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MUTAVIT VULTUM: FORTUNE AND THE WIFE OF BATH'S TALE

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The Wife of Bath concludes the lengthy discussion of marriage in her Prologue with an account of the means by which she taught obedience to her fifth husband, Jankyn. The immediate result of his submission, according to her story, was a sudden and dramatic transformation in her character. Where before she had been stubborn and shrewish, a "janglaresse" at home who wandered abroad without Jankyn's permission and against his will, she is now as kind to him and as true as any wife from Denmark to India. Having made this rather astonishing confession, she then proceeds to tell a story which embodies the lessons of her experience in a striking emblem: the physical transformation of a loathly hag into a young and beautiful woman upon being granted sovereignty in marriage. Clearly this transformation is meant to represent in a symbolic way the kind of change in demeanor which the Wife claims to have displayed herself. But in her figurative or emblematic characterization the Hag bears an even more striking resemblance to another figure familiar to every member of Chaucer's audience. That is the image of Fortune, who was often portrayed as a woman with two different faces: young, lovely and smiling on one side, but hideously old and unpleasant on the other. Exactly how the likeness of this familiar image to Chaucer's transformed Hag might have influenced the response of his audience to the Wife of Bath's Tale will be the subject of this essay.

The Wife herself clearly intends her Tale to serve as an exemplum illustrating the chief point of her sermon on marriage -- that husbands who submit to their wives will find them gracious, contented and faithful, and their marriages a lasting success.¹ But the response to her sermon is mixed. The pilgrims themselves display a variety of reactions to the Tale: the Friar declares that she has "seyd muche thyng right wel" (D. 1273); but the Clerk is so outraged that when his turn comes he tells a story designed to contradict the Wife's entire doctrine, and by the end of it is reduced to an openly sarcastic attack upon the Wife herself.

Modern critics have been even more widely separated, not only between those who admire and those who are put off by the Wife, but between those who find in her Tale a wisdom more profound than she knows² and those who, like the Merchant or the Clerk, view the story as so blatantly unrealistic and contrary to the facts of life that it backfires upon the teller and ironically supports a moral opposite to the one she intends.³ Either the Knight is an impetuous young man who is "converted" by the Hag's sermon on gentillesse and taught to recognize the true spiritual beauty of the woman he has married, or he is an unrepentant lecher who is finally won over by the Hag's promise to fulfill his "wordly appetite" and left with nothing but an illusion of happiness at the end. Those who read the Tale ironically would seem to have the stronger case. If there is a conversion in the Tale, it can only be seen as a half-hearted one, for the young knight responds not with any demonstration of wisdom but merely with acquiescence. If he had really understood and taken to heart the old Hag's lessons on the true value of nobility, wealth and

physical beauty he would have expressed his disenchantment with the need for outward show and made the proper choice: to accept her as she is, old and foul, but still a true and humble wife. This is certainly the point of the argument which the Hag has just concluded. But the young knight has not learned anything; to him the two alternatives he is presented with seem equally disadvantageous, and he cannot choose between them. "This knyght avyseth hym and sore siketh," but in the end he gives up. The solution is beyond him and he leaves it up to the Hag: "I do no fors the wheither of the two" (1228-34).

It is difficult to see any profound spiritual revolution in this final gesture of resignation; at best it displays a kind of stoic fortitude. A more cynical view would see in the knight's submission a calculating design: the knight feigns ignorance in order to get what he wants, knowing that his submission will ensure a favorable response. In either case we are very far from a moral conversion. The only lesson he shows any evidence of having learned is the self-serving knowledge that happiness is achieved by giving women what they "moost desiren," and by following that course of action he achieves an instantaneous and gratifying success.⁴

But just as the benevolent motivation of the knight seems in doubt, there is some question as to the real value of his reward. When the Hag promises to be in the future not just young and beautiful but "also good and trewe/ As evere was wyf, syn that the world was newe" (1243-4) we can hardly escape the ironic allusion (though unintended by the Hag and overlooked by the Wife of Bath) to Eve -- quae erat hominis confusio. There is a similarly unintentional irony in the Wife of Bath's assertion that with Jankyn she "was to hym as

kynde/ As any wyf from Denmark unto Ynde,/ And also trewe" (823-5), for even a medieval geographer would have realized that these peculiar benchmarks manage to exclude the province of England. It is, in fact, the transparent parallel between the narrator and her heroine which brings the happy ending of the Tale most into doubt. It is thinly concealed that the story represents a kind of fantasy of wish fulfillment for the Wife, and it is no less readily apparent that insofar as it constitutes a fantasy it is unrealistic. The Wife can never regain her lost youth and beauty, and even the state of marital bliss which she claims to have achieved with her fifth husband Jankyn may seem less than certain to endure. The Wife's exemplum is truly a fairy tale, not only in its setting and choice of characters, but in the sense that its events are impossible and its happy ending a fantasy which exists only in the mind of the believer.

We have already remarked that the sudden transformation of the Hag is meant to symbolize the change in disposition which the Wife had shown toward Jankyn, but the same kind of emotional fluctuation had characterized her relationship with all of her previous husbands as well. Among the many talents which the Wife boasts of in her prologue is a certain capacity for change, a variability of demeanor which she can use to manipulate her husbands by alternating promises of pleasure and threats of violence. For nearly a hundred and fifty lines she gives a magnificent sample (235-378) of how she can scold them mercilessly when it suits her purpose; and then in another score (431-50) she demonstrates her meek and gentle aspect when they "yeve it up" and submit to her will. The Wife is a master of psychological manipulation, and by her own

account her husbands were putty in her hands:

"They were ful glad whan I spak to hem faire;
For, God it woot, I chidde hem spitously." [222-23]

When the Hag presents her pillow lecture to the young Knight in their wedding bed, the scene is but a fabulous recreation of a confrontation which the Wife of Bath had with each of her husbands. Even the setting is autobiographical:

"Namely abedde hadden they meschaunce:
Ther wolde I chide, and do hem no plesaunce;
I wolde no lenger in the bed abyde
If that I felte his arm over my syde,
Til he had maad his raunson unto me;
Then wolde I suffre hym do his nycetee." [407-12]

Of course the tone and atmosphere of the Tale are entirely different, but in the end it is little more than a highly romanticized picture of the Wife's own marriages. And it is her habitual mutability, and the fact that the same bedroom scene has been reenacted with each of her successive husbands, that makes her fantasy a nightmare. "As the Wife tells it," writes David Reid, "one senses that she is in ambush behind the beautiful impossibilities of romance. In her mouth, what is Cindarellalike in her Tale is gargoyled."⁵ The Wife's projection of herself into the character of the transformed Hag in her tale is what undermines its effectiveness as an exemplum. Ultimately the Wife's assurance that the Knight and his bride will "lyve unto hir lyves ende/ In parfit joye" (1257-8) seems no more likely than the

prospect that she will suddenly change her ways and become the perfect mate forever.

Of course it is a commonplace of medieval anti-feminism that women are not to be trusted. In the Chaucerian ballad "Against Women Unconstant" the poet bids farewell to his lady's "unstedfastnesse" and condemns her "brotelnesse": "For ever in chaunging stant your sikernesse" (17). "The world is do when they lak doublyness," observes another fourteenth-century lyric, "For they are chaungeable naturally."⁶ In her exaggerated mutability the Wife of Bath is a typical realization of this unflattering picture. But the Hag in her tale is even more of an abstraction; in her physical transformation she becomes a kind of grotesque, a symbolic or emblematic figure which embodies the idea of change in a completely non-realistic image. And although it is certainly meant to recall the portrait of the Wife herself, in its symbolic austerity the figure of the Hag is more nearly akin to the familiar icon of Fortuna, the very type of mutability for the medieval audience. The full meaning of the Tale depends upon the likeness between these two figures, a resemblance that would not have been overlooked by a fourteenth-century reader.

The fact that the transformed hag was an established folk-tale motif which Chaucer merely adapted for his own version of the story does not affect this resemblance; in some of the analogues to Chaucer's tale the connection between Fortune and the Hag is even more explicitly drawn. Chaucer refrains from any heavy-handed identification of the two, but he does modify the details of the story in such a way that their relationship is more subtly and extensively developed than in any

other version. This relationship is a kind of allegory, though I do not mean to suggest that the Hag is Fortune: that is not how a medieval audience would have responded to the figure. But the Hag does have certain allegorical qualities which connect her with Fortuna and add a further symbolic dimension to her character.

The reworking of this folktale motif in order to bring out its resemblance with the transformations of Fortune is what modern iconologists would call "reinterpretive" or "allusive contamination," a kind of allegorical portraiture in which "the image of the portrayed is associated with the image of a concept."⁷ Within the Wife of Bath's Tale the transformation of the Hag functions as one of those "governing" images which V. A. Kolve describes as essential to Chaucer's narratives: "images central to the action, which through their relationship with other images in other contexts -- that is, in their iconographic identity -- become central to the action's meaning as well."⁸ As a nameless caricature the Hag also mediates between the personified abstraction, Fortune, and the realistic character who tells the story, the Wife of Bath. Through the complex of associations which the Hag brings to the tale we ultimately come to recognize that certain features in the Wife's description are borrowed from the goddess as well. But since the representation of Fortune with two faces is less well-known today than her familiar wheel, a brief account of the development of this image in medieval art and literature will be needed to make these associations clear.

II

We all know that Fortune is a fickle goddess, variable in her temperament and inconstant in her favors.⁹ As Ovid described her in the Tristia, this instability was manifested in the changing appearance of her face:

passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat
 et manet in nullo certa tenaxque loco,
 sed modo laeta venit, vultus modo sumit acerbos,
 et tantum constans in levitate sua est. [V.viii.15-8]¹⁰

This was an essential ingredient of the classical portrait of Fortuna. She smiles and she frowns, she laughs and thunders. Thus Horace tells his friend Bullatius that he will rest and enjoy his happiness "dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum" (Ep. I.11.20),¹¹ while Ovid complains to an anonymous but clearly fickle acquaintance that "nunc, quia contraxit vultum Fortuna, recedis" (Ex Ponto 3.3.7). This is the way of the crowd: when Fortune is favorable you are befriended by them all, but when she turns her back so do they. So Ovid laments her mutability in the Tristia:

dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno
 indelibatas cuncta sequuntur opes:
 at simul intonuit, fugiunt, nec noscitur ulli,
 agminibus comitum qui modo cinctus erat. [I.5.27-30]

[While Fortune aids us and a smile is upon her calm face, all things follow our unimpaired resources. But at the first rumble

of the thunder they flee, and nobody recognizes him who but now was encircled with troops of comrades.]

This quality of change was more than an occasional moodiness; it reflected a fundamental duplicity in her character, an instability which was constantly present regardless of the countenance she presented. Hence when Machaut describes her unreliability in the Remede de Fortune in these Ovidian terms ("or rit, or pleure, or ne scet quant elle aime . . ."), he clarifies his portrait by representing this emotional vacillation as the alternation of qualities which are always simultaneously present in her visage:

La teste a pelée à moitié;
 D'un oeuil rit, de l'autre larmie;
 l'une joe a couleur de vie,
 L'autre est com morte;
 S'une de ses mains t'est amie,
 L'autre t'iert mortel anemie. [1161-66]¹²

Machaut borrowed this portrait directly from Alain de Lille, but he lacked Alain's peculiar ability to capture and express the contradictions of the goddess with oxymoronic precision: "ridendo plorans, stando vaga, ceca videndo, in levitate manens, in lapsu firma, fidelis in falso," etc. (Anticlaudianus 8.24-26).¹³ This kind of rhetorical exhuberance, so characteristic of Alain's style, was uncongenial to Machaut, and so he used instead the clumsy but more concrete version of her appearance in the Anticlaudianus: "alter lascivit oculus, dum profluit alter in lacrimas" (8.34-36).

Through Machaut the image was transmitted to Chaucer, who portrayed Fortune in The Book of the Duchess "ever laughyng with oon eye, and that other wepyng" (634-5). The concept is essentially the same as that present in Ovid centuries before. But as we progress from the Roman poet to Chaucer we observe a tendency in the medieval imagination first to compress Fortune's alternating moods into a single moment, and then to represent this dichotomy in her character by dividing her image in half. The result is an unrealistic but expressive emblem, which captures the idea of change in a motionless icon.

It was Boethius to whom the goddess first revealed both sides of "hir deceyvable chere" (I m.1), though he did not recognize them until Lady Philosophy explained their significance:

Thou hast now knowen and ateynt the doutous or
 double visage [ambiguos vultus] of thilke blynde
 goddesse Fortune. Sche, that yit covereth and
 wympleth hir to other folk, hath schewyd hir
 every del to the. [II pr. 1]

This description was more important than any other in forming the basis for medieval representations of the goddess. One twelfth-century commentator attempted to recall the Ovidian explanation in his gloss upon the passage:

AMBIGVOS VVLTVS ideo dicit, quia nunc a laetitia in
 tristitiam nunc a tristitia in laetitiam permutatur,¹⁴

and there were a few others who helped to preserve this tradition throughout the middle ages.¹⁵ But the more common, and more characteristically medieval, conception of the image was that which saw a divided or double countenance. Hence the gloss in a mid fourteenth-century commentary (derived from Guillaume de Conches) preserved in B. M. Harley 4336:

Et nonne recordaris qualiter fortuna depingitur cum duplia facie: ridenti scilicet & tristi & tenet ambas facies absconsas. Et q̄vis aliis non ostendit dutae ambas facies tibi tamen vtramq̄ manifestavit.¹⁶

In its simplest form the medieval image of Fortune might then be defined as it was by Holcot in his commentary on twelve prophets: Fortuna "depinguntur quasi mulier delicata, in rota celata, cum facie duplata, vultu variata, visu excecata . . ." and so forth.¹⁷ This image of Fortuna bifrons was represented in manuscript illumination as early as the twelfth century, as a woman portrayed with two heads facing in opposite directions but not otherwise distinguished, in a copy of the Glossary of Salomon of Constance (c. 860-920) made at Ratisbon.¹⁸ That the artist's source of inspiration was Boethius is attested by the quotation from the Consolatio (II pr. 2) on the banner which she holds in her left hand.

By the thirteenth century a new refinement had been added to the depiction of the goddess. We find it first clearly formulated in Albertus Magnus' discussion of ancient beliefs concerning destiny and free will:

Et cum putarent in potestate fortunae esse felicitatem en infelicitatem hominis, dixerunt fortunam esse divinum numen, cui templum statuerunt, et idolum quod erat in rota propter varietatem, et caecum propter imprudentiam fortuitorum, et dimidium nigrum et dimidium album propter eufortunium et infortunium quae sunt partes fortunae. Reputabant enim ab eo quod est incognitum homini, sibi non posse cavere in malis, vel occurrere in bonis ex uno intellectu: et ideo orabant divinum numen ut propitiaretur in malis avertendis et benevolum et largum esset in bonis conferendis.¹⁹

In the following centuries the two faces, light and dark, became the most common means of identifying the goddess. It was the standard image used in manuscript illumination and described in popular handbooks like the early fifteenth-century Vatican MS Palat. Lat. 1066, which contains the fourteenth-century Fulgentius Metaphoralis of the English Franciscan John Ridewall along with "alīe ymagines secundum diversos doctores." The latter include two different descriptions of Fortune. In the first she is portrayed as a woman crowned and veiled with a scepter in one hand and a peacock in the other, according to "Fulgencius et Honerius"; in the second she has two faces.

Pingebatur etiam cum ambiguo vultu ita quod habebat faciem ante et retro et erat pars anterior alba per quam designatur prosperitas et posterior nigra per quam designatur adversitas et hoc quod vocat fortunam adversam et nubilam. Immo autem dicit eam Boecius mutasse fallacem vultum et tamen primum ostendit ei vultum prosperitatis.²⁰

- 2 An illumination accompanies the text, showing the goddess standing behind her wheel with a white face on the left and a black one on the right.

So popular was this icon that it became a standard bit of information to be supplied in commentaries and glosses upon any work which even mentioned Fortune, whether or not her description was given in the text itself. The Consolatio of Boethius was naturally a favorite text for such elaboration; take for example the popular commentary usually attributed to Thomas Aquinas in fourteenth-century manuscripts:

Notandum q. Boe. dicit fortunam olim circe se mutasse
fallacem vultum: quia fortuna olim depingebatur
duplici facie: anteriori alba posteriori autem parte
nigra. per albā designatur prosperitas. per nigram
adversitas: mutavit ergo fortuna circa Boetiū
fallacē vultū p̄speritas: postea ostendit ei vultū
adversitatis.²¹

Similar glosses survive even in sixteenth-century editions of the Consolatio, such as the 1525 print of John Walton's fifteenth-century English translation:

ffortune vvas depaynted after a fantasy of poetes a lady sittynge in
myddes of a vhytle viche her self continually torned aboute/ she
hadde ii visages/ one brygth and another darke, and in bothe
she was blynde.²²

But Boethius was only the starting point. Essentially the

same gloss is used in the commentary on Augustine's City of God by Raoul de Prellles (c. 1375)²³ and in another by the English friar Thomas Waleys:

hic notandum est/ q. simulacrum fortune erat mulier
 sedens in medio rote/ quasi eā verteret continue
 et habebat vnam faciem splendidā et aliam obscurā:
 ad deignandum q. illi sunt splendidī quos
 fortuna fovet: et illi obscuri quos ipsa p̄sequitur.²⁴

There is some basis in Augustine's text for describing Fortune with two faces, which I shall discuss further below; but there is none in the verses of Dante's Comedia which are glossed by Guido da Pisa in his fourteenth-century commentary on the Inferno: "Pingeatur et gemino vultu. Nam anterior facies erat alba propter prosperitatem, sed posterior nigra propter adversitatem."²⁵ Even the late fourteenth-century French allegory Les Eches Amoureux provides the occasion for a similar gloss, although its text (essentially the same in Lydgate's translation here) refers to Fortune only as

The gerful lady with hir whel,
 That blynd is and seth neuer a del. [1359-60]²⁶

The extensive prose gloss which is preserved in five fifteenth-century manuscripts of the poem reports that

aussi faingnent les poettez que fortune a deux faches.

L'une resplendissant et clere qui la prosperite du monde dessusdit

signifie. Et l'austre obscurie et noirie qui signifie l'adversite
 contraire.²⁷

The manuscript from which I quote, Bibliothèque Nationale MS français
 9197 (dated 1390-1430), illustrates the commentary with a picture of
 Fortune beside her wheel, eyes blindfolded and the left half of her
 3 face painted white, the right side painted black.²⁸

As John Fleming observes, the elaborate illustrations in
 this manuscript "form an important part of the poem's critical
 apparatus."²⁹ The same might be said of the numerous fifteenth-century
 manuscripts of Boethius which represent Fortune with two faces, or
 with a single countenance divided into light and dark halves. In a
 sense the artists had appropriated for themselves the role of
 commentator on the text which they were illustrating, their pictures
 serving in place of an actual gloss if none was present. Such is the
 4 case with Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 298, a manuscript from the
 beginning of the fifteenth century, which shows on its opening page a
 picture of Fortune with faces light and dark debating with an enthroned
 Lady Philosophy on the right, while Boethius observes the scene from
 his bed on the left.³⁰ Such a tableau was never described by Boethius,
 but it captures in a single image the essential program of the whole
 work. Another example of this kind of iconographic summary is found
 5 on folio 35v of Bibliothèque Nationale MS français 24307, a fifteenth-
 century copy of the French verse translation of Boethius by Renhaut de
 Louhans (c. 1336-7).³¹ Boethius lies in bed, hands clasped in prayer,
 while Philosophy looks down from the right and a two-faced Fortune turns
 her wheel and looks down from the left.³² A similar image appears in

6 a manuscript dated 1494 (B.N. Réserve 488, fol. xxxix^v),³³ with the additional detail that Boethius is chained to a pillar which stands at the head of his bed -- a concrete representation of Lady Philosophy's metaphorical description of the author:

Nunc iacet effeto lumine mentis

Et pressus gravibus colla catenis

Declivemque gerens pondere vultum. [I m.2, ll. 24-26]³⁴

[Now having lost the beauty of his mind he lies with his neck compassed in ponderous chains, his countenance with heavy weight declined. . .]

