

## Discovering the Miniatures of Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts online

TODOROKI Yoshiaki<sup>1</sup>

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### I. Introduction

In the 21st century, it has become possible to make searches online for manuscripts housed in libraries and museums all over the world, although not all of them are available. In 2010, online searches enabled me to newly discover and disclose the sixty-one miniatures of Fortune<sup>2</sup> that were not included in Kurose (1977)<sup>3</sup> and Todoroki (2000)<sup>4</sup>. However, I still did not think that the survey of Fortune's miniatures was sufficiently complete. For example, the index of miniatures classified by authors or titles in Todoroki (2000) indicates that Pierre Michault's *La danse aux aveugles* manuscripts and Watriquet de Couvin's *Poésies* manuscripts have only one miniature of Fortune<sup>5</sup>. I wondered if that was really the case. Even though I should retire from Kagoshima Prefectural College next year, I believed that further manuscript research might yield unexpected results. And this is the fruit of my efforts.

### II. Research Methods

1. Accessing the online website Arlima (Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge)<sup>6</sup> enabled me to obtain some information on each manuscript.
2. The following websites were accessed in order to browse some manuscripts and discover the miniatures of Fortune: (1) ARCA (IRHT digital library)<sup>7</sup>, which allows us to conduct a wide-ranging survey, or more specifically, to find out where the manuscripts we are interested in are located and

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1 Professor at Kagoshima Prefectural College.

2 Y. Todoroki, "A Descriptive Catalogue of 61 Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts (Part 2)," *Jinmon of Kagoshima Prefectural College* 34 (2010), 21-35. (written in Japanese)

3 T. Kurose, *Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1977).

4 Y. Todoroki, *An Addition to Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Seibido, 2000).

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

6 For example, see the following web pages for the manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut, Honorat Bovet, Jean de Courcy, and Pierre Michault. All the web pages mentioned below were accessed on May 29, 2024.

Guillaume de Machaut ([https://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume\\_de\\_machaut.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume_de_machaut.html))

Honorat Bovet ([https://www.arlima.net/eh/honorat\\_bovet.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/honorat_bovet.html))

Jean de Courcy ([https://www.arlima.net/il/jean\\_de\\_courcy.html](https://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_courcy.html))

Pierre Michault ([https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre\\_michault.html](https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre_michault.html))

7 <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

what kind of manuscripts are housed in the libraries of the various countries; (2) Gallica<sup>8</sup> and CCfr (Catalogue collectif de France)<sup>9</sup>, which allow us to browse the manuscripts held in the libraries and museums of France; (3) Handschriften portal<sup>10</sup>, which allows us to browse the manuscripts held in the libraries of Germany; (4) e-codice<sup>11</sup>, which allows us to browse the manuscripts held in the libraries of Switzerland; (5) KBR Digital Library<sup>12</sup>, which allows us to browse the manuscripts held in the Royal Library of Belgium; (6) Biblioteca Digital Hispánica<sup>13</sup>, which allows us to browse the manuscripts in the Spanish National Library (BNE); (7) Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts<sup>14</sup>, which allows us to browse the manuscripts held in the KB (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) and the MMW (the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum) of the Netherlands; (8) In addition, bipadi<sup>15</sup>, DigiVatLib<sup>16</sup>, ÖBN digital<sup>17</sup>, Morgan's collection<sup>18</sup>, and Digital Bodleian<sup>19</sup> were accessed to browse the manuscripts held in the University of Barcelona, the Vatican Library, National Library of Austria, the Morgan Library & Museum, and the Bodleian Library. Other URLs used for manuscript research were listed in Appendix 1.

3. Online searching of the manuscripts in part was conducted relying on some information provided by the papers published in journals: (1) As for the survey of Jean de Courcy's *La Bouquechardière* manuscripts, I thought it better to rely on the manuscript research by Béatrice de Chanel (1989)<sup>20</sup> (hereafter Béatrice (1989)); (2) As for the survey of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* manuscripts, I thought it better to rely on a checklist on the manuscripts by Nicholas Mann (1971)<sup>21</sup>; (3) As for the survey of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* manuscripts, I thought it better to rely on the manuscript lists by Dorothy M. Schullian (1981)<sup>22</sup>.

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8 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/en/content/accueil-en> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

9 <https://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/public/index.jsp> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

10 <https://handschriftenportal.de/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

11 <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

12 <https://www.kbr.be/en/collections/manuscripts/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

13 <https://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/Inicio.do> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

14 <https://manuscripts.kb.nl/information> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

15 <https://bipadi.ub.edu/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

16 <https://digi.vatlib.it/?ling=en> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

17 <https://onb.digital/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

18 <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscripts/list> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

19 <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed on May 27, 2024).

20 Béatrice de Chanel, "Les manuscrits de la *Bouquechardière* de Jean de Courcy," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* (1989), 219-290.

21 Nicholas Mann, "The Manuscripts of Petrarch's *De Remediis*: A Checklist," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XIV (1971), 57-90.

22 Dorothy M. Schullian, "A Revised List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus," in the *Miscellanea Augusto Campana* Vol. 2 (Padova: Antenore, 1981), 695-728.

### III. Survey Results and Discussions

The survey of numerous manuscripts, including *Le roman de la rose*, *La Bouquechardière*, *L'arbre des batailles*, *La danse aux aveugles*, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and *Facta et dicta memorabilia* led to a new discovery of thirty-five miniatures of Fortune. The results are presented and discussed below on a manuscript-by-manuscript basis.

#### 1. *Le roman de la rose* manuscripts

(1) Lindsay Rose, folio 27<sup>vo</sup>

(2) s.l., s.l., Collection particulière, MS 102, folio 33<sup>vo</sup>

The miniatures of Fortune in the *roman de la rose* manuscripts by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun (hereafter the *rose* manuscripts) have been extensively researched in Todoroki (2021a, 2021b, 2022a, 2022b)<sup>23</sup>. More specifically, the survey of three hundred and thirteen manuscripts with shelf marks in the Rose corpus<sup>24</sup> as of September 2020 and a paper<sup>25</sup> on the Jersey manuscript (which is currently missing) have revealed the existence of seventy-eight miniatures of Fortune among the fifty-nine manuscripts. I did not expect to come across anything new, because only two years had passed since the last publication. But I was lucky enough to discover two more miniatures of Fortune.

