

BG 7

these badges, which merit
has given parallels

A BAREFACED ROMAN DE LA ROSE (PARIS, B.N., ms. 25526) AND SOME LATE MEDIEVAL MASS-PRODUCED BADGES
OF A SEXUAL NATURE

A.M. Koldewij

The Bibliothèque nationale manuscrit français 25526 is an unusual item in the tradition of the Roman de la Rose: as well as the standard repertory of illustrations this manuscript contains, among the numerous depictions in the margins, a number of explicit and frankly erotic scenes. These depictions, like the others in the margins, have no bearing on the textual content of the Roman de la Rose. However, this does not mean that these illustrations should be regarded as random figments of the illuminator's fantasy, for these erotic scenes belong to a tradition of sexual representations and objects. To the same tradition belong the late medieval badges, made of a tin-lead alloy and cheaply manufactured in bulk, which seem to have been extremely popular in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. A detailed analysis of some of the depictions in the lower margins of the Paris manuscript of the Roman de la Rose may shed some light on the original function and meaning of sexual badges and other examples of similar sexual iconography.

1. Erotic brooches

The use of metal detectors over the past ten to twenty years by officially employed archeologists and amateurs or treasure-seekers, has yielded a host of small metal objects ranging from knife-handles to belt fittings and from coins and seal stamps to buttons, brooches and thimbles. Secular and religious badges occupy a special place among these finds, due to their frequency — such ornaments were obviously very much in fashion — and also to their imagery. Pilgrim badges and other devotional items, and secular badges too, display an extraordinarily wide range of subjects.¹ A special, relatively unknown but highly intriguing group of these 'popular ornaments' consists of the erotic brooches which have been unearthed in various places in North-West Europe (Fig. 1 a-h).² In particular, metal-detector finds made in the Netherlands and Flanders over the past fifteen years have yielded a surprisingly large

¹ The most recent publication on late medieval, mass-produced badges, with an extensive bibliography: H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN and A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, *Heilig en profaan. 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen (Rotterdam Papers, VIII)*, Cothen, 1993. Important and/or earlier publications on the subject cited here: L. ANDERSSON, *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart (Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology, 7)*, Lund, 1989; A. FORGEAIS, *Notice sur des plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine*, 5 vols, Paris, 1862-1866; R.M. VAN HEERINGEN, A.M. KOLDEWEIJ and A.A.G. GAALMAN, *Heiligen uit de modder. In Zeeland gevonden pelgrimstekens (Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën, 4)*, Utrecht-Zutphen, 1987; M. MITCHINER, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges*, London, 1986; B. SPENCER, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges (Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue, 2)*, Salisbury, 1990.

² H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN and A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, *o.c.*, cat. nos. 643, 635, 716, 597, 663, 622, 638, 652.

secular material: more than 150 different erotic brooches from currently known. Elsewhere, too, similar badges with lewd representations have surfaced.

In relative terms the number of erotic brooches found in the Netherlands probably tallies with the amount found in neighbouring countries, with the exception of England. Of the large quantities of religious and secular badges discovered in England, very few have bawdy subject-matter. Those few, however, prove that the badges common in France, Germany and the Netherlands were not unknown on the other side of the Channel. London finds include a fragmentary ship and a complete one manned by a crew of phalluses (compare Fig. 1-d), a winged phallic beast to which a bell is attached (compare Fig. 1-c), an open pouch with a phallus and a large number of cock-and-hen badges (compare Fig. 1-b). Examples of the latter have also been found in Salisbury, where brooches closely related to the sexual badges and representing a monkey urinating in a mortar, or a savage, have come to light (Fig. 1-a).³

The Frenchman Arthur Forgeais, who in the third quarter of the nineteenth century industriously collected pilgrim badges and similar objects dredged up from the Seine near Paris, made no mention of sexual badges in the books he published himself, but there is no doubt that he collected them! The Musée de Cluny in Paris still owns erotic brooches from Forgeais' collection; in 1866 the curious English author Thomas Wright published a handful of finds from the Seine which were certainly regarded as obscene at the time, including badges closely resembling or virtually identical with specimens found in the Netherlands.⁴ In the museum of decorative arts in Prague is a collection of badges found in the Seine in the last century and purchased in 1894; they include some of these sexual badges, notably the vulva pilgrim (as in Fig. 1-h) and the crowned and winged phallus (almost identical with Fig. 1-c).⁵ Displayed in the showcases of that city's Musée des Antiquités without comment, along with a large number of pilgrim badges dredged up from the Seine at Rouen, are various erotic items. These three collections of badges from the Seine are evidence that the quantity of tin-lead alloy items of a salacious nature discovered there tallies with those found in the Netherlands. The published material tends to suggest otherwise, but the facts are quite different.