Other illuminators of Boethius preferred to show Fortune with only one face, divided into white and black halves. One manuscript
7 dated 1485, now in Berlin (lat. fol. 25, folio 107r), illustrates Book II with a picture of Boethius talking to Philosophy, Rhetoric and Music, with a medallion which encloses a black and white faced Fortune and her wheel above.³⁵ The entire figure of the goddess, from head to foot, is divided into black and white portions in two sumptuously illustrated manuscripts from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The first, British Museum MS Harley 4335-9, (dated 1476) contains the Latin text of Boethius and a French translation, along with both Latin and French commentaries:³⁶ it displays the
8 divided figure of Fortune at the beginning of Books II (Harley 4336,
9 folio 4v)³⁷ and IV (Harley 4338, folio 4v).³⁸ The other, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 6643, was copied from the first in 1497 and
10, has similar illuminations (folios 76r and 227r).³⁹
11

So pervasive was the influence of this icon in the fifteenth century that it finds its way into the illustrations of works which provide no textual support for its presence. Manuscripts of Boccaccio's De casibus are a favorite target for these painted commentaries. The figure of Fortune appears with white and black halves on the opening page of B. N. MS français 130, a copy of the second French translation of Boccaccio by Laurent de Premierfait, though she is not even mentioned at that point in the text.⁴⁰ And in the British Museum MS add. 35321, folio 180, she is displayed at the opening of Book VI talking to Boccaccio with a dark face in front and a bright one behind,⁴¹ although the text at this point describes her as "ung hideux monstre:"

elle avoit les yeulx ardans et sembloit quilz menaschessant ceulx qui le regardoit. Fortune avoit la face cruelle et horrible et avoit ses cheveulx espars longs et pendans sur sa bouce. Je croy que fortune en son corps avoit Cent mains et autretant de bras pour donner et pour tollir aux hommes les biens mondains et pour abatre en bas et pour eslever en hault les hommes de ce monde. Fortune avoit robes de maintes et diverses couleurs. Fortune avoit la voix si aspre et si dure quil sembloit quelle eust bouce de fer.⁴²

Many artists attempted to reproduce this unusual image, at least to the extent of painting Fortune with six arms and an ugly face; but some preferred to introduce the standard icon of Fortune bifrons in spite

of Boccaccio's very precise description. Such was the persistence of this standardized iconography that it remains, in total disregard of the text, in the sixteenth century printed editions of the Latin by
 14a Couteau (Paris, 1538)⁴³ -- which actually employs a cut made for an earlier edition of Deguileville's Pelerinage de la vie⁴⁴ -- and of
 14b Hieronymus Ziegler's German translation by Steiner (Augsburg, 1545) -- which employs a cut made for a translation of Petrarch's De remediis.⁴⁵
 And similar liberties were taken in the editions of Lydgate's translation,
 14 The Fall of Princes, by Pynson (London, 1527)⁴⁶ and Tottel (London, 1554).⁴⁷

Another text with which illustrators indulged themselves in the same fashion was the De remediis utriusque fortunae of Petrarch, in which Fortune, as a personified abstraction, never appears. A stunning example is the manuscript of the French translation by Nicole Oresme (c. 1364-80) done in Paris about 1470 (Vienna, Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2559); its remarkable illuminations will be discussed more fully below. Here again the image of Fortuna bifrons made its way into sixteenth-century editions, the most famous example being the woodcut done by Hans Burgkmair for Steiner's German edition (Augsburg, 1532).⁴⁸

A final example of the visual gloss on Fortune occurs in a manuscript of the French translation (c. 1375-1401) by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse of Valerius Maximus' Facta et dicta mirabilia (Vienna,
 15 Oest. Nat. Cod. 2544). It pictures Fortune on folio 224v standing in front of her wheel, with her bright face to the fore and a dark one behind.⁴⁹ The rubric for the illumination, "volubilis fortune,"

identifies a passing reference to Fortune in the text as the reason for the insertion of this picture at the head of Book VII. "Volubilis fortunae complura exempla retulimus . . ." writes Valerius,⁵⁰ and it summons forth an elaborate painted gloss on the meaning of the term volubilis, which the artist interprets as a reference to the changing visage and turning wheel of the goddess. Two other manuscripts of the French translation, which I have been unable to see, contain similar illustrations. These are B.N. francais 43, folio 37,⁵¹ and B.M. Harley 4374-5 -- the latter, according to Laborde, produced by the same artist who did the B.M. add. 35321 Boccaccio and the Vienna 2559 Petrarch.⁵²

It was only natural that this image should find its way into the descriptive vocabulary of the medieval poet, and we find it for example in the Livre du Voir-Dit of Guillame de Machaut:

Deus faces avoit la déesse,
 L'une de joie & de léesce,
 L'autre monstroit en sa colour
 Signifiance de dolour.
 La premiere resplandissoit
 Et de lui grant clarté issoit;
 Et l'autre estoit noire & obscure,
 De nulle joie n'avoit cure. [8666-73]⁵³

The image occurs in Chaucer as well, and it was in fact one of his favorite methods of describing the goddess. Taking a hint from Boethius ("Fortune cloudy hath chaunged hir decyvable chere to me-ward,"

I, m. 1), Chaucer elaborates in the Monk's Tale:

For whan men trusteth hire, than ne wol she faille,
And covere hire brighte face wthih a clowde. [B. 2765-66]

She appears in similar guise in the Troilus. Just when he seemed to have achieved his ultimate happiness with Criseyde, and when Fortune seemed to favor him above all others,

From Troilus she gan hire brighte face
Away to writhe, and tok of hym non heede. [IV. 8-9]

Robinson cites as the source this passage the last stanza of canto III of Boccaccio's Filostrato: "ella gli volse la faccia crucciosa . . . e' lieti amor rivolse in tristi lutti" (III, 94)⁵⁴ [she showed him her wrathful face and changed his glad love into sad grief.]⁵⁵ But the sentiment of Chaucer's lines is more clearly echoed in Troilus' own lament shortly afterward.

Perché sî tosto hai voltata la bruna
faccia ver me, che già t'amava assai
più ch'altro iddio, come tu, crudel, sai? [IV. 30]

[Why so soon hast thou turned thy darkened face towards me,
who ere now loved thee far more than any other god, as thou,
cruel one, dost know?]

For as Boccaccio knew well, this was the inveterate habit of Fortune,
who

con volubile moto permutando
 di questo in quel più volte chiascheduna
 cosa togliendo e tal volta donando,
 or mostrandosi chiara e ora bruna
 secondo le pareva e come e quando. [Teseida, 6.1]

[changes one thing into another over and over with her inconstant movements, sometimes taking away and sometimes giving, now revealing her bright side, now her dark, just as it suits her to do, and how and when it suits her . . .]⁵⁶

Such descriptions of the goddess are common in writings of the fourteenth century, but the poetic imagination was not to be limited by so simple a representation of her duplicity. Throughout the middle ages writers sought ways to refine and develop the image. The most powerful innovator in this respect, as we have noted, was Alain de Lille, who in the Anticlaudianus (c. 1182-3) expanded his description of the goddess Fortuna and her domain to some hundred and thirty lines or more of intense oxymoronic characterization. It is a passage so rich and various that no summary can do it justice, but we can quote only the few lines which are relevant to our immediate discussion:

Ambiguo uultu seducit forma uidentem.
 Nam capitis pars anterior uestita capillis
 Luxuriat, dum caluiciem pars altera luget.
 Alter lasciuit oculus, dum profluit alter
 In lacrimas; hic languet hebes dum fulgurat ille.

Pars uultus uiuit, uiuo flammata colore;
 Pars moritur quam pallor habet, qua gracia uultus
 Expirat, languet facies et forma liquescit

 Nunc meliore toga splendet, nunc paupere cultu
 Plebescens Fortuna iacet, nunc orphana ueste
 Prostat et antiquos lugere uidetur honores. [VIII. 31-38, 45-47]

[Her appearance with its twofold aspect misleads the viewer. The front of her head is covered with a rich growth of hair, the back bemoans its baldness. One eye dances michievously, the other overflows with tears; the latter is dull and heavy, the former sparkles. Part of her face is alive, aflame with natural color; part is dying in the grip of pallor; as the charm of the countenance fades, the face grows dull and its beauty melts away . . . Now she shines forth in finer toga, now slumming, she wallows in the clothes of the poor; now left without a dress to her name she offers herself to the public and is seen bemoaning her honors of old.]⁵⁷

The interesting detail of her partial baldness Alain borrowed apparently from the description of Occasio in the Disticha Catonis, due to the fact that the mid-twelfth century French translations by Everart and Elie de Wincestre had substituted the names Fortune or Aventure for Occasio.⁵⁸ Hence Simund de Freine describes Fortune in the Roman de Philosophie (c. 1180) in similar terms:

Ki Fortune veit depeinte,
 Veër poet ke mult est feinte:
 Peint est devant chevelue,
 E derière tute nue.
 Ceo demonstre e signifie
 Que sun dun ne dure mie [291-96] ⁵⁹

Sometime before 1191 an ugly hag rebukes the hero of Chrétien de Troyes' Conte del Graal for having failed to act promptly by pointing out this fact:

Ha! Percevax, Fortune est chauve⁶⁰
 derriers et devant chevelue. [4622-23]

And in the De diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae consolatione (1194) Henricus Septimellensis condemns the goddess herself as a "monstrum! Fronte capillata, sed retro rasa caput!"⁶¹

This grotesque feature is only the first hint we have of the extensive development which is to be lavished upon the description of the two faces of Fortune in the later middle ages. We have already noted that Machaut adopted one of Alain's refinements in painting her divided countenance with the colors of life and death; but other poets of the fourteenth century went much further in expanding the suggestions provided in the Anticlaudianus. The first, and most important, to exploit fully the possibilities of the image was Gervais de Bus. In the second part (c. 1314) of his brilliant satire Le Roman de Fauvel he gives an elaborate description of Fortune's two crowns -- one of

base metal and the other encrusted with jewels -- and then proceeds to her physical appearance:

Mès trop avoit hideux visage:
 Je ne sai privé ne sauvage
 Qui l'ait itel comme Fortune.
 L'une face ot obscure et brune
 Et a regarder trop hideuse,
 Et l'autre bele et gracieuse,
 Tendre, blanche, clere et rouvente.
 Ne semble pas femme dolente
 Quant l'en la voit de celle part;
 Mès de l'autre semble liepart,
 De tourment plaine, felle et fiere,
 Desirante que tous jours fiere.
 L'un des yex a rouge et ardent,
 Fel et horrible en regardant,
 Et siet en la face senestre;
 Mez vair et riant a l'ueil destre,
 Si que soupris et deceüz
 En sont ceulx qui en sont veüz.
 Vestu avoit robe partie
 Fortune, dont l'une partie
 Fu de samín, non pas de lange,
 Si qu'en pluseurs couleurs se change;
 L'autre part fu d'une viez sarge,
 Dont Fortune est courtoise et large,

Car gerons et pans en depart

A quiconquez va celle part. [1905-30]⁶²

Here at last we find the two faces of Fortune fully distinguished in their ugliness and beauty, and it is a development which established itself as the standard poetic representation of the goddess throughout the fourteenth century. Her appearance in Li Mireoirs as Dames by Watriquet de Couvin (c. 1324) is typical. As he rides through the forest dreaming of the beauties of many women, the poet comes to a crossroad where he sees before him

La très plus belle creature

C'onques peüst former Nature,

Et la plus blanche au droit costé;

Rien n'en avoit Nature osté,

Toute y estoit biautez entiere.

Mais tant estoit hideuse et fiere,

Laide, noire, au costé senestre,

C'on en peüst esbahis^{*} estre;

* frightened (<vulg. L. batare)

Plaine de grans plours et de cris,

Plus iert crieuse qu'antecris;

Onques chose de mere née

Ne fu en tel point figurée

Ne de si hideuse façon

Qu'elle iert a l'esclenche^{*} parçon.

* left (<G. slink)

D'enfer sembloit estre partie,

Qui esgarloit celle partie;

Plus qu'arremens* noire y estoit, *ink (<L. atramentum)
 Et ce dont elle se vestoit
 Sembloit aussi con de pel d'oursse;
 Plaine portoit une grant boursse
 De poureté et de meschief. [59-79]⁶³

Such descriptions of the goddess by poets in the first quarter of the fourteenth century may have influenced Guillaume de Deguileville in his revisions of Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine. Where the first redaction⁶⁴ (c. 1331) contained only her wheel, floating in the sea, the second version (c. 1355) includes a lengthy description of Fortune herself, and an account of her talk with the Pilgrim.⁶⁵ As he floats in the water supported by his scrip and staff the Pilgrim spies a tree, and swims toward it.

And there I sawe a lady stonde
 Amonge the wylde wawys trowble,
 Vp-on a whel dyuerse and dowble.
 Departed was her garnemente,
 Halffe hool, and haluendel was rente;
 The to party, as snow was white
 To loke vp-on, off greet delyte;
 The tother party (as thought me)
 Was ffoule and owgely on to se.
 And hir vysage eke also
 Was departyd euene a two;

The to party was amyable,
 And to byholde delytable,
 Bothe off porte and off manere,
 Glad and lawynge off hir chere;

The tother syde, hydous and old,
 Whiche was ryuelyd many ffold;
 And on her schuldres rownd and square,
 Acrokyd staffe in sothe sche bare. [19470-88]⁶⁶

The Pilgrim asks her name, and the meaning of the wheel and tree.

She replies that

"I am what-euere I do provyde;
 ffor I lawe on the ryghte syde,
 And schewe a cher off greet delyte
 On the party that I am white.
 Thanne men ne calle 'glad ffortune';
 But, no while I do contune;
 ffor, longe or ffolke may aparceyue,
 I kan hem sodeynely disseyue,
 And make her Ioye go to wrak
 Wyth ffroward mowhes at the bak.

Than y, lykned to the moone,
 ffolk wyl chaunge my name sone;
 And fro my whel when they are falle,
 'Infortune' they me calle." [19539-52]

I quote this passage at length because it is one of the certain channels through which the image of Fortune with her ever-changing ugly and beautiful countenance would have become familiar to Chaucer. One of his earliest poems, the A.B.C., is a translation of a passage which occurs less than a hundred lines after this encounter with the goddess. And I use Lydgate's translation here because its description of how she "lawe on the righte syde" and then betrays you "with ffroward mowhes at the bak" seems to imitate the vocabulary used by Chaucer in the Troilus:

And whan a wight is from hire whiel ythrowe,
Than laugheth she, and maketh hym the mowe. [IV. 6-7]

In the second book of the Vox Clamantis, written by Chaucer's friend John Gower sometime between 1378 and 1381, there is an even less flattering portrait of the goddess presented in a direct attack by the author:

O fortuna, tibi quod aperte dicitur audi,
Inconstans animi, que nec es hic nec ibi:
Es facie bina, quarum deformiter vna
Respicit, ex et ea fulminat ira tua;
Altera felici vultu candescit, et ipsi
Hanc qui conspiciunt, prospera cuncta gerunt.
Sic odiosa tua facies et amabilis illa
Anxia corda leuat sepeque leta ruit:
Ex oculo primo ploras, ridesque secundo,
Ac econuerso, te neque noscet homo.

Dum geris aspectum duplum variata per orbem,

Non te simplicibus constat inire viis. [II. iii. 93-104]⁶⁷

[O Fortune, hear what is openly said to you: fickle in spirit, you are neither here nor there. You are two-faced: one of them looks about in an ugly way and your wrath fulminates from it; the other glows with a happy mien and people who gaze at it conduct all their affairs prosperously. Accordingly, your hateful face often destroys happy hearts, and your lovable face lifts up troubled ones. With one eye you cry and with the other you laugh, and in return a man does not recognize you. As long as you change and wear a double aspect throughout the world, it is plain you are not going about your way innocently.]⁶⁸

In its scathing bitterness Gower's treatment of the goddess is second only to Chaucer's own attack upon Fortune in the Book of the Duchess. As G. L. Kittredge has demonstrated, the passage is a patchwork of quotations from four different poems by Machaut;⁶⁹ but it demonstrates clearly Chaucer's familiarity with and interest in the two aspects of the goddess -- spitefully ugly and treacherously beautiful. In his compilation of epithets she walks but has a limp, looks fair but has an ugly squint, laughs and weeps; in short she is a monster in disguise, like excrement covered with flowers.

The trayteresse fals and ful of gyle,
 That al behoteth, and nothyng halt,
 She goth upryght and yet she halt,
 That baggeth foule and loketh faire,

The dispitouse debonaire,
 That skorneth many a creature!
 An ydole of fals portrayture
 Ys she, for she wol sone wrien;
 She is the monstres hed ywrien,
 As fylthe over-ystrawed with floures.
 Hir moste worshippe and hir flour ys
 To lyen, for that ys hyr nature;
 Withoute feyth, lawe, or mesure
 She ys fals; and ever laughynge
 With oon eye, and that other wepynge.
 That ys brought up, she set al down.

 She ys th'envyouse charite
 That ys ay fals, and semeth wel,
 So turneth she hyr false whel
 Aboute, for hyt ys nothyng stable,
 Now by the fire, now at table;
 For many oon hath she thus yblent.
 She ys pley of enchaument
 That semeth oon and ys not soo. [620-35, 642-49]

One final example of the image of two-faced Fortune will illustrate the persistence of this motif to the end of the century. In Christine de Pisan's Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune the goddess is described with a crown in her right hand and a javelin in her left. Her right foot stands in water and her left

is engulfed by fire. She is accompanied by the two brothers Eur (a princely young fellow with a garland of flowers) and Meseur (an ugly, bearded dwarf with a club), who take turns running her wheel. The two crowns from the Roman de Fauvel have become one, divided in appearance like the face which it surmounts:

II. visaiges Fortune avoit,
 De quoy bien aydier se sçavoit:
 Cellui devant de grant beauté
 Fu, tout n'y eust il loyauté,
 Riant et blanc, frais et onni,
 Cil derriere lait et honni,
 Noir, tenebreux, horrible, obscur,
 A veoir de mauvais augur;
 Mais moult ot estrange couronne:
 La partie, qui avironne
 Le beau visage, d'or luisans
 Fu, a pierres bien aduisans;
 Le derriere, sur le visage
 Hideux, ot moult d'autre plumage:
 De glaives et d'agus couteaulx
 Ert faite, a venimeux litiaulx. [1927-42]⁷⁰

The appearance of Fortune in the Mutacion is particularly important because immediately upon completing the poem on Nov. 18, 1403, Christine herself commissioned artists to illuminate the work according to her own directions.⁷¹ The surviving manuscripts, produced in 1403-4

by the so-called "Epitre Workshop," therefore provide some of the earliest painted examples of the two-faced goddess bright and lovely on one side while dark and ugly on the other. In two of these
 16 exemplars (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. MS 78 D 42, fol. 16v; and Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 494, fol. 16)⁷² the design was properly reproduced, with Meseur, the fire and the dark, ugly side of the goddess on her left; in two others (one in Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS 9508, fol. 17v., the other now lost)⁷³ the unfortunate side is to the viewer's left, and Fortune's right. Despite this oversight, the artist of the Brussels manuscript was the most successful in capturing the loveliness of her bright side, and its contrast with the heavy, unattractive and even grotesque face which regards a singularly
 17 ugly and misshapen dwarf on her right.⁷⁴

These illustrations are unusual both for their direct authorial supervision and because of their early date. As a general rule the visual arts lag some fifty to a hundred years behind the literary texts in the sophistication of their representations of Fortune. Thus in the manuscript of Lydgate's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man (translated 1426-28) reproduced by Patch, B.M. Cotton Tiberius A VII, folio 59v,⁷⁵ Fortune simply stands on her wheel in the middle
 18 of the sea with her left half white and her right half grey, despite the elaborate detail of her portrait in the text.

