

## Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 4 \*

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4. Why did some illuminators dare to ignore the conditions for composition written in the rubrics and create Fortune's miniatures based on their original ideas?

This is a theme given in the Findings of Chapter 3, section 4, that is, a study of the relationship between Fortune's miniatures and the rubrics in the *Rose* manuscripts. The question I would like to pose here is whether illuminators were able to create miniatures based on their own ideas without hesitation, even though the conditions for composition were given in the text. The seventy-eight miniatures of Fortune confirmed in the *Rose* manuscripts will be carefully examined, focusing on Fortune's eyes and Reason mentioned in the rubrics.

4.1 The relationship between Fortune's miniatures and the descriptions of her eyes in the rubrics

According to the explanatory information shown in Chapter 3, section 4, the phrase "les yeux bandés," or "blindfolded" was found in the rubrics before line 4819 and before line 6143, although there were some variations in spelling: twenty out of the twenty-three cases in the former and thirteen out of the sixteen cases in the latter<sup>1</sup> [See Appendix 5]. Even if there was no such phrase in the rubric, Fortune's eyes could be depicted in miniatures under the discretion of the illuminators, which was something acceptable from an iconographical perspective: Fortune had her eyes clearly open in Fr. 24392 (line 4819), Fortune was blindfolded with cloth in MS Smith-Lesouëf 62 (line 4819) and Fortune kept her eyes closed in MS Douce 188 (line 6143).

Then, I wondered if the miniatures of Fortune in the *Rose* manuscripts had been depicted as per "les yeux bandés," their respective conditions for composition written in the rubrics. Fortune depicted in line 4819 was blindfolded with cloth in nineteen cases, and had her eyes clearly open only in one case. Similarly, Fortune depicted in line 6143 was blindfolded with cloth in eleven cases, and had her eyes clearly open only in one case.<sup>2</sup> Fortune's eyes may have been a secondary allegorical element in portraying her, but it seems that the illuminators have had a basic tendency to follow the conditions for composition. Two examples that did not follow the description in the rubric, one from each line, were in the same manuscript, Montpellier MS H 246. Overall, two miniatures of Fortune were quite different from the others in the same scene, including the composition of the wheel. This means that the illuminator was trying to make them even more original and more creative. Maybe the illuminator has given priority to the originality of the miniature when creating it and, as a part of the process, dared to ignore the conditions for composition written in the rubric. As discussed in IV.3.3, the more iconographical features were

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1 As for Warsaw M 52 and The Jersey MS, it is believed that the illuminators depicted Fortune's eyes, following the respective text descriptions in line 6143: "les yeulx bandez" and "les yes bendez".

2 The miniature of BNE MS 10032 was impossible to classify because of the severe damage to Fortune's face.

presented, the more the miniature deviated from the traditional and classical depiction.<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to clarify our position on whether to value the originality of the illuminators or the role of the miniatures when we try to interpret the meaning of miniatures.

#### 4.2 The relationship between Fortune's miniatures and the descriptions of Reason in the rubrics

I pointed out in Chapter 3, section 3 that the figure of Reason discussing Fortune and her wheel was depicted only in nine miniatures among the *Rose* manuscripts. Then, I wondered if Reason in the miniatures of Fortune had been depicted as per the rubrics that I referred to earlier as “the conditions for composition”. Appendix 6 was prepared in order to clarify the relationship between the miniatures and the contents in the rubrics. Three patterns were found in the eighteen miniatures of Fortune:

- (1) Reason was mentioned in the rubric, and so Reason was depicted in the miniature.
- (2) Reason was mentioned in the rubric, but Reason was not depicted in the miniature.
- (3) Reason was not mentioned in the rubric, but Reason was depicted in the miniature.

Four miniatures were applicable to (1), nine miniatures to (2), and five miniatures to (3). This fact leads us to suppose that the illuminators did not have much intention to follow the conditions for composition by the rubrics faithfully in the scenes of the Counsel of Reason. In particular, (3) tells us that the illuminators tried to show novelty and originality in the space provided for them within the limits of the discretion they were granted.

Even so, Reason was not the focus of much attention. Why didn't the illuminators put together their miniatures of Fortune to fit the conditions for composition by the rubrics? This mystery can possibly be solved by analyzing the eighteen miniatures listed in Appendix 6.

