

Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 1

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Abstract

Matsushita (2014) gave me, who compiled *An Addition to Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts* in 2000, the possibility to pursue new horizons in Fortune research among the *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts (hereafter the *Rose* manuscripts). The purpose of this paper is threefold: The first is to clarify the manuscripts that include miniatures of Fortune in the extant *Rose* manuscripts (hereafter the *Rose* corpus). The second is to clarify the line numbers in the *Rose* manuscripts where Fortune's miniatures can be found. The third is to decipher and clarify the rubrics and the text descriptions just over or just below Fortune's miniatures. The survey was carried out on 313 manuscripts with shelf marks in the *Rose* corpus as of September 2020, plus the Jersey manuscript. I confirmed if Fortune's miniature was present or absent in 244 out of the 314 manuscripts mainly through online searches. Seventy-eight miniatures of Fortune were successfully identified in fifty-nine manuscripts. How interesting is the fact that only three Fortune's miniatures were in the first part by Guillaume de Lorris! Afterwards I checked the line numbers, based on the Lecoy edition. Noteworthy was the result that twenty-three miniatures were in line 4819, sixteen in line 6143, and seven in line 5891. It shows that these are important parts in terms of Fortune's allegory in the *Rose* manuscripts. Furthermore, some questions that emerged from deciphering the rubrics and the text descriptions were discussed. (1) Why was Fortune painted in a passage where there was no mention of "Fortune," such as Lausanne MS 454, folio 17^{vo}? (2) How was Fortune depicted as a nude female figure in Morgan MS M. 948? (3) What miniatures could be considered creative or original? (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? I have no doubt that my pioneering research on miniatures of Fortune in the *Rose* manuscripts will be valuable.

I. Introduction

Reading Matsushita (2014) last summer gave me the possibility to pursue new horizons in my research. He described the contents of the *Rose* manuscripts MS 2 and MS 3 housed in the Senshu University

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Library, and also described the activities related to their collections. More interesting in his paper was that he introduced Langlois's research on the manuscripts. Langlois's *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: description et classement* (1910) is a monument to the study of the *Rose* manuscripts, and since then, scholars involved in this study have always included it in the list of references for their own books. Fortunately, I happened to find some of the duplicates of Langlois (1910) on a shelf in my office in the summer of 2020, which I received from a friend about 30 years ago but had forgotten all about. More luck was to follow. Needless to say, we are required to have either the Lecoy edition or the Langlois one at hand in order to proceed with research on the *Rose* manuscripts, for the line numbers are supposed to be based on one of them. I also found the former edition, composed of three volumes, which had been lying quietly on another shelf for about 30 years. These unexpected discoveries, when intertwined with my research theme, led me to think that I might be able to contribute to research in this field.

My research theme is the study of miniatures of Fortune in medieval European manuscripts. In particular, I have been interested in Fortune depicted in the various manuscripts of the French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, entitled *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*. Based on the list (1990) prepared under the advice of my reverend mentor, Dr. Kurose, I compiled a book in 2000, and then published the list again in a journal in 2010. The book was the product of two separate investigations of the bibliographic material at the Warburg Institute in London, and several research in the libraries of the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University. On the other hand, the list I gathered together in 2010 was thanks to the trend that as the 21st century progresses, libraries and museums around the world have increasingly begun to make their manuscript collections available on web pages, which enables researchers to access and browse them today, all without having to go overseas.

When it comes to scholars who dealt with miniatures in the *Rose* manuscripts, the following names can be mentioned, among others: Kuhn (1913-14), Fleming (1969), McMunn (1999), Blamires & Holian (2002), and Bétemps (2019). However, they did not necessarily focus on Fortune. Matsushita sounded the alarms on the lack of a manuscript-level research system in Japan, including that for the *Rose* manuscripts. There is no doubt that reading Matsushita (2014) strengthened my desire to discover something new in the study of the *Rose* manuscripts. The main objectives of my research in this paper consist of the following three: The first objective is to clarify the manuscripts in the *Rose* corpus¹ that include miniatures of Fortune. I have already known from reading McMunn (1999), however, that the Jersey manuscript², which is not included in the *Rose* corpus, has two Fortune's miniatures. Therefore, I also added these two miniatures to Findings in Chapter 3. The second objective is to clarify the line numbers³ in the *Rose* manuscripts where

1 Rose corpus is extant manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* and "a spreadsheet of all known manuscripts and fragments of the poem." See https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10CB49KODbQ0Vl_rnJUyLYM0awKu_VXvrJ46QyZsFcZk/edit#gid=0 (Accessed on April 23, 2021).

2 The Jersey manuscript was stolen from the Jersey Public Library in 1955, and its current location is unknown.

3 The line numbers are based on the edition of Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1982-1985).

Fortune's miniatures can be found. The third objective is to decipher and clarify what is written in the rubrics, or the headings either on the top or on the bottom of Fortune's miniatures.

II. Research Methods

Research object

313 manuscripts with shelf marks, listed in the Rose corpus as of September 2020, plus the Jersey manuscript were targeted for my research.