Because of recent finds, this material, rarely displayed in the past and virtually ignored in publications, has been attracting greater interest. Moreover, the large quantity of these finds suggests that the material may have played a more important part in the late medieval imagination than has hitherto been assumed. By no means has the

³ M. MITCHINER, *o.c.*, p. 60, cat. no. 95 (phallus ship, unidentified fragment), p. 281, no. x95 (John Auld collection, as 'ship with Thomas Becket'), p. 127, no. 326 (winged phallus, 'brotherhood badge'), p. 216-217, nos. 787-792 (cockerel kicking a hen, 'fighting cockerels'), p. 282 (figure urinating into a mortar, find-spot Salisbury); B. SPENCER, *o.c.*, p. 114, nos. 213-214 (cockerel mating with a hen, with an exposé on sexual badges), p. 115-116, nos. 216-218 (ape urinating into a mortar). Open pouch with phallus: Museum of London inv. no. 91.199.

⁴ Th. WRIGHT, *The Worship of the Generative Powers During the Middle Ages of Western Europe*, 1866. Reprint as vol. 2 in R. PAYNE KNIGHT and Th. WRIGHT, *A History of Phallic Worship*, New York, 1992.

⁵ D. HEJDOVA et al., *Stredoveké umelecké remeslo* (exhib. cat.), Prague, 1986 - Inor, 1987, p. 24, cat. nos. 176, 174.

last word been said about the correct interpretation of these badges, which merit almost anthropological scrutiny and commentary. Malcolm Jones has given parallels and leads in various publications, and notably Jan Baptist Bedaux has endeavoured to explain the function of these sexual badges from a socio-biological angle.⁶ Broadly speaking, it is apparently hard, especially for the general public, to equate this material with 'our' direct antecedents, the late medieval, Christian world. Indeed, these erotica are frequently unacknowledged, or dubbed 'antique' or 'Roman'. An interesting instance of the latter misapprehension can be seen in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Cologne. The 1976 catalogue of tin objects contains two badges in the form of winged phallic beasts, one with a bell attached, published as 'spätantik', and a huge and unmistakably medieval phallus belonging to a man with a small dog and surrounded by an illegible banderole is described as a 'nicht identifizierbarer Gegenstand'.⁷ Nor does the recently published exhibition catalogue *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch*, Zurich/Stuttgart, 1992, acknowledge the medieval erotic brooch. The text describes an unusual find as a 'naked female figure: she is obviously a smith, in view of the fact that she is hammering an object on an anvil and standing in front of a blazing forge ...'.⁸ This does scant justice to the object on the anvil, for what the unclothed female smith is forming from the incandescent metal is a winged phallus!

The archeological conditions suggest the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth as a likely dating for the erotic brooches. Broadly speaking, we may assume that they were worn as amulets, a function corresponding to that of pilgrim souvenirs. Jan Baptist Bedaux emphasized this aspect in a article of 1987 with a markedly socio-biological approach, and recently elaborated on the subject (1993).⁹ There are other grounds, too, for arguing that secular and in particular sexual badges were thought to ward off ill fortune and bring good luck, an assumption developed in this paper on the basis of illustrations in the margins of fol. 130v and 135v of the Roman de la Rose, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 25526 (Figs. 9-10). Badges like one in Fig. 1 certainly demonstrate that in a certain sense the ostensibly very different objects were at least associated: a vulva attired like a pilgrim, with a pilgrim's hat, a pilgrim's rod — crowned with a phallus — and a rosary. Another almost similar badge is the acme of persiflage; the vulva pilgrim is wearing a phallic badge: 'Les extrêmes se touchent.'

