

## Enchanted by Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts: Part 2 \*

TODOROKI Yoshiaki \*\*

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

As shown in Table 1 in section 1, I was able to identify 78 miniatures of Fortune among 59 manuscripts. When they were sorted into alphabetical order of country, there were 26 institutions (libraries & museums), covering nine countries in the world: Austria, France, Italy, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States and Vatican. The Jersey manuscript and Astor A. 12 here were treated as “Unknown,” as shown in the *Rose* corpus. Therefore, the results were as follows:

**Austria**, Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB); **France**, Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM); Chantilly, Musée Condé; Grenoble, BM; Lyon, BM; Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier (BIUM); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (BSG); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (BnF); Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal; **Italy**, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana; **Poland**, Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa; **Spain**, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE); Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universidad; **Switzerland**, Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève; Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne; **United Kingdom**, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; London, British Library (BL); London, Gray’s Inn; Oxford, Bodleian Library; **United States**, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; Chicago, University of Chicago; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; New York, Morgan Library & Museum; Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Princeton, Princeton University Library; **Vatican**, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV); **Unknown**, Astor A. 12; the Jersey manuscript

I briefly summarized the images that I could read from Fortune’s miniatures in the manuscripts held by the above institutions: to be specific, the placement between the Wheel and Fortune (e.g., Fortune stands behind or beside the Wheel), whether or not the figures are placed on the outer ring of the Wheel, whether or not Fortune’s Wheel has a crank, whether or not Fortune is blindfolded, whether or not Fortune wears a crown, and the color of gown/ garment Fortune wears. In addition, the rubrics, or the headings and a few lines of text descriptions either just over or just under the miniatures were deciphered and transcribed.<sup>1</sup> This hard task brought me some noteworthy findings, but linguistic studies were omitted<sup>2</sup> because they were not part of my research. The matters mentioned above are presented below. Comparative analyses of Fortune’s miniatures and the rubrics

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\*\* Professor at Kagoshima Prefectural College.

1 As the *Roman de la Rose* is the poem written in Old French, English translations are provided in the footnotes for easy understanding.

2 For example, when we look at the beginning of line 4819, we see that nineteen out of the twenty-three cases are “Car” (= because), two are “Par,” and one is “Quer,” except for one dubious case.

among the manuscripts will be attempted in Chapter 4, based on the explanatory information.

1. Austria, Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 2592, folio 36

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a pink gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Vez a fortune qui est en la roe les/ Yex bendes et la tourne a sa vola[n]te.”<sup>3</sup> Left column of folio 36<sup>vo</sup> begins with line 4819 and below: “Car le debonere et la mole/ Leur ment et les boule et afole.”<sup>4</sup>

2. France, Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM), MS 897, folio 34<sup>ra</sup>

Fortune, crowned in green, stands behind a large red wheel, holding the spoke with her left hand, with a yellow gown and a green mantle on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is followed by line 6049 and below: “En haut ou chief de la montaigne/ Ou pendent non pas en la plaine.”<sup>5</sup>

3. France, Arras, BM, MS 897, folio 34<sup>vo</sup>

There is a residence of Fortune whose left side is upward and right side is downward. In the residence Fortune turns the wheel, on which is put only one figure which represents ‘regnavi’. This miniature is on the bottom of the right column on folio 34<sup>vo</sup>. So, folio 35 begins with line 6063 and below: “Lune partie de la sale/ Va contremont et autre avale/ Si samble quelle doit cheoir/ Tant la peent ou pendant veoir.”<sup>6</sup>

4. France, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 481(664), folio 32<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the left column can be found the following rubric: “Vez a fortune qui est/ En sa roe les yex bentez/ Et la tourne tout a sa uolente.”<sup>7</sup> Right column begins with a miniature of Fortune,

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Car: Baltimore MS W. 143; Chantilly MS 481(664) & MS482(665); Genève MS Fr. 178; Gray’s Inn MS 10; Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11; Montpellier MS H 245 & MS H 246; Morgan MS M. 48 & MS M. 503; Paris BnF MS Fr. 1565, MS Fr. 12593, MS Fr. 24388, MS Fr. 24392, MS Smith-Lesouëf 62; Princeton MS Garrett 126; Vatican MS Reg. lat. 1492; Vienna ÖNB Cod 2592; The Jersey MS.

Par: London BL MS Add. 42133; Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3.

Quer: Arsenal MS 5209.

And here’s another example. If we look at lines 4819-4820 of BL, MS Additional 42133, folio 34, we will find that “et les” is repeated twice. Obviously, this seems to be a scribal error: Par la debonaire et la mole/ Luer me[n]t et les et les boule et afole.

3 = Here is Fortune who is at the wheel/ is engaged in the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and turns them as she pleases. See Chantilly MS 481(664) & MS 482 (665), Montpellier MS H 246, BnF MS Fr. 1565, Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11, Genève MS. Fr.178, Gray’s Inn MS 10, Morgan MS M.503, Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3 and Vatican MS Reg.lat.1492. The English translations in the rubric listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

4 = Because good-natured and benevolent Fortune lies to them and deceives them into madness. See Chantilly MS 481(664) & MS 482 (665), Montpellier MS H 245 & MS H 246, BnF MS Fr. 1565, MS Fr. 12593, MS Fr. 24388, MS Fr.24392 & MS Smith-Lesouëf 62, Arsenal MS 5209, Madrid MS Vitr. 23-11, Genève MS. Fr.178, BL MS Add. 42133, Gray’s Inn MS 10, Baltimore MS W. 143, Morgan MS M.48 & MS M.503, Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3, Princeton MS Garrett 126 and Vatican MS Reg.lat.1492. The English translations in line 4819 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 111.