Procedures

1. Research on the *Rose* manuscripts

(1) I checked to see if any of the 313 manuscripts were available on web pages, including that of the Digital Scholarly Library Viewer provided by the Roman de la Rose Digital Library. In each library and museum, I searched for existence of the manuscripts in the database by typing "roman de la rose." This was to see if it was indeed possible to view the *Rose* manuscripts on the web page. When I was fortunate enough to be able to use Digital Viewer/ Digital Image for this purpose, I went through them one by one to find out if they included some Fortune's miniatures.

(2) Not all of the institutions (e.g., libraries and museums) that housed manuscripts made them all available openly on their web pages. Some of them did provide bibliographic information on the *Rose* manuscripts, however, including folio number and details in the Decoration section. Based on such bibliographic information, I checked whether Fortune's miniatures were included in the manuscript or not.

(3) I made full use of books and articles on the *Rose* manuscripts. As for some information on the existence or non-existence of Fortune's miniatures, I did closely analyze Langlois (1910). In addition, I was prompted to peruse Walters (1989), McMunn (1999), and Blamires & Holian (2002) for further information. For more information on Fortune's miniatures in the *Rose* manuscripts, which were not available on the Internet, I had no choice but to rely on Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000), for the former had 190 miniatures of Fortune found in medieval European manuscripts, while the latter had another 160 ones not seen in Kurose's book.

2. Deciphering miniatures of Fortune

Whenever I found a miniature of Fortune in the course of my research, I briefly wrote down such information as I could read from the image (e.g., the placement between the Wheel and Fortune; existence or non-existence of the figures on the Wheel, the crank for turning the wheel, Fortune's eyes and a crown on her head; color of Fortune's gown; Fortune's residence).

3. Deciphering the *Rose* manuscripts

After completing the above tasks, I checked every line of the *Rose* manuscripts to see which line the miniature was on, relying on the Lecoy edition. (As indicated in my introduction, the line numbers are based on the Lecoy edition.) Unlike the printed books, the spelling of each manuscript was significantly

different. Therefore I had a lot of trouble with the process of determining the spelling, or to put it another way, the transcription. Once I could figure out the line numbers, I deciphered and transcribed a few sentences in Old French just below the miniature, referring to the English translations of Dahlberg (1983) and Horgan (1994).

4. Deciphering the relationships between miniatures of Fortune and the text descriptions

I was really required to understand what was written before and after a miniature of Fortune in order to decipher the relationship between the miniature and the text description. I used Shinoda's translation in Japanese to carry out this task, because the line numbers in his translation were so based entirely on the Lecoy edition that they were easier to deal with. Another reason was that the line numbers were indicated not only at the end of each paragraph, but also per 20 lines outside the column.

III. Findings

1. Miniatures of Fortune found in some research of the *Rose* manuscripts

I set out to see if any of the 313 manuscripts in the *Rose* corpus could be identified on the Internet, relying on the web pages listed in Appendix 1. As soon as the manuscripts were confirmed, I launched a thorough investigation to see if Fortune's miniatures were included among them. The results were as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Fortune's miniatures		existence		non-existence
		Number of manuscripts	Number of miniatures	Number of manuscripts
web pages	using Digital Viewer	35	48	121
	using Other Viewers	20	22	41
books	based on Kurose (1977)	3	6	
papers	based on McMunn (1999)	1	2	
bibliographic information	through web pages			9
	from books			14

The Digital Scholarly Library Viewer (hereafter "Digital Viewer") enabled us to view 156 manuscripts, which informed us that 35 of them had 48 Fortune's miniatures. On the other hand, Viewers other than "Digital Viewer" (hereafter "Other Viewers") enabled us to view 61, which informed us that 20 of them had 22 ones. This means that Fortune's miniatures could not be seen in the 121 manuscripts when using "Digital Viewer", and also in the 41 manuscripts when using "Other Viewers" [See Appendix 2 (1)].

I mentioned in Chapter 2 that not all libraries/ museums made every manuscript available to the public. Not surprisingly, some manuscripts could not be checked by "Digital Viewer" or by "Other Viewers": for example, some of the manuscripts in the Morgan Library & Museum (hereafter Morgan) or the

National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW). Morgan had 11 *Rose* manuscripts⁴, but only MS M. 948 was closed to the public. NLW had 7 *Rose* manuscripts⁵, but only MS 5016D was open to the public with the commentary “This is one of the most beautiful literary manuscripts of the European continent of the Middle Ages dating from the latter half of the 14th century.” This explanation does not officially specify how many other *Rose* manuscripts the NLW has in its collection. “Further reading”, however, enables us to obtain some useful bibliographic information on Blamires & Holian (2002)⁶. In addition, researching bibliographic information on the Web enabled me to determine that 9 manuscripts do not have Fortune’s miniatures [See Appendix 2 (2)] : for example, as regards Dartmouth Rauner Codex MS 003206⁷, “Contents” informed me that eleven miniatures are included in this manuscript, but none of them depict Fortune, and as regards Edinburgh Adv. MS 19.1.6⁸, “Description” informed me that eight descriptive miniatures are included in this manuscript, but there is no miniature of Fortune.

