perhaps not with particular deft for only after this exploration of conflict does the author change the protagonist.

While *chansons de geste* concentrate on groups who struggle in a cycle of skirmishes and violence, the romance hero endures hardship and overcomes obstacles in his perusal of the desired object, title, or woman (Kay 1995, 49-50). After Turnus and Enéas agree to end the conflict with a duel for the kingdom and the hand of Lavine, the

⁸ The divisions the three genre described are *roman d'antiquité*: 1-3094 covering Dido and the Underworld, *chanson de geste*: 2095-7920 beginning with the arrival in Italy and concluding with the announcement of the duel, and the romance: 7921-10332 following the Enéas/Lavine love story until the epilogue. This is not a perfect dissection since elements of the genres exist throughout but useful for the purposes of analysis.

author introduces an entirely new conflict; this time the contest is for love between Lavine and Enéas. Before the introduction of love interests, BnF 60's author consciously creates an individual hero through his streamlining of the narrative at moments in order to concentrate on Enéas rather than divert attention with other characters or anecdotes. Manuscript BnF 60 eliminates the episode of "Paris and the Golden Apples" imitating the Virgilian text while the other manuscripts add an account found in Ovid's story (Salverda de Grave 1925, vi, Faral 1913, 33). While this author's choice is consistent with the author's closer adherence elsewhere, it also functions to focus the narrative more firmly on Enéas.⁹

Conscious tailoring of Enéas into the powerful figure of the narrative en lieu of the gods happens at several moments in the manuscript. His messenger's speech to Dido claims he alone saved them from death.

Eschapames nous en par nuit,
Illuec nous prist en son conduit
Danz Enéas, c'est nostre roys,
Preus est et saiges et cortois.
Mestier avons grant de secors,
en Lombardie est nostre cors.

[Nous nous sommes échappés de nuit, c'est alors que nous prit sous sa protection le seigneur Enéas, c'est notre roi, il est valeureux, sage et courtois. Nous avons grand besoin de secours, la Lombardie est notre but.]

[We escaped in the night, it was then that he took us under his protection, the Lord Enéas, he is our king, he is valorous, wise and courteous. We are in great need of rescue, Lombardy is our goal.] (vv. 550-555).

The messengers of other manuscripts describe Enéas as "un riche baron [a rich baron]" with "celestial ligniee [celestial lineage]" who "...de cele grant ocision qu'i feisoient la nuit li Greu, lo garantirent bien li deu; fors lo mistrent de la cité... [the gods protected

⁹ This first explanation is explored in chapter 3.

him well from the great slaughter which the Greek did that night and put him outside the city]” (vv. 573. 572. 574-577). BnF 60’s Enéas takes control of his men and leaves the city without any assistance or guidance from the gods. BnF 60 offers the first description of him through the eyes of his vassal, who tells Dido that Enéas is a king: wise, brave and chivalrous. He assumes command of the scattered Trojans and earns their respect. The author begins to mold Enéas into a dynamic hero who grows and learns in the course of his trials.

The BnF 60 manuscript builds upon a sketch of Enéas in manuscript A, “...molt estoit bials et avenanz/ et chevaliers forniz et granz;/ a toz an sanble lo plus bel. [He was very handsome and gracious, a sturdy and large knight; he seemed to everyone the most handsome of them]” (vv. 717-719). The passage in BnF 60 fills in details to these lines with a thorough description.

Enéas ert uns gens, .I. grans
chevaliers, preus et avenans.
le corps ot gens et bien mollé,
le chief ot blond recercellé,
cler ot le vis et la figure,
moult fiere la regardeüre.
Le pi sot gros et les costs
Lons et deugiez et bien mollez,
d’un cendal d’Andre fu vestus,
a .I. fil d’or estroit cousus.
.I. mantel gris ot aufublé,
chauciez fu d’un paile roé.

[Enéas était un beau et grand chevalier, plein de grâce et de vaillance. Il avait le corps racé et bien fait, les cheveux blonds et frisés, le visage clair et le regard très fier. Sa poitrine était vaste, et ses flancs élancés, minces et bien moulés, il était vêtu d’un taffetas d’Andros étroitement cousu d’un fil d’or. Il avait revêtu un manteaux gris et portait des chausses d’une soierie ornée de rosaces.]

[Enéas was a handsome and great knight, full of grace and valor. He had a handsome and well-made body, his hair blond and curly, his face clear and his eyes very proud. His chest was wide and his sides, thin and well molded, he was dress in cloth of Andros sewn

tightly with golden thread. He dressed in a grey mantle and wore breeches of silk embroidered with rosettes.] (vv. 648-659).

This *amplificatio* or amplified physical description of Enéas portrays him as a romance hero. While Enéas obviously comes from Anatolia, his description is that of a Western knight with blond hair. He dresses in the fine clothes of an aristocrat including the velvet and gossamer imported in the Middle Ages from the Greek island of Andros. This hero dresses in fine clothing to impress his host and court ladies. He enters the city as a physically beautiful knight and thereby carries with him the themes of love, which become the central elements of the Dido and later Lavine scenes.

While piecing together a translated story and introducing new literary concepts, the *Roman d'Enéas* capitalizes on plot devices that are useful in both epic and romance genres. The manuscripts incorporate the classical concepts of prophecy, divine intercession, and the Fates into this medieval narrative. The pagan plot devices naturally transform into characteristics of a romance. Often in romance epics, the hero must complete a quest during which he learns and advances in character. The author of BnF 60 diverges from the other manuscripts in his treatment of Enéas as a hero with a preordained destiny. The Enéas of BnF 60 begins his journey and quest for safety according his own desires, and later he discovers the gods' hand in his fate.

There are notable changes in the manuscript that show an interest in creating a different type of hero, a romance hero. BnF 60 does not include several moments present in other *Enéas* manuscripts that connect his fate with the gods' will. In manuscript A, the opening action is Venus, introduced as his mother, commanding Enéas to leave the burning city of Troy.

comanda li, sanz demorance

s'en tort...
et ce li comandent li dé
que il aut la contree querre
dunt Dardanus vint an la terre,
qui fonda de Troie les murs.

[She commanded him to depart without delay before the Greeks should seize him. The gods commanded him thus: that he should go in quest of the country from which Dardanus, who founded the walls of Troy, came to this land.] (vv. 36-41).

In this passage, Enéas follows the bidding of Venus and accepts her prophecy of a future city in Italy. The *Aeneid* describes the escape of Aeneas from Troy under the protection of Venus although it begins *in medias res* with him already in the throws of the storm and the audience does not know about Venus' interference until a flashback reveals it later. The Enéas of BnF 60 does not encounter the maternal deity until Dido mentions his immortal ancestry in her welcome. Enéas in BnF 60 decides on his own that his only option is to flee the burning city.

En conseil prist et en porpens
s'il s'en pavoit estordre vis
d'entre les Grius ses anemis...
encore guarroit en autre terre.

[Il conçut le projet suivant: s'il pouvait échapper aux Grecs, ses ennemis,... il pourrait vivre sauf dans un autre pays.]

[He conceived the following plan: if he could escape from the Greeks, his enemies..., he could live safely in another country.] (vv. 30-34).

The hero escapes according to his own ingenuity rather than the mercy and protection of the gods. He also establishes his own goals according to BnF 60.

En Lombardie vould aler,
illuec vould Troie restorer
et la cite et les muraulz

[Enéas voulait aller en Lombardie, il voulait y reconstruire Troie, cite et remparts.]

[He wanted to go to Lombardy, there, he wanted to reconstruct Troy, the city and the walls] (vv. 79-81).