Lindsay Rose was one of the *rose* manuscripts that I could happen to discover by clicking on the folder ‘Current Location’ on the screen of the Digital Library of Medieval Manuscripts Viewer, because it was not included in the Rose corpus. To be more precise, Opening ‘Unspecified’ in a folder and browsing the images led me to the discovery of one miniature of Fortune in folio 27<sup>vo</sup>. Just below the miniature begins the following text description: “Orr est ainsi con de Fortune/ Q[u]i met entre les gens re[n]cune...”<sup>26</sup> The Lecoy edition tells us that the description corresponds to line 3953 ff<sup>27</sup>, which indicates that the miniature is in the first part (lines 1-4028) written by Guillaume de Lorris. Line 3953 is the first example of the word “Fortune.” Unlike the miniatures of Fortune depicted in the first part of the *rose* manuscripts, such as

23 Y. Todoroki, “Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 1,” *Bulletin of Kagoshima Prefectural College*, No. 72 (2021a), 85-102; Y. Todoroki, “Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 2,” *Annual Report of Regional Research Institute (Kagoshima Prefectural College)*, No. 53 (2021b), 45-62; Y. Todoroki, “Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 3,” *Bulletin of Kagoshima Prefectural College*, No. 73 (2022a), 53-68; Y. Todoroki, “Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 4,” *Annual Report of Regional Research Institute (Kagoshima Prefectural College)*, No. 54 (2022b), 1-8.

24 See <https://dlmm.library.jhu.edu/en/romandelarose/extant-manuscripts/> (Extant Manuscripts in Roman de la Rose Digital Library) (accessed on May 31, 2024).

25 Meradith T. McMunn, “Reconstructing a Missing Manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*: The Jersey Manuscript,” *Scriptrium* 53 (1999): 31-62 + Plates 1-11. The Jersey manuscript was stolen from the Jersey Public Library in 1955, and its current location is unknown.

26 = It is exactly the same with Fortune, who puts rancor in the hearts of men. In translating Old French into English, I referred to *Le Roman de la Rose* (Chikuma Bunko, 2007) translated into Japanese by K. Shinoda.

27 F. Lecoy, *Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun: Le Roman de la Rose* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1982-1985: Tome I-III), I. p. 122.

Madrid MS Vit, 23-11, folio 23 or BnF MS Fr. 25523, folio 35, this one can be said to have been depicted essentially on the basis of the text description: In the center of the composition is the wheel of Fortune, with three figures (*regnabo, regno, regnavi*) on it, inverted, and fixed by a pillar. Fortune is not seen near the wheel. On the left of the wheel is a young man (Lover) who raised his hands and lamented that he was the one who was plunged into the mud by a turn of the wheel.

MS 102 was one of the *rose* manuscripts that I could fortunately come across thanks to access to the ARCA website (IRHT digital library). The letters “s.l.” stand for *sine loco* (= without place) in Latin, which indicates that the location (country or city) of this manuscript is unknown. In folio 33<sup>vo</sup> is a miniature of Fortune, just over which can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]ment fortune est en sa roe les/ Yex bandes et la tourne ou il veult”<sup>28</sup>. And just below the miniature begins the following text description: “Car la debo[n]naire et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et les boule et afore”<sup>29</sup>. The Lecoy edition tells us that the description corresponds to line 4819 ff<sup>30</sup>. The composition of the miniature, in which Fortune stands behind a large wheel with no figure on it, grasping the rim of the wheel with both hands, is similar to something seen in the BnF MS Fr. 802, folio 42, the BnF MS Fr. 1560, folio 44<sup>vo</sup>, and the Chantilly MS 482, folio 35.

## 2. La Bouquechardière manuscripts

(3) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 2685, folio 280<sup>vo</sup>

(4) Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du château, MS 728 (312), folio 234

(5) Aylesbury, Waddesdon Manor, MS 11, folio 258

Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) revealed the existence of nine miniatures of Fortune in the *Bouquechardière* manuscripts<sup>31</sup> by Jean de Courcy: two in the former and seven in the latter. I did not think that I could discover any other Fortune’s miniatures than the nine ones. Fortunately, Béatrice (1989) gave me some very useful information, presenting the findings of thirty-six *Bouquechardière* manuscripts. (a) The *Bouquechardière* consists of six volumes, and the fifth volume begins with a miniature of Fortune. “Livre V: l’enluminure semble vue à travers deux arcades, reposant sur des colonnes. Dans la partie gauche, la Fortune tient une roue, sur laquelle Alexandre est représenté deux fois, au faite des honneurs et à terre, sa couronne, son sceptre et son globe gisant à ses pieds. Derrière l’arcade de droite, la reine

28 = How is Fortune at the wheel/ engaged in the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how does she turn them as she pleases?

29 = Because good-natured and benevolent Fortune lies to them and deceives them into madness.

30 F. Lecoy, I. p. 149.

31 Berlin MS 633, folio ?; Morgan MS M. II. 224, folio 53; BnF MS Fr. 329, folio 277; BnF MS Fr. 15459, folio 1; Vienna MS 2543, folio 280; BnF MS Fr. 20124, folio 259; BnF MS Fr. 20130, folio 80; BL MS Harley 4376, folio 271; MMW MS 10 A 17, folio 244. See Kurose’s Plates 26 and 27; Todoroki’s Figures 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 113. Kurose’s Plate 26, on which I relied, did not give a clear folio number to the miniature of Fortune in Berlin MS 633.

Eurydice, entourée de ses conseillers, fait empoisonner l'un après l'autre ses deux fils et son gendre"<sup>32</sup> (p. 225); (b) The text description just below the miniature begins with "Pource et affin de parfaire et accomplir ceste oeuvre" (p. 231); (c) Explicit information about the miniature, such as 'livre', or volume and folio number, is also given in 'Décoration'. I set about discovering Fortune's miniatures in the remaining twenty-seven out of the thirty-six manuscripts described by Béatrice (1989), searching online as far as I could. Aylesbury MS 11 was not a manuscript that could be searched and confirmed online. However, as Béatrice (1989) stated "f. 258: enluminure du livre V" in 'Décoration' (p. 263), I had a strong desire that I would like to see the miniature, which made me recall the title of 'Waddesdon Manor' in the course of my survey. Thus Béatrice (1989) gave me the opportunity to discover three more miniatures of Fortune.

BnF MS Fr. 2685 was one of the sixteen *Bouquechardièr*e manuscripts on the BnF listed in Arlima<sup>33</sup> that I discovered by browsing Gallica. In folio 280<sup>vo</sup> can be found a miniature of Fortune: On the left of the image, across a column in the center, can be seen the gilt lettering 'Fortune' and 'Alixandre', and Fortune is turning a large wheel with her left hand; Alexander is placed in the positions of *regno* and *sum sine regno* on the wheel; On the right, the queen, surrounded by counselors, is sitting in a canopied throne and ordering the murder of three men by poisoning, pointing her right index finger at them. The composition is similar to the one as seen in the BnF MS Fr. 20130, folio 80. Just below the miniature begins the text description "Pour et afin de/ parfaire et aco[m]/ plir ceste oeuvre".