A more interesting example of the slow development of manuscript illumination is afforded by two copies of the Roman de Fauvel. In the famous fourteenth-century manuscript, B.N. fr. 146, which has been reproduced in a facsimile edition by Pierre Aubry,⁷⁶

Fortune is painted many times, but simply as an elegant woman in flowing robes. Twice she is pictured on her throne, holding her two crowns in either hand (folios xvi and xxi); but her divided aspect is not otherwise represented. In a later, mid-fifteenth-century manuscript formerly in the Ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, St. Petersburg (MS fr. O.v. XIV, fol. 20)⁷⁷ the artist has made an attempt to portray her duplicity by showing her with a divided white and black face in a miniature at the commencement of the poem; but still, some hundred and fifty years after the text was written, the painted representation of Fortune is only a poor imitation of her elaborate and detailed portrait in the poem.

This is not to say that the medieval artists never achieved the same kind of sophistication we find in the poetic descriptions; in their own way, they did. By the third quarter of the fifteenth century some illuminated manuscripts of Boethius begin to display special care in distinguishing the two faces of the goddess. Such is the achievement of Vienna, Oest. Nat. Cod. 2595, fol. 20r,⁷⁸ a copy of the second French verse-prose translation, which endows the darker face with one great, staring eye and a large, ugly nose. This painting also includes a feature which I have seen nowhere else: Fortune's left hand is white and gestures with an open palm that gains prominence by overlapping the frame of the painting, while her right hand is dark and shakes a fist at the chained and blindfolded Boethius who stands by her side. The gesture recalls the words of Fortune to Boethius in Book II, pr. 2 of the Consolatio: "Nunc mihi retrahere manum libet;" a hint which later poets developed along the

lines of Alain de Lille's "Vna manus donat, retrahit manus altera donum" (Anticlaudianus, VIII. 39) until they reached the point of Machaut's cautionary observation:

S'une de ses mains t'est amie,

L'autre t'iert mortel anemie. [Remede de Fortune, 1165-66]

Another French manuscript of Boethius (formerly in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson, Cat. no. 45, c. 1480) is even more successful in conveying the aged haglike appearance of the dark face, which is half hidden in the hair on the back of Fortune's two-sided head (fol. 31v).⁷⁹ The bright and lovely face in front looks benignly towards the figure ascending the prosperous side of her wheel; "je regneray" he answers back with evident confidence. Finally there is a sumptuously illustrated Flemish manuscript from the end of the century, B.N. néerlandais 1, folio 58v,⁸⁰ which is particularly subtle and lifelike in its characterization. While Boethius looks on, Fortune stands behind her wheel in an alcove to the right. She has two faces, the left one only slightly darker but singularly unpleasant in its demeanor, with knitted brow and an ugly grimace betraying her unfriendly nature. Her left arm propels that side of her wheel on its downward course, and the left sleeve of her dress is in tatters.

The finest realizations of the figure, however, occur in manuscripts of other kinds. One of the best is in a copy of the Chronique de la Bouquechardiere of Jean de Courcy in The Hague, Mus. Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 A 17, fol. 244r.⁸¹ The Chronique

was written between 1416 and 1422 at the author's castle of Bourg-Achard, southwest of Rouen (hence the title of the work);⁸² it is a vast compilation of ancient history, including in Book V the history of Macedonia.⁸³ The illustration at the head of Book V illustrates an apostrophe to Fortune which follows the account of Alexander's death by poison. It shows Alexander the Great sitting on top of Fortune's wheel, set within her palace which is splendid on the viewer's left but crumbling to pieces on the right. Fortune herself, who wears the multicolored robe she was given by Boccaccio, looks forward with a bright and lovely mien; but the face behind is shriveled and ugly. The whole miniature is nearly ten inches high and a magnificently detailed production.

If in the preceding discussion I have given the impression of any strict chronological development in the painted representations of Fortune it is really misleading, for the simplest and most austere types continue to be produced along side the more sophisticated versions. Even the most elaborate and carefully produced manuscripts stay with the purely artificial icon divided only by color, a good example of this being the intriguing heart-shaped manuscript of the

25 Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu, B.N. MS Rothschild 2973. On its opening page⁸⁴ it shows a winged Fortune standing on her wheel in mid-air, dressed in richly embroidered red robes trimmed with ermine, holding a mirror in her right hand and a sword in her left. Her figure is divided into light and dark halves, but her two faces are identical in their beauty. The Chansonnier belongs to the years between 1460 and 1476.

On the other hand the most exuberant depiction of a

beautiful and ugly Fortune (which I have saved for last) is earlier -- about 1445 to 1448 -- and it appears in a simple ink drawing in the margin of a little-known encyclopedia, the Fons Memorabilium Universi (The Source of Everything Worth Remembering) by Domenico di Bandino of Arezzo.⁸⁵ This rather obscure compendiatist enjoys the dubious honor of having written, among other things, the first index to Boccaccio's Genealogiae, which he undertook near the end of the fourteenth century at the request of Coluccio Salutati. The Fons was completed in the early 1500s, and the present manuscript (Oxford, Balliol College MS 238) was written in Cologne in the middle of the
 26 century.⁸⁶ The marginal drawing of Fortune on folio 123r⁸⁷ is one of the most remarkable expressions of the goddess' dual personality extant. Drawn with quick, sure strokes, it shows a gracefully curved figure, with a young, attractive face coyly tilted to the left; but the face on the right is truly grotesque, with scraggly hair, a large bulbous nose, and a hideous scowl. Here in one simple drawing the ambiguous deity of the fourteenth century poets has finally come to life.

III

I stated earlier that the medieval contribution to the portrait of Fortuna was the expression of her alternating moods and aspects in a single divided image; but while this became the conventional mode of representation, the poets and illuminators never forgot that it was a metaphor, a symbol of her mutability. This is why so many different ways of expressing the same idea could

exist at the same time, even in the same poem -- for example in Machaut's Remede de Fortune, where as we have seen at one point her head was divided in half with one eye laughing and the other filled with tears, but some 1200 lines later she has two separate faces "L'un devant et l'autre darrier." (2410). Although the pictures we have been discussing are later than Chaucer, they show how a variety of artists struggled to express the essential qualities of the image, searching for ways to develop, clarify and emphasize an abstract quality with ever increasing surface verisimilitude. We have seen Fortune painted with a divided countenance, with two faces either side by side or front and back, and even with two separate heads. But despite the variation in types, whether white and black, bifrons or anceps, all express the same idea: that Fortune can display two different appearances, without warning and with no logic to her vacillation.

A few artists approached this idea of mutability with special resourcefulness and originality. In one instance we find a capable artist not only importing the image of Fortuna bifrons to the illumination of a work which makes no mention of this iconography, but going a step further in attempting to grapple with the concepts of temporality and change by providing two contrasting portraits of the goddess. I am referring to a manuscript of Nicole Oresme's French translation (c. 1364-80) of Petrarch's De remediis utriusque Fortunae executed in Paris about 1470 (Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2559). On folio 5v⁸⁸ there is a magnificent painting of the suppliants of Fortune kneeling before

their goddess, who stands beside a wheel with a monarch in sumptuous robes seated on top. The goddess herself has her bright face turned towards us, with just a glimpse of her dark one seen behind; and the artist has left space for a panel which contains a (completely un-authorial) gloss:

Fortune suys royne et deesse
 A qui monstre ma belle face:
 L'un luy fait dons, l'autre promesse
 Tous l'honnorent, chascun l'embrasse.

28 Two hundred and fifteen pages later, on folio 113r,⁸⁹ we find the companion painting. The setting is the same, but our perspective has changed: before, we saw the edge of the wheel and the front of the goddess; now we view the wheel from the side, and the dark face of Fortune is fully revealed. The king is toppling head first from her turning wheel, while her subjects throw up their hands in dismay and attempt to flee. The inset gloss, too, has changed:

Fortune suys fiere maistresse
 A qui tourne ma laide face.
 L'un le pille, l'autre le laisse
 Tous le moquent, chascun le chasse.

In the earlier painting we saw her people crowding in through a brightly lit entryway to the right; but now the entrance has disappeared and a shadowy exit looms behind the goddess on the left. The two paintings constitute a masterful expression of the "two fortunes"

which are the subject of Petrarch's text, and a striking visual gloss upon the variability of the goddess who is condemned and scorned, but never physically described by the author.

But the most subtle and beautifully executed conception of the goddess that I have seen is that presented by the illuminator of a late fifteenth-century manuscript of Martin le Franc's Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu in the Bibliothèque Royale at Copenhagen (fonds de Thott, 311). With this text the illuminator had explicit guidance from the author, who placed the following characterization of the goddess in the mouth of Vertu:

Se sans reproche le puiz dire, dame Fortune, gueres de gens ne vous congnoissent, non tant par faulte d'entendement que par la meschance et povreté de vostre estre. Tant estes petite, inconstante, fresle, muable incertaine, vacabonde, decepvant, perilleuse, diverse, que on ne vous scet quel nom bailler. Les ungs, considerans vostre ignorance et que, sans discrecion, distribuez les biens mondains, bendent les yeulx a vostre image. Les aultres, veans vostre varieté, vous paingnent blanche d'un costé et noire de l'aultre.⁹⁰

Other illuminators of the Estrif were able to portray the two sides of her appearance in a rather mechanical way -- for example the artist of Chantilly's Musée Condé MS 1512, who offers a side view of the goddess on folio 1 with a second face rather crudely added to the back of her head.⁹¹ But the artist of Thott 311 was able

not only to show her two-sidedness, but to capture something of her "deceptive and perillous" mutability as well. In half a dozen
 30-33 beautifully executed miniatures⁹² he portrays the goddess, in a variety of postures and activities, with her bright and attractive face always clearly visible and her dark and ominous visage half concealed in the shadows behind her, seeming to peer out from the hair which serves to divide the two aspects and partially hides the rear. In some of the pictures the second face is so obscure, so well-hidden that it is nearly imperceptible; it might almost seem to be a part of her coiffure were it not for the unmistakable outline of nose, mouth and chin which betrays its presence.

Only one manuscript of Boethius comes near to capturing the same kind of deceptiveness in its painting of Fortune, the mid-
 34 fifteenth-century B.N. français 1098. In one illumination (fol. 20v) the dark face of the goddess is barely glimpsed through the hair on the back of her head; it is so well concealed, in fact, that Courcelle seems to have missed it in his description of the image.⁹³ This picture, like the ones in the Copenhagen Estrif de Fortune, is a masterpiece of visual characterization, and it shows a good deal of imaginative and artistic subtlety on the part of the illuminator.

These late examples are useful illustrations of the variety of techniques and strategies employed by some illuminators in an attempt to create an icon of mutability in the most static of artistic mediums. They show an effort on the part of certain late medieval painters to free themselves from the simplistic icon which in the preceding centuries had become the accepted way of reducing the idea of a changing countenance into a single image, "a la foiz bone et bele,

a la foiz laide et dure," as the anonymous lyric says.⁹⁴ Their illuminations show a return to the classical Ovidian concept of Fortune's shifting appearance, a tendency which we can see as well in a poem of Lydgate's describing the static icon and explaining its significance -- the "Desgwysinge of dame fortune:"⁹⁵

Loo here þis lady þat you may see
 Lady of mutabilytee,
 Which þat called is ffortune,
 For seelde in oon she dooþe contune.
 For as shee haþe a double face,
 Right so euery houre and space
 She chaungeþe hir condycyouns,
 Ay ful of transmutacyouns.⁹⁶

Lydgate's poem is a kind of gloss in reverse, restoring the image to its original mutability. It is the mirror image of the process we saw, for example, in Thomas Waley's reductive gloss upon the City of God, which substituted the static icon of Fortuna bifrons for Augustine's illuminating discussion of the fact that Fortuna and Felicitas are really one and the same:

Quo modo ergo dea Fortuna aliquando bona est, aliquando mala?
 An forte quando mala est, dea non est, sed in malignum daemonum
 repente convertitur? [IV. 18]

[How is it, then, that the goddess Fortune is sometimes good, sometimes bad? Is it perhaps the case that when she is bad she is not a goddess, but is suddenly changed into a malignant demon?]⁹⁷

But the middle ages never really forgot the lesson of St. Augustine, or the opening lament of Boethius' Consolatio: "fallacem mutavit nubila vultum" (I m. 1, line 19). It is interesting that the poets who knew Boethius most intimately seem most inclined to emphasize the changing, as opposed to simply double, aspect of the goddess. According to Jean de Meun, when Fortune enters into the crumbling half of her house (borrowed from Alain de Lille) "sa chiere et son habit remue"⁹⁸ -- a phrase which recalls Jean's translation of Boethius: "ele, obscure, a mué son decevable voutl."⁹⁹ And nowhere is the consciousness of Fortune's mutability more clearly apparent than in his fellow translator Chaucer, who rendered the same line "Fortune cloudy hath chaunged hir deceyvable chere to meward." Chaucer's own emphasis on Fortune's deceptive countenance is specially prominent in the Book of the Duchess, and it bears repetition:

An ydole of fals portrayture
 Ys she, for she wol sone wrien;
 She is the monstres head ywrien
 As fylthe over-ystrawed with floures. [626-29]

As we noted above, these lines reproduce in part a more extensive description in the eight Motet of Guillaume de Machaut, where her mutability is established beyond doubt:

C'est fiens couvers de riche couverture,
 Qui dehors luist et dedens est ordure.
 Une ydole est de fausse portraiture,

Où nuls ne doit croire ne mettre cure;
 Sa contenance en vertu pas ne dure,
 Car c'est tous vens, ne rien qu'elle figure
 Ne puet estre fors* de fausse figure; * except (<L. foris)
 Et li siens sont toudis en aventure
 De trebuchier . . . [7-15]¹⁰⁰

In this striking image of a goddess changeable in her demeanor, now beautiful, now ugly, sometimes pleasant but ever false, we have discovered a figure more nearly akin to the loathly/lovely heroine of the Wife of Bath's Tale than was the unchanging icon with two faces. We have also established the mutability of a goddess "tantum constans in levitate sua" that this resemblance must cast serious doubt upon the likelihood that the transformed Hag will keep her promise of continued beauty and faithfulness at the end of the story; for like the goddess

She is pley of enchauntment,
 That semeth oon and ys not so.

It remains now to consider whether or not Chaucer's audience would have recognized the implications of the Hag's transformation, conditioned as they were by the pervasive image of Fortune's ambiguus vultus, and how such a response of recognition might affect their understanding of the Tale.

IV

One development which helps to establish a context for the role of the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale is the fact that in fourteenth-century poetry Fortune is no longer a static icon but often functions as a character in romance. One instance of her appearance in a narrative context similar to the young Knight's encounter with the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale is her meeting with Watriquet de Couvin in the forest of Li Mireoirs as Dames. There too we have a young man riding through the wild, rapt in his amorous contemplation of female attractions, when he is suddenly confronted by a grotesque figure in the crossroads. The prose summary which precedes the poem in the mid-fourteenth-century Arsenal manuscript gives a fairly accurate picture:

Ci commence le mireoir as dames que Watriques commença à faire le premier jour d'esté en l'an xxiii. Et chevauchoit parmi une grant forest à une matinée. Et pensoit mout à la bonté et la biauté de plusieurs dames et damoiseles et devint en ce penser aussi comme touz raviz. Et encontra une dame partie à moitié de blanc et de noir qui Aventure estoit apelée. Et celle dame li dist qu'elle le menroit à .i. beau chastel ou il verroit biauté parfaite ou toutes dames se doivent mirer et prendre garde.¹⁰¹

One thinks also of the famous vision of King Arthur in the Alliterative Morte Arthure, written about 1360 but preserved today in a single fifteenth-century manuscript. Shortly before his last battle

Arthur has a portentous dream:

"Me thought I was in a wood, willed mine one
 That I ne wist no way whider that I sholde,
 For wolves and wild swine and wicked bestes
 Walked in that wastern wathes to seke." [3230-33]¹⁰²

He is frightened and flees through the forest until he reaches a meadow where a "duchess dereworthily dight" suddenly descends from the clouds. Her silken garments are trimmed with gold, and she is bedecked with jewels. Her name is not given, but we recognize her wheel with its various kings ascending and falling from its rim. She sets Arthur on top, places a crown upon his head and hands him his orb and scepter.

"But at the mid-day full even all her mood changed,
 and made such menace with marvelous wordes.

When I cried upon her, she cast down her browes:

'King, thou carpes for nought, by Crist that me made!'" [3382-85]

She cannot be mollified, but whirls her wheel around and casts Arthur below. In the description of her sudden change we hear echoes of Boethius ("all her mood changed" -- mutavit vultum) and Ovid ("she cast down her brows" -- contraxit vultum). The learned reader will recognize the significance of such behavior, but Arthur requires the assistance of a philosopher to interpret the vision: "thy fortune is passed, for thou shall find her thy fo" (3394-5). Significantly there is no description of her change of mood in the

French source of the vision, the thirteenth-century Mort le Roi Artu of the Vulgate cycle.¹⁰³ Even without her wheel, however, her suddenly changing countenance would have identified her as Fortune to the fourteenth-century audience.

But what indication do we have that a fourteenth-century poet and his audience would have made the association between the folktale transformed hag and the icon of Fortune? If such an identification was really intended, there ought to be some indication of it either in Chaucer or in one of the many analogues to his tale. And in fact we need not look hard to find it, for in Gower's Confessio Amantis the association of the Hag's two faces with good and bad fortune is made explicit by the author. This identification depends upon the introductory passage which precedes the tale in the Confessio and provides its setting. Since the prologue is unfortunately omitted from both the Sources and Analogues text and the recent student edition of the Confessio edited by Russel Peck¹⁰⁴ its implications are rarely dealt with, and it will be necessary to give it some detailed consideration here.

The tale of Florent appears in the midst of Genius' account of the five ministers of Pride, under the heading of Inobedience (the second part of the vice). This section includes a discussion of murmur and complaint, labeled "hic loquitur de Murmure et Planctu" in the margin¹⁰⁵ and introduced by the following verse:

Murmur in adversis ita concipit ille superbus

Pena quod ex bina sorte perurget eum.

Obvia fortune cum spes in amore resistit

Non sine mentali murmure plangit amans.

[In adversity that proud one thus expresses his complaint, because suffering oppresses him from both kinds of chance. While hope confronting fortune stands fast in love, the lover, not without mental grumbling, laments.]

The significance of the "sors bina" is immediately made clear when Genius explains that there are some people who complain "thogh fortune make hem wyne;" who refuse to submit themselves to "the decerte of buxomnesse" (the service of obedience) regardless of their luck:

Ther may no welthe ne poverté

Attempren hem to the decerte

Of buxomnesse be no wise:

For ofte time thei despise

The goode fortune as the badde,

As thei no mannes reson hadde,

Thurgh pride, whereof thei be blinde. [1353-59]

The irony of these lines is intense, since despising "the goode fortune as the badde" is exactly the advice which Boethius had given. "For that the sorful fortune ne confownde the nat, ne that the myrie fortune ne corruppe the nat," Lady Philosophy advises in Book IV, pr. 7, "thou sowest or plawntest a ful egre bataile in thy corage ayeins every fortune" ("Proelium cum omnia fortuna [a]nimis¹⁰⁶ acre conseritis, ne uos aut tristis opprimat aut iucunda corrupat").