Kurose (1977) and Todoroki (2000) were indispensable in the process of checking the *Rose* manuscripts, because 40 miniatures of Fortune all told were included in their illustrated books. The latter included as many as nineteen miniatures from the *Rose* manuscripts that were not seen in Kurose (1977). However, none of them were particularly noteworthy here. On the other hand, the former allowed me to see 6 miniatures⁹ in such three manuscripts as could not be confirmed by “Digital Viewer” or by “Other Viewers”: Morgan MS M. 948 (4 miniatures), Fitzwilliam MS 169 (1 miniature), and MS Astor A. 12 (1 miniature)¹⁰, whose provenance is unknown in the *Rose* corpus.

Bibliographic information from books, articles, etc. should not be also ignored. During the latter half of the 20th century, I had read books and articles by Kuhn (1913-14), Patch (1927), Fleming (1969), Meiss (1974), Walters (1989), and others under the appropriate advice of Dr. Kurose to gather some information on Fortune’s miniatures as seen in medieval European manuscripts, which was definitely very beneficial to the publication of my book (2000). Valuable sources of information on the *Rose* manuscripts in writing this paper, however, were the following three books: Langlois (1910), Dutschke (1989), and Blamires &

4 Morgan MSS. G. 32, M. 48, M. 120, M. 132, M. 181, M. 185, M. 245, M. 324, M. 372, M. 503, M. 948.

5 NLW MSS 5011E, 5012E, 5013D, 5014D, 5015D, 5016D, 5017D.

6 Reading this book enabled me to check if six more manuscripts in the collections of NLW had Fortune’s miniatures.

7 See https://www.dartmouth.edu/library/rauner/westmss/westmss_search.html?mswitch-redir=classic (Accessed on April 23, 2021).

8 See <https://www.nls.uk/> (Accessed on April 23, 2021).

9 New York, Morgan MS M. 948, folio 61(Kurose, Plate 70), folio 69^{vo} (Kurose, Plate 28), folio 167 (Kurose, Plate 66) and folio 170^{vo} (Kurose, Plate 65); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 169, folio 32 (Kurose, Plate 21); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Astor A. 12, folio 50^{vo} (Kurose, Plate 76).

10 Dr. Kurose clearly states that MS Astor A. 12 is housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but research on the web pages such as the Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries or Digital Bodleian did not yield any hits for MS Astor A. 12. Most important is, however, that I myself was able to see a miniature of Fortune in this manuscript through Kurose (1977), wherever MS Astor A. 12 was housed, and that I recognized that it was not identical to any miniatures that I found during my research.

Holian (2002). The first book informed me that Fortune was not depicted in seven manuscripts¹¹. Similarly, the second book did so in one manuscript¹², and the third book did so in six manuscripts¹³ [See Appendix 2 (3)].

Web pages research and bibliographic information gave me the opportunity to check out Fortune's miniatures in the *Rose* manuscripts. Thus, I was able to confirm the existence or non-existence of them in 244 out of the 314 manuscripts in the *Rose* corpus and the Jersey manuscript. If expressed as a percentage, the research outcome would be equivalent to approximately 78%. And thus I was able to identify 78 miniatures of Fortune in the *Rose* manuscripts, including the Jersey manuscript from McMunn (1999).

2. The line numbers in the *Rose* manuscripts where Fortune's miniatures can be found

The *Roman de la Rose* is a literary work of two authors: the first part (lines 1-4028) was written by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1230, and the second part (lines 4029 - 21750), which consisted of 17722 lines, was written by Jean de Meun between 1269 and 1278. According to Shinoda's translation, the poem in Old French is divided into 11 chapters.¹⁴ Then, where can 78 miniatures of Fortune be found in the *Rose* manuscripts? I focused on the text descriptions just below the miniatures and checked the line numbers, referring to the Lecoy edition. As shown in Appendix 3, Fortune's miniatures were set on the 28 different lines. First of all, when they were categorized by the author, as seen in Table 2, it became clear that 75 out of the 78 miniatures were unevenly distributed in the second part written by Jean de Meun. Next, when they were categorized by the chapter, as seen in Table 3, it became clear that 71 out of the 78 miniatures were concentrated in Chapter 4: The Counsel of Reason.

Table 2

Categorization: by the author	Number of miniatures
the first part (lines 1-4028) by Guillaume de Lorris	3
the second part (lines 4029 - 21750) by Jean de Meun	75

11 See Langlois (1910), "Aucune miniature." (= no miniature) on p.169; "pas de miniatures." (= no miniatures) on p.178; "Pas de miniatures, ni de rubriques." (= Neither miniatures, nor headings) on p.184; "Ni les miniatures ni les lettrines n'ont été exécutées." (= Neither the miniatures nor the letters have been executed.) on p.193; "Pas de miniatures ni de rubriques." (= Neither miniatures nor headings) on p.194; "Une seule miniature, en tête du premier feuillet, dont le recto est encadré de feuillages et de personnages." (=A single miniature, at the head of the first folio, whose front is framed with foliage and characters.) on p.175; "Une seule miniature, en tête de la première page." (= The only miniature at the beginning of the first page) on p.187. As for p.175 and p.187, if you refer to other manuscripts, you will see that Fortune is not depicted at the head of the first folio.