2. Tradition

Visual parallels for the talismanic sexual badges, which show an incredible diversity of representation and attest to an unbridled imagination, are few and far

⁶ M. JONES, *The Secular Badges*, in H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN and A.M. KOLDEWEL, *o.c.*, p. 99-109 (with reference to earlier articles); J.B. BEDAUX, *Laatmiddeleeuwse sexuele amuletten. Een sociobiologische benadering*, in *Annus Quadriga Mundi. Opstellen over middeleeuwse kunst opgedragen aan prof. dr. Anna C. Esmeijer (Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën, 8)*, ed. J.B. BEDAUX and A.M. KOLDEWEL, Utrecht-Zutphen, 1989, p. 16-30; J.B. BEDAUX, *Functie en betekenis van randdecoratie in middeleeuwse handschriften*, in *Kunstlicht*, 14, 1993, p. 28-33.

⁷ H.-U. HAEDEKE, *Zinn* (Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln), Cologne, 1976, p. 56, cat. nos. 9a-b, p. 74, cat. no. 67.

⁸ *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch – Die Stadt um 1300*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1992, p. 434-435.

⁹ J.B. BEDAUX, *Laatmiddeleeuwse...*, *art. cit.*; *Id.*, *Functie en betekenis...*, *art. cit.*

between. A few examples are mentioned here. In Aardenburg (Zealand Flanders), among late fourteenth-century wasters from a local kiln, a red earthenware plate decorated with a large phallus in whitish-yellow slip was found.¹⁰ German glasses, and probably Dutch 'façon de Venise' ones too, in the shape of a phallus are known, made in the late Middle Ages or early Modern Times.¹¹ Recent literature points out that they were produced in fairly large quantities, but that no specimens predating the late fifteenth century have yet been found. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Romans had phallus glasses. Highly intriguing is a late fifteenth-century copper plate of North Italian origin with sexual themes engraved on both sides.¹² No old prints from this plate are known. The depictions on one side are more in the nature of sexual allegories: sitting on either side of a spinning woman are two men, one of whom is carving wooden spoons, the other playing the bagpipes. A small child holding a toy duck is beside the industrious spoon-carver, whose exposed, drooping penis is plainly visible. Not only is the musician playing a familiar instrument which is usually interpreted as a sexual symbol, he drives home the message with the small dismembered phallus tied to one of the drones. The representation on the other side is more explicit: it shows a copulating couple on one end of a Gothic seat, while a oversized winged phallic animal with a tail and a bell is clawing its way up the other side. The inscription PURINEGA TI(EN)E DURO on the banderole twined around the couple has not been explained satisfactorily as yet.

Of course illustrations which may be associated with erotic brooches also occur in the margins of manuscripts. Bedaux, for instance, recently published a page from a copy by Johannes Andrea, *Novella in librum tertium Decretalium Gregorii IX* of 1392, on which the margin decoration shows a splendid winged phallic beast with a bell attached being struck from the rear by a huntress armed with a bow and arrow.¹³ Whether this hunting of a phallic beast is more than mere frivolity remains to be seen. Lecturing in Vienna, Malcolm Jones referred to this manuscript and also mentioned the Washington copper plate.¹⁴ The erotic fantasies represented by the badges appear to belong to a standard, traditional iconography, a realm of fantasy to which the Old French *fabliaux* bear witness. In the margins of the French manuscript of the Roman de la Rose discussed here, Bibliothèque nationale, ms fr. 25526, are a

¹⁰ J.A. TRIMPE BURGER, *Aardewerkse pottenbakkerswaar*, in *Mededelingenblad Vrienden van de Nederlandse Ceramiek*, no. 1-2, 1974, p. 5-6.

¹¹ E. BAUMGARTNER, *Glas des späten Mittelalters. Die Sammlung Karl Amendt* (exhib. cat. Düsseldorf, 1987; Rotterdam, 1987; Veste Coburg, 1988), Düsseldorf, 1987, p. 104, no. 126; ID., and I. KRUEGER, *Phönix aus Sand und Asche. Glas des Mittelalters* (exhib. cat.), Bonn-Basel-München, 1988, p. 421-422, no. 530.

¹² Washington, National Gallery of Art. J.A. LEVENSON, K. OBERHUBER and J.L. SHEEHAN, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, Washington, 1973, p. 526-527, Appendix A (Konrad Oberhuber). My thanks to Dr. Fritz Koreny of the Albertina Graphische Sammlung in Vienna, for drawing my attention to this copper engraving plate.