Nevertheless Amans, who is no more able than Genius to distinguish between obedience to God and submission to a fickle lady, is instantly cowed. When Genius goes on to emphasize that many lovers fall into this category -- those who "grucche" even when they are in favor and "pleigne upon fortune" when they are not -- Amans confesses that he is such a one.

Ayein fortune compleignende
 I am,as who seith, everemo:
 And eke fulofte tyme also,
 Whan so is that I se and hier
 Or hevy word or hevy chiere
 Of my lady, I grucche anon; [1380-95]

"Min herte is al desobeissant," the troubled youth confesses, and he admits to being guilty "of that ye clepe unboxomnesse."

The stage has now been set for his priest's exemplum. A clear association has been established between good and bad fortune and the benign or "hevy chiere" of a lover's dame. Genius then proceeds with a tale intended to demonstrate that only "obedience in love" will secure a lasting happiness. The exemplum he chooses, of course, is the story of a knight whose lady's cheer is truly "hevy," but miraculously changed upon his submission.

Significantly, the story says that Florent's troubles are all caused by "Fortune, which may every thred tobreke and knette of mannes sped" (1419-20), while they are resolved through the offices of the Hag. When he agrees to the conditions of her help, it is

because "non other chance mai make my deliverance" (1583-4). And after he has been delivered from his enemies, though he is understandably reluctant to do so, he returns to fulfill his promise to marry the Hag, "And takth the fortune of his chance" (1670). He must hold to his truth, as every knight is bound,

What happ so euere him is befall:

Though sche be the fouleste of alle. [1717-18]

Florent is of course rewarded for his chivalrous behavior. Although she was "the lothlieste what that evere man caste on his yhe" when Florent decided to go through with the marriage, in their wedding bed he suddenly finds the Hag transformed into a beautiful young woman, "the fairest of visage that evere in al this world he syh." She offers him the option of having her fair at night or during the day -- a meaningless difference in comparison with the choice between beauty and faithfulness in Chaucer's version. It is hardly surprising that he leaves the decision up to her, since it really makes no difference. But when he does, she reveals that she is really the daughter of the King of Sicily, and that by his abstinence he has regained her eternal beauty. The story concluded, Genius points the moral:

And clerkes that this chance herde

Thei writen it in evidence,

To tech how that obedience

May wel fortune a man to love

And set him in his lust above,

As it befell unto this knight. [1856-61]

Both the explicit mention of bina sorte ("the goode fortune as the badde") in the prologue and the repeated allusions to the role of Fortune and chance within the tale itself are clear evidence that Gower was well aware of the iconographic implications of the story he was telling. It is not to be forgotten that he devoted nearly two hundred lines to a tirade against the goddess with two faces -- "odiosa et amabilis" -- in the Vox Clamantis.

Evidence for such awareness in the other medieval analogues to the tale is less satisfactory, though there may be a suggestion of it near the end of The Marriage of Sir Gawaine:¹⁰⁷

"Well, Cozen Gawaine," sayes Sir Kay,
 "thy chance is fallen arright,
 for thou hast gotten one of the fairest maids
 I euer saw with my sight."

"It is my fortune," said Sir Gawaine.

When he and Kay return to court, Arthur and his knights rejoice all day "for the good chance that hapened was." But the fragmentary state of the ballad, preserved only in the late (mid-seventeenth century) and mutilated Percy Folio, unfortunately prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions about the author's purpose. Still, there is a remarkable coincidence here between the Hag's suggestion to the Knight in Chaucer's version that he may have her young and fair, "And take youre aventure of the repair;" Florent's resolve to accept the Hag "and takth the fortune of his chance;" and Sir Kay's remark to Gawain after it is all over that "thy chance is fallen arright."

In each of these versions of the tale the transformation of the Hag represents a stroke of good luck for the hero. With her two faces she is the personification of his changing fortunes. This is not to say that the Hag is Fortune herself, but that her character imitates the ambiguus vultus of Fortune in such a way that the moral value of her behavior is determined by the same Boethian doctrines that apply to the goddess as a pure abstraction. When the knight submits himself to the governance of this grotesque personification of mutability, we judge his actions by the same doctrines we would apply to any character who submitted himself to the rule of Fortune.

As I hope was made clear above, Genius' sermon on Obedience in the Confessio Amantis is really a travesty of these doctrines. This is not the place to address the question of Gower's meaning, ironic or otherwise, throughout the Confessio, but it should be manifest that Genius' insistence that failure to submit completely and without murmur or complaint to the whims of your lady is a "sin" involves some kind of limited perspective or confusion of priorities. Genius is both priest of Venus and servant of love, and he makes no distinction between obedience to God and submission to Cupid. This renders problematic the effect of any "moral" he may point, and with the tale of Florent it suggests that the real force of the exemplum is quite other than he intends.

V

The Wife of Bath's Tale is quite different from its analogues in a number of ways.¹⁰⁸ Chaucer's physical description of the Hag, both in her foul and in her lovely guise, is more restrained than in any other version; but elsewhere he elaborates the story so as to emphasize the parallel with Fortune in a more profound and subtle way.

The most important of these alterations involve the choice which the Hag offers to the Knight at the end of the tale, and the addition of her lengthy sermon on gentilesse. The sermon, which runs some 407 lines and occupies fully a quarter of the narrative, may at first seem out of place coming from the Hag, and even more incongruous in the mouth of a figure whom we have identified with the deceptive and perilous goddess Fortune. But it is not. Its appropriateness depends upon one essential quality of Fortune which is not often recognized.

Sometyme it byfalleth that sche desceyvable desserveth to han ryght good thank of men. And that is whan sche hirsself opneth, and whan sche discovereth hir frownt and scheweth hir maneris. Peraventure yit undirstandestow nat that I schal seie. It is a wonder that I desire to telle, and forthi unnethe may I unplyten my sentence with wordes. For I deme that contrarious Fortune profiteth more to men than Fortune debonayre. For alwey, whan Fortune semeth debonayre, thanne sche lieth, falsely byhetyng the hope of welefulnesse; but forsothe contraryous Fortune is alwey sothfast, whan sche scheweth

hirself unstable thurw hir chaunging. The amyable Fortune
desceyveh folk; the contrarie Fortune techeth.¹⁰⁹

This concept is essential to our understanding of the characterization of the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale. When she seems fair and pleasant, Fortune deceives us; but when she is foul and bitter, when she reveals her ugly side, she is true. And, more importantly, she teaches (instruit). This is not a role we should have expected her to fill, but in fact it is exactly the one she plays whenever she unveils her two faces in fourteenth-century literature. When Fauvel goes to see her with the idea that he can marry her and thus secure the everlasting enjoyment of her gifts, she displays both sides of her ambiguus vultus and rebukes him for his stupidity: "Fauvel, fol es et fol estoiez" (2921). She reveals to Fauvel the truth about the changes of prosperity and adversity, and explains the workings of Providence; she is the daughter of God, sister of Wisdom, and distributor of all material wealth. One must love the fortune which befalls in this world, for it comes from God: this is the only way to avoid the suffering which comes with earthly change.

Even more startling are the actions of the goddess in Le Mireoirs as Dames. When asked her name, she replies with "la vérité pure" (157); her name is Aventure, and God himself has established her on earth.

Bien en vois la senefiance
A mon cors de double figure,
Qu'en moi n'a point d'uevre seüre,

Nus n'i do it estre asseürez,
 Tant soit riches ne eürez
 Ne par fortune aventureus.
 Mais vien ent, tu es eüreus,
 Avecques moi, puis que te maine
 Veoir de biauté la fontaine . . .
 Quant le verras, s'iert bien tes grez
 Que se soit la biautez du monde
 Oü plus de bonnes meurs habonde
 Et qui miex doit estre prisie. [164-81]

She then leads him through the thirteen degrees of the way to Beauty, each of which is presided over by a virtue: Nature (207), Sapience (217), Maniere (227), Raison (243), Mesure (273), Pourveance (278), Charité (291), Humilité (305), Pitié (330), Debonnaireté (334), Courtoisie (397), Largesse (445), and finally Souffisance (541). Upon reaching the summit, and entering into the castle, which is guarded by Bontez (654), he meets La Biauté herself (725).

The ugly-beautiful Fortune in Deguileville's Pelerinage is less otherworldly, but equally informative and truthful. In the Middle French Liber Fortunae (dated 1345), the goddess assumes the role of teacher, delivers a sermon, and schools the dreamer on tangible and intangible wealth, the nature of God, Heaven, the Trinity, the creation, fall, Hell, types of sin and more -- her disquisition is almost a scholastic compendium of theological truths.¹¹⁰ All these examples of Fortune's pedagogical role in fourteenth-century literature

provide a context for the sermon of the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale. They all have their origin in that passage of the Consolatio (II, pr. 2) in which Fortune is momentarily given the chance to defend herself and explain the difference between natural endowments and "richesses, honours, and swich othere thinges."

There is one illumination in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius which gathers into a single image all the implications of Fortune that we have been discussing. It appears on folio 40r of B.N. français 809,¹¹¹ showing a divided tableau with Boethius and Philosophy in prison on the left, and the wheel of Fortune outside on the right. Fortune herself stands in the doorway that divides the scene, her bright face looking towards Boethius in prison, and her dark one regarding the figures on her wheel. The unexpected feature of the picture is that these are not the usual four kings -- Regno, Regnabo, Regnavi, Sum sine regno -- but personifications of the goods of Fortune. They include youth and beauty (a young man holding a hawk and mirror), military glory (a knight in arms), wealth (a merchant with money bag), and noble station (a crowned king with orb and scepter). Lady Philosophy's speech on the goods of Fortune (III, pr. 2) has truly come to life:

Now hastow thanne byforn thyne eien almost al the purposede forme of the welefulnesse of mankynde: that is to seyn rychesses, honours, power, glorie, and delitz. . . . Certes these ben these thinges that men wolen and desiren to geten, and for this cause desiren they rychesses, dignytes, reignes, glorie and delices;

for thereby wenen they to han suffysaunce, honour, power, renoun,
and gladnesse.¹¹²

If we look more closely at the sermon of the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale we discover that it is not just a lecture on the difference between "old richesse" and true "gentillesse," but a discussion of several gifts of Fortune, including "heigh parage" (1109-76), wealth, youthfulness and beauty, and an argument for the benefits of "poverte" (1177-1206), "filthe and elde" (1207-16). The advantages of ugliness are the same as those of poverty: each is an odibile bonum which no one would want to take away. In short, the Hag gives exactly the kind of good advice that adverse Fortune would give; and she might conclude her argument with the words of the goddess from Chaucer's own "Balades de Visage sanz Peinture:"

My lore is bet than wikke is thy grevaunce;

And eek thou hast thy beste frend alyve. [47-48]¹¹³

Of course the young Knight is no better equipped to understand this than the obstinate Pleintif of the ballad.

It looks very much as if I have been arguing for a strictly allegorical reading of the Wife of Bath's Tale in the preceding discussion, and it is true that in this part of the Hag's performance one could assert the complete identity of her emblematic character and the personified abstraction of Fortune. We have already seen how the ugly Hag can be regarded as an embodiment of the Knight's misfortune, and it is only natural that he should learn some lesson from this particular instance of bad luck. But to the extent that the Hag in

Chaucer's version actually presents these lessons in a formal speech, rather than simply enforcing them by her presence, she becomes the personification of an idea -- that "the contrarie Fortune techeth" -- and not just one example of misfortune. It is much the same process by which the wisdom taught by misfortune became an attribute of her personification in Boethius, where "the contrarie Fortune is atempre and restreynd and wys thurw exercise of hir adversite":¹¹⁴ the qualities which the experience of bad luck brings out in an individual become characteristics of Misfortune herself.

More importantly, however, this enrichment of the Hag's allegorical dimension by Chaucer creates a setting in which the choice she offers to the Knight at the end of the tale becomes truly meaningful.

"Chese now," quod she, "oon of these thynges tweye:

To han me foul and old til that I deye,

And be to yow a trewe, humble wyf,

And nevere yow displese in al my lyf;

Or elles ye wol han me yong and fair,

And take youre aventure of the repair

That shal be to youre hous by cause of me

Or in som oother place, may wel be." [1219-26]

Chaucer's version of the choice is unlike any other,¹¹⁵ but in the context we have established for the tale there can be no doubt of the proper course. It is the same alternative presented by Fortune in Boethius, "For alwey, whan Fortune semeth debonayre, than sche lieth,

falsly byhetynge the hope of welefulnesse; but forsothe contraryous Fortune is alwey sothfast." It is the same truth clearly echoed in the Romaunt of the Rose:

As it is writen, and is soth,
 That unto men more profit doth
 The froward Fortune and contraire,
 Than the swote and debonaire.
 And if thee thynke it is doutable,
 It is thurgh argument provable;
 For the debonaire and softe
 Falsith and bigilith ofte. [Fragment B, 5409-16]¹¹⁶

The lesson taught by Boethius and repeated throughout the middle ages is that you are better off with the ugly side of Fortune -- at least it will not deceive you. But the young Knight does not take this lesson to heart. Despite the Hag's clear and honest presentation of the alternatives, he cannot bring himself to choose; instead he places himself entirely in the "governance" of the Hag, leaving the possibility of future changes entirely within her discretion. When she is miraculously transformed into a beautiful young woman the Knight (along with the Wife of Bath) thinks that he has achieved true happiness, but Boethius would suggest that his belief in his good fortune is a delusion:

Ne it suffiseth nat oonly to loken on thyng that is present byforn
 the eien of a man; but wisdom loketh and mesureth the ende of
 thynges. And the same chaungynge from oon into another (that is
 to seyn, fro adversite into prosperite), maketh that the menaces

of Fortune ne ben nat for to dreden, ne the flaterynges of hir
to ben desired. [II, pr. 1]¹¹⁷

The Chaucerian gloss here is extremely significant. Even though she has changed from adversity to prosperity, from ugly to beautiful, the very fact of her changing proves that she is not to be trusted. "Sche sheweth hirself unstable thurw hir chaungynge," as Lady Philosophy says;¹¹⁸ and as Simund de Freine puts it even more forcefully in the Roman de Philosophie,

Sun blandir est signe espres

Ke le mal deit siwre * apres. [325-6]¹¹⁹

* follow (<M.L. sequire)

I suggest that in submitting himself to the unquestionably changeable figure of the Hag, the young Knight has committed an act which would have been recognized as foolish by Chaucer's fourteenth-century audience, and that his behavior would have been judged by the same criteria applied to anyone placing himself under the yoke of Fortune. The Knight will deserve whatever future changes his bride may inflict upon him, as Lady Philosophy would argue:

Thou hast bytaken thiself to the governaunce of Fortune and
forthi it byhoveth the to ben obeisaunt to the maneris of thi
lady. Enforcestow the to aresten or witholden the swyftnesse
and the sweigh of hir turnynge wheel? O thow fool of alle
mortel foolis! Yif that Fortune bygan to duelle stable, she
cessede thanne to ben Fortune. [II, pr. 1]¹²⁰

Whether the Hag is viewed simply as a changeable woman or as the personification of mutability itself, the memory of her transformation undercuts her subsequent promise of faithfulness, and leaves us in doubt whether the Knight's submission will guarantee her continued fairness and constant favor.

VI

Although the Wife of Bath is undisputably a more realistic character than the grotesque Hag of her Tale, the similarities in behavior which we noted at the beginning of this essay tend to emphasize the conventional or typical aspect of her personality. If the transformation of the Hag is an emblem of mutability, the emotional vacillation of the Wife shows how this universal quality may be exhibited in an individual whom we might meet in real life.

But even Chaucer's most realistic and lifelike characters may sometimes borrow an attribute or imitate the behavior of a familiar abstraction in a more restricted way. For example, when Criseyde hears of the decision to send her out of Troy and away from Troilus, she reacts with a bout of weeping and hair pulling so exaggerated in its description that she looks like the emblem of Tristesse from the Roman de la Rose;¹²¹ and lest there be any doubt that she has momentarily assumed the appearance of an icon, she identifies herself: "Whoso me seeth, he seeth sorwe al atonys" (IV, 841). In a similar way, although she is meant to imitate life in her overall portrait, the Wife of Bath occasionally recalls the more abstract qualities of Fortune in her Prologue. Such momentary glimpses occur,

for instance, when she describes her chiding as the "meschaunce" her husbands suffer in bed, or when she views her fourth husband on his bier:

I weep algate, and made sory cheere,
 As wyves mooten, for it is usage,
 And with my coverchief covered my visage,
 But for that I was purveyed of a make,
 I wepte but smal, and that I undertake. [588-92]

She does not quite achieve the status of an icon which weeps from one eye and laughs with the other, but her dissimulation may be seen as a distant reflection of the "doutous or double visage" of the goddess who "yit covereth and wympleth hir to other folk."

The fact is simply that her behavior begins to look familiar once we have placed it in the context of her Tale and the Hag's more explicit associations with the iconography of Fortune. There would have been nothing forced or unnatural about such a comparison for the medieval audience, since the qualities of Fortune were often attributed to "real" people. In Machaut's Livre du Voir-Dit, for example, the poet compares his dame to Fortune because "elle mue son courage" and "souvent varie & se change" (8381-92). Not so, his lady's messenger replies; it is he who more nearly resembles Fortune, in his faithless complaining:

"Et si avez double visage,
 Tout ainsi comme avoit l'image

De Fortune, dont li uns pleure,
 Et li autres rit à toute heure.
 Ainsi riez-vous & plourez,
 Toutes les fois que vous voulez;
 Et nulle goute n'y véez,
 Quant si legierement créez." [8754-61]

But there is one minor detail in the characterization of the Wife of Bath which is borrowed straight from the iconography of Fortune without dilution. It occurs quite early in her prologue, in her brief exchange with the Pardoner. He exclaims that she has painted a grim picture of marriage, but she is not through:

"Abyde!" quod she, "my tale is nat bigonne.
 Nay, thou shalt drynken of another tonne,
 Er that I go, shal savoure wors that ale.
 And whan that I have toold the forth my tale
 Of tribulacion in mariage,
 Of which I am expert in al myn age,
 This is to seyn, myself have been the whippe, --
 Then maystow chese wheither thou wolt sippe
 Of thilke tonne that I shal abroche." [169-77]

This image, as Skeat pointed out long ago, was taken from Fortune's description of her two tuns in Boethius II, pr. 2 -- the only passage in the Consolatio in which her own words are recorded. Jean de Meun describes the two tuns as well, in a passage translated by Lydgate in

the "Desgwysinge of dame Fortune." According to Jean, there is no one, old or young, man or woman, "qui de ces .II. touneaus ne boive" (6790):

who tasteth one/ ther is non other
 he moste taste eke of the other.¹²²

Brusendorff rejected Skeat's idea that the Wife of Bath's metaphor was a "learned allusion," maintaining that it was "a mere colloquial expression."¹²³ But the allusion to Fortune's tuns fits perfectly in the Wife's discussion "of tribulacion in mariage," underscoring her assertion that it was she who dished it out. For, as Jean de Meun went on to say, we drink every day from these casks, just as Fortune pleases to serve us,

Car bien et mal a chascun verse
 si con ele est douce et perverse. [6803-4]

The image also appears at the beginning of the Echecs Amoureux, where the author says that Fortune began "to yive me drynke of her tonne," the one "ryght sote and ryght delyciouse" and the other "so ful of bitternesse / To hem that taste it, this is no fable, / Lothsome and alle habomynable."¹²⁴ The Echecs gloss explains that

par les deux tonneaus contraires dessusdis ou par les deux liquers il entendoit laduersite ou la prosperite dont fortune nous sert et nous abeuure continuellement auscunesfois de lune auscunesfois de laustre moult diuersement scelon la variation et linstabilite de sa nature. Et pource aussi faignent les poettes que fortune a deux faches. . . .¹²⁵

The use of the image by the Wife of Bath is no mere colloquial expression designed to give an earthy touch to her portrait, nor is it a veiled allusion to the Pardoner's drinking as some critics have suggested.¹²⁶ It is an iconographically significant detail intended to lend a certain emblematic quality to the Wife's behavior, a symbolic resonance dependent upon a familiar icon. Of course it is merely an incidental metaphor, at most a passing allusion to the image of Fortune's two tuns. But an awareness of the origin and significance of the image helps us to appreciate the full implications of the Wife's portrait -- unique and lifelike, but endowed with certain conventional features which lend a universal quality to her nature. It is interesting to note finally that Gower uses a similar image in describing Florent's submission to the Hag:

He drinkth the bitre with the swete,
 He medleth sorwe with likyng,
 And liveth, as who seith, deyinge. [1708-10]

The same might be said of anyone so unfortunate as to become one of the many husbands of the Wife of Bath.