The Enéas of BnF 60 learns later that the gods are involved in his fate although the audience sees the conflicting forces earlier with Juno's storm and Venus' manipulation of Dido (vv. 1698-1707). He knows "...ne pot laisser ne tant ne quant/ le dit as diex ne lor commant..." [il ne peut nullement négliger le message et l'ordre divins] [he can not at all neglect the message and the divine order]" (vv. 1716-1717). Enéas becomes aware in this moment that he is not simply escaping death but acting according to the divine will of the gods. His father appears to him in a dream and introduces for the first time in BnF 60 that the gods plan for him to have Lombardy. That Enéas acts according to will of the gods becomes clearer following his departure from Carthage. The hero descends into Hades and receives a foretelling of his future from Anchises (vv. 2920-3065). In the first section, his motivation is clear: escape the ruined city of Troy. After the prophesy of Anchises, his early desires to found a city in Italy drive him to alliances and war. BnF 60 delays the introduction of a divined destiny, lessening the involvement of the pagan gods in Enéas's story and emphasizing his free will and pursuit of a quest. While in the *Aeneid* the hero's goal is to fulfill the prophecy of Anchises and conquer the land for his posterity, the fate of Enéas becomes to marry Lavine and establish a line of kings that would stretch into the modern era of Anglo-French kings.

The final third of the *roman* concentrates on the courtship between Enéas and Lavine. Although heavily inspired by and borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, this section is entirely original to the medieval author. The *Aeneid* ends abruptly with Aeneas' victory in the duel over his foe, Turnus, with no mention of the outcome of his relationship with Lavinia. The medieval author at this point becomes increasingly

concerned with the courtship and seduction of Lavine after the conclusion of the *chanson de geste* scenes of battles and feudalism. In the epilogue, the BnF 60 manuscript includes a long monologue by Enéas that includes a change in the message of the tale. He in fact disagrees with the message that the epic is about war.

amor n'a soing de longue guerre,
mais qui mesfait merci doit querre;

[Amour ne cherche pas de longue guerre, mais qui fait du tort doit demander grâce.]”

[Love does not search for a long war, but those who offend must ask for grace.] (vv. 10011-10012).

His statement places the warfare as inferior to the romance. He concludes that the war with Turnus was necessary since the Trojans had to defend themselves, but he sought to end it quickly to marry Lavine sooner. He changes the *chanson de geste* into a romance with the plot centering on the marriage while introducing the Christian concept of mercy.

Couroz qui trop ne dure mie
est a amor escamenie

[Le courroux qui ne dure pas trop sert de stimulant à l'amour]

[Wrath that does not last too long serves as a stimulant to love] (vv.10021-10022)

The *Aeneid* views the marriage between Lavinia and Aeneas as purely transactional and the means by which Rome is founded while the medieval author spends over two thousand lines on internal dialogues, jealousies, and promises of affection.

With the character of Lavine, the original *Roman d'Enéas* author truly deviates from his translation of the *Aeneid* since her character is not developed and has little purpose in the Classical narrative. Lavine's character dominates the additions and the theme of the entire *roman* transforms from warfare to love. The destiny of the hero Enéas becomes to marry his heart's desire, Lavine. These scenes of love's trials and tribulations

became the model for many later romances. The *Roman d'Enéas* combines the obligations of family and honor with the pangs of love. Unlike contemporary romances like *Tristan and Iseult*, the hero faces no choices between duty and love in contrast to his affair with Dido since a union with Lavine is the culmination of both. In his scrutiny of *romans d'antiquité*, Basewell looks at the increased role of romance in the *romans* yet clarifies that “love is for the most part effectively subordinated to dominant structures of public order, militant male power, and patrilineage” (Basewell 2000, 39). The romance in the *Enéas*, while inventive, does not break the patriarchal destiny of the male hero.

Many characters feel and express the “sickness” and over exaggerated physical proofs of love. Faral attributes the *Enéas*’ additions of the courtship to Ovidian tropes (Faral 1913, 30-40). Several couples (i.e. Dido and Enéas, Nisus and Euryale, and Lavine and Enéas) experience the anguish and sickness that love brings. The symptoms of love appear in Dido’s monologues; Lavine and finally Enéas also suffer these pangs. The use of these tropes continues into the extended version of BnF 60.

Et je, si com Amor le vault
 et me commande que le face
 por la seue roseine face
 qui de biauté n’a sa pareille,
 li pri et require et conseille
 qu’elle tiengne son cuer en joie
 et soit certaine que je soie
 des celle heure partiz en .II.
 qu’elle m’ot lancié ses vers yex.
 ...qui de cholor tramble...
 ...moy mon cuer en Esperance
 du cor...

[Et moi, comme Amour le veut et e recommande de le faire, pour son visage couleur de rose qui n’a pas son pareil en beauté, je lui enjoins et la prie instamment de garder la joie au coeur et d’être certaine que je suis divisé en deux depuis le moment où elle m’a lancé son éclatant regard... tremblant de fièvre...mon coeur dans l’espérance du corp...]

[And as Love wishes and commands, for her face, the color of a sweet rose who has no equal in beauty, I will beg and ask and advise that she hold her heart in joy and that she be certain that I have been divided into two parts since that hour when she first cast her blue eyes on me...trembling with ardor...my heart [burns] in the hope of my body...]
(vv. 10062-10069. 10080. 10090-10091.)

Here Enéas suffers without Lavine's confirmation of their mutual affection, so his language and his body show this to the reader. The lovers experience internal and external opponents to the awaited marriage including the female characters discussed in chapter one. Lavine and Enéas trail into extended internal debates about the reciprocity of that love. Camille acts as the violent and physical antagonist to Enéas' ambitions in Italy and burgeoning love for Lavine while Lavine's mother acts as the Lavine's emotional antagonist. Lavine's mother brutally attacks the sexuality of Enéas in her quest to defame him in her daughter's eyes. Her comments on homosexuality and adultery express the homophobia and sexism present in the narrative.

Comprising a substantial role, Lavine serves as the ideal representation of femininity. Her amplification serves as the counter balance to deviant female characters: Dido, Camille and her own mother (Green 2002, 160-161). The author introduces Lavine as the perfect female companion to Enéas after thorough examination of the unacceptable (lustful Dido and masculine Camille) and their traditional courtship and marriage terminates the story. Enéas in the denouement expresses the qualities he finds appealing.

a dame de si noble pris
que nulz ne le saroit penser,
qu'en li seule puet on puisier
senz, valor, soulaz et mesure
plus qu'en nulle autre creature...

[à cette dame de si noble valeur que nul ne saurait l'imaginer, car en elle seule on peut puiser intelligence, valeur, plaisir et mesure plus qu'en nulle autre creature....]

[to this lady of such noble valor, which no one could imagine, for in her alone one can find more intelligence, worth, and moderation than from any other creature...] (vv. 10046-10050).

Although her character becomes pronounced, her femininity revolves around her future role as a wife and mother (Basewell 2000, 39). Her fulfillment of fate serves as a marker of the failure of the other female characters to attain a successful marriage and children (Basewell 2000, 38-40).

The narrative emphasizes the workings of fate culminating in perfect marriage to the correct woman. While the many obstacles to Enéas' destiny are averted, he becomes "li preus, li gentilz" king that founds a dynasty worthy of note. Enéas, "qui a d'amor art [qui brûle d'amour] [who burns with love]," he suffers again in the uncertainty after the duel confirms their union but before mutual affection is established (v. 10301.10279). The marriage in BnF 60 relies heavily on affection shared between the two lovers. The other manuscripts offer the same 2000 lines in the manuscript that show the two pining after one another, but BnF 60 introduces an exchange of love and confirmation of its mutual intensity. Expanding the courtly romance, in BnF 60 Lavine exchanges gifts with Enéas and demands proof of the love he proclaims privately for her. The manuscript includes additions to the text including a character named Maupriant who acts as an envoy between Enéas and Lavine. His speeches to Lavine continue the poetic, romance monologues of the twelfth-century *roman*. Enéas claims "gariz sui... mal ne sent [je suis guéri... je ne sens plus aucun mal] [I am healed...I no longer feel any ill.]" after receiving the gift from Lavine (v. 10294). He dedicates himself to the task of marriage. In the epilogue of BnF 60, there is a record of the marriage.

[Enéas]... espousa au terme mis
la belle cui estoit amis

dedenz la cite de Laurente.