Chantilly MS 728 was one of the *Bouquechardièr*e manuscripts that I could happen to discover while accessing the ARCA website and browsing some of the manuscripts that the château held. In folio 234 can be found a miniature of Fortune: On the left of the image, across a column in the center, can be seen the gilt lettering 'Fortune' and 'Alixandre', and Fortune is turning a large wheel with her left hand; Alexander is placed in the positions of *regno* and *sum sine regno* on the wheel; On the right, the queen, surrounded by counselors, is sitting in a canopied throne and ordering the murder of three men by poisoning, pointing her right index finger at them. The composition is similar to the one as seen in the BnF MS Fr. 329, folio 277 and Vienna MS 2543, folio 280. Just below the miniature begins the text description "Pour et affin de par/ faire et accomplir/ ceste euure".

'Waddesdon Manor' was part of the title of a rare book that I purchased in the British Museum shop when I conducted manuscript research at the British Museum Reading Room in 1990: *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Office du Livre, 1977). MS 11 is described from pages 229 to 246 of the book, and on page 243 is a miniature of Fortune in folio 258: On the left of the image, across a column near the center, can be seen the gilt lettering 'Fortune' and 'Alixandre', and Fortune is turning

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32 = The illumination appears to be seen through two arches, resting on columns. On the left, Fortune holds a wheel, on which Alexander is depicted twice, at the height of his prosperity and on the ground, where his crown, scepter and globe are lying at his feet. Behind the arcade on the right, Queen Eurydice, surrounded by her counselors, has her two sons and son-in-law one after another poisoned.

33 [https://www.arlima.net/il/jean\\_de\\_courcy.html](https://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_courcy.html) (accessed on June 13).

a large wheel with her left hand; Alexander is placed in the positions of *regno* and *sum sine regno* on the wheel; On the right, the queen, surrounded by counselors, is sitting in a canopied throne and ordering the murder of three men by poisoning, pointing her right index finger at them. The composition is similar to that of the Chantilly MS 728, folio 234. Just below the miniature is a rubric “Prologue du V<sup>e</sup> liure qui fait mencion des macedoniens et...” probably written in red ink, which is followed by the text description “Pour et afin de/ pairfaire et aco[m]/ plir ceste oeuvre”.

### 3. *L'arbre des batailles* manuscripts

(6) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1262, folio 2<sup>vo</sup>

(7) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1275, folio 2<sup>vo</sup>

(8) Madrid, BNE, MS Vit. 23-12, folio 5<sup>vo</sup>

(9) Madrid, BNE, MS Vit. 24-13, folio 4<sup>vo</sup>

(10) Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, MS 83, folio 1<sup>vo</sup>

Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) revealed the existence of four miniatures of Fortune in the *arbre des batailles* manuscripts by Honorat Bouvet (or Honoré Bonet) (hereafter the *arbre* manuscripts): one in the former and three in the latter<sup>34</sup>. It was the remarks of Coopland (1949) that interested and fascinated me with regard to these miniatures of Fortune.

How the Tree that Bonet made was drawn, we cannot know, but some, at least, of the artists who interpreted his description placed at the head of the Tree Fortune and her wheel, and to her is thus assigned some part in controlling the destinies of Popes, Emperors, Knights and Citizens.<sup>35</sup>

According to his remarks, the illuminators strived to express their originality by infusing the images with something that was not in the text description. This is what is called a product of an illuminator's imagination.

I was satisfied with the four fascinatingly beautiful miniatures of Fortune in the *arbre* manuscripts, but I was compelled to check the manuscripts to see if there were any Fortune's miniatures among more than eighty *arbre* manuscripts listed by Arlima<sup>36</sup>. I attempted to browse them on the Internet as far as possible, which led to the discovery of five more miniatures of Fortune.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1262 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted on the upper half in folio 2<sup>vo</sup>, and the tree of battles is only the uppermost branch, in the center of which Fortune is standing, holding the wheel with both hands. On the left, the Pope, holding a cross staff in his left hand, is surrounded by his followers. On the right, a figure wearing

34 Morgan MS M. 907, folio 2<sup>vo</sup>; Chantilly MS Lat. 1561, folio 10<sup>vo</sup>; BnF MS Fr. 1266, folio 5; BL MS Royal 20 C VIII, folio 2<sup>vo</sup>. See Kurose's Plate 145; Todoroki's Figures 114, 115 and 116.

35 G. W. Coopland, *The Tree of the Battles of Honoré Bonet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 63-64.

36 [https://www.arlima.net/eh/honorat\\_bovet.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/honorat_bovet.html) (accessed on June 19).

a tiara, or a triple crown, holding an upside-down cross staff in his right hand, is surrounded by his followers. Both knights on horseback are facing each other across Fortune. One step lower can also be seen another conflict between the knights on horseback. There are five captions in the image:

- reuelabo stulticia[m] eius i[n] aspertu/ amato[rum] eius et uir no[n] eruet/ ea[m] de manu mea Quia/ adulterus querit/ sponsam d[o]m[ini], which is over the Pope on the uppermost left side.
- oaudit ei sol cu[m] ad/ huc e[ss]et dies, which is over the person wearing a tiara on the topmost right.
- no[n] ueni mitte[re] pace[m] sed gladium, which is written vertically on the left side of the upside-down cross staff.
- Surget ge[n]s a gentem, which is over a conflict between the knights on the left, one step lower than the conflict between the Pope and his antagonist.
- et regnu[m] adurus regnu[m], which is next to the knights on the right, one step lower than the above conflict.