FOOTNOTES

1. Those describing the Tale as an exemplum include G. L. Kittredge, "Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage," Modern Philology, 9 (1911-12), 435-67; F. G. Townsend, "Chaucer's Nameless Knight," MLR, 49 (1954), 1-4; R. E. Kaske, "Chaucer's Marriage Group," in Chaucer the Love Poet, ed. J. Mitchell and W. Provost (Athens, GA., 1973); and B. J. Whiting in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Atlantic Highlands, N. J.: Humanities Press, 1958): it is "so well calculated to illustrate the chief tenet of her faith that . . . it may be described not as a tale following after the prologue but rather as an exemplum which clinches, by an appeal to authority, an argument which in the prologue was largely derived from experience" (p. 223).

2. The most extreme revaluation of the Tale is that presented by Joseph F. Roppolo, "The Converted Knight in Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale," College English, 12 (1951), 263-269, who believes it "is not merely the account of an amazingly ugly woman who, by magic, becomes beautiful. It is also the story of the change which occurs in a selfish, proud, and morally blind knight who is taught to find beauty and worth in wisdom and purity" (263). The knight is converted by the Hag's sermon on gentillesse, and when she then

seems transformed into a beautiful woman, "the change occurs only in the mind of the Knight: with his new vision, the same lady who seemed foul and old and of 'low kynde' is, in her wisdom and faith and purity, young and beautiful and worthy of his love" (268). These sentiments are echoed by E. Talbot Donaldson in Chaucer's Poetry: An Anthology for the Modern Reader (New York, 1958), pp. 914-16, where he maintains that the reformation of the knight demonstrates the potential of women to convert; and by Helen S. Corsa, in Chaucer: Poet of Mirth and Morality (Notre Dame, 1964), p. 144: for her the Tale illustrates the Wife's "simple belief . . . in the saving and transforming power of submission to love." Rose A. Zimbardo, "Unity and Duality in The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale," Tennessee Studies in Literature, 11 (1966), 11-33, sees a choice between inner and outer beauty, and believes that the knight bows to the hag's wisdom. All this is of course beyond the understanding of the Wife herself; as Kemp Malone puts it, "she did not really understand the point of the tale she told ("The Wife of Bath's Tale," Modern Language Review, 57 (1962), 481-491.)

The ironic readings of the Wife's Tale also suggest implications of which the Wife is unaware, but pointing in another direction. D. W. Robertson, after examining the Wife's role as misguided exegete in her Prologue, observes that "when she tells a tale, we are led to wonder whether or not she has misinterpreted it in the same way that she has misinterpreted other things" (A Preface

to Chaucer, Princeton, 1962, p. 366). Robert P. Miller sees the Tale as a parody of the usual exemplum against lechery, arguing that the knight at the end "has joined the ranks of those who have achieved the state of mind in which, as Vincent of Beauvais described it, that which is truly foul seems to them fair, and that which is harmful seems to them delightful" ("The Wife of Bath's Tale and Medieval Exempla," ELH, 32 (1965) 442-56). His argument is repeated by Malcolm Pittock, who in his introduction to The Prioress's Tale, The Wife of Bath's Tale, Notes on English Literature Series (Oxford, 1973), finds the tale full of "moral confusion," a "travesty" of an exemplum which "might well be said to back-fire upon the Wife . . ." (pp. 85-89); Miller is also echoed by Robertson in The Literature of Medieval England, where he argues that the Knight at the end of the tale has gained "access to a fools paradise in which everything will seem fair" (New York, 1970) p. 538. So Bernard Levy, in "Chaucer's Wife of Bath, the Loathly Lady, and Dante's Siren," Symposium, 19 (1965), 359-373: "though for the Wife the Tale demonstrates her thesis on the necessity of the sovereignty of women in love and marriage, it also "backfires" on her, for when read from the proper perspective, the Tale actually demonstrates just the opposite point of view -- the actual folly of the submission of the man to the woman" (p. 366). These ironic readings are inspired by the disturbing overtones of the tale's supposedly happy ending; as David S. Reid expresses it, "this beautiful impossibility is an equivocal solution to the knight's dilemma. The romance is

sphinxlike: to fail to solve the problems would be disastrous, but the correct answer brings with it an ambiguous good fortune. This equivocal nature of the Tale is apt for burlesque and, as the Wife tells it, one senses that she is in ambush behind the beautiful impossibilities of romance. In her mouth, what is Cindarellalike in her Tale is gargoyled" (82): "Crocodilian Humor: A Discussion of Chaucer's Wife of Bath," Chaucer Review, 4 (1970), 73-89.

4. In a lighter vein Tony Slade suggests that Chaucer "leaves some comic doubt as to the real motivation of the knight in acquiescing." The only real effect of her sermon is that "the speech goes on for so long that he is willing to accept anything to stop the flow of talk" ("Irony in the Wife of Bath's Tale," MLR, 64 (1969), 241-47).
5. "Crocodilian Humor," p. 82.
6. "Scorn of Women," in Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV Centuries, ed. R. H. Robbins, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955), no. 211, lines 13 and 25.
7. See the article on "Iconography and Iconology" by Jan Bialostocki in The Encyclopedia of World Art (New York, 1959-68), III, col. 780.
8. "Chaucer and the Visual Arts," in Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Derek Brewer, Writers and their Backgrounds (Ohio University Press, 1975), p. 308.

9. Absolutely indispensable for any work on the iconography of Fortuna are the series of studies by Howard Rollins Patch: "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna, In Roman Literature and the Transitional Period," Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 3, no. 3 (1922), 131-235; "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature," ibid., 3, no. 4 (1922); "Fortuna in Old French Literature," ibid., 4, no. 4 (1923), 1-45; culminating in his book on The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Harvard, 1927), which summarizes and digests much of the earlier material, but does not supplant it. Also useful are K. Weinhold, "Glücksrad und Lebensrad," Philosophische und historische Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (1892), 1-27; Alfred Doren, "Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance," Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1 (1922-23), 71-144; Vincenzo Cioffari, Fortune in Dante's Fourteenth Century Commentators (Cambridge, Mass., 1944); the chapter on "Le Personnage de Fortune et ses biens" in Pierre Courcelle, La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédants et postérité de Boéce (Paris, 1967), 101-158; and Samuel C. Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life (Yale, 1962), Ch. 3: "The World of Fortune" (not always reliable in its details).
10. Tristia, Ex Ponto, ed. and trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1924). See also Ex Ponto, II, 3, 24-25.

11. Horace: Satires and Epistles, ed. Edward P. Morris (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968).
12. Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut, ed. Ernest Hoepffner (Paris, 1911), II, p. 42.
13. Ed. R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955).
14. Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii "Consolationem Philosophiae" commentarius, ed. E. T. Silk, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 9 (1935), p. 66.
15. Among them were Henricus Septimellensis, in De diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae consolatione, PL 204. 852:

Quid toties varias summis furiosa fuguras?

Nunc alacris rides, nunc lacrymosa gemis.

Aurea nunc, nunc sordida, nunc nigra, nunc ribicunda:

Florida nunc, nunc est sordida facta luto. (85-88)

Also Guillaume de Lorris, near the end of his part of the Roman de la Rose, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1970), vol. I, p. 122

(note the pun on heure/eur):

em poi d'eure son semblant mue,

une eure rit, autre eure est mourne. (1946-7)

And compare James the First, The Kingis Quair, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid (Totawa, N.J.: Rowman, 1973):

And quhilum in hir chere thus alyte
 Lourcing sche was, and thus sone it wold slake
 And sodeynly a maner smyling make,
 As sche were glad, for at one contenance
 Sche held nought bot was ay in variance. (163-67)

16. I quote from a microfilm of the manuscript, fol. lxviiB. For the evolution of the commentary, see Richard A. Dwyer, Boethian Fictions: Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the Consolatio Philosophiae, Medieval Academy of America Publication No. 83 (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), p. 13; it is his no. 7, the "revised mixed version" of the mid-fourteenth century.
17. Commentary on Habuc. iii, 4, from Holcott's commentary on twelve Prophets, Oxford, Bodl. 722 (2648); quoted by Beryl Smalley in English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (Oxford, 1960), p. 175.
18. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS lat. 13002, fol. 3v. Reproduced by Raimond van Marle, Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen age (The Hague, 1931-2), Fig. 207; and by Courcelle, Pl. 66.
19. Liber II Physicorum, tract. ii, cap. xi, in the Opera Omnia, ed. Borgnet, 38 vols. (Paris, Vives, 1890-99), III, p. 141. Albertus may have derived this idea from an image in Ovid's Tristia:

utque comes radios per solis euntibus umbra est
 cum latet hic pressus nubibus, illa fugit,
 mobile sic sequitur Fortunae lumina vulgus:
 quae simul inducta nocte teguntur, abit. (I.9.11-14)

[As a shadow accompanies those who pass through the rays of the sun, but when the sun is hidden, hemmed in by clouds the shadow vanishes, so the fickle crowd follows the light of good fortune, but, when once the veil of darkness covers it the crowd is gone.]

20. I quote from a photograph of the manuscript reproduced by Hans Liebeschütz in Fulgentius Metaforalis: Ein Beitrage zur Geschichte der antiken Mythologie im Mittelalter, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 4 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926), Abb. 18.
21. Gloss on I m. 1, from De consolatione philosophiae cum commentario Thomae de Aquino et Jodoci Badii Ascensii (n.p., n.d.; c. 1500). On this commentary, which was much read and often printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Courcelle, 414-15. Manitius attributed it to Thomas Waleys, but Courcelle does not commit himself further than to assert it is not earlier than the fourteenth century (p. 322-23).
22. Gloss to I. pr. 1. From John Walton, trans., Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae, ed. Mark Science, E.E.T.S., o.s. 70 (London, 1927), p. 365. The gloss was probably the work of the

- ... sixteenth century editor, a Benedictine monk named Thomas Rychard from the monastery at Tavistock (see p. xix).
23. Summarized by Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries (New York: Braziller, 1974), I, 434, n. 46.
 24. De civitate dei (Basle, 1515), commentary on IV.18. This edition contains the commentaries of Thomas Waleys on books I-X, and of Nicolas Trivet on XI-XXII; see John P. McCall, "Chaucer's May 3," MLN, 76 (1961), 203 n.7.
 25. Expositiones et Glose super Comediam Dantis, or Commentary on Dante's Inferno, ed. Vincenzo Cioffari (Albany: S.U.N.Y., 1974), p. 144.
 26. Reson and Sensuallyte, ed. Ernst Sieper, E.E.T.S., e.s. 84 (London, 1901), p. 37.
 27. I quote from folio 10r of the facsimile included in the unpublished dissertation by Joan Morton Jones, The Chess of Love, Diss. U. Nebraska 1968.
 28. Folio 7r, left column.
 29. The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton, 1969), p. 12.

30. Reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 73 no. 2; also by Philippa Tristram, Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature (London: Elek, 1976), Pl. 17.
31. For the identification of the text, see Dwyer, p. 13 (no. 9).
32. Reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 82.
33. Reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 83.
34. Boethius: The Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1918). The chains of Fortune are a favorite image of Boethius, perhaps inspired by Seneca: "Omnes cum fortuna copulati sumus: aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa, aliorum arta et sordida. Sed quid refert?" (De Tranquillitate Animi, X.3; quoted by Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, p. 98, n.1).
35. Reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 81.
36. Both this and the following manuscript contain the second French verse and prose translation from the mid-fourteenth century. According to Dwyer (p. 14) this was the most popular of all medieval French versions, surviving in some fifty one manuscripts, many of them "very handsome and costly productions." A third

- copy of this version, from the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Vienna, Oest. Nat. 2595), will be discussed below.
37. Reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 87.
38. Ibid, Pl. 91.
39. Ibid, Pls. 88 and 92.
40. Reproduced by Patricia Gathercole, "Illuminations on the French Boccaccio Manuscripts," Studi sul Boccaccio, 1 (1963), Pl. 2; also in the same author's book Tension in Boccaccio: Boccaccio and the Fine Arts, Romance Monographs, No. 14 (University of Mississippi, 1975), Fig. 7. For a description of the manuscript, and identification of the text as Laurent's second version, see Carla Bozzolo, Manuscrits des traductions françaises d'oeuvres de Boccace, XVe siècle, Medioevo e Umanesimo, No. 15 (Padova: Antenore, 1973), 58-9.
41. Reproduced by Alexandre de Laborde, Les Manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin (Paris, 1909), III, Pl. LIX; also by Sir E. M. Thompson, "The Rothschild Manuscript in the British Museum of Les Cas des malheureux Nobles Hommes et Femmes," The Burlington Magazine, 8(1905), p. 198-210, Pl. II. See also Bozzolo, pp. 134-35.

42. I quote the French translation from another manuscript of Laurent's second version, Huntington Library HM 937, folio 195r. See Bozzolo, pp. 179-80, for its contents.
43. Reproduced from this edition by Henry Bergen in Lydgate's Fall of Princes (Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1927), IV, 185.
44. Reproduced from the edition of Verard (Paris, 1511) by Nathaniel Hill in The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville . . . Compared with the Pilgrim's Progress (London, 1858), Fig. XVII.
45. Often reproduced: see below, n. 48.
46. Folio cxliii recto in the Huntington Library copy, cat. no. 99590.
47. The same cut as in the 1527 Pynson; reproduced by Chew, Pilgrimage, Fig. 54; and by M. C. Bradbrook, Shakespeare the Craftsman (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969) p. 105.
48. Franciscus Petracha. Von der Artzney beyder Glück/des guten vnd widerwertigen (Augsburg: Steyner, 1532). The woodcut by Burgkmair is reproduced by van Marle, II, Fig. 224; by F. W. H. Holstein, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c. 1400-1700, vol. V (Amsterdam, 1954), p. 136; by Chew, Pilgrimage, Fig. 53; by F. P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Miami, 1970), Pl. 8b; and elsewhere.

49. Reproduced by O. Pächt and D. Thoss, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, t. I, Französische Schule I, (Wien, 1974), Abb. 89.
50. Factorum ac dictorum mirabilium libri IX, ed. and French trans., P. Constant (Paris, 1935).
51. The illumination is described by Alphonse Bayot in Martin le Franc, L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertue: Etude du MS 9510 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Paris, Bruxelles, New York, 1928), p. 39. Bayot also mentions a similar image in Arsenal MS 5113, fol. 12v, a manuscript of La Dance des aveugles of Pierre Michault.
52. Laborde, II, 405-6.
53. Société des Bibliophiles Français (Paris, 1875), p. 353.
54. Giovanni Boccaccio, Opere Minore in Volgare, ed. Mario Marti, II: Filostrato, Teseida, Chiose al Teseida (Milan: Rizzoli, 1970).
55. Trans. R. K. Gordon, The Story of Troilus (New York, 1964) p. 69.
56. Trans. Bernadette Marie McCoy, The Book of Theseus: Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia by Giovanni Boccaccio (New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974).

57. Trans. J. J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973), p. 190.
58. See the references in Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, p. 116
59. Oeuvres, ed. J. E. Matzke, S.A.T.F., (Paris, 1909) pp. 11-12.
60. Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, Édités d'après la copie de Guiot (Bibl. nat. fr. 794), V: Le Conte du Graal (Perceval), ed. Felix Lecoy, I (Paris: Champion, 1975), p. 145.
61. II.201, PL 204.855.
62. Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais de Bus, Publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus, ed. Arthur Langfors (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1914-19), 71-72.
63. Dits de Watriquet de Covin, ed. Auguste Scheler (Bruxelles: Victor Devaux et Cie., 1868), 3-4.
64. La Pelerinage de la vie humaine, ed. J. J. Sturzinger (London: Roxburghe Club, 1893), ll. 11887-11970.
65. Not available in a modern edition. See Le pelerinage de l'homme (Paris: Anthoine verard, 1511), folio lxxvi verso and following.

66. John Lydgate, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., e.s. 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899-1904).
67. The Complete Works of John Gower, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford, 1899-1902), II, p. 87.
68. The Major Latin Works of John Gower, trans. Eric W. Stockton (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 100.
69. Including the Remede de Fortune, the Jugement du Roy de Behaigne, the eighth Motet, and the Lay de Confort. See "Guillaume de Machaut and The Book of the Duchess," PMLA, 30 (1915), pp. 9-13.
70. Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune par Christine de Pisan, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris, 1959), I, p. 75.
71. See Meiss, The Limbourgs, I, 8-12.
72. Reproduced by Meiss, The Limbourgs, II, Figs. 19 and 20.
73. Both are reproduced by Meiss, Figs. 21 and 22.
74. There is a large and clear reproduction of the entire manuscript page in Françoise du Castel, Damoiselle Christine de Pisan (Paris, 1972), Pl. XXXVI.

75. The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, Plate 6. The manuscript is a fragment, beginning with line 18313 of Lydgate's text; for a description see Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierten Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters, III: Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken, ed. Harry Bober (London: Warburg Institute, 1953), vol. 1, p. 118.
76. Le Roman de Fauvel (Paris, 1907).
77. Reproduced in Alexandre de Laborde, Les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint Pétersbourg (Paris, 1938) vol. II, Pl. XLV; see II, 104-6 for discussion of the manuscript.
78. Reproduced by Pächt and Thoss, Französische Schule I, Abb. 75.
79. Reproduced in Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Teyes Thomsson, 7 vols. (London, 1907-18), vol. I, Pl. XLI.
80. Reproduced in Paul Durrieu, La Miniature flammande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (Paris and Bruxelles, 1927); also by Camille Couderc, Les Enlumineurs des Manuscrits du Moyen Age (du VIe au XVe siècle) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1927), Pl. 78; also by Courcelle, Pl. 85. The manuscript, dated 1492, contains a Latin text of Boethius, with text and commentary in Flemish.