5 = High on the top of the mountain, on the slope, not on the plateau. See Fitzwilliam Museum MS 169 and Bodleian MS Douce 371. The English translations in line 6049 (and below) listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

6 = One part of the residence truly slopes upwards, while the other descends, and it is visibly so askew that it seems it must fall.

7 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

and the miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et le[s] boule et afole.”<sup>8</sup>

5. France, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 482 (665), folio 35

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large red wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a pink gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Vez a fortune q[ui] e[s]t en la roe les iex/ Bendez et la to[u]rne tout a ssa uolente.”<sup>9</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnere et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et les boule et afole.”<sup>10</sup>

6. France, Grenoble, BM, MS 608 Rés, folio 59<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, crowned, stands on the right of the wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, holding a crank in her left hand and turning the wheel, on which no figure is put. On the left are Reason and a male figure (Lover), discussing something by hand gestures. On the top of this miniature is a scroll or something, with the following five lines written and highlighted: “Seuffre que je soye ta serve/ et tu le myens lonail amys/ le dieu laisas qui am si ta mys/ et ne priseras vne prune/ toute la Roue de fortune.”<sup>11</sup> This is line 5812 and below in the text.

7. France, Lyon, BM, MS P.A. 25, folio 42<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands on the right of the wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, holding a crank in her right hand and turning the wheel, on which no figure is put. On the left are Reason and a male figure (Lover), discussing the wheel of Fortune by hand gestures. This miniature is followed by line 5877 and below: “Et qua[n]t luy plaist tot en reporte/ Mole fol est qui sen desconforte/ Et qui de riens Joyeuse en soit.”<sup>12</sup>

8. France, Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier (BIUM), MS H 245, folio 30<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a pale indigo gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the left column can be found the following rubric: “C[om]me[n]t fortune q[ui] est en sa roe les yex/ bendez et la tourne a sa uolente.”<sup>13</sup> Right column begins with a miniature of Fortune, and the miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Leur ment et les boule et afole.”<sup>14</sup>

9. France, Montpellier, BIUM, MS H 246, folio 38

Fortune stands gripping a red wheel, which only has four spokes, with a pink gown on. No figure

8 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

9 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

10 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

11 = Suffice it to say that I am your servant and you my loyal friend. You will leave the god who has put you in this plight and will not value at one prune the whole of Fortune’s wheel. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 58.

12 = Whenever it pleases her, she takes everything back. He who is overcome with sorrow and feels delighted in events is a fool.

13 = How is Fortune at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how does she turn them as she pleases? See BnF MS Fr. 12593 & MS Fr. 24388, Arsenal MS 5209, BL MS Add.42133, Morgan MS M.48 & MS M.324 and Princeton MS Garrett 126. The English translations in line 4819 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

14 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ve[z] a aduient Fortune qui est en/ la roe les iex bendes et la tourne/ tout a sa volente.”<sup>15</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonaire et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et les boule et la fole.”<sup>16</sup>

10. France, Montpellier, BIUM, MS H 246, folio 46

Fortune, wearing a pink gown, stands behind a red gear-like wheel, holding the rim firmly with her left hand and the spoke with her right hand. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the right stands Reason, who appears to be speaking to Fortune by hand gestures. On the bottom of the left column can be found the following rubric: “Ci emp[le]s p[ar]le Raison de for/ tune et vez a co[m]me[n]t fortune/ est en la Roe les iex bendez/ et la tourne de toutes p[ar]s/ que elle veut.”<sup>17</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce les iex bendes li fu[r]e[n]t/ Des ancia[n]s q[ui] la connrent.”<sup>18</sup>

11. France, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (BSG), MS 1126, folio 34

Fortune stands behind a large red wheel, which has the spokes like a rose window, holding the spokes with both hands, with a pink gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ves a fortune qui tourne sa/ Roe et met ceulz de haut en bas/ Et ceulz de bas en haut a sa vole[n]te.”<sup>19</sup> Left column of folio 34<sup>vo</sup> begins with line 4817 and below: “Et se ce te semble doutable/ Cest b[ie]n par argume[n]t p[rou]uable.”<sup>20</sup>

12. France, Paris, BSG, MS 1126, folio 43<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large red wheel, which has the spokes like a rose window, holding the spokes with both hands, with a pale blue gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ci empres parle raison de fortune/ Et vees a co[m]me[n]t fortune est en sa/ Roe les yeus bendes et la tourne/ De toutes pars quelle veult.”<sup>21</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce les yeux bendes li fure[n]t/ Des anciens qui la conure[n]t.”<sup>22</sup>

13. France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (BnF), MS Fr. 380, folio 36<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown and a blue mantle on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On