Considering the overall placement of the captions and the way Fortune is depicted, the composition seems to have imitated Morgan MS M. 907, folio 2<sup>vo</sup>.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1275 was due to an online search in Gallica. The tree of battles depicted in folio 2<sup>vo</sup> is divided into four branches on either side, with Fortune standing in the center at the top of the tree, holding the wheel with both hands. The Pope holding a cross staff in his left hand and his followers are on the left, and a figure with a sword at his left hip and his followers are on the right. Both knights on horseback are facing each other across Fortune. The conflicts between the knights on horseback can also be seen on either side of the second and third branches. In the lowest branch, a fight with bows and arrows is taking place on the left side, and a fight with swords on the right side.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BNE MS Vitr. 23-12 was due to an online search in the KBR Digital Library. The tree of battles depicted in folio 5<sup>vo</sup> is divided into four branches on either side, with Fortune standing in the center at the top of the tree, holding the wheel with both hands. The word 'Fortune' is near her, over which can be found a caption: "Supiora infimis infima supioribus mutare gaudem[us] hoc ludo continuo ludim[us]/ uniusa uolubli rota uersam[us]". On the left, the Pope, holding a cross staff in his left hand, with his three followers in tow, is seated on the throne. One of the captions is in their left corner, but the left side is cut off by several centimeters, which makes some of the words illegible: "...labo stulticia[m] ei[us] in co[n]sp[er]tu/ ...tor[um] ei[us] et uir no[n] eripiet/ .....e manu mea q[ui]a] adult[er]io/ .....rit sponsam d[o]m[ini]". On the right, a figure holding a cross staff in his right hand, with his three followers in tow, is sitting on something. One of the captions is in their right corner: "Non ueni mitte[re]/ pacem sed gladiu[m]". The knights are also facing each other across the tree on either side of the top to fourth branches in the tree of battles. Each side of the branches has its own captions, but they are omitted here. On the ground, foot soldiers are fighting with swords and aiming at the enemy with bows and arrows.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BNE MS Vit. 24-13 was due to an online search in the KBR Digital Library. The tree of battles depicted in folio 4<sup>vo</sup> is divided into four branches on either side, and at the topmost center, Fortune, with wings on her back, is standing behind the wheel the same size of her, holding the spokes with both hands and turning the wheel, on which four figures are placed, counterclockwise. Captions can be seen on either side over Fortune: "Superiora i[n]fimis in/ hoc ludo co[n]tinuo ludim[us]" on the left; "fima supiorib[us] mutare gaudem[us]/ uniusa uolubli rota uersam[us]" on the right. At the topmost left are the Pope and his supporters, next to whom is a five-line caption: "Reuelabo stulticiam ei[us]/ In conspeltu amator[um] ei[us]/ Et uir non eripiet eu[m] de manu/ mea q[ui]a adulterio suscepit spon/ sam domini". At the topmost right is his antagonist, next to whom is written a three-line caption: "no[n] ueni mi/ tere pacia/ se[d] gladiu[m]". This miniature, unlike Vit. 23-12, folio 5<sup>vo</sup>, does not have the knights on horseback facing each other on the top to fourth branches. On the ground, foot soldiers are fighting with swords. Remarkable are the captions on each side of the top to fourth branches and on the root in the tree of battles, but they are omitted here.

The title of the Barcelona MS 83 is *Arbre de les batalles*, and it was due to an online search on bipadi that I discovered Fortune's miniature. The tree of battles depicted in folio 1<sup>vo</sup>, unlike those in the BnF MS Fr. 1275, the BNE MS Vit. 23-12, and the BNE MS Vit. 24-13, has a green thick trunk and three big leaves on each side. At the top of the tree is a wheel-like object with two lines that meet at right angles and four red crosses, over which is written the word 'Fortune'. Furthermore, over the word lies a caption 'Supiora infimis infima supiorib[us]/ gaudemus hoc continuo ludo ludim[us]', which is similar to that seen in the BNE MS Vit. 23-12, folio 5<sup>vo</sup>.

#### 4. *La danse aux aveugles* manuscripts

(11) Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms 5113 réserve, folio 12<sup>vo</sup>

(12) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1186, folio 64<sup>vo</sup>

(13) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1654, folio 161<sup>vo</sup>

(14) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1696, folio 11<sup>vo</sup>

(15) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1989, folio 19

(16) Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du château, MS 146 (1513), folio 49

Kurose (1977) revealed the existence of one miniature of Fortune<sup>37</sup> in the *danse aux aveugles* manuscripts by Pierre Michault (hereafter the *danse* manuscripts). Todoroki (2000) did not include even a single miniature of Fortune from the manuscripts, which encouraged me to browse the *danse* manuscripts listed in the websites Arlima<sup>38</sup> and ARCA again. This led to the discovery of six more miniatures of Fortune. More interesting to me was the fact that the text description just below the Fortune's miniatures showed

37 See Addendum in Kurose (1977).

38 [https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre\\_michault.html](https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre_michault.html) (accessed on July 10, 2024).



that the six images could be divided into two categories.

manuscript	text description
BnF MS Fr. 1654	Fortune suis la deesse mondaine
BnF MS Fr. 1989	Fortune suis la deesse mo[n]daine
Arsenal Ms 5113 réserve	Fortune suis la deesse mondaine
BnF MS Fr. 1186	DE firant aparuenir ala notice de ma vision sieuuoie
BnF MS Fr. 1696	DE firant paruenir a la notice da ma/ vision syeuoie
Chantilly MS 146	DE firant paruenir a la notice de ma vision suy/ uoie

One question was raised by seeing Genève MS Fr. 182, folio 198, included as an Addendum in Kurose (1977), where a blindfolded ‘Cupido’ (Love), a blindfolded ‘Fortune’, and a blindfolded ‘mort’ (Death) were depicted in one image partitioned with columns. This image seemed to have been aimed at impressing upon us that it was the three blind forces that influenced human beings. However, it was only a blindfolded ‘Fortune’ that was depicted in the above six miniatures, which drove me to pursue the question. It was not until I browsed the *danse* manuscripts that I was able to unravel the mystery. Apart from MS Fr. 1696, Love, Fortune, and Death were depicted on different folios in the manuscripts<sup>39</sup>.

	Cupido (Love)	Fortune	mort (Death)
BnF MS Fr. 1654	folio 153	folio 161 <sup>vo</sup>	folio 171
BnF MS Fr. 1989	folio 7	folio 19	folio 34
Arsenal Ms 5113 réserve	folio 4 <sup>vo</sup>	folio 12 <sup>vo</sup>	folio 22
BnF MS Fr. 1186	folio 57	folio 64 <sup>vo</sup>	folio 72 <sup>vo</sup>
BnF MS Fr. 1696	folio 1	folio 11 <sup>vo</sup>	—
Chantilly MS 146	folio 41	folio 49	folio 56

The discovery of Fortune’s miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1654 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 161<sup>vo</sup>. On the left, Fortune, blindfolded, with the right half white and the left half black, sits on a red canopied throne, wearing a tiara, or a triple crown, holding a scepter in her right hand and turning a wheel anchored to the ground by timber posts with her left hand on the crank. Near her feet, ‘Maleur’ plays an end-blown flute and ‘Eur’ plays something like a trumpet on a high column. A crowd of people are swarming to their playing.