81. Reproduced in A. W. Byvank, Les Principaux Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermann-Westreenianum à la Haye (Paris, 1924), Pl. LX; also in Pächt and Thoss, Französische Schule I, Textband, Fig. 17.
82. See Pächt and Thoss, p. 57.
83. See David Ross, Alexander historiatus: A guide to medieval illustrated Alexander literature, Warburg Institute Surveys, No. I (London, 1963), p. 23f.
84. Reproduced in color by Jean Porcher, French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts (London: Collins, 1960), pl. LXXXIII.
85. On the author, see A. T. Hankey, "Domenico di Bandino of Arezzo," Italian Studies, 12 (1957), 110-28.
86. For discussion of the manuscript and its contents, see R. A. B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford (Oxford, 1963), pp. 255-59.
87. Reproduced by Saxl and Meier, Verzeichnis, III, 2, Tafel XIV, Abb. 37.
88. Reproduced in Laborde, Les Manuscrits de la Cité de Dieu, III, Pl. LXIV; also in Pächt and Thoss, Französische Schule I, Abb. 153.

89. Laborde, Pl. LXV; Pächt and Thoss, Abb. 153. These pictures are incorrectly described by Chew, p. 50, and he cites the wrong plate nos. for Laborde in n. 17.
90. Quoted by Bayot, Martin le Franc, p. 38, from Bibl. Royale de Belgium MS 9510, folio 21v-22.
91. Reproduced in Bayot, Pl. X. The style of this painting is remarkably similar to the Yates Thompson Boethius (above, n. 79).
92. Folios 4r, 4v, 30v, 42r, 69v, 121r; reproduced in Bayot, Plates XV-XVIII.
93. The painting is reproduced by Courcelle, Pl. 80, no. 2. Courcelle condemns the picture as an inferior copy of an earlier manuscript, but ignores the quite original addition of the second face (pp. 149-50).
94. From Achille Jubinal, Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux, etc., des XIIIe, XIve, et XVe siècles, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839-42), I, 195; quoted in Patch, "Fortuna in Old French Literature," p. 13, n. 61.
95. Also called "A Mumming at London," in the edition by H. N. MacCracken, John Lydgate, The Minor Poems, vol. II: Secular Poems, E.E.T.S., o.s. 192 (London, 1934), p. 682.

96. R. Brotanek, Die englischen Maskenspiele (Wien and Leipzig, 1902), p. 309.
97. Translated by Marcus Dodds, D.D. (New York: Random House, 1950); Book IV translated by the Rev. George Wilson.
98. Le Roman de la Rose, ed Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1970), l.6122.
99. Edited by V. L. Dedek-Héry, "Boethius' De Consolatione by Jean de Meun," Medieval Studies, 14 (1952), p. 172.
100. Poésies Lyriques, ed. V. Chichmaref, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909), II, 497.
101. MS Belles Lettres françaises 318, fol. 54v; quoted by Scheler, p.1.
102. King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure, ed. Larry D. Benson (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974).
103. See La Mort le Roi Artu, ed. Jean Frappier, 3rd ed. (Geneva: Droz, 1964), Par. 176, pp. 226-27.
104. John Gower, Confessio Amantis, ed. Russell A. Peck (New York: Rinehart, 1968).

105. Of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 3, the manuscript followed by G. C. Macaulay in his edition, The English Works of John Gower, E.E.T.S., e.s. 81 and 82 (London, 1900), I, 72.
106. According to Stewart animis is the reading of the codices meliores (Boethius, p. 360n.) and it was certainly in the text used by Chaucer for his translation. Amans' shame that his "herte is al desobeissant" is especially ironic in light of this advice to wage a bitter fight against good and bad fortune "in thy corage."
107. Text reprinted from Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1867), 103-18, by Bartlett J. Whiting, "The Wife of Bath's Tale," in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1958), 235-41. Although the manuscript is dated c. 1650, the ballad of the Marriage of Sir Gawaine is generally attributed to the fifteenth century.
108. In addition to the discussion and further references given by Whiting in Sources and Analogues, the reader may want to consult the excellent and compact analysis of the different versions by Robert W. Ackerman, "The English Rimed and Prose Romances," in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 501-5.

109. "Est aliquando cum de hominibus illa, fallax illa nihil, bene mereatur, tum scilicet cum se aperit, cum frontem detegit moresque profitetur. Nondum forte quid loquar intellegis. Mirum est quod dicere gestio, eoque sententiam uerbis explicare uix queo. Etenim plus hominibus reor aduersam quam prosperam prodesse fortunam. Illa enim semper specie felicitatis cum uidetur blanda, mentitur; haec semper uera est, cum se instabilem mutatione demonstrat. Illa fallit, haec instruit" (Consolatio, II, pr. 8).
110. The Middle French Liber Fortunae, ed. John L. Grigsby, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 81 (Berkeley, L.A., 1967).
111. Reproduced by Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, Pl. 1; also by Courcelle, Pl. 78; and Dwyer, Fig. 4. For a discussion of its iconography, see Courcelle, p. 149.
112. There are two main lists of the goods of Fortune in Boethius, in II pr. 2 and III pr. 2; for a discussion of them see Courcelle, pp. 114-15. They include opes, honores, diuitiae, pulchritudo or splendor, copia, dignitas, potentia, potestas, fama, gloria, claritas (in the sense of celebrity), gaudia, laetitia, robur, velocitas, salubritas, and voluptates. There had of course been earlier discussions of the subject, for example by Valerius Maximus: "Iam Alcibiadem quasi duae fortunae partitae sunt: altera, quae

ei nobilitatem eximiam, abundantes divitias, formam praestantissimam, favorem civium propensum, summa imperia, praecipuas potentiae vires, flagrantissimum ingenium assignaret: altera, quae damnationem, exilium, venditionem bonorum, inopiam, odium patriae, violentam mortem infligerit. Nec aut haec, aut illa universa; sed varie, perplexa, freto atque aestui similia" (VI.9). Valerius is specially worthy of quotation here, since he is one of the authorities adduced by the Hag in her sermon (1176-7). For medieval lists of the gifts of Fortune in Alain de Lille, Frère Lorens, Hildebert de Lavardin, Boccaccio, Deschamps and others, see Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, pp. 63-66. Chaucer's own essay in the genre occurs in the Parson's Tale: "Goodes of fortune been richesse, hyghe degrees of lordshippes, preisynges of the people" (450-55).

Also called "Fortune" in modern editions. The manuscript title, as Skeat points out, refers to the "doutous or double visage" of Fortune, who "yit covereth and wympleth hir to other folk" (Boece, II, pr. 1). The whole content of this remarkable dialogue bears comparison with the sermon of the Hag in the Wife of Bath's Tale.

"Sobriam succinctamque et ipsius aduersitatis exercitatione prudentem" (II, pr. 8).

See Margaret Schlauch, "The Marital Dilemma in the Wife of Bath's Tale," PMLA, 61 (1946), 416-30, for a different explanation of its genesis.

116. Whether or not by Chaucer, this is a very close translation of
Jean de Meun: (ed. Lecoy, pp. 148-9):

et si la treuve l'en'escrité;
que mieuz vaut au genz et profite
Fortune perverse et contraire
que la mole et debonaire.
Et se ce te semble doutable,
c'est bien par argument prouvable,
car la debonere et la mole
leur ment et les bole et affole. (4813-20)

117. "Neque enim quod ante oculos situm est, suffecerit intueri;
rerum exitus prudentia metitur eademque in alterutro mutabilitas
nec formidandas fortunae minas nec exoptandas facit esse blanditias."

118. Boece, II, pr. 8.

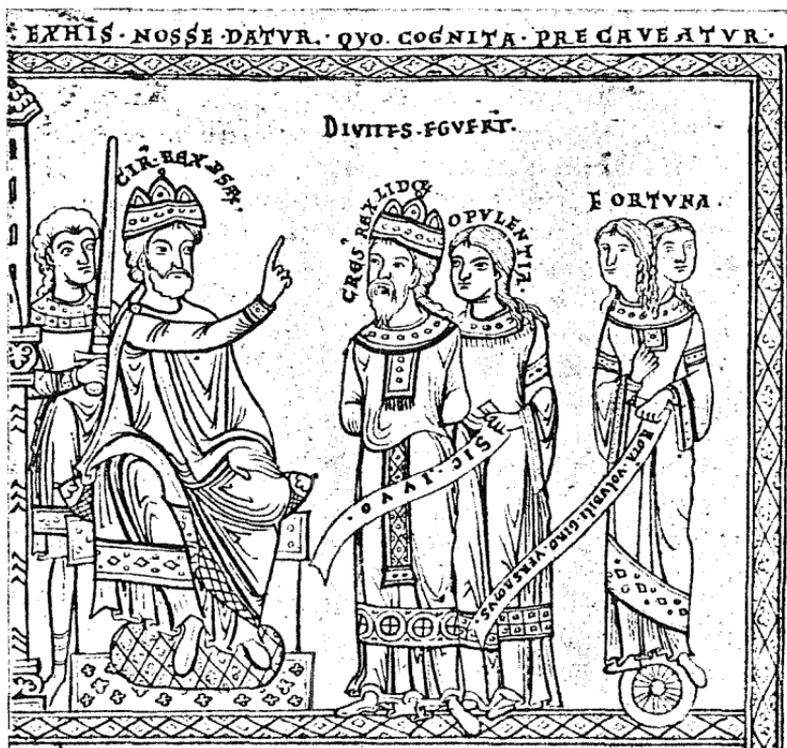
119. Ed. Matzke, p. 13.

120. "Fortunae te regendum dedisti; dominae moribus oportet obtemperes.
Tu uero uoluentis rotae impetum retinere conaris? At, omnium
mortalium stolidissime, si manere incipit, fors esse desistit."

121. Recognized by Robertson, Preface, p. 494.

122. Quoted by Aage Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (Oxford, 1925), p. 391.

123. He saw it as an example of Chaucer's "evident delight in making his churls' speech as realistic as possible, for instance by making them employ all sorts of homely expressions" (The Chaucer Tradition, pp. 483-84).
124. Lines 47-85 in Lydgate's translation. The two drinks are more explicitly associated with good and bad fortune in love by Gower, Confessio Amantis, Vi, 325-90. For other occurrences of the image in medieval literature see Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, pp. 52-54.
125. B.N. MS français 9197, folio 10r.
126. Suggested by Skeat and Winney in their editions, and by Henry B. Hinckley, Notes on Chaucer: A Commentary on the Prologue and Six Canterbury Tales (Northampton, Mass., 1915), p. 159.



66. Munich, lat. 13002, fol. 3 v^o, s. XII.

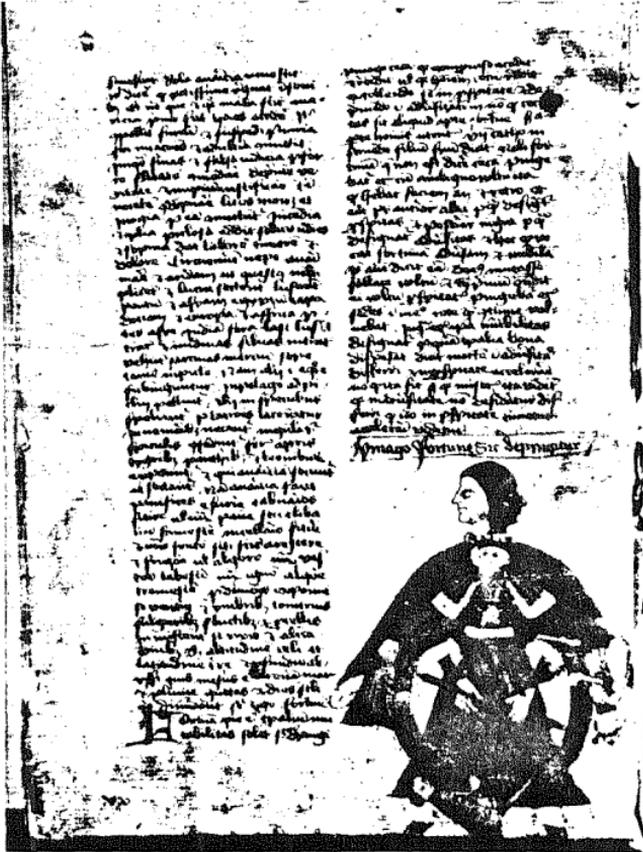


Abb. 18. Fortuna (nach Palat. 1066, Bl. 239v)



73, 2. Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Douce, 298, fol. 1 r^o s. xv in.; inédites.



82, 2. Paris, B.N., *français* 24307, fol. 35 v^o, s. xv, inédite.





87. Londres, B.M., Harley, 4336, fol. 1 v^o, en 1476.



91. Londres, B.M., Harley, 4338, fol. 1 v°, en 1476.



88. Paris, B.N., lat. 6643, fol. 76 r°, en 1497.

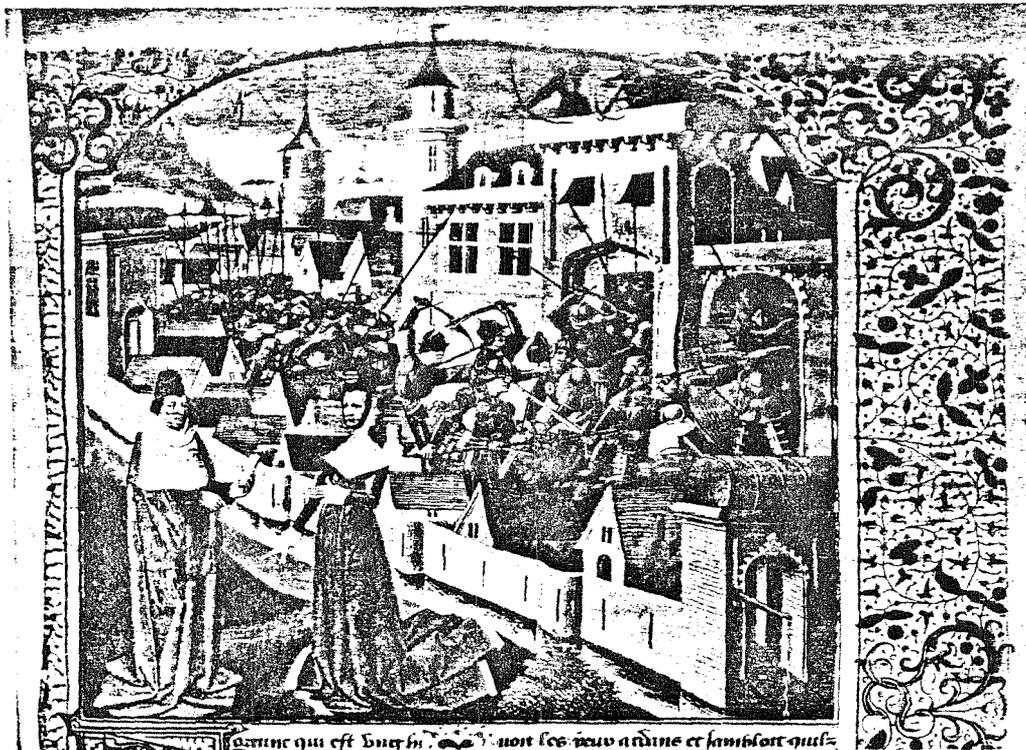


92. Paris, B.N., *lat.* 6643, fol. 227 r^o, en 1497.

41 6799



2. The Wheel of Fortune and Lady Fortune (*Des Cas des nobles*, Boccaccio's *De Casibus*). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr. 130, f. 1. (Cfr. pp. 395 e 404).



BOCCACCIO'S INTERVIEW WITH FORTUNE.

PLATE II.

B.M. MS Add. 35321, fol. 180

[The Sixth Booke. fo.cxlvi.]



FIG. 54. Many-handed Fortune. Woodcut in John Lydgate, *The Fall of Princes*, London, 1554. (Page 46)



Fortune and the Pilgrim in Deguileville's
Pelerinage de la vie (Paris: Verard, 1511)



Fortune, by Hans Burgkmair the Elder, c. 1515

meve de chaussement Et soy fust le vy linc



Et commence le vy linc de balevine
 volubilis fortune maxm⁹



Et commence le vy linc
 le quel selon monadme
 na que em q^e chappite
 a translatev Et est le



Fortune vous buict de la figure et
 De celle qui mame maistrage
 Doue amistr quele maistrage

19. Epitre Workshop, 1403-4: *Fortune and her brothers Eur and Meseur*. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl., ms. 78 D 42, fol. 16v.



Ceste femme de fortune
 Et doue buict de la figure
 De celle qui mame maistrage

20. Epitre Workshop, ca. 1403-4: *Fortune and her brothers Eur and Meseur*. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 494, fol. 16.

A fait de mal cest son mestier
Mais ne puis en reconuier



Ceste femme de fortune
 Et doue buict de la figure
 De celle qui mame maistrage

21. Epitre Workshop, 1403-4: *Fortune and her brothers Eur and Meseur*. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. 9508, fol. 17v.

A fait de mal cest son mestier
Mais ne puis en reconuier



22. Epitre Workshop: *Fortune and her brothers Eur and Meseur*. Attribution, fol. 16. Whereabouts unknown.

a uant de bi com mescur
 a fait de mal cest son mestice
 III au ne y mo cur a ce me



pense la f gure de fortune .vj.
 ne tous suent de la figure
 De celle qui mane maulx a que
 bone ainsi quelle mappin
 Mais a autres elle par
 auec figure comme e script
 n ont plusieurs en mant e font
 r aunes font interpretee

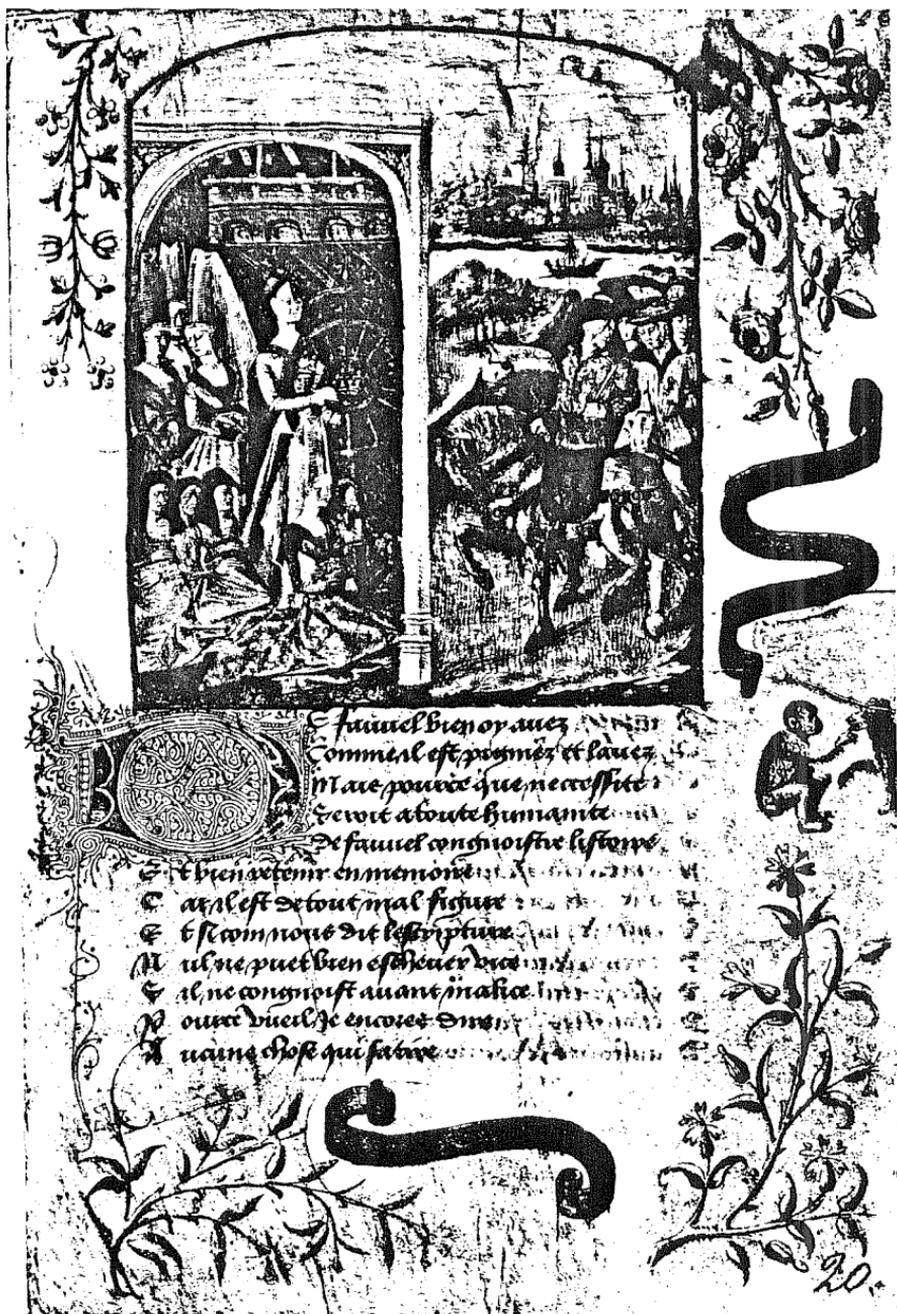


« Quelle peinture à cœur qui trop aime ! »

Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, ms. fr. 9508, f. 17r



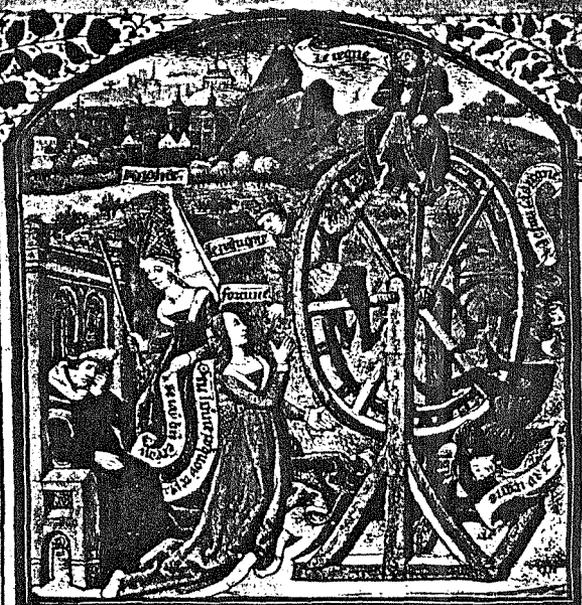
Fortune and the Pilgrim in Lydgate's Pilgrimage
B.M. MS Cotton Tiberius A.VII, folio 59v.