12 See Dutschke (1989), pp. 258-259.

13 As for Aberystwyth's six manuscripts, see Blamires & Holian (2002), pp. 106-128.

14 The chapters are as follows: Chapter 1 The Garden of Pleasure; Chapter 2 The Fountain of Narcissus; Chapter 3 Over the Rose Buds; Chapter 4 The Counsel of Reason; Chapter 5 The Advice of Friend; Chapter 6 The Army of Love; Chapter 7 The Advice of the Old Woman; Chapter 8 Attack Initiated; Chapter 9 Nature's Confession; Chapter 10 The Sermon of Genius; Chapter 11 General Offensive & Pilgrimage.

Table 3

Categorization: by the chapter	Number of miniatures
Chapter 3: Over the Rose Buds (lines 2749-4028)	3
Chapter 4: The Counsel of Reason (lines 4029-7200)	71
Chapter 5: The Advice of Friend (lines 7201-9948)	1
Chapter 9: Nature's Confession (lines 15861-19408)	3

Then, which line was the most frequent in Chapter 4? I rearranged the 78 miniatures in order of frequency. In so doing, the subheads of Shinoda's translation were added so that the image of the miniature(s) found in that line number would be clear. The results were as listed in Table 4.

Table 4

Line number	Number of miniatures	The subheads of Shinoda's translation
4819	23	About Fortune (4807-4930)
6143	16	The nature of Fortune—example of Nero (6063-6220)
5891	7	The residence of Fortune (5891-6202)
5871	3	Love me (5765-5890)
6049	3	The residence of Fortune (5891-6202)
6783	3	The teachings of Homer (6747-6870)
4807	2	About Fortune (4807-4930)

Line 4819, starting with “car la debonere et la mole (in the Lecoy edition),” was the most frequent, which had 23 miniatures. Here were shown the characteristics¹⁵ of gentle and merciful Fortune who lied to people, deceived and hurt them. Incidentally, line 4807, starting with “Et puis qu’a Fortune venons (in the Lecoy edition),” was also where the topic was switched to Fortune, which had 2 miniatures. Line 6143, starting with “por ce li oill bendé li furent (in the Lecoy edition),” was the second most frequent, which had 16 miniatures. Here was a passage showing that the ancient Romans had in mind a blindfolded image of Fortune, and this was also the scene where Reason spoke of the true nature of Fortune, giving the example of the tyrant Nero. Line 5891, starting with “Une roche est en mer seanz (in the Lecoy edition),” was the third most frequent, which had 7 miniatures. This was an example showing how the residence of Fortune was on a rock rising out of the deep sea.¹⁶ Incidentally, line 6049, starting with “En haut ou chief de la montaigne (in the Lecoy edition),” was another example describing that Fortune's residence stood a-slant on the top of a mountain, which had 3 miniatures. In addition, line 6783, starting with “Jupiter en toute seson (in the Lecoy edition),” was part of the teachings of Homer, describing the two barrels of wine on the threshold of Jupiter's house. Line 5871, starting with “lesse li sa roe torner (in the Lecoy edition),” was in the section of “Love me” and was part of the counsel of Reason who persuaded Lover to let Fortune

15 As for the characteristics of Fortune, they were invoked from Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*. cf. S.L. Galpin, “Fortune's Wheel in the *Roman de la Rose*,” *PMLA* 24 (1909), 332-342.

16 The description of the residence of Fortune was borrowed from a passage in Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*. cf. Charles Dahlberg (1983), p. 14 and William H. Cornog, *The Anticlaudian of Allain de Lille* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 141.

spin the wheel at will.

The remaining 21 miniatures were located on the different lines. The line numbers for each were as shown in Appendix 3. Notable among these are the following five miniatures: Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11, f. 23 in line 2982; Lausanne MS M 454, f. 17^{vo} in line 3653; Morgan MS M. 948, f. 167 in line 17044; Morgan MS M. 948, f. 170^{vo} in 17458 and BnF MS Fr. 1567, f. 135 in line 18633. The reason why I focused on these five miniatures is that I thought these were the best material for analyzing the relationship between the miniatures and the text descriptions. Analyses are left to Discussion in Chapter 4.

3. The number of miniatures of Fortune in each manuscript and a motif

Table 1 in section 1 showed that there were 78 miniatures of Fortune in 59 manuscripts. Then, how many miniatures of Fortune could be found in each manuscript? The manuscript that included them the most, as shown in Appendix 4, was Morgan MS M. 948, where four miniatures could be found in lines 5914, 6825, 17044 and 17458. Four such miniatures were not seen in any of other *Rose* manuscripts. Noteworthy here is that even one of them was not on the same lines as those of other manuscripts, and that some creative ideas of the illuminator were clearly present in each of them. A detailed analysis will be left to Discussion in Chapter 4.