[il épousa au jour fixé la belle dont il était l'ami dans la cite de Laurente.]
[he married the woman, whom he loved, on the appointed day in the city of Laurente]
(vv. 10304-10306).

The author notes that the barons accept the rule of the foreigner because of the marriage.

Quant pris ot la pucelle gente,
li baron de terre latine
qui estoit au pere Lavine
s'accorderent, grant et menor,
a lui recevoir a seignor
aprez le decez de lor roy.

[Quand il eut épousè de la belle jeune fille, les barons de la terre latine, qui appartenait au père de Lavine, se mirent d'accord, à l'unanimité, pour l'accepter comme seigneur après le décès de leur roi.]

[When he married the beautiful young woman, the barons of the Latin country, who belonged to the father of Lavine, unanimously agreed to accept him as lord after the death of their king] (vv. 10308-10313).

One element of the *chanson de geste* remains in the marriage between Enéas and Lavine.

With his marriage to her, he becomes the rightful king of the Italians without necessitating further subduing. The epilogue assures the reader that the couple lived very peacefully and the barons readily accepted the wise and noble hero. Kay discusses the political role of marriages and the females cementing the power structure with it (Kay 2002, 34). Through Kay's lens of analysis of political power of women in *chansons de geste*, Lavine holds the power and saves Enéas from annihilation.

“ffranche dame, gentilz pucelle,
cest homme que tien par la main,
por ce, dist il, le vous amain,
qu'il est au meilleur qui puist estre:
bon cions est, de bon ancestre,
ce est Enéas li cortois...”

[“Noble dame, jeune fille bien née, cet homme que je tiens par la main, je vous l’amène,” dit-il, “parce qu’il appartient au meilleur qui puisse exister: un valeureux rejeton issu d’un noble ancêtre, Enéas le courtois...”]

[“Noble lady, young, well-born woman, this man whom I hold by the hand, I bring to you,” he said, “because he comes from the best that can exist: a valiant offspring from a noble ancestor, Enéas the courteous...”] (vv. 10162-10167)

Lavine outranks the exiled Enéas since she is the daughter of a king and Enéas is merely a refugee but the messenger is sure to point out his lineage as proof of his good worth. In the manuscript, there is a harmony between the romance and the *chanson de geste*. Enéas gains glory and land through conquest while falling in love, conveniently, with a beautiful princess that legitimizes his authority. In Lavine is the union between love and the political power. In the *Aeneid*, Lavinia holds the key to the establishment of a permanent settlement on Italian soil. Eneas has to marry Lavine to become a legitimate authority in Italy. He leaves Troy with no status other than the collective subservience of his men who declare him king. The marriage to Lavine guarantees him the security that he needs to found the Roman dynasty.

The medieval author transforms the epic hero of the *Aeneid* into the romantic hero of the *Roman d’Enéas*. Romance in the text becomes more important as the final resolution between Enéas and Lavine in the epilogue extends the narrative convincingly into the courtly love favored in Arthurian romances. While in the *Aeneid* the hero’s goal is to fulfill the prophecy of Anchises and conquer the land for his posterity, the fate of Enéas is to marry Lavine and establish a line of kings that stretch onto the modern era of Anglo-French kings. Although the other manuscripts follow the Virgilian plot devices, BnF 60 changes the fate of Enéas from one decided entirely by the gods to a more self-determined quest. The *Enéas* blends the lingering Classical ideas of fate and prophecy

with the medieval concept of quest and reveals the author's intentional creation of a romantic hero with self-determination and the emphasis of a quest-like prophecy. Enéas and Lavine become the focus of the ending of the manuscript. Their relationship is cemented with the exchange of love tokens and words. The epilogue in BnF 60 focuses on the marriage between the two rather than on the line of Roman kings in the other manuscripts. This manuscript places a romance hero at its center from the beginning to the end.

CHAPTER III: THE ROLES OF THE IMMORTALS

In fourteenth-century France, the author of the *Roman d'Enéas* walked a fine line between his appreciation of Virgil's poetic epic and the need for comprehension by his medieval readers. A major problem for a translator was the inclusion of pagan gods. Should the medieval author remain true to the epic or appeal to his Christian audience? In the *Roman d'Enéas*, some of the most notable changes are to the Classical gods and their role in the story. In the *Aeneid*, two stories occur simultaneously weaves aesthetic between the adventures of the human heroes and the machinations of the Olympian gods. Understandably, the Christian author of the *Roman d'Enéas* almost eliminates the gods as characters and major moments and motivations of action. The author seems to keep the moments that either are required for logical plot or serve as romantic elements.

Sometimes the *Enéas* author essentially eradicates the interventional power of the Classical gods in the interest of increased clarity for the reader since the ancient readers

of the *Aeneid* understood the cultural and symbolic references to the gods. While the gods fulfilled the political purposes of Virgil's patron Emperor Augustus, who chose to emphasize his divine ancestry, the medieval composer lacked this objective and so purged much of the story's divine action for simplicity. In several moments, the medieval author keeps the Olympian deities of the *Aeneid* for the purpose of adding fantastical elements and retaining the tether to the ancient setting. Essential to the analysis of the gods in the *roman* is the historical nature of the *Enéas* for the audience. The medieval author reorganized the narrative order of the epic from Virgil's poetic *ordo artificialis* into the simpler *ordo naturalis* (Green 2000, 160). This reordering places the *roman* as a history rather than Virgil's epic. Since the interest of the author is historical rendering rather than purely poetic, the gods become less important as they reduce the validity of a record to Christian audiences.

In BnF 60 the narrative of the gods conspicuously differs from the other manuscripts. At certain moments, BnF 60 eliminates the mention of the Olympian gods while at others the author chooses to reference Virgil. As the previous chapters explored the growing elements of romance, this chapter will examine the changes to the immortal beings in BnF 60. Sometimes in BnF 60 the follows Virgil's account more closely than the other manuscripts while at others he departs entirely from both Virgil and the other versions of the *roman*. Throughout the middle *chanson de geste* adventures of Enéas, immortals as in the other manuscripts play a few reduced roles; the main changes of this manuscript in this area occur before Dido's death in Carthage (vv. 1-2229) and in the ending (vv. 9873-10334).

From the outset of BnF 60, the *roman* displays the author's alterations to the Olympian gods' place in the exploits of Enéas. In the discussion of the individual hero of the romance genre, chapter two mentions the scene of Enéas' departure from Troy in the exposition. While the other *Enéas* manuscripts include Venus in their summary of the *Roman de Troie*, drawing from Virgil's account of her leading Enéas away with the promise of a new kingdom, in the opening BnF 60 breaks with the other *romans*. He enhances the depiction of the romance hero by making Enéas the central focus and savior of the Trojan refugees. Unlike manuscript A's version, Venus in BnF 60 plays no part in the escape from the doomed city and does not enter the story until Carthage. Later, Enéas relates to Dido his experiences during the Trojan War and during his story, he mentions his divine mother.

Venuz ma mere m'i vint dire
De par les diex que m'en tornaïsse
Et en la terre m'en alaiïsse
Don't Dardanuz vint, nostre ancestre.

[“Vénus, ma mere, vint me dire de la part des dieux de m'en aller et de gagner la terre d'où vint Dardanus, notre ancêtre.”]

[Venus, my mother, came from the gods to tell me to go and win the land whence came Dardanus, our ancestor.] (vv. 1269-1272).

In this part of his history, Enéas alerts the reader of his awareness of his destiny though his mother offers no warning of the danger as in manuscript A (vv. 24-47).

This aberration in BnF 60 contradicts the account of Enéas' departure from Troy since the earliest mention of a deity does not occur until verse 83 and the announcement of an antagonist to Enéas:

Juno, qui ert du ciel deuesse,
estoit vers eulz moult felonesse;
fforment avoit coilli en hé

touz ceulz de Troie la cité
del jugement que fist Paris.

[Juno, déesse du ciel, était très hostile aux Troyens; elle avait voué une haine féroce à tous ceux de la cite de Troie à cause du jugement de Pâris.]