The discovery of Fortune’s miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1989 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 19. In the center, Fortune, blindfolded, with the right half black and the left half white, sits on a throne, wearing a black hood, holding a scepter in her right hand and turning a wheel anchored to a column by timber posts with her left hand on the crank. On the left, ‘Eur’ plays a dark end-blown flute, and on the front right, ‘Maleur’ plays an end-blown flute. People are holding hands and

39 The similarity was that ‘Cupido’ had a bow and arrow in each hand, while ‘mort’ had a spear in his right hand, riding on an ox.

dancing in front of Fortune to their playing.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the Arsenal MS 5113 réserve was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 12<sup>vo</sup>. In the center, Fortune, blindfolded, with the right half white and the left half black, sits on a reddish-brown canopied throne, wearing a crown, holding a scepter in her right hand and turning a wheel anchored to a column by timber posts with her left hand on the crank. In the left corner, a figure dressed in brown that looks like 'Maleur' is playing an end-blown flute, and a figure dressed in gold that looks like 'Eur' is also playing an end-blown flute on a high column. People are holding hands and dancing in a circle in front of Fortune to their playing.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1186 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 64<sup>vo</sup>. In the center of the floor, Fortune, blindfolded, with the right half white and the left half black, sits on the throne, wearing a crown, holding a scepter in her right hand and a small wheel in her black left hand. On the left are the end-blown flute players (Maleur and Eur). People are gathering on the floor from the entrance on the right side to their music.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1696 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 11<sup>vo</sup>. In the center of the stage, Fortune, blindfolded, with the right half white and the left half black, sits on the throne, wearing an ornate hat, holding a scepter in her right hand and turning a wheel with her left hand on the crank. On the left are a shabby figure with a trumpet in both hands and a dignified figure with an end-blown flute in his left hand. On the floor are dancing nobles and ladies in pairs.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the Chantilly MS 146 was due to an online search in the ARCA website. The miniature is depicted in folio 49. On the left, Fortune, blindfolded, sits on a red canopied throne, wearing a crown, holding a scepter in her right hand, and gripping the rim of a wheel in her left hand. 'Maleur' is about to blow an end-blown flute in the left corner, and 'Eur' is playing a trumpet on a high column in the center. Many people swarm to their playing, and some of them are dancing.

##### **5. *Poésies (Le livre du voir dit) manuscripts***

(17) Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5203 réserve, folio 147<sup>vo</sup>

(18) Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5203 réserve, folio 150

(19) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1584, folio 301<sup>vo</sup>

(20) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 9221, folio 206<sup>vo</sup>

(21) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 9221, folio 208<sup>vo</sup>

(22) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 22545, folio 192<sup>vo</sup>

(23) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 22545, folio 195<sup>vo</sup>

Kurose (1977) revealed the existence of five miniatures of Fortune<sup>40</sup> in the *Poésies* (*Le livre du voir dit*) manuscripts by Guillaume de Machaut (hereafter the *Poésies* manuscripts). However, a question arose in my mind. In other words, I wondered why there were two miniatures of Fortune in the Morgan MS M. 396 and the Bern MS 218 respectively, but only one in the BnF MS Fr. 1584, and so I browsed and confirmed the seven *Poésies* manuscripts listed in Arlima<sup>41</sup>, which resolved something that did not make sense to me and led to the discovery of seven more miniatures of Fortune.

A comparison of the Fortune's miniatures in the six *Poésies* manuscripts (Bern MS 218, Arsenal MS 5203 réserve, BnF MS Fr. 1584, BnF MS Fr. 9221, BnF MS Fr. 22545, and Morgan MS M. 396) showed me something interesting: Each manuscript had two miniatures of Fortune. Although the second miniatures were all just over line 8652<sup>42</sup>, the first ones were not placed in the same layout: One was just over 'Iadis les matrones de Romme' and the other just over 'IE Fortune foiz atous a sauoir'. Difficult to understand was that the text description 'Iadis les matrones de Romme' in the Bern manuscript corresponded to line 8239 according to the Internet archive in note 42, but 'IE Fortune foiz atous a sauoir', 21 lines above in the same manuscript, couldn't be found in the Internet archive. The same can be said for the text description of the Arsenal MS 5203 réserve. It was also interesting to see how Fortune's miniatures were depicted. A certain difference was seen in the number of "combinational wheels," as Dr. Kurose called them. Specifically, either three small circles or four small circles were located within a large wheel/ circle. In addition, lines in the dit, or words in Middle French were inscribed on not only the large wheel or large circle but also small circles in the BnF MS Fr. 1584, the BnF MS Fr. 9221, and the Morgan MS M. 396. The dit in the BnF MS Fr. 1584 was relatively easy to decipher: 'affluo discedo talis ludus cui me do' was inscribed in the large wheel, and clockwise from top right 'ludo co[m]psallo de lude[n]s carmine fallo' 'Quid su[m] di[s]cerne cum sciueris me fuge sperne' 'Execo mente[m] ne diligat omnipotentem' 'viue[n]s sum cara du[m] mors accedit amara' in the four small circles. Another difference was found in the way Fortune and her wheel were depicted in the second miniatures. Specifically, Fortune sometimes stood inside the wheel with her hands outstretched to grasp the rim of the wheel, while Fortune sometimes stood behind the wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. Furthermore, aside from the Morgan MS M. 396, rubrics, or headings just over or just below the Fortune's miniatures, although some differences were observed in spelling and wording, seemed to have enhanced the raison d'être of the miniatures.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the Arsenal MS 5203 réserve was due to an online search in

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40 Morgan MS M. 396, folio 175 & folio 178<sup>vo</sup>; Bern MS 218, folio 98 & folio 100; BnF MS Fr. 1584, folio 297. See Kurose's Plates 139, 148, 140, 112 and 138.

41 [https://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume\\_de\\_machaut/le\\_livre\\_du\\_voir\\_dit.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume_de_machaut/le_livre_du_voir_dit.html) (accessed on July 20, 2024).

42 See line 8652 in <https://archive.org/details/elivreduvoirdit00guil/page/330/mode/2up> (accessed on July 20, 2024). The Fortune's miniature in the Morgan MS M. 396, folio 178<sup>vo</sup> was on the lower half of the folio. Line 8652 was at the beginning of folio 179, but the available image did not reveal the text description. However, line 8651, or the description just over the miniature was the same as the ones in the other five manuscripts, although the spelling was slightly different, which led me to conclude that the miniature was in the same layout.

Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 147<sup>vo</sup>. Fortune, dressed in pale pink, stands inside a large circle, which has three smaller circles inside it. Just below the miniature is a rubric ‘Comment titus liuius figure/ lymage de fortune’, which is followed by the text description ‘IE fortune suiz atouz sauoir’. Fortune’s miniature also can be found on folio 150. Two-faced Fortune, dressed in pale pink and wearing a blue cloak, stands inside a large wheel, with her hands outstretched, gripping the rim of the wheel, which may imply that Fortune is also spinning with the wheel. The composition is similar to that depicted in the Bern MS 218, folio 100. Just below the miniature is a rubric ‘Comment les paiens contrefire[n]t/ lymage de fortune au visages’, which is followed by the text description ‘LI paien anciennement’ on line 8652.