Group A : five miniatures

Grenoble MS 608 Rés (line 5812); Lyon MS P. A. 25 (line 5877); Morgan MS M. 948 (line 5914); BnF MS Fr. 12595 (line 6783); Morgan MS M. 948 (line 6825)

Group B : four miniatures

Chicago MS UC 1380 (line 4863); BL MS Harley 4425 (line 5871); BnF MS Fr. 1575 (line 5891); Montpellier MS H 246 (line 6143)

There might have been a slight problem with the space sizes provided for these miniatures. Aside from this question, if we focused on the nine miniatures in which Reason was included, that is, Group A and Group B, then we would recognize how the illuminators had decided on the layout of the composition from the beginning, with the exception of MS UC 1380. For example, in Grenoble MS 608 Rés, the motif of Fortune turning the wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground was set in the right half of the composition, while the dialogue scene between Reason and Lover in the left half. In BL MS Harley 4425, the motif of Fortune's wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the rock and Fortune sitting on the hub of the wheel was set in the right half of the composition, while the dialogue scene between Reason and Lover in the left half. Group A

<sup>3</sup> cf. Alan H. Nelson, “Mechanical Wheels of Fortune, 1100-1547,” *JWCI*, XLIII (1980), 227. He expressed his personal opinion about the wheel of Fortune depicted in BnF Fr. 1586, folio 30<sup>vo</sup> that “this wonderful machine was doubtless the product of the illustrator's imagination alone.”

would tell us that even without the rubric, the illuminators must have understood the importance of this scene, in which Reason advised Lover about Fortune’s activities. Group A and Group B are different in that there occurs a mention of Reason in the rubric or not, but they both probably indicate that the illuminators had the idea of dividing the motif into the right and left sides in order to include Reason from the stage of deciding on the composition.

Group C : four miniatures

BnF MS Smith-Lesouëf 62 (line 4819); Oxford MS Douce 332 (line 5871); BSG MS 1126 (line 6143); BnF MS Fr. 24388 (line 6143)

Group D : three miniatures

BnF MS Fr. 24392 (line 4819); BnF MS Fr. 24392 (line 6143); Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3 (line 6143)

Group E : two miniatures

Genève MS Fr. 178 (line 4819); BnF MS Fr. 1565 (line 6143)

The composition of Group C was that Fortune stood behind the big wheel the size of her height, holding the outer wheel or spokes with both hands, and so we see that there was no space left for Reason to be depicted. The composition of Group D was that Fortune was near the center, with the wheel on the left. There seemed to be enough space left for Reason alone or Reason & Lover to be depicted, but it/ they may have been left out because of the emphasis on the background. The composition of Group E was that Fortune, slender and tall, was set in the center, holding the outer ring with both hands and standing behind the wheel. There seemed to be enough space left for Reason alone or Reason & Lover to be depicted, but it/ they may have been excluded due to the inclusion of an edging pattern consisting of red, white, and blue colors. Common to all the Groups C, D, and E was that the illuminators did not include a crucial motif in Fortune’s miniatures, namely, the motif that Reason advised Lover about Fortune’s activities, despite the conditions for composition written in the rubrics.

The analysis of the eighteen miniatures was as shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Pattern	(1)	(2)	(3)
Group Classification	Group B	Group C, Group D, Group E	Group A

Reason was not included in the Groups C, D, and E, which belonged to (2), even though “the conditions for composition” were indicated in the rubrics. I believe it was left to the discretion of the illuminators to decide whether or not to include Reason in the miniatures of Fortune. In the composition like Group C, however, there was not even room for Reason to be depicted, which was seen in four out of the eighteen miniatures. This analysis revealed that some illuminators had no intention of including Reason in the composition from the beginning.