Car la ou tes affections
 Fequent et font leurs mansiones
 Le cuer est pris et mal menes
 Comme aveugle enchaenies



y comence le second livre de boece de confort
 Du quel livre philosophie haille et demostre les

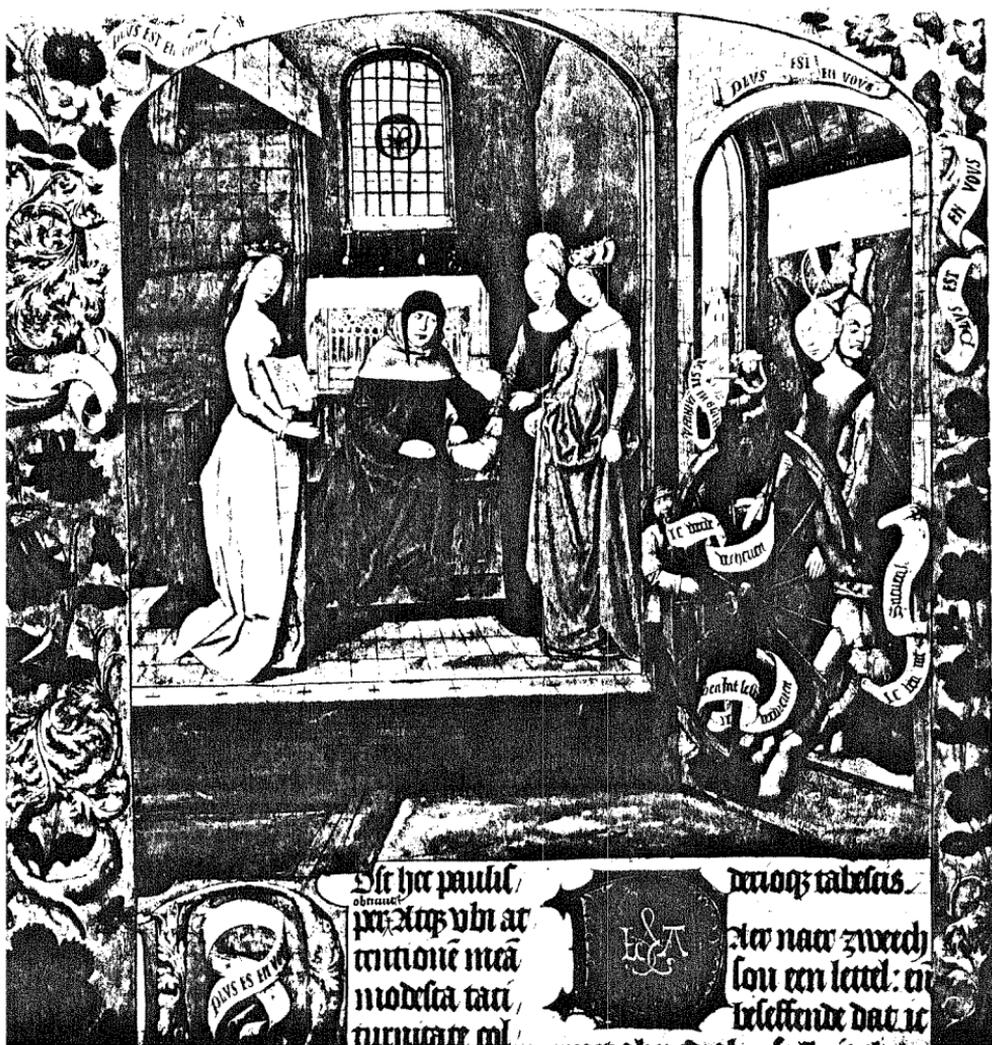


Cy commence le second livre de Boec

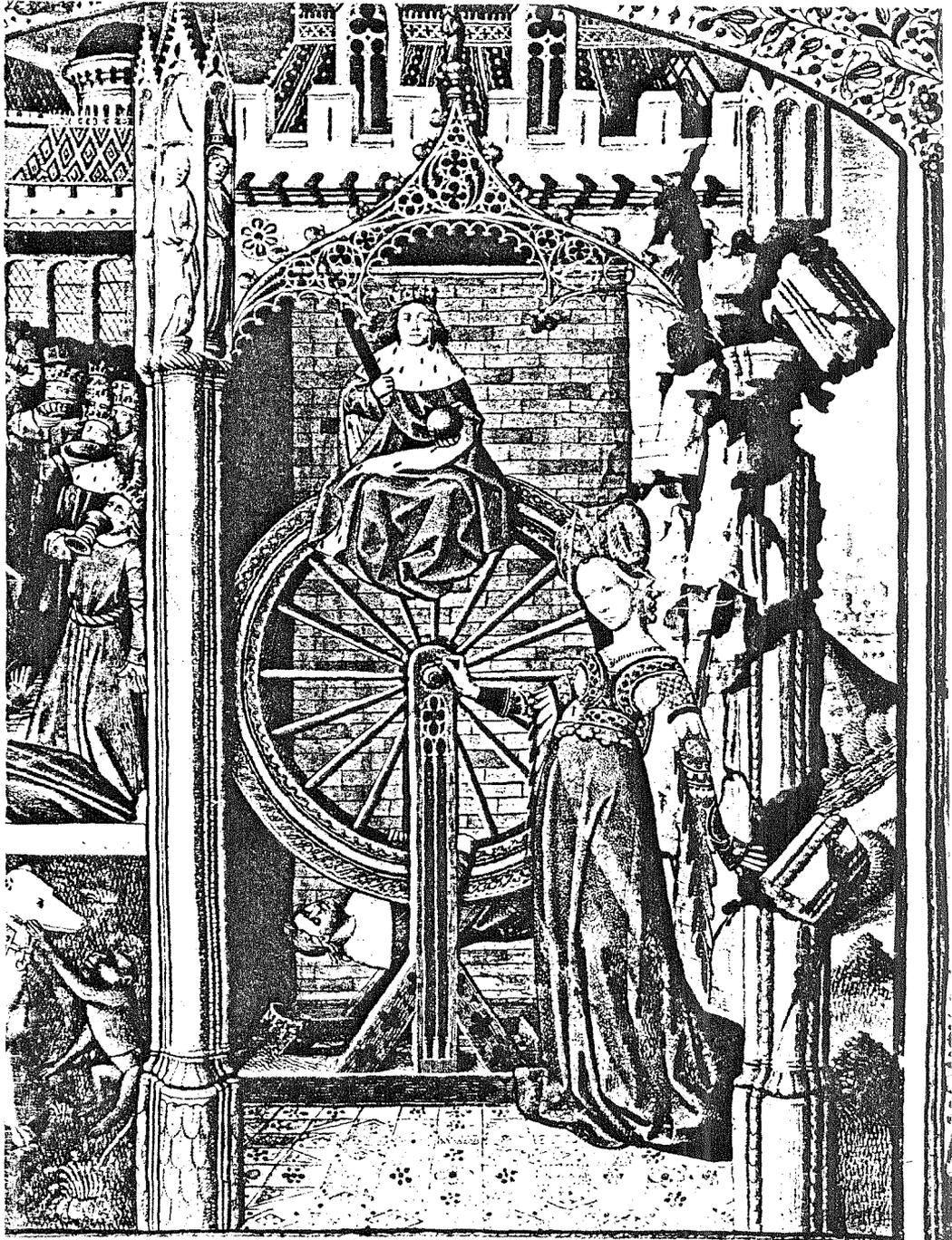
Uerte

Uus esse se tunc vn pou. et quant
 elle apparceut pour ce que ie
 me tauoie simplement. et que ie estoie enton
 Si commença a dire. philosophie. Se iay
 bien entendu dit. elle la cause a la manie
 de ton mal. le desir et l'assation de ta p'me
 fortune te met a mesaise. cest a dire de
 retourner a ta prosperite. si com tu fais

post hoc p
 obtinuit



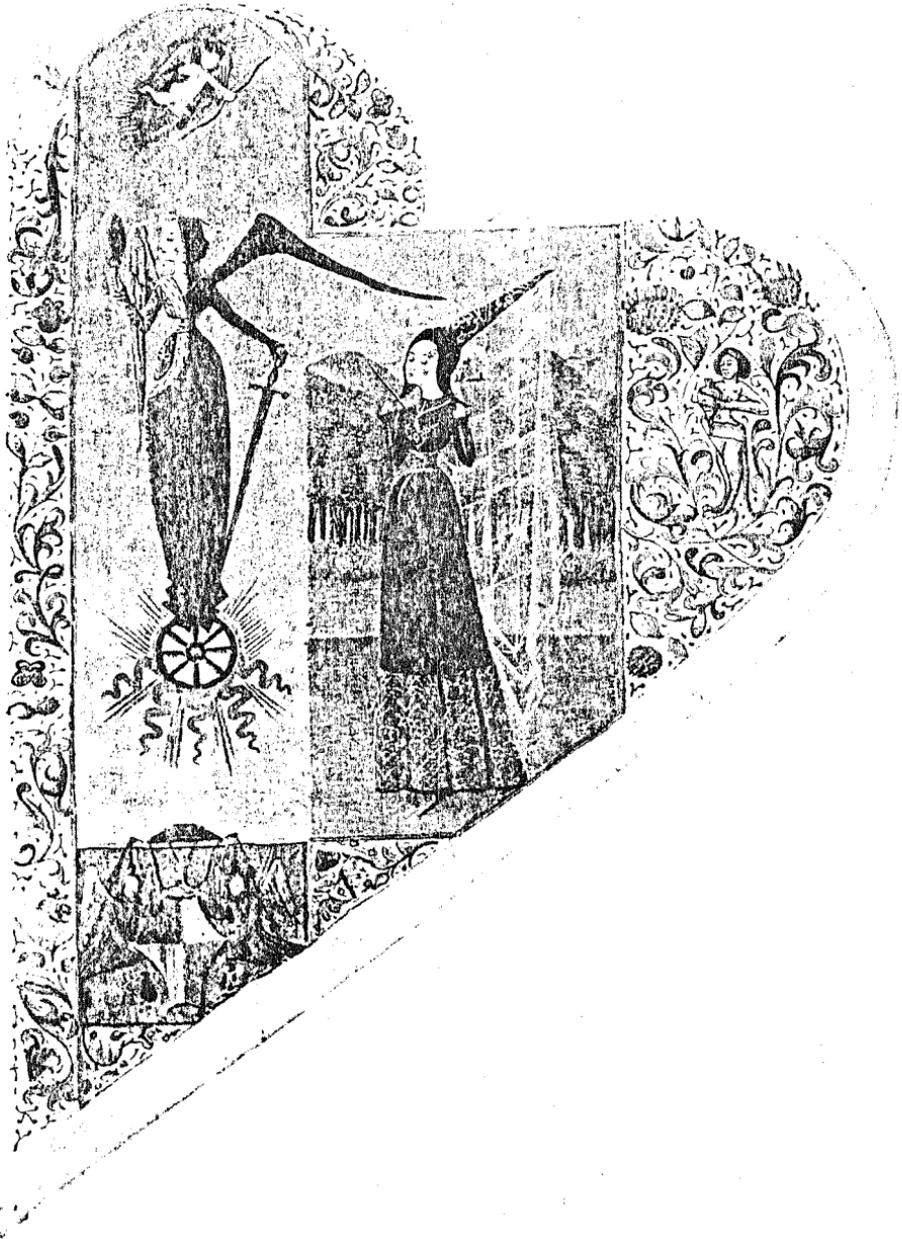
85. Paris, B.N., néerlandais 1, fol. 58 v^o, en 1492.



Ouv et asin de
cristian et de am

de l'esplice dor de macedone et de
lor hls le munt de l'esplice

Fig. 17. Den Haag, Mus. Meernanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10A17, f. 244r



Chansonier de Jean de Montchenu, c. 1460-76

(B.N. MS Rothschild 2973, fol. 1)



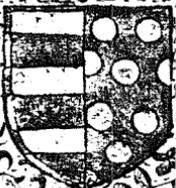
Abb. 37 Fortuna: Oxford, Balliol College, Ms. 238, Bl. 123r.



Femme sans roïne et deesse :
 Aqu monstre ma belle face :
 Tu liez face des l'autre ynesse
 C'o' l'nomme de sa l'beasse :

Quant ie pense et con-
 sidere les choses et
 les forains de hu-
 maine nature et
 les doubteux et sou-
 daine mouuement des autres choses
 se ne tiens a pou rions qui soit plus
 finale ne plus inuuable que est la mor-
 tel dieu d'homme. Je regarde que nature
 a pourueu a toutes au tres bestes d'uni-
 manuelleuse maniere de tenes et poe
 qu'elle n'ont pas conuissiance de les

mesmes. et que la memoire les ten-
 dement et la pouuance que no' auoie
 lesquelles choses sont diuins. et tres
 nobles d'ouures de l'ame de nous sont
 trouues. nous sailloit en iure de
 maie et triuail. Car nous qui tous
 iours sommes en l'esperance de autres su-
 perflues. et non pas tant sailloit
 inutile. mais commutables : mo-
 tel. sommes : tourmentez de ce qui est
 present. et en auoisse de ce qui est pass-
 et de ce qui est auenir par telle ma-

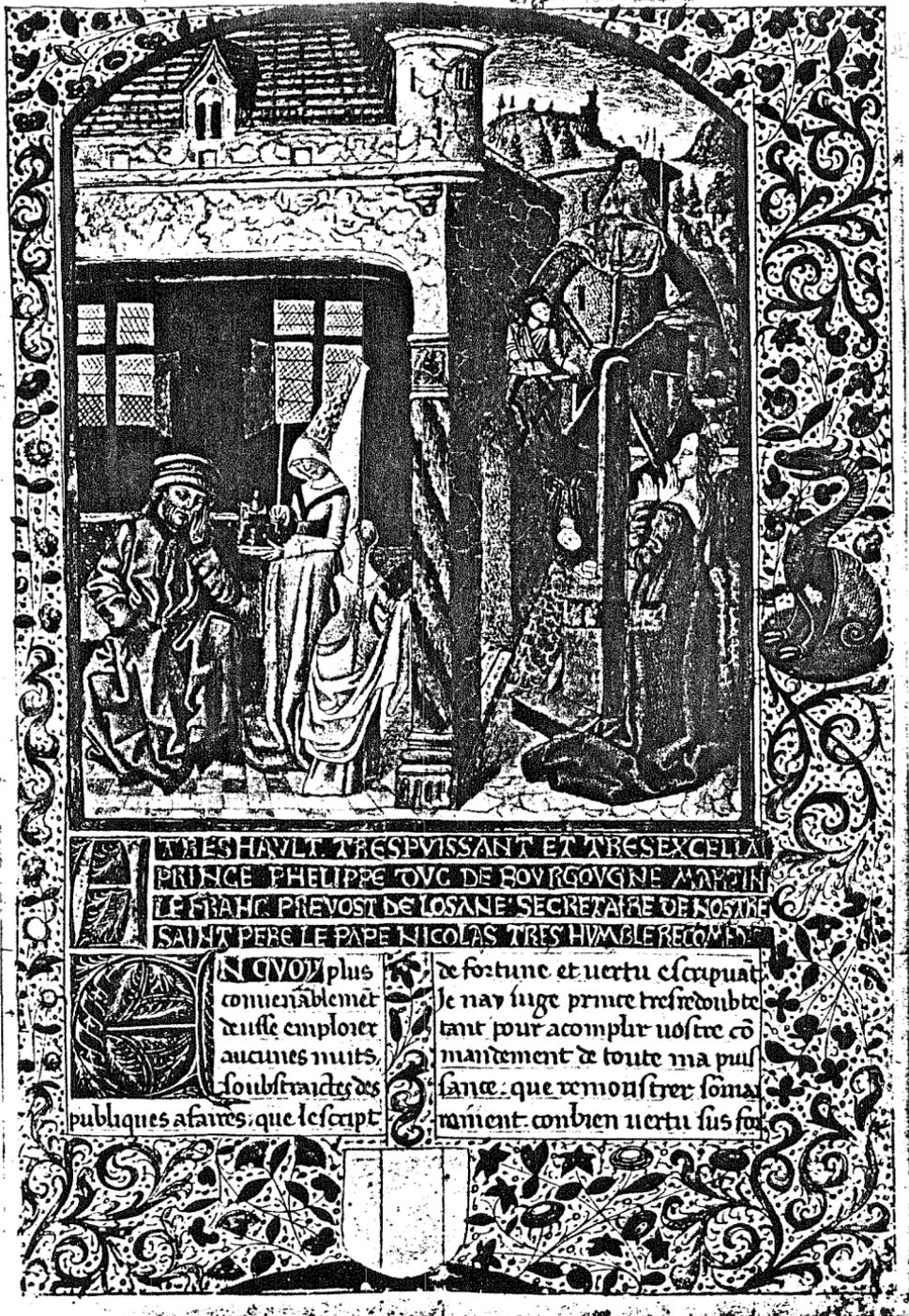




Horaine plus fier maustresse
 Qui contre lui l'abe face, des
 Plus plus, luyar le lausse
 Tous le maquet, chafolle d'asse