[Juno, goddess of heaven, was very hostile to the Trojans; she had vowed a fierce hate to all of those of the city of Troy because of the Judgment of Paris.] (vv. 83-87)

After this introduction to Juno BnF 60 in the next 27 lines describes the storm, which summarizes the much longer and expressive opening of the *Aeneid*. The long passage of Juno's journey to the god of winds Aeolus is entirely absent from all of the *Enéas* manuscripts including BnF 60. The Virgilian Juno's animosity towards the Trojans stems from two sources: the Judgment of Paris and the Fates' prediction of the destruction of her favorite city, Carthage, by his descendants (*Aen.* 1. 19-50). While the allusion to the Punic Wars would have been obvious to the Roman reader of Virgil, the historical sentiment of enmity towards Carthage would not impact the medieval French reader with similar force.¹⁰ The *Enéas* author eliminates the elaborate description of Juno conjuring the storm and the Fates' prophecy as her motivation for hostility; rather, it follows the other manuscripts in proposing only the Judgment of Paris as the reason for her hate. Faral suggests in his *Recherches* that the manuscript A author used a commentary on the *Aeneid* for a resource (Faral 1913, 34). While the other *Enéas* manuscripts include the complete retelling of the Judgment of Paris, BnF 60 extracts this anecdote that supplies the reasoning of Juno's loathing. This removal of the Judgment aligns instead closer to Virgil although the goddess in BnF 60 lacks the elaborated incentive for terrorizing Enéas.

¹⁰ A series of three vicious wars fought between Rome and Carthage from 264 BC- 146 BC that paved the way for the Roman expansion throughout the Mediterranean world.

BnF 60 continues the romance goal of the individual hero who survives without the intervention of the gods. He cries out in the midst of the terrible storm and this moment is Enéas' first invocation of the gods.

“Ohi, fait il, buer furent né
ceulz qui a Troie la cité
ffurent occis et detrenchié!
Ha! Las, pour quoy n’I fui occis
Pour quoy eschapay je chetis?
Miex vousise que Achillés
m’eüst occis ou Thytidés
la ou furent occis tant conte
qu’ici morusse a tel honte!
Pour quoy ne m’occistrent li Grieu?
Moult m’ont coilli en hé li dieu:
ne puis garir n’en mer n’en terre,
de toutes pars me chace guerre.”

[“Oh! Bienheureux ceux qui, sous la cité de Troie, furent tués, massacrés ! Hélas ! Pourquoi n’y péris-je pas ? Pourquoi m’être échappé en misérable ? J’aurais préféré qu’Achille ou le fils de Tydée me tue, là où succombèrent tant de comtes, plutôt que de mourir ici si ignominieusement. Pourquoi les Grecs ne m’ont-ils pas tué ? Les dieux m’ont pris en grande haine : point de salut sur mer ni sur terre, de toutes parts on me persécute.”]

[Oh! Blessed are those who, under the city of Troy, were killed and massacred! Alas! Why did I not perish there? Why did I escape like a wretch? I would have preferred that Achilles or the son of Tydeus kills me, there where succumbed so many nobles, rather than to die here so baselessly. Why did the Greek not kill me? The gods have a great hatred for me: no point of salvation neither on the sea nor on the earth, from all sides I am persecuted.] (vv. 116-129)

This desperate plea marks the line of BnF 60 during which Enéas first calls upon the Olympian gods in general. Although manuscript A before this point follows the *Aeneid*'s account of Aeneas leaving Troy, its Enéas begins this speech with “Par deu” while BnF 60 follows the Virgil more closely with the language (Salverda de Grave v. 211) (*Aen.* 1.

131-143).¹¹ BnF 60 seems to copy Aeneas' speech here with some simplifications of the persons mentioned.

While the other manuscripts harken back to Venus' assurance of a land promised, this speech from BnF 60 looks almost identical to the *Aeneid* and follows the author's earlier practice of cutting the Venus intervention in Enéas' escape from Troy. A possible explanation for this change is the medieval authors' interest in continuity. Virgil's *ordo artificialis* poetically begins the *Aeneid* with a prologue and Juno's tempest, and then later Aeneas tells Dido the story of Venus' pledge of safety in Italy (II. vv. 793-842).¹² With this knowledge in mind, it would be odd for Aeneas to mention the specific promise from Venus that has not yet been introduced to the audience. The manuscript A author writes in *ordo naturalis*, so his references to Venus' promise, which he summarizes in his opening, makes sense during Enéas' tirade in the midst of the storm. Because BnF 60 leaves the goddess out of the introductory action, he easily follows Virgil more strictly and does not incorporate Venus' promise into Enéas' dialogue during the storm. BnF 60 copies Virgil by not presenting Venus' involvement in the beginning even though it contradicts the account Enéas gives to Dido later. BnF 60 eliminates the gods in the first eighty-three lines but copies the other *Enéas* manuscripts and the *Aeneid* when Enéas weaves the tragic tale of Troy. This example of change in BnF 60 demonstrates the

¹¹ For reference, the additional lines from manuscript A. "By the gods," he said, "...They have promised me I know not what land, and I know not where I can seek it. I have found many isles in the sea, and have not heard tell of that land, but I go on searching in very great distress, as fortune leads me." (Yunuk trans. Salverda de Grave vv. 210. 224-230).

¹² Aeneas in the *Aeneid* does tell his men, "...we make for Latium, where fates have promised a peaceful settlement. It is decreed that there the realm of Troy will rise again," but there is no mention of the specific promise and evacuation from Troy by Venus until Aeneas tells Dido (*Aen.* 1. 286-288).

author's awareness and access to the Latin source and concern in presenting a cohesive story.¹³

During the tumult of the storm, BnF 60 adds a dialogue for Enéas not included in the other manuscripts.

“Chetis, fait il, quell aventure!
Bien sai li dieu de moy n'ont cure:
de tantes nez com je hui oy
quant je mui ça, moult en ay poy.”

[“Miserable, dit-il, quel coup du sort ! Je sais bien que les dieux m'abandonnent : de tous les navires que j'avais en levant l'ancre, il m'en reste bien peu.”]

[Miserable, he says, what a blow of fate! I know well that the gods abandon me: of all the ships that I had while leaving anchor, I have few left with me.] (vv. 161-163).

Enéas at this point in BnF 60 has received no assurance of salvation from the gods and knows only that they allowed the destruction of his homeland. This inclusion of additional dialogue highlights the despair of Enéas feels at the gods' neglect, perpetuating BnF 60's romance version without the prophecy. As in his earlier speech, he bemoans his perceived abandonment by the gods (in general, no specific deity named) since BnF 60's Enéas attributes the strife caused by Juno to the Immortals as a whole. The author of BnF 60 seems interested in adding more direct speech and transforming the vague lines of the other manuscripts into a moment that points out the gods' lack of involvement and desertion.

Continuing the concepts of BnF 60, the hero suddenly mentions a specific god and his involvement with his fate. After having arrived safely on the shores of Libya, Enéas addresses his soldiers for the first time in direct speech and assures them of their great destiny. BnF 60's author alters his words and meaning from the other manuscripts.

¹³ Chapter two further asserts that the author intentionally creates a romantic hero with this modification.

“Souffrant travaill et mal et peine,
ainsi vendrons en nostre regne,
en Lombardie, le pays
que Jupiter nous a promis...”

[“À travers tourments, maux et peines, nous parviendrons à notre royaume, en Lombardie, le pays que Jupiter nous a promis...”]

[Through torments, evil and painful, we will reach our kingdom, in Lombardy, the country that Jupiter promised us...] (vv. 234-238)

He specifically names Jupiter as the giver of the promise while in manuscript A Enéas says, “...nos conduiront lie dé ou leu/que il nos ont promis an feu... [...the gods will conduct us to the place which they have promised us in fief...] (vv. 339-340). The specific introduction of Jupiter’s name hints that the author drew from the Latin because the chief god plays almost no role in any of the *Romans d’Enéas*. Jupiter in the *Aeneid*, however, reassures Venus’ worries for Aeneas in Libya immediately after Enéas lands (I. vv. 354-417). In BnF 60 the author summarizes Jupiter’s prophecy and places it in the mouth of Enéas as the reassurer to his men.