It was only one manuscript that included three miniatures of Fortune, which was Ludwig XV 7. More interesting and noteworthy is a decorative image, or a motif of line 5839, which explained one of the ways to overcome Fortune, that is, the spirit of perseverance and fortitude, using the material of ancient Greek philosophers called Heraclitus and Diogenes. It was fourteen manuscripts that included two miniatures of Fortune. When I turned my attention to the figures ('regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo') set to the Wheel of Fortune, eight of them had a counterpart of lines 4819 versus 6143, and I noticed that there were three different patterns. One was the no figure and no figure pattern seen in the Montpellier H 246, another was the no figure and four figures pattern seen in the Jersey MS, and another was the four figures and four figures pattern seen in the following six manuscripts: BnF Fr. 1565, Fr. 24388, Fr. 24392, BL Add. 42133, Genève, Fr. 178, and Philadelphia Collins 1945-65-3. Although there seemed to be no commonality among these eight manuscripts, the idea of the counterpart linking the two miniatures might provide us with some interesting possibilities for interpretation. The remaining 43 manuscripts included just one miniature of Fortune, in which there were also some interesting motifs¹⁷ that fascinated me greatly: Fortune playing the role of a tavern hostess or a marvelous dwelling place of Fortune.

I pointed out in Table 3 in section 2 that 71 miniatures of Fortune were concentrated in Chapter 4: The Council of Reason (lines 4029-7200). According to Appendix 4, however, the figure of Reason discussing Fortune and her Wheel was depicted only in nine manuscripts:

Chicago UC 1830, f. 31^{vo} in line 4863; Grenoble 608 Rés, f. 59^{vo} in line 5812; BL Harley 4425, f. 57

¹⁷ For example, see BnF MS Fr. 380, f. 46^{vo} and Oxford MS Douce 371, f. 40^{vo}.

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in line 5871; Lyon P.A. 25, f. 42^{vo} in line 5877; BnF Fr. 1575, f. 45^{vo} in line 5891; Morgan M. 948, f.61 in line 5914; Montpellier H 246, f.46 in line 6143; BnF Fr. 12595, f. 52 in line 6783; Morgan M. 948, f. 69^{vo} in line 6825

In percentage terms, the frequency was only about 13%. This means that Reason was at the core of the Counsel of Reason, but she was nevertheless not adequately described as a visual image in the 71 miniatures.

On the whole, as seen in the ‘main material’ section of Appendix 4, the Wheel of Fortune was the most popular motif, accounting for 62 out of the 78 miniatures, or 79.5% of the total. Furthermore, as regards the Wheel of Fortune, two patterns were observed: one with figure(s) and the other with no figure. The former was used in 40 miniatures, accounting for 64.5%, while the latter in 22 ones, accounting for 35.5%. In other words, the former was higher than the latter in terms of the frequency, in the ratio of approximately 2 to 1. Some of them were quite similar to each other, while others were more original. Analysis of iconographical features on the Wheel of Fortune in the *Rose* manuscripts will be left to Discussion in Chapter 4.

4. An explanation on 78 miniatures of Fortune and deciphering the rubrics, or the headings in the *Rose* manuscripts

To be continued.

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- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*. New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1977.

Appendix 1 : Web pages

All the web pages listed below were accessed and browsed again on April 23, 2021.

- https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10CB49KODbQ0V1_rnJUyLYM0awKu_VXvrJ46QyZsFczk/edit#gid=0
(Rose corpus)
- <https://dlmm.library.jhu.edu/en/romandelarose/>
(Digital Library of Medieval Manuscripts)
- <https://dlmm.library.jhu.edu/viewer/#dlmm>
(Digital Library of Medieval Manuscripts Viewer)
- <https://digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org/>
(The DMMap: Digitized Medieval Manuscripts app)
- <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/index.html>
(Monastic Manuscript Project)
- <https://guides.lib.uchicago.edu/c.php?g=813534&p=5805534>
(Guide to Medieval Manuscript Research)
- <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscripts/list>
(Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts)
- <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/Search.do?tipomaterial1=Manuscrito&home=true&languageView=es>
(Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
- <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
(Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries)
- <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/?q=roman+de+la+rose>
(Digital Bodleian)
- <https://digital-scriptorium.org/search/>
(Digital Scriptorium)

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- https://manuscripta.at/lib_digi.php?libcode=AT8500
(Manuscripta.at Mittelalterliche Handschriften in Österreich)
- https://catalog.princeton.edu/browse/call_numbers?q=Garrett+MS.+126
(Princeton University Library Catalog)
- <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/Results.asp>
(The British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts)
- <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/scan/link.jsp>
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Catalogo Manoscritti)
- <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/ricerca.php>
(Manus online)
- <https://ambrosiana.comperio.it/biblioteca-digitale/>
(Biblioteca Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana)
- <https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/rug01:000791362>
(Ghent University Library)
- <https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/medieval-renaissance-manuscripts>
(Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts)
- <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc963535>
(Catalogue thématique de *Roman de la rose*)
- <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/>
(Initiale Catalogue de manuscrits enluminés)
- <https://www.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/en/digital-collections>
(Bibliothèque Mazarine)
- <https://manuscripts.kb.nl/>
(Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts)
- <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/search?keyword=roman%20de%20la%20rose&page=1&x=0&y=0>
(Cambridge Digital Library)
- http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/rechguidee_00.htm
(Enluminures)
- <http://www.cicweb.be/fr/manuscrit.php?id=1478&idi=35>
(CICWEB Manuscrit)
- https://limo.libis.be/primox-primox-explore/fulldisplay?docid=32LIBIS_ALMA_DS71158165310001471&context=L&vid=KULEuven&lang=en_US&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&query=any,contains,roman%20de%20la%20rose
(Manuscripts KU Leuven Libraries)
- <https://www.nls.uk/>

(National Library of Scotland)

• <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en>

(e-codices-Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland)

Appendix 2 : A list of manuscripts in which miniatures of Fortune are not included

(1) Here are 162 Manuscripts checked by digital viewers/ digital images on the web pages.