¹³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 4014, fol. 1. J.B. BEDAUX, *Functie en betekenis...*, *art.cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁴ M. JONES, *Lecture Sex & Sexuality in Late Medieval & Early Modern Art*, forthcoming in the first volume of *Frühe Neuzeit Studien* (Peter Lang). Information kindly supplied by Malcolm Jones in a letter of December 20, 1993.

relatively small number of representations which reflect the fantasies which inspired the sexual brooches and which moreover seem to reveal at least part of the meaning we must assign to these badges, particularly the phallic ones. This manuscript, with its frankly sexual illustrations to the strongly sexual-allegorical text of the Roman de la Rose, is a notable exception: we know of no other copy of the Roman de la Rose with such lewd illustrations.¹⁵

3. *Manuscrit français 25526*

This copy of the Roman de la Rose was written and illuminated around the middle of the fourteenth century by Richart and Jeanne de Montbaston, a *libraire* and his spouse who jointly ran a workshop under the jurisdiction of the University of Paris. A manuscript illuminated by Richart in 1348 enables us to identify several books by this writer-illuminator partnership. After Richart's death Jeanne carried on the workshop alone and was sworn in as a 'libraire' at the University in 1353.

The Roman de la Rose manuscript from Richart and Jeanne de Montbaston's workshop is one of a large number of surviving medieval copies — some 300 manuscripts are known. The de Montbaston copy is a complete and correct rendering of the text by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung. The whole manuscript contains 54 traditional illustrations, more or less the standard repertory encountered in copies of the Roman de la Rose. The quality of these miniatures is not particularly high. Consequently, this version of the Roman is by no means unusual or striking, as was established by Alfred Kuhn back in 1911, in his dissertation *Die Illustration des Rosenromans*.¹⁶ What is exceptional about the manuscript, though, is that the scribe and the illuminator are identified; they actually pictured themselves at work in the margins of folio 77 and 77v (Fig. 2). On the left we see the scribe — Richart — and behind him the written gatherings hanging up to dry; on the right a woman — Jeanne — is illuminating the text.

Even more unusual, especially in the context on which this discussion of the manuscript is based, is the extraordinarily lavish series of decorations in the margins of this manuscript. Not only are the 'marginalia' extremely numerous — they occur on almost every side of the 163 folios, amounting to a total of 325 — the draughtsmanship is skillful and attractive, and the range of subjects is amazingly wide. Alfred Kuhn singled them out for particular praise: 'Die Qualität dieser Randzeichnungen steht bedeutend höher als die der Miniaturen', continuing: 'Das Interesse der Handschrift liegt übrigens ausschliesslich in der üppigen Fülle der am Fusse einer jeden Seite sich findenden farbigen Zeichnungen. Da werden Sujets aus der Bibel neben Jagd-, Kriegs- und Turnierszenen dargestellt, Martyrien neben Szenen aus dem Landleben, Tierdrolesken und recht massiven Erotika'.

¹⁵ A Dutch version of the following was published in: H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN and A.M. KOLDEWEL, *o.c.*, p. 110-114. Literature pertaining to this manuscript cited below: A. KUHN, *Die Illustration des Rosenromans*, Freiburg i. Br., 1911; J.V. FLEMING, *The Roman de la Rose. A Study in Allegory and Iconography*, Princeton, 1969; M. CAMILLE, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, London, 1992.

¹⁶ A. KUHN, *o.c.*, p. 40.

The 'recht massive Erotika' are extremely interesting and directly comparable with representations on sexual badges. These intriguing marginalia have also been the subject of studies on the *Roman de la Rose* and in a broader context. John Fleming, in the preface to his *Study in Allegory and Iconography of the Roman de la Rose* of 1969, wrote: 'What of such a copy of the poem as ms. français 25526 in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the 163 folios of which are lavishly decorated, recto and verso, with the most wide-ranging exemplary marginalia? Would the readers be unable to understand the lengthy sequences illustrating the life of Christ, His childhood and His Passion, just as they would regard the "secular" horse who nervously attends the copulating "pilgrims" at folio 111v [Fig. 6 here] as merely a decorative detail without conceptual relevance?'¹⁷ In other words, it ought to be just as feasible to interpret erotic scenes as religious subjects. Apart from the puzzling description of the amorous couple as 'pilgrims' and the horse as 'nervous', Fleming raises an important issue: what story do the margin illustrations tell, what is their meaning in general and of the erotic ones in particular, what is their relationship, if any, to the text of the *Roman de la Rose*?