Another interesting return to the *Aeneid* is the association of Juno with Carthage and the awakening of Dido’s passion for Enéas. In the elaborate textual sketch of Carthage, the author mentions the goddess.

Celle cité ferma Dydo,
et ce vouloit dame Juno,
pour ce qu’illuec fu coultivee,
Cartaige fu moult renommee.

[Didon avait édifié cette cite, et dame Junon voulait, parce qu’elle y était vénérée, que Carthage connaisse le plus grand renom.]

[Dido had built this city, and Lady Juno wished, because she was revered there that Carthage knew the greatest renown.] (vv. 500-503)

In this small note, the author finally gives a hint at a cause of her hostility aside from the Judgment of Paris. The discussion of Dido's amplification in the first chapter mentions her temple dedicated to Juno and the importance of the building in the city. As the patron of Dido, Juno enjoys the devotions she receives in Carthage. In BnF 60 a stronger correlation is drawn between the goddess and the queen than in the other manuscripts. This addition both amplifies the character of Dido and follows more closely the text of the *Aeneid*, which mentions the association and the temple specifically (I. vv. 632-656. 712-717).

During her welcoming speech to Enéas, Dido alerts the readers for the first time of the Trojan's divine ancestry in BnF 60.

...vous ot Venus qu'est vostre mere,
et Cupydo est vostre frère
qui est d'amour et sire et maistre
de ces dous diex vous doit miex estre.

[...vous donna naissance Vénus, c'est votre mere, et Cupidon est votre frère, seigneur et maître en amour: ces deux divinités doivent améliorer votre sort.]

[...gave birth to you, Venus, she is your mother, and Cupid is your brother, lord and master in love: these two divinities must improve your destiny.] (vv. 716-719).

Through the mouth of Juno's human representative, Venus and Cupid enter the story as the relatives of Enéas. Retaining this semi-divine lineage was important in BnF 60 despite the change in the beginning. The medieval author reminds the readers of the divine lineage of Enéas, who is the ancestor of the French royalty. While Venus is a pagan deity, she and Cupid also incite the romance in the beginning and thus contribute to the themes of love. In the other manuscripts, Venus kisses Ascanius giving him the power to create love. BnF 60 mirrors the *Aeneid*'s version of Venus disguising Cupid as Ascanius (vv. 769- 799). The manuscript retains the god Cupid like in the *Aeneid*.

During the *chanson de geste* section in BnF 60, the text veers only at a few minor moments. The manuscript follows the other manuscripts' changes from Virgil. In these series of battles, the gods are referred to only in exclamations and thanksgivings with the exception of the Venus and Vulcan interlude. This story reflects the interests of the author in developing a romance because the episode features a sexual transaction and adultery. Immortals play little role in the war sequences and Juno's antagonism is eliminated just as in the other manuscripts.

BnF 60's additions in the epilogue include references to the gods similar to those in the romance section of the other *Romans d'Enéas*. The references are casual and do not have the specificity present in the earlier changes to the manuscript.

...por ce, s'il plaist aus diex, n'a miz
en li Nature ne Raison
que ne maine en toute saison.

[...c'est pourquoi, s'il plait aux dieux, Nature et Raison ont placé en elle des vertus qu'elle manifeste en toute circonstance.]

[...therefore, if it pleases the gods, Nature and Reason have placed in her virtues which she manifests in all circumstances.] (vv. 10040-10042).

Enéas calls upon Love, the deity, again in the additions, and Lavine is described as one who "...Amors tienent en lor destroit [...Amour tient sous sa domination] [Love held under his power]" (v. 10130). Lavine in her joy exclaims,

"lerme ne puet mais issir de mes yex
quant m'ont octroié les haus diex
de tel seigneur ce qu'en prioie..."

[nulle larme ne peut plus couler de mes yeux quand les dieux d'en haut m'ont accordé ce que je demandais à propos d'un tel époux...]

[..tears can no longer flow from my eyes since the high gods have granted me what I have prayed for from this lord..] (vv. 10231-10233)

Lavine twice calls the gods “les haus diex” without calling one specifically. The gods stay, as in the romance of all the manuscripts, the faceless and nameless pagan deities of Antiquity. The “gods” could easily be replaced with the sole, Christian god with their manner of praise and acknowledgment. Finally in the epilogue, the author invokes the Christian god.

Or nous doinst Diex du ciel la gloire
ou cherubim et serafin!
Ci est li romans a sa fin.

[Que Dieu nous accorde la gloire celeste, avec les chérubins et les séraphins! Le roman arrive ici à sa fin.]

[May God grant us celestial glory, with cherubim and seraphim. Here the romance comes to its end.] (vv. 10332-10334).

These lines come at the end of the epilogue and set the *roman* firmly in the Christian era. The other manuscripts end with a quick summary of the story of Romulus and Remus founding the city of Rome while BnF 60 finishes with this innovation of the Christian deity.

Examination of the textual differences in the BnF 60 reveal an author unafraid to revert the *roman* back to Virgil’s account. The manuscript includes specific references to Virgil and returns at moments to the Latin. These adherences to Virgil contrast with the ending’s additions and treatment of the immortals. Here the author paints a new ending that satisfies the romance genre’s concern with the exchange of love between two people. In BnF 60 the author creates a new text that incorporates his appreciation of Virgil and an extension of the popular romance.

CHAPTER IV: ILLUMINATIONS

Manuscript BnF 60 uniquely illustrates several developing literary themes of the Middle Ages. The manuscript highlights the literary changes and objectives of the *Roman d'Enéas* from the simplification of chronology to the insertion of allusions to previous *romans*. The illustrations parallel the textual amplifications including the increased character of Dido and foreshadowing the marriage of Enéas and Lavine. The images of relationships and many depictions of women stress the additional attention the author spends on creating a romance in the manuscript. The medieval costumes and gestures of the illustrations, like textual references, situate the *roman* in settings familiar to the

reader, calling attention to the connection of the king's lineage to Antiquity. This manuscript visually and textually develops the romantic themes and links the *Enéas* with other dynastic cycles.

The manuscript includes three *roman d'antiquité*: *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman de Troie*, and the *Roman d'Enéas*. All three stories are French translations of Classical epics: Statius's *Thebaid*, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*, respectively. With the manuscript situating the *romans* together, there is a clear assumption by the compiler of this manuscript that the stories are members of the same genre (Gaunt 2000, 54). The other *romans d'antiquité* not included in this manuscript but often associated with the *Roman d'Enéas* is Wace's *Roman du Brut*, which connects the voyages of Enéas to the foundation of Britain (Harf-Lancner 1992, 292). James Simpson studies the *romans d'antiquité* through the cultural context of the royal courts at the time of the first manuscript's composition (Simpson 2008, 200-202). He ties the composition of the three BnF 60 *romans*, along with Wace's, to the Plantagenet court of Henry II and its interest in promoting an ancient lineage (Simpson 2008, 202). The three *romans* appear in this manuscript as a cycle of history that confirm the *tranlatio imperii et studii* or movement of culture from East to Western Europe (Basewell 2000, 30-32). Even the narrative organization of the *Eneas*, which according to D. H. Green reflects the intentions of the medieval author, places the *roman* as an historical chronicle. He divides medieval manuscripts into those following the *ordo naturalis*, which is ordering "the sequence of a story to conform to the chronological succession of events," or the *ordo artificialis*, which is relocating events in "accordance with the author's overall purpose" (Green 2002, 153-161). While the *Aeneid* follows *ordo artificialis*, the *Enéas* author replaces the

poetic narrative with the more historical *ordo naturalis*. This literary technique places the *Enéas* and the other *romans* in the text as poetic versions of history, trusted and reliable.