A tuer ma este trop il
 liberalte en ce quelle
 ma engendre l'at
 Je men plain delle
 raison. O quelle an
 estant de brandon en ton quelle
 abuse a monit dembrasemens en ip
 doulour nature ma engendre l'at et
 desfigure raison. Elle ne ta pas do
 ne chose dont tu te delites. Elle ta done

chose qui te proufite cest assez, laisse en
 pour tes complamtes, doulour nature
 ne ma pas donne la grace de beaulte
 raison. Elle ne ta pas voulu donner
 chose que maladie corrompist ne que
 doialtesse sousttraust. Elle ta donne
 auanture ce que la mort, mesmes ne
 oseroit atouder. Doulour nature ma
 Deme beaulte de corps, raison delle ta
 donne beaulte de lame, tu comme ton



A TRES HAVLT TRESVEISSANT ET TRES EXCELLE
 PRINCE PHELIPPE ROY DE BOURGOGNE MORT
 LE FRANCOISE PREVOST DE LOSANE SECRETAIRE DE NOSTRE
 SAINT PERE LE PAPE NICOLAS TRES HUMBLE RECOMENDE

QUOY plus
 convenablement
 deusse employer
 aucunes nuits
 soustraites des
 publiques affaires que le script

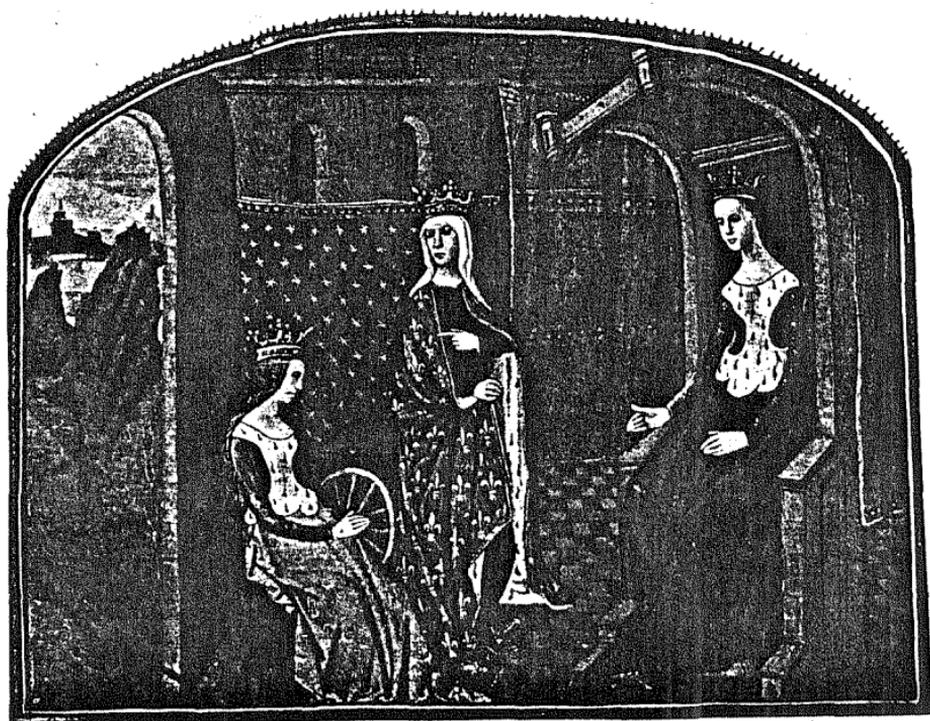
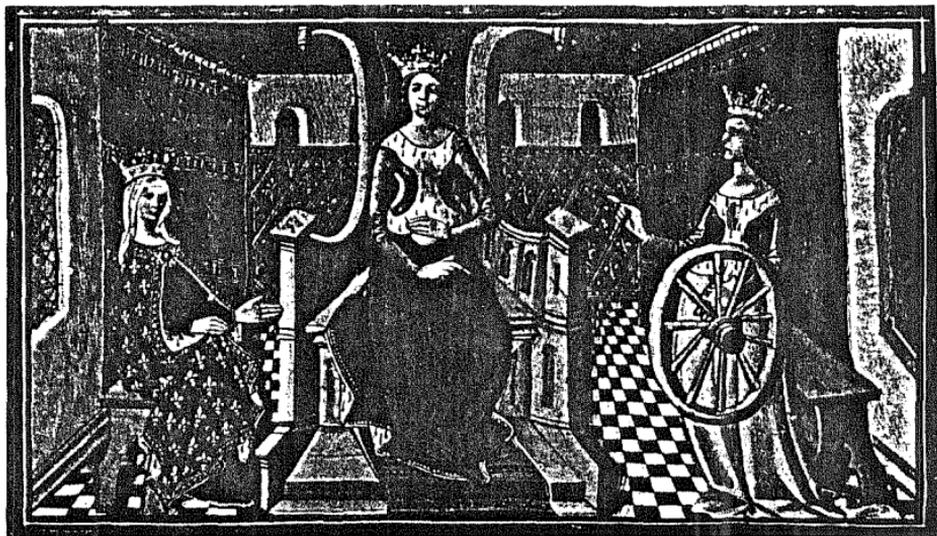
de fortune et uertu escript
 Je nay iuge prince tresredoubte
 tant pour acomplir uostre coman
 dement de toute ma pui
 sance que de monstrer somma
 rament combien uertu sus fo

Chantilly. Musée Condé. Ms 1512.

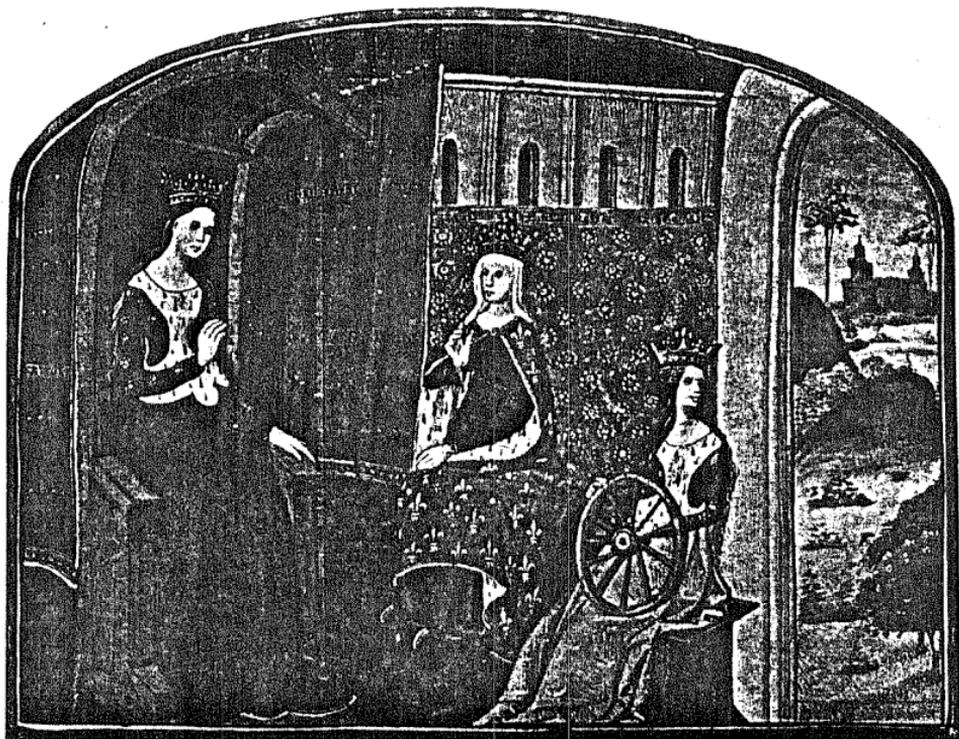
Martin Le Franc. *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu.*

Folio 1 : 358 × 250 millimètres.

Miniature illustrant le Prologue.



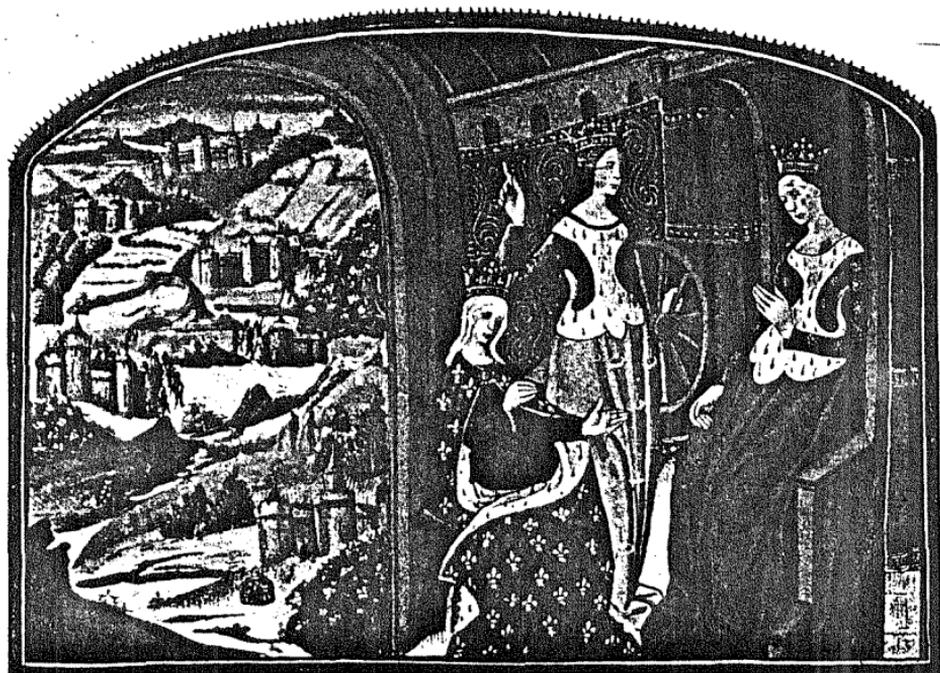
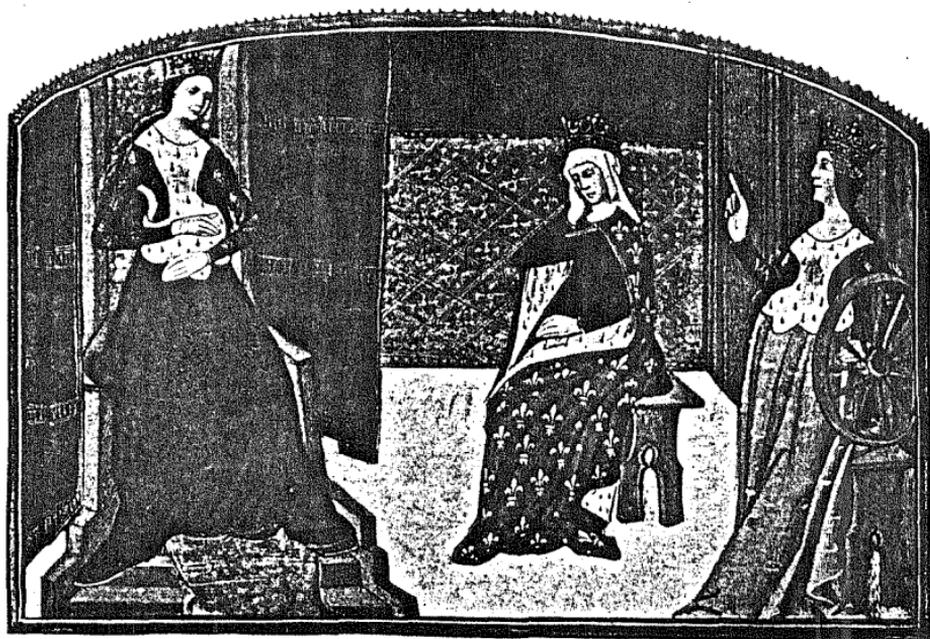
Copenhague. Bibliothèque royale. Fonds de Thott, 311.
Martin Le Franc. *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*.
Miniatures illustrant les folios 3 et 4.



Copenhague. Bibliothèque. Fonds de Thott, 311.

Martin Le Franc. *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*.

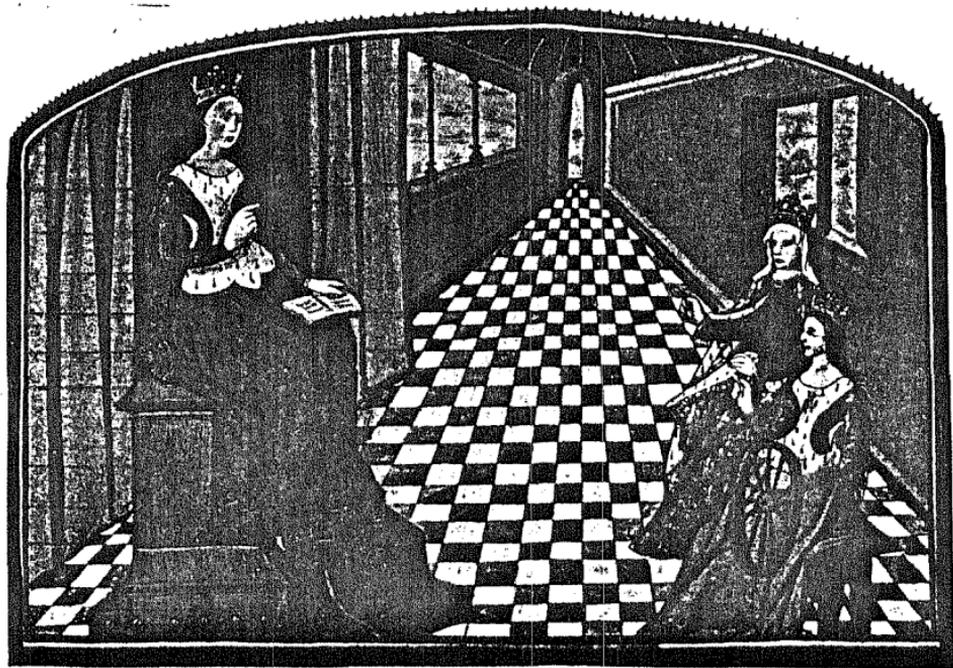
Miniature illustrant le folio 4 v°.



Copenhague. Bibliothèque royale. Fonds de Thott, 311.

Martin Le Franc. *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*.

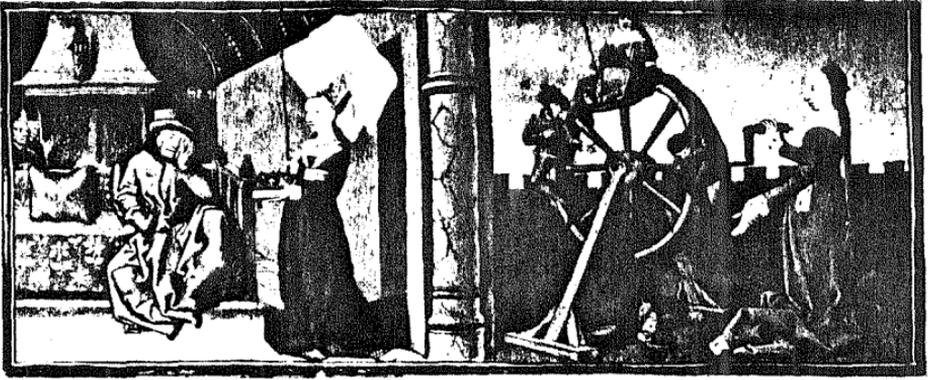
Miniatures illustrant les folios 30 v° et 42.



Copenhague. Bibliothèque royale. Fonds de Thott, 311.

Martin Le Franc. *Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu.*

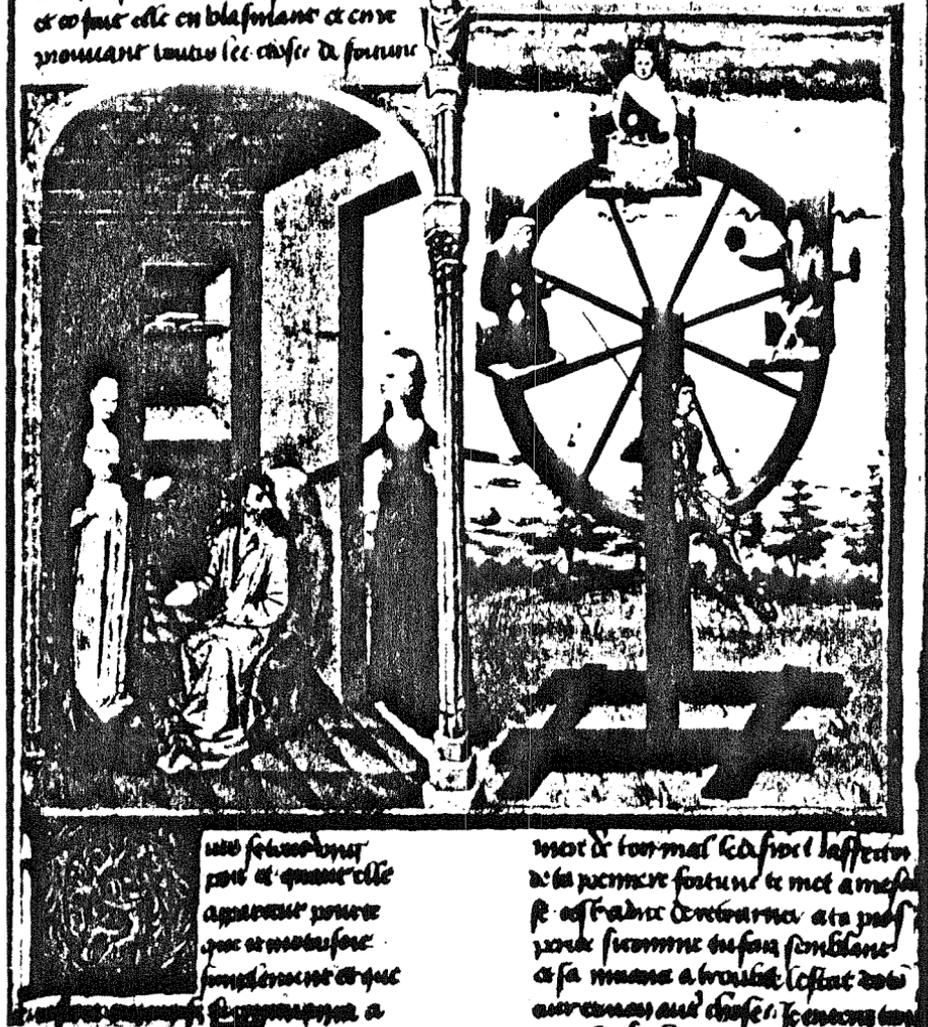
Miniatures illustrant les folios 69 v^o et 121.



80, 2. Paris, B.N., *français* 1098, fol. 20 v^o, s. xv; inédite.

a dire les requies i au plus penitens
pour lui oster la douleur et les autres
affections de l'ame qui lui tiennent
assujettis la vie de sa maladie
et ce par elle en blasphemant et en re
prouvant tous les cas de fortune

ce par bien plus et de bien plus
rendre les paucies de son maistr
et de bien servir et travailler en son ou
ser die et les enseignement de la vie



une femme qui
par et quant elle
appartient pour
que ce n'est pas
pour le monde et que
le monde n'est pas

mer de tout mal ce qui fait l'effection
de la pierre fortune te met a mes
se est l'adieu de l'œuvre a la pas
perce comme tu fais semblant
et sa main a travail l'estat de
avec ce qui est chose. Penitens