#### 4.3 Fortune’s miniatures depicted between lines 4029 and 7200

The miniatures with Fortune’s wheel between lines 4029 and 7200, which were equivalent to the scenes of “the Counsel of Reason,” will be discussed here<sup>4</sup>. Table 3 in III. 2 shows that the seventy-

one miniatures of Fortune are targeted for the survey, but a close look at the motif of ‘the wheel of Fortune’ in Appendix 4 greatly helps to narrow the target down to the fifty-eight miniatures. When I checked each of the miniatures to see whether these had been depicted in the composition as seen in Group C, it became clear that twenty-nine of them did belong to this group.

line 4819 Baltimore MS W. 143, f. 34; Chantilly MS 481, f. 32<sup>vo</sup> and MS 482, f. 35; BL MS Add. 42133, f. 34; Gray’s Inn MS 10, f. 30<sup>vo</sup>; BNE MS Vit. 23-11, f. 37<sup>vo</sup>; Morgan MS M. 48, f. 37, MS M. 324, f. 34<sup>vo</sup> and MS M. 503, f. 34; BnF MS Fr. 1565, f. 34, MS Fr. 12593, f. 37, MS Fr. 24388, f. 36 and (MS Smith-Lesouëf 62, f. 34<sup>vo</sup>); Princeton MS Garrett 126, f. 36

line 5847 MS Astor A. 12, f. 50<sup>vo</sup>

line 5871 Morgan MS M. 132, f. 48

line 5891 Milan MS I 78 sup., f. 35<sup>vo</sup>; BL MS Add. 31840, f. 40<sup>vo</sup>

line 6143 BL MS Add. 42133, f. 42<sup>vo</sup>; BNE MS 10032, f. 39<sup>vo</sup>; Morgan MS M. 185, f. 45; Oxford MS Douce 188, f. 45; (BSG MS 1126, f. 43<sup>vo</sup>); BnF MS Fr. 802, f. 42, MS Fr. 1560, f. 44<sup>vo</sup>, (MS Fr. 24388, f. 44<sup>vo</sup>) and MS Fr. 25526, f. 48; Warsaw MS 52, f. 58; The Jersey MS, f. 35

The three miniatures in parentheses indicate that they were the examples discussed in 4.2. Even if the above miniatures did serve as visual clarifications for the subsequent development of the story, the fact that twenty-nine out of the fifty-eight miniatures, or fifty percent in percentage terms, were depicted like Group C would be a serious problem, because some illuminators did not start out with the idea of including Reason in the composition. Why didn’t they adopt the composition where the wheel was supported by the posts from the beginning, like Chicago MS UC 1380 and BnF MS Fr. 1575 in Group B? Reason is supposed to have acted as host between lines 4029 and 7200. Therefore, I believe that the miniatures with no room for Reason, such as Group C and the like, would have been failures in composition.

## 5. Conclusions

Thus, I have worked on a pioneering investigation of Fortune’s miniatures in the *Rose* manuscripts since I was inspired by Matsushita (2014). The main objectives of this paper were threefold: (1) to clarify the existence or non-existence of Fortune’s miniatures through a detailed survey of 314 manuscripts in the *Rose* corpus plus the Jersey manuscript, (2) to clarify the line numbers in the *Rose* manuscripts where Fortune’s miniatures could be found, and (3) to decipher and clarify what was written in the rubrics just over or just under Fortune’s miniatures.

The fruition of the first objective was, though not sufficient, probably due to a dramatic change of the research methods. Fortune’s miniatures were generally identified through literature searches until the end of the twentieth century. So were the forty miniatures in the *Rose* manuscripts published in Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000). In the twenty-first century, however, a number of institutions have begun to permit us to browse some of the manuscripts in their collections. Such

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4 Unlike the survey in 4.2, it is not limited to Fortune’s miniatures based on the contents in the rubrics.