Throughout the manuscript, the compiler supplies ample support of the accuracy of its stories with textual changes and carefully rendered illustrations. From decreasing the roles of the gods to allusions to actual historical figures, the *roman* in the manuscript validates to its readers that these events are factual. An example appears in the description of Carthage when the narrator includes the names of rulers in Antiquity: Darius, Octavian, Nero, and Julius Caesar (vv. 438-440). One significant textual connection that offers further proof of the *Enéas*' awareness of its positioning in the entire manuscript is the gifts given to Dido. In the other manuscripts, *Enéas* offers marvelous gifts including one from King Priam. This description inserts a gift that is original to the manuscript.

Une nosche faite a esmaus;
a la femme Amphīoraux
danz Pollincés la donna
pour son seigneur qu'elle enseigna,
qui se muçoit pour la bataille,
car il savoit tres bien sanz faille,
s'il y aloit, qu'il y morroit,
ja de Tebes ne revendroit.
La nosche vaut .I. grant tressor.
Une corrone de fin or
rueve apoter et .I. chier paille
qui apotez fu de Tessaille,
a or cousu et bien broudé.

[Un collier orné d'émaux; Le seigneur Polynice l'avait donné à l'épouse d'Amphiaräus pour avoir dénoncé son mari qui se cachait pour échapper à la bataille, car il était tout à fait sûr d'y mourir s'il y participait, et de ne jamais revenir de Thèbes. Ce collier vaut un grand trésor. Il fait apporter une couronne d'or fin et une précieuse étoffe de soie provenant de Thessalie, brochées d'or.]

[A necklace decorated with enamels; the lord Polynices had given it to the wife of Amphiaräus for having denounced her husband who hid himself to escape the battle,

because he was absolutely sure of dying there if he participated, and never returned to Thebes. This necklace is worth a great treasure. He has a crown of fine gold and precious silk cloth brocaded with gold, which were brought from Thessaly and .] (vv. 729-760).

The author unmistakably draws the reader back to the first of the *romans* in the manuscript, the *Roman de Thèbes*. The necklace is a significant moment in the *Thèbes* plot. Another reference to the *Thèbes* comes in the inclusion in description of Carthage of the “palate” or gymnasium that appears in the other *roman* (v. 402). In moments of the author’s significant changes, he inserts allusions to previous *romans* emphasizing the continuity of history through this specific lineage.

The *Roman d’Enéas* proves especially interesting in the study of its surviving manuscripts since it crosses genres from mere *roman d’antiquité* to early romance. Another manuscript, the thirteenth-century manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France. French. 1450 links the end of the *Roman d’Enéas* to the beginning of the *Roman de Brut*, tracing the legends of Trojan ancestry into medieval Norman royal lineage. This manuscript, containing those *romans* and Chretien de Troies’ romances, unites the two genres in a single document (Simpson 2008 197-209). This contextual comparison of the manuscripts reveals the medieval association of semi-historical *roman d’antiquité* with French romances. The *romans* within the manuscript share form (octosyllabic rhyming couplets) and semi-historic subject matter (Busby 2008, 148-150). Manuscript BnF 60 particularly illustrates the medieval notion of these *romans d’antiquité* as an account of the ancestral foundations of their culture.

Harf-Lancner notes the title page of the *Roman de Thèbes* and its caption places the three *romans d’antiquité* as a trilogy connecting the history of the Romans.

Ci commence li roumans de Tiebes qui fu racine de Troie la grant, ou il a moult de merveilles diverses. Item toute l’istoire de Troie la grant. Comment elle fu II

fois destruite par les Grigois et la cause pour quoi ce fu, et les mortalitez qui y furent. Item toute l'istoire de Enéas et d'Ancices qui s'enfuirent après la destruction de Troie. Et comment leurs oirs plueplerent les regions de deça mer et les granz merveilles qui d'euz issirent.

[Here begins the *Roman de Thèbes* which is the origin of the great Trojans, where there is a bounty of diverse marvels. Here is all of the history of the great Trojans. How it was twice destroyed by the Greeks and the causes of this, and the deaths which happened there. Here is all the history of Enéas and Anchises who fled after the destruction of Troy. And how their heirs peopled the many lands overseas and the great wonders which happened next.]¹⁴

This caption effectively bonds the three *romans* into one continuous cycle that echoes the belief in the lineage of the Franco-Norman kings springing from these heroes.

The writer and designer of this manuscript leave no doubt about the link across Antiquity to the modern era with changes in the texts and fabricating the figures in the manuscript. When studying BnF 60, the first notable observation of the illuminations is the artist's representation of the figures in modern (fourteenth century) garments. The scenes and characters depicted in the illustrations appear medieval and there is no attempt to show them in Classical dress and positioning. This purposeful representation of ancient figures in garb familiar to the intended reader associates the fictional characters with one's own cultures. Medieval gestures, according to J. A. Burrows, are specific and steeped in meaning obvious to the onlooker (Burrows 2002, 3-7). His study of gestures and figures proves essential in the understanding of this manuscript, relating the non-verbal communication to the textual. In *Gesture and looks in medieval narrative*, he analyzes medieval texts description of gesture against pictorial render apprising the modern reader of the significance in context. The illuminator animates a two thousand year old story and situates it in a relatable world with medieval figures, gestures, and

¹⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale de France. French 60. Folio 1.

garments. With this familiarity, the *romans d'antiquité* morph into chronicles of near predecessors with similar motivations, beliefs, and ambitions.

On the first page of the *Enéas* (folio 148) is a title page with six scenes enclosed by gilded framing. Underneath the six scenes is a caption that positions the epic after the conclusion of the *Roman de Troie* and summarizes the story.

Ci commence le romans de Enéas, d'Anthenor et d'Ancises pere Enéas, les quelz ont mis sus qu'il avoient Troie traye. Et comment il s'enfouirent a toute leur lignie et atout grant avoir et furent departi par la tempeste de la mer et arriverent en diverses regions que pueplierent.

[Here begins the *Roman d'Enéas*, *d'Antenor* and *d'Anchises* the father of Enéas, [the stories of Enéas, Antenor and Anchises, the father of Enéas] all of whom left after Troy was betrayed. And how they fled, with all their possessions and all of their family, and were separated by a storm at sea and arrived in many lands which they peopled.]

The caption mentions Antenor who does not enter the *Enéas* but plays an essential role in the *Troie* and in the *Aeneid* founds a new city. This reference reinforces the *Roman d'Enéas*' chronologically simplified structure (from Virgil) that places the fall of Troy and thus the previous *roman* as the catalyst of *Enéas*' story. It also mentions Anchises who hardly qualifies as a full character but again serves like Antenor to link the *Enéas* to the *Troie*. With the caption naming these two characters and the first illuminated scene portraying the burning city, the manuscript expands the textual narrative and invite further examination for additional meaning.

The first two illustrations on this folio expand the brief summary of the *Roman de Troie* that constitutes the first lines of the *Enéas*. The first image corresponds to the opening lines of the epic.

Quant Menelax ot Troie assise,
Onc n'en tourna tres qu'il l'ot prise,
Gasta la terre et tout le regne
Pour la venjance de sa femme.

La cité prist par traïson,
 Tot craventa, tours et donjon,
 Arst le pays, destruisit les murs:
 Nuls n'I estoit dedenz seürs.
 Toute a la vile degastee,
 A feu, a flambé l'a livree.
 Li Grieu prennent les citaiens,
 Nuls n'eschapoit d'entre lor mains
 Ne l'esteüst morir a honte;
 N'espargnoent prince ne conte:
 Ne lui avoit mestier parage
 Ne hardement ne vasseleage.
 Et nen estoit liu de deffendre:
 Toute iert la vile mise en cendre.
 Ocis y fu li roys Prianz,
 Il et sa femme et ses enfanz:
 Onc ne fu mais tant grant occise.
 Menelax a vengeance prise:
 Touz les murs fait aplanier
 Pour le tort fait de sa mouillier.