(121 manuscripts checked with Digital Scholarly Library Viewer)

Albi MS Rohegude 103; Amiens MS 437; Arras MS 845 ^{★ 1}; Besançon MS 553; Chalon-sur-Saône MS 33; Châlon-en-Champagne MS 270; Dijon MSS 525 & 526; Lyon MSS 763, 764, P.A. 23 and P.A. 24; Marseille MS 1107 (200 073); Montpellier MS H 438; Paris Assemblée nationale MS 1230; Paris, BSG MS 1127; Paris MSS BnF fr. 378, fr. 797, fr. 799, fr. 800, fr. 801, fr. 803, fr. 804, fr. 805, fr. 806, fr. 807, fr. 812, fr. 814, fr. 1462, fr. 1558, fr. 1559, fr. 1561, fr. 1562, fr. 1563, fr. 1566, fr. 1568, fr. 1569, fr. 1571, fr. 1572, fr. 1573, fr. 1574, fr. 1576, fr. 1665, fr. 2194, fr. 2195, fr. 2196, fr. 3939, fr. 9345, fr. 12587, fr. 12588, fr. 12589, fr. 12590, fr. 12591, fr. 12592, fr. 12594, fr. 12596, fr. 12786, fr. 15109, fr. 19137, fr. 19153, fr. 19154, fr. 19155, fr. 19156, fr. 19157, fr. 22551, fr. 24389, fr. 24390, fr. 24391, fr. 24436, fr. 25524, fr. 25525, NAL 718, NAF 934, NAF 5094, NAF 11387, NAF 20001, NAF 28047, Rothschild 2800 & 2801; Paris, BnF, Arsenal MSS 2872, 2989, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 5210, 5226, 5871, 6045 and 6818; Rouen MS 1056; Versailles MS 153; Augsburg MSS I. 4. fol. 3 & I. 4. fol. 4; Berlin MSS gall. 80 and Ham. 577; Düsseldorf MS A.B. 142; Frankfurt MS lat. qu. 65; Munich MS Gall 17; Stuttgart MS poet. et phil. 2⁰ 6; Tokyo Senshu MS 2 & 3; Cologne MS Bodmer 79, London, BL MSS Add. 12042, Egerton 881, 1069, 2022, Royal 19 A XVIII, 19 B XII, 19 B XIII, 20 A XVII, 20 D VII, Stowe 947 and Yates Thompson 21; Manchester MS French 66; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Add. A. 22, Douce 364 and E. Museo 65; Philadelphia MS Codex 906; private MS Cox Macro, MS Ferrell Rose

(41 manuscripts checked with other digital viewers/ images)

Vienna MS 2568; Brussels MSS 4782, 9576 and 11019; Ghent MS Hs. 548; Amiens MS 5; Auxerre MS 124; Chantilly MSS 686 (480), 744 (484), 911 (479) and 1480 (483); Draguignan MS 17; Meaux MS 52; Arsenal 2988; Paris MS inv. CD 7440; Reims MS 543; Rennes MS 243; Vatican MSS Ott. lat. 1212, Reg. lat. 1522, Reg. lat. 1858 and Urb. lat. 376; The Hague MMW MS 10 B 29; The Hague KB MSS 120 D 12, 120 D 13, 128 C 5; Krakow MS Czartoryski 2920; Krakow MSS Gall. Fol. 178 & Gall. Fol. 209; Madrid MSS Res. 41 and Vitr. 24-11; Aberystwyth MS 5016D; Cambridge MS Gg.4.6; Morgan MSS M. 120, M. 181, M. 245 and M. 372; Yale MS 418; Urbana MS 81 (X841 R611 Or13); Mazarine MSS^{★ 2} 3872, 3873 and 3874

(2) Here are 9 manuscripts identified by bibliographic information from the web pages

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Leuven MS 1471 (Fragm. 537); Mons MS 642; Edinburgh Adv. MS 19.1.6; Berkley MS UCB 144; Harvard MS Fr. 39; Missouri MS Fragmenta Manuscripta 156; Dartmouth Rauner Codex MS 003206; Columbia Plimpton MSS 284 & 285

(3) Here are 14 manuscripts identified by bibliographic information from books

Brussels MS 11000-3; Copenhagen MS GKS 2061-4⁰ (Fr. LV) & Thott 412.2⁰ (Fr. LVII); Riccardiana MS 2755; Mediceo-Laurenziana MS Ashburnham 120; Marciana MS 238 (App. Mss. Cod. VIII); Bern MS 230; Aberystwyth MSS 5011E, 5012E, 5013D, 5014D, 5015D and 5017D; San Marino MS HM 902

★¹ A miniature of Fortune can be found in folio 229^{vo}, but this is not related to the *Roman de la Rose* (folio 250^{vo} -274^{vo}). See Langlois (1910), p. 108.