15 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

16 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

17 = Here are some examples of how Reason talks about Fortune, and here is an explanation of how Fortune is at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how she turns them whom she desires on all sides. See BSG MS 1126 and BnF MS Fr.24388. The English translations in the rubric listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

18 = for this reason, Fortune was described as blindfolded by the ancients, who knew her. See BSG MS 1126, BnF MS Fr.802, MS Fr.1560, MS Fr.1565, MS Fr.24388, MS Fr.24392 and MS Fr.25526, Warsaw MS 52 (III 3760), Madrid MS 10032, Genève MS Fr.178, BL MS Add. 42133, Bodleian MS Douce 188, Morgan MS M.185, Philadelphia MS Collins 1945-65-3 and The Jersey MS. The English translations in line 6143 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

19 = Here is Fortune who turns her wheel and puts people from high status to low status and vice versa as she pleases.

20 = If this seems doubtful to you, it can be proved by argument.

21 See footnote 17 for the English translation.

22 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “De la roe de fortune.”<sup>23</sup> And then line 5285 and below in the text follows: “NE fortune ne puet pas faire/ Tant soit aus homes debonnaire...”<sup>24</sup>

14. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 380, folio 46<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, with a red gown and a blue mantle on, stands in front of two barrels of wine, holding a glass in each hand. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Conment fortune tirnt atoutes manie[r]s de/ gens toutes manieres de buuerlger.”<sup>25</sup> And the rubric is followed by line 6783 and below: “Iupiter en toute saison/ a sur le seuil de la maison/ Ce dit [H]omers Il plaine touniaus.”<sup>26</sup>

15. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 798, folio 45

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, on the ground. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is followed by line 6103 and below: “Ainsi fortune se desguise/ Mais [b]ie[n] te dy quel ne prise/ Trestous ceulz du mo[n]de l festu.”<sup>27</sup>

16. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 802, folio 42

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the left column is a miniature of Fortune, on which can be found the following rubric: “Come fortune est e[n] sa roe les iex be[n]des.”<sup>28</sup> Right column begins with line 6143 and below: “Po[u]rce li oeil bende[s] li furent/ Des anciens q[ui] la co[n]jure[n]t.”<sup>29</sup>

17. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1560, folio 44<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large gold wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a blue gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of the right column on folio 44 can be found the following rubric: “Comment fortune est en sa roe les ieux/ bandes et les bras estandus.”<sup>30</sup> Folio 44<sup>vo</sup> begins with this miniature, which is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pource li oeil bandes li furent/ Des anciens qui la cognurent.”<sup>31</sup>

18. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1564, folio 20<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, crowned, stands behind a large green wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a dark gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “La roue de fortune.”<sup>32</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4807 and below: “Et puis qua

23 = About the wheel of Fortune.

24 = No matter how meek Fortune is to men, she cannot do something...

25 = How does Fortune strike a blow against the drinking vices of all people?

26 = Jupiter has two barrels filled to the brim on the threshold of his house all year round, Homer says. See BnF MS Fr.12595 and Los Angeles MS Ludwig XV 7. The English translations in line 6783 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 69.

27 = In this way Fortune disguises herself, but I tell you truly that she does not value all those of the world at a straw.

28 = It seems as if Fortune is at the wheel, bandaged over her eyes.

29 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

30 = How is Fortune at the wheel, bandaged over her eyes and stretching out her arms?

31 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 109.

32 = the wheel of Fortune.

fortune venons/ Qu[an]t de samor sermon tenons/ Dire ten veul fiere merueille.<sup>33</sup>

19. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1565, folio 34

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a light gray gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Ve[z] a fortune qui est en la roe les iex/ Bendes et la tourne tout a sa volente."<sup>34</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: "Car la debonaire et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et les boule et afole"<sup>35</sup>

20. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1565, folio 42<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a wheel, grabbing the figures clinging to the outer ring with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Ci empres parle raison de fortune./ Et vees a co[m]me fortune est en sa roe les/ yex bendes et la tourne de toutes pars/ quil veult."<sup>36</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: "Pour ce ler yes be[n]des li fure[n]t/ Des ancia[n]s q[ui] la conure[n]t."<sup>37</sup>

21. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1567, folio 135

Fortune stands behind a large wheel which only has four spokes, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is followed by line 18633 and below: "Et plus pugni deurent il estre/ Deuant lempe[r]leur celestre/ Clerc qui sabandonne[n]t aus vices/ Que les gens lays simples et nices."<sup>38</sup>

22. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1570, folio 49<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, wearing a red gown, stands in front of the entrance of the building, posturing as if she were talking to someone with a right-hand gesture and holding a wheel in her left hand. No figure is put on the wheel. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Comment fortune la dernee/ se tient ou milieu de la maison."<sup>39</sup> And the rubric is followed by line 6079 and below: "Dautre part se tie[n]t orgueilleuse/ Par sa g[ra]nt beauste merueilleuse."<sup>40</sup>

23. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 1575, folio 45<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, wearing a red gown, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the left is Reason, debating with Fortune, using hand gestures. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Dame reson qui

33 = And now that we come to Fortune when we hold a discourse about love, I should like to tell you really marvelous things. See Bodleian MS Selden Supra 57. The English translation in line 4807 and below listed above is almost identical, although spellings are slightly different. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 78.