[Quand Ménélas eut mis le siège devant Troie, il n'en bougea plus avant de l'avoir prise, il dévasta pays et royaume entiers pour venger l'outrage infligé à travers sa femme. Il prit la cité par traîtrise et abattit tout, tours et donjon, il incendia le pays, détruisit les remparts: personne ne s'y trouvait en sécurité. Il a anéanti toute la ville, la livrant au feu et aux flames. Les Grecs s'emparaient des habitants, et personne ne pouvait leur échapper: une mort honteuse était inévitable; ils n'épargnaient ni prince ni comte: ni rang, ni bravoure, ni vaillance ne leur servaient de rien. Et l'heure n'était plus à la défense: toute la ville était en cendres. Y fut tué le roi Priam avec sa femme et ses enfants: jamais il n'y eut pareil massacre. Ménélas a assouvi sa vengeance: il fit raser tous les murs pour le tort subi à travers son épouse.]

[When Meneleus had laid siege on Troy, he did not move until he had taken it, he devastated the country and the whole kingdom to avenge the outrage inflicted through his wife. He took the city by treachery and knocked down everything, towers and keep, he burned the country, destroying the ramparts; no one could find security there. He destroyed the whole city, giving it up to fire and flames. The Greeks took possession of the inhabitants, and no one could escape them: a shameful death was inevitable; they spared neither prince nor count: neither rank, nor bravery, nor courage served them anything. And the hour was no longer for defense: the whole city was in ashes. There King Priam was killed with his wife and children; never was there such a massacre. Menelaus satiated his vengeance: he had all the walls demolished for the wrong he had suffered through his wife.] (vv. 1-24).

The first image is the city of Troy in flames. Troy is a medieval structure with high ramparts and a gate with four figures atop it raising their hands in fear (Burrow 2002, 43).

The deceased Trojans mentioned in the text are King Priam and the royal family although most likely, the figures who are engulfed in the flames represent the many Trojans that Enéas and his men left behind when they escaped to the sea. In the text, Eneas conducts a meeting with the men as they leave Troy and they unanimously elect him their “seigneur et mestre” (v. 61).

The second image depicts their travels across the Mediterranean Sea under the new leadership of Enéas. A ship holds Enéas and his men as they brave the tempest Juno sends. The scene shares similarities with the image of Paris sailing on folio 57 in the *Troie* epic. Seven helms are visible around Enéas, who stands facing the next image with his back to Troy, and three shields decorate the outside of the ship. The faces of the men are obviously terrified corresponding to the text’s brief account of Juno’s storm. Enéas wears a crown and chainmail while holding a shield, symbolizing his newly realized role as king and military leader of the men. This Enéas reflects the manuscript’s amplification of Enéas’ role as a romantic hero discussed in chapter two. Like the text, the gods play no role in Enéas’ escape from Troy or in his deliverance from the storm. The medieval weapons and dress of the characters places the story in modern times, removing the necessity of pagan gods aiding the hero and placing Enéas as the central courtly knight who later woos Lavine and founds a dynasty.

As discussed in previous chapters, the BnF 60 author accentuates the character of Dido, offering her more dialogue and power as a female ruler. The manuscript’s illustrations reflect her augmented role in the text. In the third image of the front page, Enéas kneels and extends both hands to the seated queen, expressing submission to Dido. Kneeling in medieval society signaled a king and a petitioner. He has no crown that

appeared previous image reflecting his position as a suppliant. Her seated position indicates her status as a queen and his kneeling one as a refugee seeking asylum. The gestures of the two figures hands contrast the authority difference indicated by the kneeling and seated positions. He raises his right hand with one finger extended and the rest curled while the left hand is palm opened. Dido's right hand is raised at her waist and the other rests in a position at her hip. These hand positions according to Burrow indicate a discussion among equals and the raised right index finger shows authority (Burrow 2002, 54). So although Enéas enters Carthage as a suppliant, his status as "nostre roys" noted in the text is reflected in the image (v. 552).

Echoing the romance amplified in the manuscript, the next image shows the affair between Enéas and Dido. The couple is seated with Dido on the left and Enéas on the right. Enéas has a beard in this image unlike his previous depictions. Dido and Enéas wear crowns contrasting his earlier status as a suppliant. He is now seated on the same bench as a mark of his status as Dido's equal (Burrow 2002, 76). Dido reaches with her right arm extended and her hand placed on his breast. Enéas employs a similar position with his left arm on her breast. Both figures incline their heads towards each other symbolizing the painful Ovidian desire they feel for each other (Burrow 2002, 45). The picture parallels to the consummation described in the manuscript.

...ne la roïne ne s'estorce,
tout li consent sa volenté:
piece a que l'avoit desiré.

[et la reine ne s'y refuse pas, elle se prête entièrement à son désir: c'est ce qu'elle désirait depuis longtemps.]

[And the queen does not refuse herself, she gave herself entirely to her desire: it's this that she desired for a long time.] (vv. 1607-1609).

The textual implication of adultery becomes clear in this visual representation since the couple exhibits sexual desire and the lovers' actions in their gestures.

The fifth of the title page collection is much the same as the second, depicting the Trojan's departure from Carthage. The only difference in this image is the expressions of his soldiers' faces. They appear less terrified in this picture, matching the textual account of storm during the first sea voyage and no mention of tough sailing in the journey to Lombardy.

The sixth and final image of this episode is the graphic suicide of Dido. This suicide is the culmination of the forbidden love pictured in the fourth image. The queen stands on the right side of the image poised to jump into massive flames that emanate from the left half. She pierces her left side with her left hand while reaching her right hand out to the flames and even to Enéas in the previous image fleeing Carthage. There is no room for ambiguity in this image, which clearly shows the downfall of Dido in her queenly habiliment. Her head bends either in shame or in the direction of Enéas as she grants him forgiveness.

From the burning of Troy to the burning pyre on which Dido dies, the first illustrations concentrate on the moments before Enéas reaches Lombardy. The images progress from the burning of patriarchal Troy to scenes of fealty, love and finally suicide. The first and the last image mirror each other with figures dying tragically in flames. There is a parallel drawn between the fatal extramarital love affairs of Paris and Helen in the *Troie* and Dido and Enéas. The Trojan king flees destructive fires twice in order to secure his destiny. Representing the manuscript's amplification of Dido, half of the title

folio's images concentrate on Dido even allowing her a solo depiction. The scenes depict the individual hero, Enéas, and the magnified pagan queen Dido.

After the title page illustrations are seven images dispersed throughout the remaining folios of the manuscript that replicate the *chanson de geste* account of the war against Turnus and the Italians. These images, while introducing hostile scenes, redirect purely military illustrations into more romantic ones as the author accomplishes this textually. Women, homosexual relationships, and betrothals are the focus of many of the images despite their happening during the war.

While some illustrations feature the romance discovered in the text, a few concentrate on the protracted battle in Italy and picture the military heroes of the war. The final battle scene is on folio 184, portraying Eneas assaulting the city of Laurente with his knights. The fully armed knights assail the city on horseback while trampling over the bodies of his dead enemies. The faces of the knights are concealed under the medieval helms and armor. A single horse charges the city's fortifications reminding the reader of Troy's own destruction. The narrative neatly closes in a reflection of the opening illustration, a city in flames. Turnus and his allies were the last barrier to the romantic ending of Lavine and Enéas. This last scene comes before the duel between Enéas and Turnus in the text and illustrated on folio 182 but closes the cycle of *antiquité*. Here the compiler presents the finale of the stories of Antiquity.

On folio 165, the illustration shows a *chanson de geste* scene of feudalism. To the left is the Latin King Evandre giving his son Pallas to Enéas as a symbol of their new alliance. King Evandre, Pallas and Enéas are all standing in recognition of their equal status, and the position of Evandre and Enéas' arms indicate a discussion among equals.

The picture represents the feudal discussion between two kings about a wartime alliance since Pallas' chainmail and helmet spell future battles for the kings. The climactic romantic action of a duel between the hero and the villain occupies folio 182; Eneas and Turnus fight in single combat while King Latinus and Lavine watch from the tower. Lavine observing from the tower stresses the romance ending that amplifies her character's role. She enters the scene as a tool of alliance between Latinus and Enéas but in this image she becomes the romantic damsel observing the scene. By this moment in the text, Lavine has already communicated her love to Enéas and he has reciprocated it.