The discovery of Fortune’s miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 1584 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 301<sup>vo</sup>. On the left, two-faced Fortune, cloaked, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. On the right, water flows out from the five sources in front of five ladies. Just over the miniature is a rubric ‘Co[m]ment li paien figuroient lymage de fortune’, and the text description ‘Li paien ancienneme[n]t’ on line 8652 begins just below the miniature.

The discovery of Fortune’s miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 9221 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 206<sup>vo</sup>. Fortune, crowned and dressed in red, stands inside a large circle, which has four smaller circles inside it. The miniature is depicted in the upper left of folio 206<sup>vo</sup> laid out in three columns, so a rubric ‘Comment titus liuius descript/ lymage de fortune’ is set in the lower right of folio 206. The text description ‘Iadis les matrones de ro[m]me’ on line 8239 begins just below the miniature. Fortune’s miniature also can be found on folio 208<sup>vo</sup>. Two-faced Fortune, dressed in indigo, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. Water flows out from the five sources ahead of the wheel. The miniature is depicted in the upper left of folio 208<sup>vo</sup> laid out in three columns, so a rubric ‘Comment li paien figuroient/ lymage de fortune’ is set in the lower right of folio 208. The text description ‘Li paien anciennement’ on line 8652 begins just below the miniature.

The discovery of Fortune’s miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 22545 was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 192<sup>vo</sup>. On the left, Fortune, dressed in pale pink, wearing a white veil on her head, stands behind a large golden circle, holding four smaller intertwined circles with both hands. On the right are the noble ladies who want to receive Fortune’s favor. The miniature is depicted in the upper left of folio 192<sup>vo</sup> laid out in two columns, so a rubric ‘Comment tytus liuius descript/ Lymage de fortune’ is set in the lower right of folio 192. The text description ‘Iadis les matrones de Romme’ on line 8239 begins just below the miniature. Fortune’s miniature also can be found on folio 195<sup>vo</sup>. Fortune, crowned, dressed in indigo, and two-faced, one white and the other black, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands at the top of a small hill. On either side of Fortune are the five noble ladies who wish to receive Fortune’s favor. Water flows out from the five sources on the hillside. Just over the miniature is a rubric ‘Comme[n]t li paien figuroient/ Lymage de toute bele’ and the text description ‘LI paien anciennement’ on line 8652 begins just below the miniature.

## 6. *Facta et dicta memorabilia* manuscripts

(24) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 43, folio 37

(25) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 15471, folio 260<sup>vo</sup>

(26) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire Historique de Médecine, MS H 23, folio 286

Manuscript illuminations by Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) and research material by Todoroki (2010) revealed the existence of nine miniatures of Fortune<sup>43</sup> in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* manuscripts by Valerius Maximus (hereafter the Valerius manuscripts).

BL MS Harley 4373, folio 14; BnF MS Fr. 46, folio 13; BnF MS Fr. 6445, folio 268<sup>vo</sup>; Bodleian MS Douce 203, folio 103<sup>vo</sup>; Brussels MS 9078, folio 221<sup>vo</sup>; The Hague MS 71 E 68, folio 292; Jena MS Gallica f. 87, folio 309; Mazarine MS 1595, folio 302<sup>vo</sup>; Vienna MS 2544, folio 244<sup>vo</sup>

The list on the Valerius manuscripts by Schullian (1981) showed me some similarities among the above nine miniatures of Fortune: they were either translated into Middle French (langue d'oïl) by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse or by Simon de Hesdin alone. Not only did I browse the manuscripts listed by Schullian (1981), but also the sixty-four manuscripts translated into Middle French (langue d'oïl) by Simon de Hesdin, which Jonas<sup>44</sup> gave on the website, to the extent that I could, which led to the discovery of three more miniatures of Fortune.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 43, a French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 37. Fortune, crowned and two-faced, one white and the other black, stands behind a large oval wheel anchored to the ground by timber posts, holding the spoke in her right hand and the rim in her left hand, and spinning the wheel with four figures (*regno, regnavi, sum sine regno, regnabo*) on it. The image looks good and attractive with trees and castles on the undulating hills as the background.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the BnF MS Fr. 15471, a French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse was due to an online search in Gallica. The miniature is depicted in folio 260<sup>vo</sup>. Fortune, crowned and blindfolded, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, and spinning the wheel with four figures on it.

Montpellier MS H 23, a French translation by Simon de Hesdin, was one of the Valerius manuscripts that I could fortunately come across while searching for the *Consolatione Philosophiae* manuscripts through the ARCA website. Fortune, crowned and blindfolded, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, and spinning the wheel with four figures on it. The king positioned as *regno* on the wheel is depicted protruding from the image. A rubric 'Le V<sup>e</sup> liure de Valerius maximus' can be seen just below the miniature.

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43 See Kurose's Plates 24, 98 and 99; Todoroki's Figures 117, 118, 119, 120 and 121; Todoroki (2010), p. 28.

44 [https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail\\_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=4201](https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=4201) (accessed on July 26, 2024).

## 7. *De remediis utriusque fortunae* manuscripts

(27) Aix-en-Provence, Méjanes Library Rés. MS 52, folio 6

(28) Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (BHVP), 4-MS-Res-005, folio 3

As for *De remediis utriusque fortunae* manuscripts by Petrarch (hereafter the *remediis* manuscripts), Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) revealed the existence of twenty-three miniatures of Fortune<sup>45</sup> in the seven manuscripts. Useful for further research was a checklist by Mann (1971)<sup>46</sup> that showed the existence of two hundred and forty-two *remediis* manuscripts. I could not rely on the Arlima website<sup>47</sup>, because it only gave one manuscript, so I looked to Gallica and CCfr for help, which led to the discovery of two more miniatures of Fortune.

The discovery of Fortune's miniature in the Aix-en-Provence Rés. MS 52 was due to an online search in Gallica. The manuscript, according to Mann (1971) and Jonas<sup>48</sup>, is a French translation *Les remèdes de l'une et l'autre fortune* made in 1378 by Jean Daudin. The miniature depicted in folio 6 shows two-faced Fortune spinning the wheel anchored to the ground by timber posts, holding a crank with her right hand. The only figure on the wheel is a king at the apex. Many people are waiting near the wheel to receive her favor. Fortune's left hand is directed to a four-line rhyme written within a gold edging.