★² The three manuscripts were searched on Liber Floridus in October 2010; as of January 2021, the web was not available.

Appendix 3: Line numbers in the *Rose* manuscripts where Fortune's miniatures are found

line number	manuscript
2982	Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11, f. 23
3653	Lausanne MS M 454, f. 17 ^{vo}
3963	Paris BnF MS Fr. 25523, f. 35
4807	Oxford MS Selden Supra 57, f. 34; Paris BnF MS Fr. 1564, f. 20 ^{vo}
4817	Paris BSG MS 1126, f. 34
4819	Baltimore MS W. 143, f. 34; Chantilly MSS 481(664), f. 32 ^{vo} and 482 (665), f. 35; Genève MS Fr. 178, f. 38; London BL MS Add. 42133, f. 34; London Gray's Inn MS 10, f. 30 ^{vo} ; Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11, f. 37 ^{vo} ; Montpellier BIUM MSS H 245, f. 30 ^{vo} and H 246, f. 38; New York Morgan MSS M. 48, f. 37, M. 324, f. 34 ^{vo} and M. 503, f. 34; Paris Arsenal MS 5209, f. 36; Paris BnF MSS Fr. 1565, f. 34, Fr. 12593, f. 37, Fr. 24388, f. 36, Fr. 24392, f. 39 ^{vo} and Smith-Lesouëf 62, f. 34 ^{vo} ; Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3, f. 38; Princeton MS Garrett 126, f. 36; Vatican City BAV MS Reg. lat. 1492, f. 35; Vienna ÖNB Cod 2592, f. 36; The Jersey (formerly St. Helier, Jersey Public Library) MS, f. 26
4863	Chicago MS UC 1380, f. 31 ^{vo}
5285	Paris BnF MS Fr. 380, f. 36 ^{vo}
5812	Grenoble MS 608 Rés, f. 59 ^{vo}
5839	Los Angeles MS Ludwig XV 7, f. 38 ^{vo}
5847	MS Astor A. 12, f. 50 ^{vo}

5871	London BL MS Harley 4425, f. 57; Oxford MS Douce 332, f. 58; New York Morgan MS M. 132, f. 48
5877	Lyon MS P. A. 25, f. 42 ^{vo}
5891	Milan MS I 78 sup., f. 35 ^{vo} ; London BL MS Add. 31840, f. 40 ^{vo} ; Los Angeles MS Ludwig XV 7, f. 39; Paris BnF MSS Fr. 1575, f. 45 ^{vo} , Fr. 12595, f. 45 ^{vo} and NAF 9252, f. 16 ^{va} ; Valencia MS 387, f. 43 ^{vo}
5893	Oxford MS Douce 195, f. 43
5914	New York Morgan MS M. 948, f. 61
5917	Paris BnF NAF MS 9252, f. 16 ^{vb}
6049	Arras MS 897, f. 34 ^{va} ; Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 169, f. 32; Oxford MS Douce 371, f. 40 ^{vo}
6063	Arras MS 897, f. 34 ^{vb}
6079	Paris BnF MS Fr. 1570, f. 49 ^{vo}
6103	Paris BnF MS Fr. 798, f. 45
6143	Genève MS Fr. 178, f. 47 ^{vo} ; London BL MS Add. 42133, f. 42 ^{vo} ; Madrid BNE MS 10032, f. 39 ^{vo} ; Montpellier BIUM MS H 246, f. 46; New York Morgan MS M. 185, f. 45; Oxford MS Douce 188, f. 45; Paris BSG MS 1126, f. 43 ^{vo} ; Paris BnF MSS Fr. 802, f. 42, Fr. 1560, f. 44 ^{vo} , Fr. 1565, f. 42 ^{vo} , Fr. 24388, f. 44 ^{vo} , Fr. 24392, f. 49 ^{vo} and Fr. 25526, f. 48; Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3, f. 47; Warsaw MS 52 (III 3760), f. 58; The Jersey (formerly St. Helier, Jersey Public Library) MS, f. 35
6783	Los Angeles MS Ludwig XV 7, f. 44; Paris BnF MSS Fr. 380, f. 46 ^{vo} and Fr. 12595, f. 52
6825	New York Morgan MS M. 948, f. 69 ^{vo}
8011	New York Morgan MS G. 32, f. 59 ^{vo}
17044	New York Morgan MS M. 948, f. 167
17458	New York Morgan MS M. 948, f. 170 ^{vo}
18633	Paris BnF MS Fr. 1567, f. 135

Appendix 4: The number of Fortune's miniature(s) in each manuscript and a motif

The number of Fortune's miniature(s)	Manuscript	Motif (main material)	The figure(s) on Fortune's Wheel
Four (1)	Morgan M. 948, f.61 (l. 5914)	The Wheel of Fortune, Reason & Lover	four figures
	Morgan M. 948, f.69 ^{vo} (l. 6825)	Fortune (the tavern hostess), Reason & Lover	no figure
	Morgan M. 948, f.167 (l. 17044)	Nature & Genius/ Fortune/ the Fates	four figures
	Morgan M.948, f.170 ^{vo} (l. 17458)	Fortune, Nature & God	five figures