Romance themes appear in several images beginning with the first of the in-text pictures. The first embedded illustration appears on folio 162, accompanied by a caption. The left shows King Latinus offering Enéas the hand of his daughter Lavine while on the right side his queen sends a messenger to King Turnus alerting him of the invader. Enéas is bareheaded again without his chain mail and shield in a gesture of peace. His right hand holds Lavine's right hand while an unnamed fourth figure sporting a hat (perhaps a priest) hovers his right hand atop the couples'. The joining of right hands symbolizes the pledging of one's troth (Burrow 2002, 67). King Latinus, bearded and crowned, supervises the betrothal on the right. All the figures stand in recognition of their equal status (Burrow 2002, 289). While the offering of Lavine in marriage occurs early in the manuscript, Enéas does not meet Lavine until the end of the war against Turnus. This appears to represent a betrothal that Latinus offers or a glimpse into their future courtship and marriage. The second scene of the Latin queen handing a written message to a kneeling envoy appears in the text of the manuscript, showing the queen inciting the war between the Italians and Trojans. The queen looks very similar to Dido in clothing and

gesture, wearing a crown and standing before a kneeling man. The scene parallels the earlier scene of Dido hearing the plight of Enéas in Carthage. A contrast is presented between the dutiful daughter Lavine on the left submitting to her father's decision to marry her to a foreigner and the queen's defiance of his authority on the right. The second scene of insubordination reminds the onlooker of Dido's own pride and independence. Clearly, the Latin queen becomes the new antagonist who subverts patriarchal authority like Dido and will provide obstacles to the destined marriage of Enéas to Lavine.

Another woman pictured in these illustrations is the goddess Venus on folio 165; the right side of it features Venus handing Enéas the armor that Vulcan forged. Enéas receives Vulcan's special armor forged after Venus agrees to resume marital relations with her estranged husband. Venus, dressed as a medieval lady, towers over her progeny and carries chainmail. This is the sole illustration with a deity pictured. This anecdote with the goddess remains in the *Roman d'Enéas* despite the near eradication of the immortals from Virgil. This story involves sexual relations and adulterous affairs so the author kept it perhaps either to characterize the Olympians or preserve the small romantic interludes that Virgil presents.

In two illustrations, the compiler combines the military themes of *chanson de geste* and the romantic moments emphasized in the manuscript. The scenes can be interpreted either as strictly military moments or more in line with the stressed romance of BnF 60. The third small illustration on folio 167 is the arrival of Nisus and Euryale at Turnus' camp. The story of the two lovers is one heralded in medieval literature as a depiction of a homosexual couple since they openly declare "amor" for each other. The

two figures dominate the right side of the illustration in full military armor with one sitting on a horse; the left shows the tents of Turnus' camp. The armor and tents of the illustration are medieval. Originating from Virgil, the tragic homosexual love story is amplified in the *roman* curiously for the Christian educated scribe, but the choice of the romantic figures again aligns with the manuscript's increased interest in the new genre. The manuscript frequently features unsanctioned sexual practices under the protective layer of historical narrative. The author and illustrator can explore the departures from society's rules in the safety of Antiquity. The homosexual relationship ends like Dido's adulterous affair in death and despair as all characters who trod outside acceptable actions.

For the fourth and fifth images, the manuscript again combines the themes of romance and *chanson de geste*. On folio 170 is the death of the youth Pallas at the hands' of Turnus and Turnus boarding a ship in the port after being wounded by an arrow. Folio 172 shows the funeral of Pallas and the Trojans carrying the bier to Montauban, King Evandre's home. Enéas tells the king of his prowess in battle and the king is overcome with grief. These scenes show the relationship between the youthful Pallas who becomes close with Enéas, and the author and illustrator suggests a close if not sexual relationship between them.

The illustrations, like the text, combine numerous themes: death, foolish love, violence, feudalism, and marriage. Some illuminations tell the *chanson de geste* part of the *roman* while other develop the romance. In this manuscript, women are frequently depicted in various roles reflecting the textual account. Physical portrayal fulfills the textual amplification of Dido's character in BnF 60. Lavine becomes the visual focus of

the deal between King Latinus and Enéas although her presence is unmentioned in the text. The last in-text scene of Laurente burning recalls the dynastic cycle of the whole manuscript while the first one of betrothal represent the courtly romance that becomes the culmination of this *Enéas*. The illuminations and textual changes connect the manuscript to the other *romans d'antiquité* while highlighting the romance scenes.

CONCLUSION

From the amplifications of female characters to the expansion of Enéas as a romance hero, this manuscript demonstrates the variations present in medieval manuscripts of the same story. As compilers produced manuscripts with copies of *romans* the text transformed according to their preferences. The production of this manuscript at the beginning of the fourteenth century epitomizes the progression of a narrative originally composed two hundred years previously. This manuscript has received little attention from scholars. Aimé Petit, whose translation into modern French was invaluable to the writing of this thesis, Laurence Harf-Lancner, Annie Triaud and Tina-Marie Ranalli, who both wrote their doctoral thesis in 1983 and 2010 respectively on it, are the only scholars to write with any specificity on BnF 60. The relatively little investigation

into the uniqueness of BnF 60 provides challenges in the research of such a complex document in comparison with the manuscripts.

A complete analysis requires first the historical context and copies of the other manuscripts for comparison. The influence of *chansons de geste* and romances are pervasive in the manuscript. Also because the document differs significantly, Virgil's *Aeneid* and contemporary literature must be considered. Finally, modern scholarship (utilizing manuscript A) of the characters and plot devices is useful to discover the differing interpretations that the modifications of BnF 60 offers. No one explanation covers the whole of the manuscript. Rather, all these sources of comparison and information help interpret the distinctive manuscript.

At certain moments, the author's adaptations show an erudite knowledge of Virgil's copy. He clearly deviates from the basic story present in the other manuscripts and imitates instead the *Aeneid*. His manuscript distinguishes itself from the other eight versions with his remarkable adherence at times to Virgil's plots and characterizations. The author of BnF 6 suggests direct references to Virgil, perhaps to reinforce the validity of the source. Accordingly, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the author's humanist education involved direct reading of the Latin manuscript. He perhaps even wrote the manuscript alongside a copy of Virgil's epic. This manuscript provides evidence of the Classical knowledge popular in the high Middle Ages and the popularity of Virgil's *Aeneid* as a text to study and admire. The birth of the romance genre originates from these *romans d'antiquité*, which translate from Latin into the French language. The Latin knowledge, once accessible only to the well-educated scribes, became available to a

wider audience. The romance born of translation developed with the popularity of the epic.

The author of BN 60 created a unique manuscript that through comparison to other manuscripts and the *Aeneid* demonstrates the originality of his story. He references the account written by Virgil with decisions to utilize his characters and plots. The author works with the earlier versions of the *Roman d'Enéas* but inserts moments from the *Aeneid* and deletes parts deemed unnecessary to his version. The humanist interests and erudite revisions of the *Roman d'Enéas* do not fully explain all the changes in BnF 60. Further evidence of the originality of BnF 60 comes from the creation of a romance hero in Enéas. The author makes slight changes throughout the *roman* that lead to the final third of the work eclipsing the middle portion. In addition, the author changes details to associate Enéas' story as a continuous cycle of the *roman d'antiquité* that appear before it in the manuscript. References to details in the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman de Troie* appear in descriptions present only in the BN 60 version of *Enéas*. The connections between the cycles of Troy and Greece are reinforced by the illuminations in the manuscript. The captions tie the *romans* together in one document and explain the importance of this story to history.

The illustrations match the textual account of a heroic leader conquering a nation in the hope of marriage to Lavine. The text includes restructuring and additional dialogues for female characters. Dido's amplification deserves a two-fold explanation because the author extends her character and adds in references to Virgil. The whole concept of the manuscript is a dynastic history that culminates in a marriage that stabilizes a kingdom. Because the focus of the story is the courtship, the author brings out

more elements of sexual strife. The epilogue adds a wedding between Enéas and Lavine, creating a romance epic and leaves the heroic epic in the Classical past.

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