Fortune suys royne et deesse

A quy monstre ma belle face

Lung luy fait do[n]s lautre p[ro]messe

Tous lhonnorent chascu[n] le[m]brasse.<sup>49</sup>

This epigram is the same as the one<sup>50</sup> in the ÖBN MS 2559, folio 5<sup>vo</sup>. The text description 'Quant ie pense et/ considert les choses/ et les fortunes de/ humanie nature' begins just below the miniature.

BHVP 4-MS-Rés-005 was one of the *remediis* manuscripts that I was lucky enough to discover on the ARCA website. The miniature of Fortune is depicted in folio 3: Fortune holds a scepter in her left hand and grasps the spoke with her right hand to turn the wheel. The wheel is firmly anchored to the ground by timber posts. Two animals like foxes are facing each other on the wheel. A lion and a sheep are reaching for the wheel on the ground. Just below the miniature can be found a rubric in Latin 'Domini francisci petrarche florentim poete lau/ reati inter rethores haud ab re nobilissimi De/ remediis utriusque fortune

45 Cambrai MS B. 239, folio 5; Montpellier MS 265, folio 1; Mazarine MS 3882, folio 1; BnF MS Fr. 224, folio 2, folio 9, and folio 129<sup>vo</sup>; BnF MS Fr 225, folio 1, folio 8, folio 23, folio 39<sup>vo</sup>, folio 55, folio 66<sup>vo</sup>, folio 78<sup>vo</sup>, folio 100, folio 104, folio 120<sup>vo</sup>, folio 135<sup>vo</sup>, folio 151, folio 165, and folio 202; BnF MS Lat. 17165, folio 1; Vienna MS 2559, folio 5<sup>vo</sup>, and folio 133. See Kurose's Plates 25, 63a, 63b, 63c, 64a, 64b, 64c, 64d, 64e, 64f, 64g, 64h, 64i, 64j, 64k, 64l, 64m and 64n; Todoroki's Figures 97, 98, 99, 100 and 160.

46 The seven manuscripts used by Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) were included in a checklist by Mann (1971).

47 [https://www.arlima.net/eh/francesco\\_petrarca/de\\_remediis\\_utriusque\\_fortunae.html](https://www.arlima.net/eh/francesco_petrarca/de_remediis_utriusque_fortunae.html) (accessed on July 31, 2024).

48 [https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail\\_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=3643](https://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=3643) (accessed on July 31, 2024).

49 = I am Fortune, queen and goddess. To anyone who I show my beautiful face, some people give gifts to him, others promise to him. Everyone shows him respect and embraces him.

50 See Kurose (1977), Plate 25.

liber p[ri]mus incipit', which is followed by the text description 'Cum res fortu/ nasque ho[m]mi'.

## 8. Other manuscripts

- (29) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1580, folio 85
- (30) Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 49, folio 113
- (31) Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 3525 réserve, folio 189
- (32) Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 2195, folio 156<sup>vo</sup>
- (33) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4788, folio 23
- (34) Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 6329 réserve, folio 23
- (35) London, BL, Royal 12 F VII, folio 182<sup>vo</sup>

BnF MS Fr. 1580 was one of the *Roman de Renart* manuscripts (hereafter the *Renart* manuscripts), which was neither included in Kurose (1977) nor Todoroki (2000). I relied on some information from Arlima<sup>51</sup> that showed the existence of twenty-seven *Renart* manuscripts, and tried to browse them as far as possible, which led to a new discovery of one miniature of Fortune. Fortune is not present in the image, only the wheel, on which are placed four figures. Just below the miniature begins the text description 'Fox est qui croit sa fole pe[n]se'.

As for *L'Épître d'Othéa* manuscripts by Christine de Pisan (hereafter the *Othéa* manuscripts), manuscript illuminations by Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) and research material by Todoroki (2010) revealed the existence of eight miniatures of Fortune<sup>52</sup>. Useful for further research was Arlima<sup>53</sup> that listed the forty-six *Othéa* manuscripts, which led to the discovery of one more miniature of Fortune. The miniature depicted in the Cod. Bodmer 49, folio 113 shows a counterclockwise wheel with four figures on it against a plain background. Fortune, floating in the right corner, grasps the rim of the wheel with both hands and turns it. Remarkable is that, apart from the Hague MS<sup>54</sup>, the eight miniatures of Fortune including Cod. Bodmer 49 had the same layout, that is, they were located just over the text description 'En fortune la grant deesse'.

As for *Le Dit de l'arbre roial* manuscripts by Watriquet de Couvin, Kurose (1977) revealed the existence of one miniature of Fortune<sup>55</sup>, while Todoroki (2000) did not even include one. Further research was then attempted on the manuscript lists given by Arlima<sup>56</sup> and the ARCA website, which led to the discovery of

51 [https://www.arlima.net/qt/renart\\_roman\\_de.html#mss](https://www.arlima.net/qt/renart_roman_de.html#mss) (accessed on August 1, 2024).

52 Kurose (1977) Pl. 133 (MS Bodley 421, f. 52<sup>vo</sup>) and Pl. 136 (MS Harley 4431, f. 129); Todoroki (2000) Fig. 82 (KBR MS 9392, f. 77<sup>vo</sup>), Fig. 83 (BnF MS Fr. 606, f. 35), Fig. 84 (Newnham MS 900.5, f. 38<sup>vo</sup>), Fig. 85 (The Hague MS 74 G 27, f. 70) and Fig. 86 (Erlangen MS 2361, f. 95<sup>vo</sup>); Todoroki (2010), p. 27 (Lille MS 391, f. 73<sup>vo</sup>).

53 [https://www.arlima.net/ad/christine\\_de\\_pizan/l\\_epistre\\_othea.html](https://www.arlima.net/ad/christine_de_pizan/l_epistre_othea.html) (accessed on August 1, 2024).

54 Text description was neither included just below the miniature in Todoroki (2000) nor the one made available by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, so it was impossible to confirm where the miniature was located.

55 Kurose's Plate 119 (BnF MS Fr. 14968, folio 43).

56 [https://www.arlima.net/uz/watriquet\\_de\\_couvin/li\\_dis\\_de\\_l\\_arbre\\_royal.html](https://www.arlima.net/uz/watriquet_de_couvin/li_dis_de_l_arbre_royal.html) (accessed on August 7, 2024).

one more miniature of Fortune. The miniature is depicted in the Arsenal MS 3525 réserve, folio 189. In the right half of the image, Fortune, eyes-closed, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands and turning the wheel, on which are placed four figures. In the left half of the image are Reason and Youth: the former seems to be admonishing the latter about Fortune's behavior, with her right index finger pointing to the wheel. Just below the miniature begins the text description 'Tant voi le siecle bestourner/ Et fortune a trauers tourner', which is the beginning of the sixty-line verse 'Uns dis de Fortune'<sup>57</sup>. Indeed, a rubric 'Ci Co[m]mence un dit de fortune' can be found in folio 188<sup>vo</sup>. The rubric on the anterior folio and the text description tell us that this miniature is in the same layout as BnF MS Fr. 14968, folio 43.