34 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

35 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 152.

36 = Here are some examples of how Reason talks about Fortune. And it seems as if Fortune here is at the wheel/ is engaged in the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and turns them whom she desires on all sides.

37 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 79.

38 = And clerks who abandon themselves to vices should be more punished before the celestial emperor than the simple and ignorant lay. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 80.

39 = How is dark Fortune in the center of the residence?

40 = The other side is more dignified in a very stunning beauty. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 110.

p[ar]le de fortune.”<sup>41</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seanz/ Ml’r p[ar]font el milieu leanz/ gui sus la mer en haut se lance.”<sup>42</sup>

24. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 12593, folio 37

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a light gray gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the right column on folio 36<sup>vo</sup> can be found the following rubric: “Comment fortune qui est en sa roe les/ Yex bendes et la tourne tout a sa volente.”<sup>43</sup> Left column of folio 37 begins with a miniature of Fortune, and the miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire/ et la mole/ Leur ment et les boule/ et afole.”<sup>44</sup>

25. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 12595, folio 45<sup>vo</sup>

A rocky island is surrounded by water, which has both leafless trees and overgrown ones. This miniature is followed by line 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seans/ Bien parfont ou millieu leans/ Qui s[e]jur la mer en hault se lance.”<sup>45</sup>

26. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 12595, folio 52

Jupiter has two barrels full of wine at the entrance of his house. Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, with a pale blue gown on, plays a role similar to that of a tavern hostess and dispenses a cup of wine. On the left side stand Reason and Lover, who seem to be discussing something about Fortune. This miniature is followed by line 6783 and below: “Iupiter en toute saison/ a sur le sueil de sa maison/ Ce did [H]omers deus plains touneaus.”<sup>46</sup>

27. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 24388, folio 36

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large red wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a pink gown and a blue mantle on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the right column on folio 35<sup>vo</sup> can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]me[n]t fortune est en sa roe/ Les yex be[n]des et la torne a sa uole[n]te”<sup>47</sup> Left column of folio 36 begins with a miniature of Fortune, and the miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debon[er]le et la mole/ Leur m[en]t et les boule et afole.”<sup>48</sup>

28. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 24388, folio 44<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune stands behind a large red wheel, holding the spoke with her right hand, with a pink gown and a pale green mantle on. She appears to be blindfolded with bandages, but she has what looks like eyes. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ci

41 = Dame Reason who talks about Fortune.

42 = There is a rock located in the sea, in the middle of this deep sea; It sticks out high above the sea. See BnF MS Fr.12595 & NAF MS 9252, Milan MS I 78 sup., Valencia MS 387, BL MS Add. 31840 and Los Angeles MS Ludwig XV 7. The English translations in line 5891 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

43 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

44 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

45 See footnote 42 for the English translation.

46 See footnote 26 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 68.

47 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

48 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 62.

emp[re]s p[ar]le raison de fortune/ Et ues a co[m]me[n]t elle a les yex/ Bendes et la tourne tout a sa uole[n]te.”<sup>49</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pource li oeil bende[s]/ Li furent/ Des ancians qui/ La conurent.”<sup>50</sup>

29. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 24392, folio 39<sup>o</sup>

Fortune wears a gown composed of red, blue and white colors, and stands on the right of the wheel supported by the post firmly anchored to the ground, holding a crank in her right hand and turning the wheel, on which are put four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Cy desaipt Raison que cest/ De douce Fortune.”<sup>51</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Leur ment et boulle et afole.”<sup>52</sup>

30. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 24392, folio 49<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing a hat for royal princes and a gown consisting of white, blue and red colors, stands on the right side of a large wheel, which is supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, gripping the crank in her right hand and scepter in her left hand. Three figures on the edge of the wheel represent ‘regno,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’. On the bottom of the right column on folio 49 can be found the following rubric: “Cy parle Raison de fortune./ Comme elle a les yeulx bendez/ Pour ce quel ne congnoit/ V[e]z a llui et aussi que milli[e]u/ V[e]z e la congnoisse Car elle/ Fait le pou[v]re riche et le riche/ Pou[v]re pour ce fol est gui si sie.”<sup>53</sup> Folio 49<sup>o</sup> begins with a miniature of Fortune, and the miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce les yeuls bendez li fure[n]t/ Des ancians qui la connure[n]t.”<sup>54</sup>

31. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 25523, folio 35

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the red spokes with both hands, with a pink gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the blue outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature are lines 3961-3962: “E[t] celi qui est sus la roe/ Reuse a u tour en la boe.”<sup>55</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 3963: “Las ie sui cis q[ui] est u[er]ses.”<sup>56</sup>

32. France, Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 25526, folio 48

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of the right column on folio 47<sup>o</sup> can be found the following rubric: “C[o]me fortune est en sa roe lex iex/ Bendez et les bras estendus.”<sup>57</sup> Folio 48 begins with this miniature, which is

49 See footnote 17 for the English translation.

50 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 153.

51 = Here is deceitful Reason who stops talking about pleasant Fortune.