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Three (1)	Ludwig XV 7, f.38 ^{vo} (l. 5839)	The Wheel of Fortune, Heraclitus & Diogenes	four figures
	Ludwig XV 7, f.39 (l. 5891)	The Residence of Fortune with her Wheel	four figures
	Ludwig XV 7, f.44 (l. 6783)	Fortune (the tavern hostess) with Jupiter	—
Two (14)	Arras 897, f.34 ^{va} (l. 6049)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Arras 897, f.34 ^b (l. 6063)	The Residence of Fortune and her Wheel	one figure
	Montpellier H 246, f.38 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	Montpellier H 246, f.46 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune and Reason	no figure
	Paris BSG 1126, f.34 (l. 4817)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Paris BSG 1126, f.43 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	BnF Fr. 380, f. 36 ^{vo} (l. 5285)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 380, f. 46 ^{vo} (l. 6783)	Fortune (the tavern hostess) with two barrels	—
	BnF Fr. 1565, f. 34 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 1565, f. 42 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 12595, f. 45 ^{vo} (l. 5891)	The Residence of Fortune	—
	BnF Fr. 12595, f. 52 (l. 6783)	Fortune with two barrels, Reason & Lover	—
	BnF Fr. 24388, f. 36 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 24388, f. 44 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 24392, f. 39 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BnF Fr. 24392, f. 49 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	three figures
	BnF NAF 9252, f. 16 ^{va} (l. 5891)	The Residence of Fortune and her Wheel	?
	BnF NAF 9252, f. 16 ^b (l. 5917)	The Residence of Fortune and her Wheel	?
	BNE, Vitr. 23-11, f. 23 (l. 2982)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	BNE, Vitr. 23-11, f. 37 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	BL Add. 42133, f. 34 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	BL Add. 42133, f.42 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Genève, Fr. 178, f. 38 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Genève, Fr. 178, f. 47 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Collins 1945-65-3, f. 38 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
	Collins 1945-65-3, f. 47 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	three figures
	Jersey, f. 26 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Jersey, f. 35 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures	
One (43)	ÖBN 2592, f. 36 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	Chantilly 481, f. 32 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	Chantilly 482, f. 35 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
	Grenoble 608 Rés, f. 59 ^{vo} (l. 5812)	The Wheel of Fortune, Reason & Lover	no figure
	Lyon P. A. 25, f. 42 ^{vo} (l. 5877)	The Wheel of Fortune, Reason & Lover	no figure
	Montpellier H 245, f.30 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures

BnF Fr. 798, f. 45 (l. 6103)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
BnF Fr. 802, f. 42 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
BnF Fr. 1560, f. 44 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
BnF Fr. 1564, f. 20 ^{vo} (l. 4807)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BnF Fr. 1567, f. 135 (l.18633)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BnF Fr. 1570, f. 49 ^{vo} (l. 6079)	Fortune with a small wheel	no figure
BnF Fr. 1575, f. 45 ^{vo} (l. 5891)	The Wheel of Fortune with Reason	no figure
BnF Fr. 12593, f. 37 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BnF Fr. 25523, f. 35 (l. 3963)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BnF Fr. 25526, f. 48 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Smith-Lesouëf 62, f. 34 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Arsenal 5209, f. 36 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	three figures
Milan, I 78 sup., f. 35 ^{vo} (l. 5891)	The Wheel of Fortune, but without Fortune	four figures
Warsaw III 3760, f. 58 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BNE 10032, f. 39 ^{vo} (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Valencia 387, f. 43 ^{vo} (l. 5891)	The Residence of Fortune	no figure
Lausanne M 454, f. 17 ^{vo} (l. 3653)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Fitzwilliam 169, f. 32 (l. 6049)	The Residence of Fortune	—
BL Add. 31840, f. 40 ^{vo} (l. 5891)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BL Harley 4425, f. 57 (l. 5871)	The Wheel of Fortune with Reason & Lover	no figure
Gray's Inn 10, f. 30 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Douce 188, f. 45 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Douce 195, f. 43 (l. 5893)	Fortune at sea and Lover	—
Douce 332, f. 58 (l. 5871)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Douce 371, f. 40 ^{vo} (l. 6049)	The Residence of Fortune and her Wheel	three figures
Selden Supra 57, f. 34 (l. 4807)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Baltimore W.143, f. 34 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Chicago UC 1380, f. 31 ^{vo} (l. 4863)	The Wheel of Fortune with Reason & Lover	four figures
Morgan G. 32, f. 59 ^{vo} (l. 8011)	The Wheel of Fortune	one figure
Morgan M. 48, f. 37 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Morgan M. 132, f. 48 (l. 5871)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Morgan M. 185, f. 45 (l. 6143)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Morgan M. 324, f. 34 ^{vo} (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Morgan M. 503, f. 34 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	no figure
Garrett 126, f. 36 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
BAV Reg. lat. 1492, f. 35 (l. 4819)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures
Astor A. 12, f. 50 ^{vo} (l. 5847)	The Wheel of Fortune	four figures