The marginalia in this manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* do not, as might be expected, illustrate the text. However, they do — very occasionally — allude to it. These allusions are more associative than illustrative. In the margin of folio 35v, for instance, we see two pilgrims or travellers under a section of text dealing with the straight path of 'old age' and the tortuous path pursued by youth. And below an account of conflicting personifications on folio 116v we see two warships engaged in battle and French and English knights in combat.¹⁸

Among the 325 decorations in the margins of this copy of the *Roman de la Rose* are nine representing various degrees of obscenity — Alfred Kuhn's 'recht massive Erotika'. Compared with the wide range of other subjects in the margins, these nine lewd illustrations form a very small group. The Childhood of Christ, for example, occurs 35 times; there are 15 instances of knights on horseback; 112 *bas-de-pages* are decorated with animals in a variety of attitudes other than 'erotic'. Nonetheless, the nine 'obscene' margins are so striking as to merit special mention by Kuhn and Fleming; more recently they prompted Michael Camille to observe in his book *Image on the Edge*: 'The copulations, prominent erections and a tree flowering with phalluses pictured in the "bas de pages" of this manuscript may very well have been the work of this lady [i.e. Jeanne de Montbaston], perhaps the first example we have of a woman subverting sexual roles in the depiction of male desire and domination over her sex. Her little men are dominated by vast erections. Jumping on animals, nuns and anything else that passes by, these men are as much the butt of the joke as the traditionally errant cloistered females who share their space.'¹⁹ Unfortunately this racy description is a gross exaggeration, and tendentious and sloppy to boot. In the first place we do not know whether the margin illustrations are really Jeanne de Montbaston's work, and we may certainly not draw any conclusions about her fantasies. What is more, no little men

¹⁷ J.F. FLEMING, *o.c.*, p. viii.

¹⁸ Compare A. KUHN, *o.c.*, p. 61-62 and p. 62 note 1.

¹⁹ M. CAMILLE, *o.c.*, p. 148-149.

with huge erections are leaping on anything at all. To be sure, there are some erotic scenes, but they are of a more narrative nature, and one mannikin does have a formidable erection — we shall come back to him in a minute — but he is certainly not jumping, nor is there a woman, nun or horse in sight. On the other hand, Camille apparently noticed only one tree bristling with phalluses, whereas there are two (Figs. 4 and 8).

What can be concluded from these erotic margin illustrations, and how do they relate to the badges? The first sexual scene in the manuscript, folio 63, merely shows a couple in bed under the left-hand column, a story which evidently ends less amorously than it began, for under the right-hand column the woman is driving the naked man into a tower with a chopping-board or some such implement. The text on this page does indeed allude to love and lovemaking, but this happens so frequently in the *Roman de la Rose* that it is unlikely to have inspired this particular illustration.

However, things get more serious in the next two pictures. On folio 106 a woman robed in black (a nun?) is leading a man attired in a habit (a monk?) by a chain attached to his penis (Fig. 3). The couple are making their way towards a tower on the right of the same page, where we see the woman, her skirts tucked up, sitting on top of the tower and the man climbing up a ladder towards her. Folio 106v shows the (same?) woman plucking phalluses from a tree; on the right we see the couple embracing (Fig. 4). The text on these pages deals with love and lovemaking, dwelling on the power of Nature which compels all living creatures to engage in sexual activity. Towards the end of folio 106v the Old Woman wishes she could have had the greatest possible number of lovers...

Folio 111 has erotic illustrations in the margins of both the recto and verso (Figs. 5 and 6). The scenes are enacted by the same couple: the man is kneeling in front of the woman, who is raising an admonitory finger — or is she really making an obscene gesture? Apparently she is, for before long she and the man are making love (Fig. 5). On the verso their copulation continues in a recumbent position. Here we see Fleming's nervous horse, bearing an interesting burden: a saddle-bag containing three phalluses (Fig. 6)!

On folio 132v the erotic sequence continues: on the left we see the man and woman embracing on a hillock, and on the right the woman greeting the man in front of a church. The man's penis is bared, and he appears to be holding a contraceptive in his right hand (Fig. 7). The second phallus tree is depicted on folio 160; two women or nuns are harvesting the crop into their laps. Under the right-hand column of text the man is offering the woman a crowned phallus with both hands (Fig. 8).