52 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 63.

53 = Here Reason talks about Fortune. It seems as if she is blindfolded with a bandage over her eyes. For this reason, she doesn't know anything. Here is a description of her and her environment as well. This is where you will recognize her, because she makes the poor rich and the rich poor. For this reason, anyone who is thus on the wheel is a fool.

54 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 64.

55 = And the one who is on the top of the wheel is plunged into the mud with a turn.

56 = And I am the man who is so overturned!

57 = It seems as if Fortune is at the wheel, bandaged over her eyes and stretching out her arms.



followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce li oil bendez li furent/ Des anciens q[ui] la c[o]nurent.”<sup>58</sup>

33. France, Paris, BnF, NAF MS 9252, folio 16<sup>va</sup>

In this miniature something like the wheel can be seen, and Fortune, crowned, appears to be in the wheel, holding the edge with both hands, but damage is so severe that it is difficult to decipher accurately. The only way is in the rubric on the top of this miniature: “Comme une roche est en mer/ et la roe de Fortune est desus la/ roche et Fortune qui se siet desus.”<sup>59</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 5891 and below: “Une roche a en mer seans/ mont p[ar]font en milieu leans/ g[ui] [s]us la mer et en haut se lance.”<sup>60</sup>

34. France, Paris, BnF, NAF MS 9252, folio 16<sup>vb</sup>

In this miniature something like the wheel can be seen, and Fortune, crowned, appears to be in the wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, but damage is so severe that it is difficult to decipher accurately. The only way is in the rubric on the top of this miniature: “Comme vne roche est en mer/ en il a vn bois nere et autre sec/ et fortune est ou elle regne sus/ le uert arbre en sa roe.”<sup>61</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 5917 and below: “La roche porte l[a] bois doutable/ Dont li arbre sont m[e]rveillable.”<sup>62</sup>

35. France, Paris, BnF, MS Smith-Lesouëf 62, folio 34<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ci est fortune qui to[u]rne sa/ Roe et raison la descirt ala[r]m[e].”<sup>63</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et/ la mole/ Leur ment et les/ boule et afole.”<sup>64</sup>

36. France, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 5209, folio 36

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a blue gown on. Three figures who represent ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]me[n]t fortune est e[n] sa roe les yex be[n]dez.”<sup>65</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Quer la debonnere et la mole/ Leur ment et les boule et afole.”<sup>66</sup>

37. Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS I 78 sup., folio 35<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune is not in this miniature, just the red wheel, on which are put four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’. At the bottom of the left column can be found

58 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

59 = It seems as if a rock is at sea, and the Wheel of Fortune is on that rock, and yet Fortune is in there.

60 See footnote 42 for the English translation.

61 = It seems as if a rock is at sea, on which the forest is sometimes dark and evil, sometimes changes in a blink. And, what’s more, Fortune is also where she rules, and even the green tree is under the control of her wheel.

62 = The rock is covered in an ambiguous forest and the trees are wondrous.

63 = Here are Fortune who turns the wheel and Reason who talks about uneasiness.

64 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

65 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

66 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

the heading, not written in rubric: “Vez a la roe de Fortune.”<sup>67</sup> Right column begins with the miniature, under which follows line 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seanz/ Bien p[ar]font u[n] mileu laienz/ Q[u]i seur la mer en haut se lance.”<sup>68</sup>

38. Poland, Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS 52 (III 3760), folio 58

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spoke with her right hand. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of the left column can be found the rubric: “Jey pouez veoir Fortune Qui est a toy/ trop variable. Que sa roe nest retenable.”<sup>69</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pource les yeulx bandez lui furent/ Des anciens qui la cognurent.”<sup>70</sup>

39. Spain, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), MS 10032, folio 39<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. Unfortunately, the image cannot be fully analyzed, so it is impossible to decipher if she has eyes or not. On the bottom of the right column on folio 39 can be found the following rubric: “Ci parole de fortune et vees/ Comment elle est en sa roe/ Et comment elle a les yex ben/ des et comment elle tourne/ et met les vne bas et les autres/ haute tout a sa volente.”<sup>71</sup>

Folio 39<sup>vo</sup> also begins with ‘fortune’ in rubric, which is followed by this miniature. And then line 6143 and below follows: “Po[ur]ce li oeil be[n]de li furent/ Des anciens q[ui] le cognure[n]t.”<sup>72</sup>

40. Spain, Madrid, BNE, MS Vit. 23-11, folio 23

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown and a blue mantle on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel, which has gear-like projections. This miniature is at the top of line 2982 and below: “Biaux amis folie est enfance/ Tout mis en peine et e[n] esmai.”<sup>73</sup>

41. Spain, Madrid, BNE, MS Vit. 23-11, folio 37<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the bottom of the left column can be found the following rubric: “Ves a fortune qui e[st] en sa roue lez/ ieux bandes et la tourne a sa uolente.”<sup>74</sup> Right column begins with a miniature of Fortune, and the miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “C Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Leur ment et boule et afole.”<sup>75</sup>

67 = Here is the wheel of Fortune. See BL MS Add. 31840. The English translation in the heading listed above is almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

68 See footnote 42 for the English translation.

69 = I can see Fortune, who is with you. She is very variable. Why can't the wheel be stopped?