environment encouraged me to pursue my research, and made it easier for me to confirm whether Fortune's miniatures were present or not in the *Rose* manuscripts. I conducted a survey of 244 out of the 314 manuscripts, which represented approximately seventy-eight percent of the total, and found out that 59 manuscripts had Fortune's miniatures and 185 ones did not. In addition, I was able to identify successfully that the seventy-eight miniatures of Fortune were in the *Rose* manuscripts, each of which was briefly described in Chapter 3, section 4. The fruition of the second objective was undoubtedly due to having the Lecoy edition (1982-85) to depend on. Reading the original text in Old French was a Herculean task, and all I could read was only a few sentences just over or just under the miniatures of Fortune. Since the line numbers, of course, were not given in the manuscripts, I tried to track down the original concerned in the manuscripts, relying on the word "Fortune" in the Lecoy edition. Thanks to this hard work, I was able to clarify where all the seventy-eight miniatures were put in the *Rose* manuscripts. In particular, I found out that twenty-three miniatures were in line 4819, sixteen in line 6143, and seven in line 5891, which accounted for approximately fifty-nine percent. In other words, my research revealed that these three lines were significant in terms of Fortune's allegory in the *Rose* manuscripts. The fruition of the third objective was definitely due to having an Old French dictionary at hand. No rubrics were written in the Lecoy edition. In such a situation where the edition was not useful for deciphering the rubrics, my last resort was the Old French dictionary. Deciphering the rubrics, though a daunting task for me, was a necessity in order to investigate the relationship between Fortune's miniatures and the contents in the rubrics. My efforts paid off. It certainly helped me interpret some miniatures: For example, the two miniatures of BnF, NAF MS 9252, folio 16 were severely damaged, making it quite difficult to decipher them. In the former (folio 16<sup>a</sup>), however, the rubric helped me imagine Fortune, blindfolded but engaged in the wheel with her hands outstretched on the spokes. In the latter (folio 16<sup>b</sup>), it helped me imagine that a rock was in the sea, on which the wheel of Fortune was placed, and that Fortune herself was in the wheel. Furthermore, I believe my meticulous analysis revealed that illuminators were allowed a certain amount of discretion when depicting miniatures in the spaces provided for them in the manuscripts.

Aside from the research results for the above three objectives, the greatest achievement of this paper was to find out that the miniature of Fortune in Lausanne MS 454, folio 17<sup>o</sup> was not depicted in the space where it should have been. This exciting discovery was the result of a comparative study among the *Rose* manuscripts: After confirming that there were at least twenty-six miniatures suitable for the line number of the manuscripts in terms of a visual clarification, re-examining MS 454 led me to find a miniature similar to them in folio 31, which was the scene describing the residence of Fortune.

I have no doubt that my research will be valuable. However, my research, as mentioned in the fruition of the first objective, would not have been sufficient, for online searches had some limitations: For example, the Royal Library of Belgium (abbr. KBR) had nine *Rose* manuscripts in its collection, but only three of them (MS 4782, MS 9575, MS 11019) were made available to the public. In addition, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (abbr. KB) in Copenhagen and the National Library in Turin had four *Rose* manuscripts in their respective collections, but they all could not even be

accessed and browsed.

Roman de la Rose Digital Library says “spreadsheet is a work in progress and will be subject to change.” Indeed, the number of manuscripts listed in the spreadsheet has increased dramatically, compared to that of approximately ten years ago. Moreover, a great number of libraries in France currently allow us to browse them through the Digital Viewer. If we wait patiently, we will be able to view all the *Rose* manuscripts someday. If we don’t want to, we may be able to save time by contacting the libraries and museums that house the *Rose* manuscripts to see if Fortune’s miniatures are included in them.

[Postscripts]

Our college regulations on publications forced me to divide into four parts the paper that consisted of seventy pages (A4 size, 42 x 35 lines). Moreover, unfortunately, I was required to delete part of the contents in Part 2 due to the regulations.

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Part 1: *Bulletin of Kagoshima Prefectural College*, No. 72 (2021), 85-102.

Part 2: *Annual Report of Regional Research Institute* (Kagoshima Prefectural College), No. 53 (2021), 45-62.

Part 3: *Bulletin of Kagoshima Prefectural College*, No. 73 (2022), 53-68.

Part 4: *Annual Report of Regional Research Institute* (Kagoshima Prefectural College), No. 54 (2022), 1-8.

However, the divided publication was a good opportunity for me to take a further look at the paper for the next issue.