There is an evident thematic correspondence between these margin illustrations and the sexual badges, although exact parallels cannot be ascertained. Nor do the last two folios with sexual images in the margin suggest literal parallels with the badges; they are however extremely illustrative for our interpretation of the badges. On folio 130v we see two little men attacking a monster in a very manly manner indeed (Fig. 9). They have adopted menacing poses. The foremost one, clothed, is wielding an enormous cudgel which he clutches in both hands. Behind him the second man, stark naked, is pointing a two-handled sword at the monster. His nakedness is an essential factor here, his impressive erection accentuating the two men's intimidating demeanour. Cudgel, sword and phallus form an ascending triad. The lower margin of

folio 135v (Fig. 10), finally, confirms this interpretation, establishing the link with phallus brooches: a grotesque creature with the head of a woman or nun and the body of a raptor, is waving both arms at an unflinching, gryphon-like monster facing her. The cudgel in her right hand, although held behind her back, is aimed at the beast, as is the phallus in her right hand. Like the swordsman's erection on folio 130v, the unattached phallus is clearly meant to ward off danger. It is supposed to protect the grotesque creature and frighten the gryphon. Phallus brooches may be similarly interpreted as objects which dispel evil, protect the wearer, bring good luck and avert misfortune. There is of course no overlooking the fertility aspect: more primitive societies firmly associated fertility with wealth and power.

Conclusion

The decorations in the margins of this manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*, at any rate the nine with a sexual character, are evidence, as is the phallic beast in the said manuscript of 1392 and other parallels with erotic brooches, of their belonging to a stereotype iconography, to a realm of fantasy which had crystallized to a considerable extent by the late Middle Ages. More intensive research can and indeed must yield a more detailed explanation for many of the depicted scenes and for many of the allusions made by the brooches. In turn, source material will invariably provide enlightenment, and written sources such as the *fabliaux* must certainly be involved in the study of this material. In any case, observations like Michael Camille's which characterize the marginalia in the *Roman de la Rose* as an example, indeed the epitome, of female fantasies, are both ridiculous and ahistorical. This material confronts us with an almost forgotten and in our eyes rather absurd iconography which was very much alive in a period reaching from the thirteenth century into the fifteenth, after which it seems to have disappeared completely, perhaps under the influence of a stronger Christianization and 'civilization'. Even so, the tradition was not entirely obliterated. A nice reminiscence of late medieval imagination occurs in the 'Hammer of Witches', the 'Malleus Maleficarum' by the inquisitors and Dominican friars Jakob Sprenger and Heinrich Institoris (Krämer), published in Latin in 1487.²⁰ Several examples of witchcraft are cited in it, notably those thought to bring about infertility, which was regarded as a serious threat. In this context bewitched phalluses are described as being taken from their rightful owners and hidden: '...in considerable numbers, twenty to thirty male members ... in a bird's nest, where they move like living creatures, feeding on grain and other food...'²¹

There is no denying the link between this image and sexual brooches: the latter are shaped into male and female sexual organs which lead lives of their own, in and under trees (Fig. 1-g), isolated or in combinations (Fig. 1-c-h).

Translated from the Dutch by Ruth Koenig.