70 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

71 = Here are the words of Fortune, and here is an explanation of how she is engaged in the wheel, how she is blindfolded, and how she turns the wheel completely at will to place some in the low positions and others in the high positions.

72 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

73 = Fair friend, because of your folly and childishness, you have been thrown into suffering and dismay.

74 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

75 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

42. Spain, Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 387, folio 43<sup>vo</sup>

The residence of Fortune is on an island, the left half of which is a magnificent palace and the right half a slightly tilted shack. In the residence blindfolded Fortune takes three different postures, holding a portable wheel with wings. There are two rivers around the residence; On the left-hand side, in the clear water, the lucky swim comfortably, whereas on the right-hand side, in the dark water the unlucky languish. In the foreground, on the left, Cupid is astride a horse and on the right, a male figure is holding a sharp sword. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “De fortune et de son habitaaon.”<sup>76</sup> Folio 44 begins with line 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seans/ bien parfont ou milieu leans/ qui sur la mer en hault se lance.”<sup>77</sup>

## 43. Switzerland, Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS Fr.178, folio 38

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing a red gown, stands behind the wheel with no spokes, grasping the figures with each hand. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ves a fortune qui est en sa roe/ Les yex bendes et la to[ur]ne tout a sa/ Volente. Raison p[ar]le ala[r]mant.”<sup>78</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonaire et la mole/ Luer me[n]t et les boule et afole.”<sup>79</sup>

44. Switzerland, Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS Fr.178, folio 47<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing a red gown, stands behind the wheel with no spokes, turning the outer ring of the wheel with the left hand. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]ment fortune est en sa roe/ Les yex bendes et la to[ur]ne a sa/ Volente la ou il ueult. lam[en]t.”<sup>80</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pource les yex bendes li fure[n]t/ Des ancia[n]s q[ui] la co[n]gnurent.”<sup>81</sup>

45. Switzerland, Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, MS M 454, folio 17<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a blue gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is at the top of line 3653 and below: “Si ont troue le peisant/ Deisoubs l[a] aubeipin gisant.”<sup>82</sup>

## 46. United Kingdom, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 169, folio 32

Unfortunately, Internet search does not allow us to view this miniature, so we’ll have no choice but to rely on Kurose (1977), Plate 21. Two residences are on the top of a mountain that juts out of the sea. One is golden and is located on a blue block of ice, which is about to fall down. The

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76 = About Fortune and her habitation.

77 See footnote 42 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 70.

78 See note 3 for an English translation of the first half. As for ‘Raison p[ar]le ala[r]mant’ in the second half, the translation is as follows: Reason talks in a way that gives her anxiety.

79 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 59.

80 = How is Fortune at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how does she turn them as she pleases, or the one she desires? Reason’s lamentation.

81 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 60.

82 = And they have found a peasant lying under a hawthorn.

other is brown, which looks shabby. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]men[t] la maison fortune est en vne/ Montaigne do[n]t lune pris pent et/ Autre est droite et est fortune deda[n]s/ Et la droite pris est suiv[i]e et laut[re] no[ir].”<sup>83</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6049 and below: “En haut ou chef de la mo[n]tagine/ Ou pende[n]t non pas en la plaigne.”<sup>84</sup>

47. United Kingdom, London, British Library (BL), MS Additional 31840, folio 40<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, crowned in red, with a navy-blue gown on, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Vez chi la roe de fortune.”<sup>85</sup> And this miniature is followed by 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seians/ En p[ar]font en milieu leans/ Q[ui] sor la m[er] en haut se lance.”<sup>86</sup>

48. United Kingdom, London, BL, MS Additional 42133, folio 34

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a pink gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “C[o]ment fortune q[ui] est en sa roe les oi/elz bendez et la tourne a sa volente.”<sup>87</sup> And the rubric is followed by line 4819 and below: “Par la debonaire et la mole/ Luer me[n]t et les et les boule et afole.”<sup>88</sup>

49. United Kingdom, London, BL, MS Additional 42133, folio 42<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “C[o]ment fortune est en sa roe les yelz/ be[n]des et la to[u]rne q[ue]l p[ar]t quel veult.”<sup>89</sup> And then line 6143 and below in the text follows: “Porce les oixx be[n]dez li fure[n]t/ Des ancie[n]s q[ui] la cognurent.”<sup>90</sup>

50. United Kingdom, London, BL, MS Harley 4425, folio 57

The wheel is supported by the posts firmly anchored to a rock surrounded by the sea. Fortune sits on the hub of the wheel. On the left, Reason and a male figure (Lover) argue about Fortune’s wheel by hand gestures. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]ment Raison monstre a lamat/ Fortune sa roe tournant/ Et lui did que tout son pouoir/ Si veust ne se fera douloir.”<sup>91</sup> And then line 5871 and below follows: “Laisse lui sa roe tourner/

83 = how is Fortune’s residence on a mountain whose one is frozen and tilted, and the other is vertical and Fortune is at home. And the frozen right side is popular and the other side is sinister.

84 See footnote 5 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 21.

85 See footnote 67 for the English translation.

86 See footnote 42 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 151.

87 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

88 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 55.