BnF MS Fr. 2195 was one of the *Roman de Fauvel* manuscripts by Gervais du Bus (hereafter the *Fauvel* manuscripts). No miniature of Fortune from the *Fauvel* manuscripts was included in manuscript illuminations by Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000). Fortunately, I knew that one miniature of Fortune was in the BnF MS Fr. 2195, folio 156<sup>vo</sup> a few years ago, for I then browsed folio 148 to folio 169<sup>vo</sup> where the *Fauvel* manuscript was included while I conducted a survey of Fortune's miniatures in the *rose* manuscripts, relying on a book by E. Langlois (1910)<sup>58</sup>. Arlima<sup>59</sup> that listed the fifteen *Fauvel* manuscripts was useful for further research, but Fortune's miniature was not found in any other manuscripts than BnF MS Fr. 2195. Folio 156<sup>vo</sup> was fully decorated with Fortune's miniature: On a rock jutting out from the waters where several fish swim, Fortune, crowned, clad in a whitish cloak, and blindfolded, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands and turning the wheel, on which are placed four figures, marked with 'regno', 'regnai', 'sum sine regno', and 'regnabo'.

MS Vat. lat. 4788, folio 23 had one miniature of Fortune. Folio 1 of the same manuscript begins with 'Ci comenese le liure de boece de consolatio[n] translate de latin en franceis par maistre pier[re] de paris', so the miniature is definitely the one depicted in a French translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Reliance on Arlima<sup>60</sup> for accurate information reveals that this manuscript was one of the 'Traductions médiévales du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce', or more precisely, a French translation of the *Livre de Boece de consolation* manuscript by Pierre de Paris. What captured my heart in the image was that an 'initiale ornée', or an ornate initial 'A' of 'Après' was beautifully decorated with the wheel on which four figures were placed. I discovered through this research that ornate initials 'L' of 'LI' in the Arsenal MS 6329 réserve, folio 23 and 'D' of 'Dixit' in the Royal 12 F VII, folio 182<sup>vo</sup> were also decorated with

57 See <https://archive.org/details/ditsdwatriquetd00watuoft/page/73/mode/1up> (accessed on August 5, 2024). This website is *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin* by Augste Scheler (Brussels, 1868), which appears on the Internet Archive, p. 73.

58 Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: Description et classement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910), pp. 37-38.

59 [https://www.arlima.net/eh/gervais\\_du\\_bus.html#fau](https://www.arlima.net/eh/gervais_du_bus.html#fau) (accessed on August 1, 2024).

60 [https://www.arlima.net/ad/boece\\_de\\_consolatione\\_philosophiae/index.html](https://www.arlima.net/ad/boece_de_consolatione_philosophiae/index.html) (accessed on August 5, 2024).



the wheel of Fortune<sup>61</sup>: the former included Fortune's wheel with the equivalent of '*regno*' and the latter Fortune and her wheel. Several ornate initials with the wheel of Fortune can be confirmed in manuscript illuminations by Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) and in research material by Todoroki (2010)<sup>62</sup>. So, an interesting conclusion might be drawn if we focused on the relationship between the ornate initials with Fortune's wheel and the text descriptions.

#### IV. Concluding remarks

Research for medieval manuscripts in Latin, Old French, or Middle French to discover the miniatures of Fortune has been my lifework since 1990. My book illumination published in 2000 brought to light the existence of one hundred and sixty miniatures of Fortune. Although I was highly lauded from my mentor Dr. Kurose for my publication, I didn't think that the fruit of my efforts was sufficiently complete. In 2010, online searches enabled me to discover another sixty-one miniatures of Fortune, which I published as report (research material) in our college bulletin. One of the drawbacks in searching online was that manuscripts confirmed at one point were no longer browsable at another time: Liber Floridus, to give an example. The most surprising in searching online was the change in the way of searching for manuscripts housed in the British Library. Some of the manuscripts held in the British Library could be accessed and browsed readily and easily until 2020, but it became no longer possible to do so this time in 2024. Whatever happened, I managed to clear unexpected obstacles and conducted various online searches, which finally led to a new discovery of thirty-five miniatures of Fortune.

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61 The former was the *Somme le Roi* manuscript by Laurent d'Orléans (Frère Laurent), and the latter was the one I discovered at the end of February 2011, but unfortunately, I do not know the title of this work. As for the *Somme le Roi* manuscripts, Todoroki (2010), p. 25 revealed the presence of one miniature of Fortune in the Cambridge, St. John's College, Old Library, MS S. 30, folio 70. So, I relied on the list of sixty-five manuscripts given by Arlima, which led to the discovery of one more miniature of Fortune. See [https://www.arlima.net/il/laurent\\_d\\_orleans.html#som](https://www.arlima.net/il/laurent_d_orleans.html#som) (accessed on August 5, 2024).

62 Kurose's Pl. 142 (Oxford, Bodleian MS Canon Bibl. Lat. 36, folio 192<sup>vo</sup>) and Pl. 143 (Oxford MS Balliol College 232 B, folio 11<sup>vo</sup>); Todoroki's Fig. 5 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Cod. Marc. Str. App. 44, folio 1) and Fig. 143 (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 3469, folio 38); Todoroki (2010), p. 32 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. lat. 7320, folio 145<sup>vo</sup>).

### Appendix 1: Web pages

All the web pages listed below were accessed and browsed again on August 23, 2024.

- <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/listoflinks.html#Digital>  
(Monastic Manuscript Project)
- <https://guides.lib.uchicago.edu/c.php?g=813534&p=5805534>  
(UChicago Library: Medieval Manuscript Research)
- <https://digital-scriptorium.org/>  
(Digital Scriptorium)
- <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/>  
(Yale University Library: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library)
- <https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/medieval-renaissance-manuscripts>  
(Harvard Library: Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts)
- <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/>  
(Digitalisierte Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)
- <https://www.nls.uk/collections/manuscripts/digitised-items/>  
(National Library of Scotland)
- <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/access:zoomable?q=manuscript>  
(Universiteits Bibliotheek, Gent)
- <https://bibnum.institutdefrance.fr/bibliotheque-mazarine>  
(Bibliothèque Mazarine)
- <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/>  
(University of Cambridge: Cambridge Digital Library)
- <https://dlmm.library.jhu.edu/en/romandelarose/>  
(John Hopkins Sheridan Libraries: Digital Library of Medieval Manuscripts)