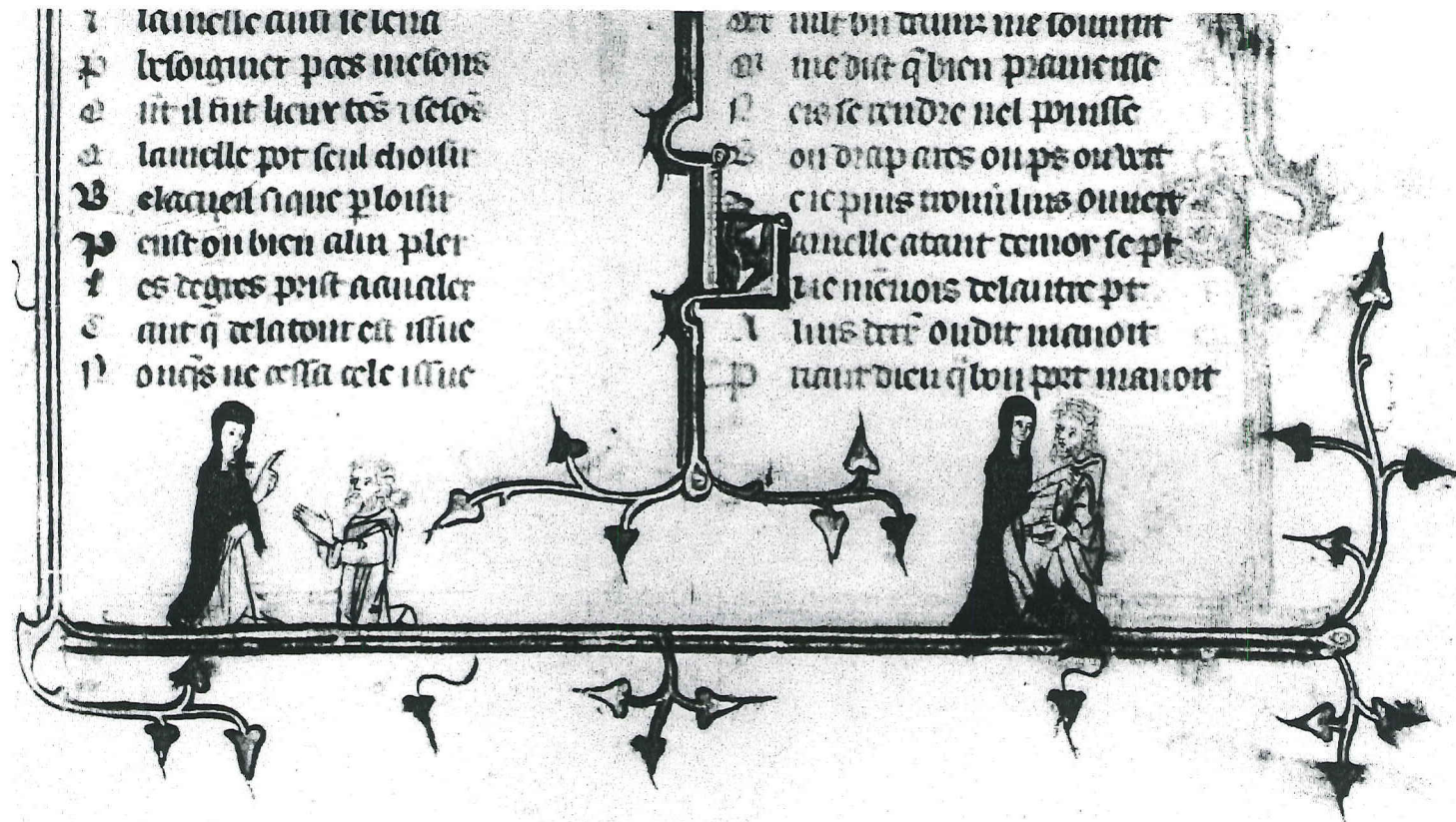
²⁰ J. SPRENGER and H. INSTITORIS, *Malleus Maleficarum*, 1487, ed. J.W.R. SCHMIDT, *Der Hexenhammer*, Berlin, 1906 (reprint Darmstadt, 1974).

²¹ J. SPRENGER and H. INSTITORIS, *o.c.*, 2, p. 85 (Part 2, question 1, chapter 7); this passage is also cited by M. JONES, *art. cit.*, p. 104, 109.



A BAREFACED ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Fig. 1. - *Erotic badges*, tin-lead alloy, 14th-15th century, found in the Netherlands (Nieuwlande, Reimerswaal, Amsterdam, Bruges). - Cothen, Coll. H.J.E. van Beuningen. (Copyright: Cothen, Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profane Insignes).



A BAREFACED ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Fig. 5 - Erotic scene, bas-de-page from *Roman de la Rose*, Paris, c. 1350. - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 25526, fol. 111. (Copyright: Paris, Bibl. nat.).

**FLANDERS
IN A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE**

**MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION AROUND 1400
IN FLANDERS AND ABROAD**

Proceedings of the International Colloquium
Leuven, 7 - 10 September 1993

Edited by
Maurits SMEYERS
and
Bert CARDON

OFFPRINT



UITGEVERIJ PEETERS

LEUVEN

1995