## Appendix 5: The relationship between Fortune's miniatures and her eyes in the rubrics

No	Manuscript	line	Fortune's eyes	Fortune's eyes in the rubric
1	ÖNB MS. 2592	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les/ Yex bendes
4	Chantilly MS 481	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex bentez
5	Chantilly MS 482	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les iex/ Bendez
8	Montpellier MS H 245	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex/ bendez
9	Montpellier MS H 246	4819	keeping her eyes open	les iex bendes
19	BnF MS Fr. 1565	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les iex/ Bendes
24	BnF MS Fr. 12593	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les/ Yex bendes
27	BnF MS Fr. 24388	4819	blindfolded with cloth	Les yex be[n]des
29	BnF MS Fr. 24392	4819	keeping her eyes open	
35	MS Smith-Lesouëf 62	4819	blindfolded with cloth	
36	Arsenal MS 5209	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex be[n]dez
41	BNE MS Vit. 23-11	4819	blindfolded with cloth	lez/ ieux bandes
43	Genève MS Fr. 178	4819	blindfolded with cloth	Les yex bendes
48	MS Add. 42133	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les oi/ elz bendez
51	Gray's Inn MS 10	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les/ yex bendes
57	Baltimore MS W. 143	4819	not confirmable	
63	Morgan MS M. 48	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les/ Yex be[n]des
66	Morgan MS M. 324	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex/ Bendes
67	Morgan MS M. 503	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex bendes
72	MS Collins 1945-65-3	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les/ yeulx bandez
74	MS Garrett 126	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex bendez
75	MS Reg. lat. 1492	4819	blindfolded with cloth	Les/ yeux Bendez
77	The Jersey MS, f. 26	4819	blindfolded with cloth	les yex bendes
10	Montpellier MS H 246	6143	keeping her eyes open	les iex bendez
12	BSG MS 1126	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les yeux bendes
16	BnF MS Fr. 802	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les iex be[n]des
17	BnF MS Fr. 1560	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les ieux/ bandes
20	BnF MS Fr. 1565	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les/ yex bendes
28	BnF MS Fr. 24388	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les yex/ Bendes
30	BnF MS Fr. 24392	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les yeulx bendez
32	BnF MS Fr. 25526	6143	blindfolded with cloth	lex iex/ Bendez
38	Warsaw MS 52 (III 3760)	6143	blindfolded with cloth	
39	BNE MS 10032	6143	not confirmable	elle a les yex ben/ des
44	Genève MS Fr. 178	6143	blindfolded with cloth	Les yex bendes
49	MS Add. 42133	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les yelz/ be[n]des
52	MS Douce 188	6143	closing her eyes	
65	Morgan MS M. 185	6143	blindfolded with cloth	yex/ Bendes
73	MS Collins 1945-65-3	6143	blindfolded with cloth	les yeuls/ Bandez
78	The Jersey MS, f. 35	6143	blindfolded with cloth	

Note: Face was badly damaged in the miniatures of Baltimore MS W. 143 (line 4819) and BNE MS 10032 (line 6143), and so I wrote “not confirmable” in the column of ‘Fortune’s eyes.’

Appendix 6: The relationship between miniatures and Reason in the rubrics

No.	miniature	Reason in the miniature	line	Reason in the rubric
29	BnF MS Fr. 24392	nonexistent	4819	desaipt <u>Raison</u> que cest/ De douce Fortune
35	MS Smith-Lesouëf 62	nonexistent	4819	<u>raison</u> la descirt ala[r]m[e]
43	Genève MS Fr. 178	nonexistent	4819	<u>Raison</u> p[ar]le ala[r]mant
58	Chicago MS UC 1380	existent	4863	Ci p[ar]le <u>raison</u> de fortune p[er]uerse
6	Grenoble MS 608 Rés	existent	5812	
50	BL MS Harley 4425	existent	5871	<u>Raison</u> monstre a lamat/ Fortune sa roe tournant
54	Oxford MS Douce 332	nonexistent	5871	<u>Raison</u> parle ala[r]mant
7	Lyon MS P. A. 25	existent	5877	
23	BnF MS Fr. 1575	existent	5891	Dame <u>reson</u> qui p[ar]le de fortune
68	Morgan MS M. 948	existent	5914	
10	Montpellier MS H 246	existent	6143	p[ar]le <u>Raison</u> de for/ tune
12	BSG MS 1126	nonexistent	6143	parle <u>raison</u> de fortune
20	BnF MS Fr. 1565	nonexistent	6143	parle <u>raison</u> de fortune
28	BnF MS Fr. 24388	nonexistent	6143	p[ar]le <u>raison</u> de fortune
30	BnF MS Fr. 24392	nonexistent	6143	parle <u>Raison</u> de fortune
73	MS Collins 1945-65-3	nonexistent	6143	parle <u>raison</u> de fortune
26	BnF MS Fr. 12595	existent	6783	
69	Morgan MS M. 948	existent	6825	