89 = How is Fortune at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how does Fortune turn them whom she desires everywhere?

90 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 56.

91 = How has Reason lamented a monster Fortune turning the wheel and how did Reason say that she would inflict suffering even if she did not please?

Q[ue]l tourne sa[n]s voit seiornier/ Et siet ou millieu com[m]e aueugle.<sup>92</sup>

51. United Kingdom, London, Gray's Inn, MS 10, folio 30<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, two-faced, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a blue gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "vez a fortune qui est en sa roe les/ yex bendes et la tourne tout a sa/ uolente."<sup>93</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: "Car la debo[n]naire et la mole/ Leur me[n]t et les boule et afole."<sup>94</sup>

52. United Kingdom, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 188, folio 45

Fortune stands behind a large gold wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a blue and white gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: "[P]our ce li yeulx bendez luy furent/ Dez anciens qui la conurent."<sup>95</sup>

53. United Kingdom, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195, folio 43

Fortune, crowned, wearing a blue gown and a reddish mantle, sits on the semi-circular substance like a bridge jutting out of the sea, holding the scepter in her right hand. On the ground to the right a male figure (Lover) stands staring at Fortune. This miniature is followed by line 5893 and below: "Qui sur la mer en hault se la[n]ce/ Contre q[ui] la mer grouce et ta[n]ce/ Li flot la hurtent et debatent."<sup>96</sup>

54. United Kingdom, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 332, folio 58

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing an earth-colored gown and a mantle, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, on a mound surrounded by water. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. Under this miniature comes the following rubric: "Coment Raison parle ala[r]mant."<sup>97</sup> And then line 5871 and below in the text follows: "Laisse lu la roe tourner/ Qui tourne ades sanz seio[r]ner/ Et siet ou milieu come aueugle."<sup>98</sup>

55. United Kingdom, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 371, folio 40<sup>vo</sup>

The residence of Fortune is on an island at sea, the left half of which is a slightly tilted shack and the right half a magnificent palace. In the residence Fortune, crowned, turns the wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. Three figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi' and 'sum sine regno' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature in the Digital Bodleian is followed by only line 6049: "Et hault ou chef de la montamgne."<sup>99</sup>

92 = Let her turn the wheel, which she turns constantly and ceaselessly, sitting in the center like a blind person. See Oxford MS Douce 332 and Morgan MS M.132. The English translations in line 5871 and below listed above are almost identical, although spellings are slightly different. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 67.

93 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

94 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

95 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 81.

96 = The rock juts up high above the sea, against which the sea growls and argues. And the waves beat against it and struggle with it. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 29.

97 = How does Reason talk in a way that gives her anxiety?

98 See footnote 92 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 75.

99 See footnote 5 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 20

## 56. United Kingdom, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 57, folio 34

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a lilac gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “E est la roe de fortune.”<sup>100</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4807 and below: “Et puis qua fortune venons/ Qu[an]t de samour sarmo[n] tenons/ Dire te vueil fiere merueille.”<sup>101</sup>

## 57. United States, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.143, folio 34

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Fortune qui est en sa roe.”<sup>102</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnere et la mole/ Leur mente et les boule et afole.”<sup>103</sup>

58. United States, Chicago, University of Chicago, MS UC 1380, folio 31<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a blue gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On either side of the wheel are Reason and a tonsured male figure (Lover), discussing something about Fortune by hand gestures. This miniature is at the bottom of the left column. Right column begins with “Ci p[ar]le raison de fortune p[er]uerse”<sup>104</sup> in rubric. And then line 4863 and below in the text follows: “Mes la contraire et puerse/ Qu[an]t de leur g[ra]ns estaz les enu[er]se/ Et les tumble au to[u]r de la roe,”<sup>105</sup>

59. United States, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XV 7, folio 38<sup>vo</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, with wings on her back, stands on the left of the wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, holding the crank with both hands and turning the wheel. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. At the rear are sitting Heraclitus and Diogenes, discussing the situation by hand gestures. This miniature is followed by line 5839 and below: “Eraclitus Dyogenes/ Refurent de tel cuer que nes/ Pour pourete ne pour destresce/ Ne furent onques en tristesse.”<sup>106</sup>

## 60. United States, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XV 7, folio 39

On the top of a rock jutting out of the sea stands Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, with wings on her back. On the left, she is turning the wheel supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, holding the crank with both hands. Four figures who represent

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100 = And this is the wheel of Fortune.

101 See footnote 33 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 107.

102 = Fortune who is at the wheel.

103 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 61.

104 = Here Reason talks about perverse Fortune.

105 = But when contrary and perverse Fortune turns them from their high estate and tumbles them down with a turn of her wheel.

106 = Heraclitus and Diogenes were also of such heart that, even in poverty and distress, they were never saddened. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 65.

‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This miniature is followed by line 5891 and below: “Une roche est en mer seans/ Bien parfont ou millieu lea[n]s/ Qui sur la mer en hault se la[n]ce.”<sup>107</sup>

61. United States, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XV 7, folio 44

Jupiter, standing on the left of the house himself, has two barrels full of wine at the entrance. Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing a pale gray gown, with wings on her back, plays a role similar to that of a tavern hostess and dispenses a cup of wine in each hand. This miniature is followed by line 6783 and below: “Iupiter en toute saison/ A sus le sueil de sa maison/ Ce did [H]omer deux plains touneaux.”<sup>108</sup>

62. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS G. 32, folio 59<sup>o</sup>

Fortune, wearing a red gown, stands behind a middle-sized wheel, which only has four spokes, gripping the rim with both hands. One figure clinging to the wheel represents ‘sum sine regno’. This miniature is followed by line 8011 and below: “De fortune enuers abatu/ Tant m’a par pourete batu.”<sup>109</sup>

63. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 48, folio 37

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large white wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]ment fortune est en sa roe les/ Yex be[n]des et la tourne tout a sa uole[n]te.”<sup>110</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Leur vie[n]t et les boule et afole.”<sup>111</sup>

64. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 132, folio 48

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, on a green mound. On the top of this miniature can be found two lines in rubric: “Co[m]ment fortune est en sa roe/ Q[ui] fait a maint ho[m]me la mo[u]e.”<sup>112</sup> And then line 5871 and below follows: “Laisse li sa roe tourner/ Q[ui] a tou[r]ne ades sa[n]z seio[u]rner/ Et siet ou mileu c[o]me aueugle.”<sup>113</sup>

65. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 185, folio 45

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands in a large wheel, holding the rim with both hands, with a blackish gown and a pale gray mantle on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]me fortune en sa roe yex/ Bendes et la tourne tout a sa vol[ent].”<sup>114</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pource li oil bendu li furent/ Des anciens qui la co[n]nurent.”<sup>115</sup>

107 See footnote 42 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 66.

108 See footnote 26 for the English translation.

109 = Fortune struck me down by Poverty in this way.

110 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

111 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

112 = How is Fortune at the wheel and how does she give a pouty look to a lot of people?

113 See footnote 92 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 104.

114 = It seems as if Fortune is at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and she turns them all as she pleases. See the Jersey MS. The English translation in the rubric listed above is almost identical, although spellings are slightly different.

115 See footnote 18 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 105.

66. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 324, folio 34<sup>90</sup>

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spoke with her left hand, with a blue gown on. Four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo' are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Co[m]ment fortune est en sa roe les yex/ Bendes et la tourne a sa volente."<sup>116</sup> At the top of this rubric is line 4818 "Cest bien p[ar] argument prouuable."<sup>117</sup> Unfortunately, the beginning of folio 35 is not seen through the Internet. Information in the *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, however, shows that folio 35 begins with an initial C decorated with foliate ornament and tendrils, which enables us to guess that line 4819 and below will be almost the same as those seen in MS M. 503, folio 34.

## 67. United States, New York, Morgan Library &amp; Museum, MS M. 503, folio 34

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown on. No figure is put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: "Ves a fortune qui est en sa roe/ les yex bendes et la tourne tout/ a ssa uolente."<sup>118</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: "Car la debonaire et la mole/ Leur ment et les boule et afole."<sup>119</sup>

## 68. United States, New York, Morgan Library &amp; Museum, MS M. 948, folio 61

Fortune, nude, with wings on her back and on both legs, stands on a sphere and turns the wheel on her left side, supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, gripping the crank in her right hand. Four figures who are put on the outer rim of the wheel represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo'. On her right side are Reason and a male figure (Lover), discussing Fortune by hand gestures. This miniature is followed by line 5914 and below: "Avec lespee de froidure/ Si que la fleur y pert son estre/ Si tost quelle co[m]mance a croistre."<sup>120</sup>

69. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 948, folio 69<sup>90</sup>

Fortune, naked except for the loin cloth she wears, with wings on her back, with winged feet, and with a small wheel near her feet, is pouring wine from a barrel into a container. She appears to be acting as a sort of tavern keeper. On the right, Reason and Lover are discussing the wine Fortune pours by hand gestures. This large miniature is followed by line 6825 and below: "De fortune la semilleuse/ Ne de sa roe merueilleuse/ Tous les tours compter ne por[u]roye."<sup>121</sup>

## 70. United States, New York, Morgan Library &amp; Museum, MS M. 948, folio 167

At the back of the landscape on the right, Fortune, naked except for the loin cloth she wears, with red wings on her back, stands on a sphere, grasping the king on the wheel with her right hand. The wheel is supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, on which are placed four figures who represent 'regno,' 'regnavi,' 'sum sine regno' and 'regnabo'. At the foreground of the landscape are Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos called the Fates. In the left compartment

116 See footnote 13 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 77.

117 = It can be proved by argument.

118 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

119 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 106.

120 = With the sword of his coldness, so that the flower loses its being as soon as it begins to grow. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 70.

121 = I could not tell all the tricks and wiles of Fortune and her perilous wheel. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 28.



Nature and Genius, sitting on the thrones, are discussing something by hand gestures. This large miniature is followed by line 17044 and below: “Qui les fait a ceste fin traire/ Par la matiere obeissant/ qui leur cuer si va flechissant.”<sup>122</sup>

71. United States, New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 948, folio 170<sup>vo</sup>

Here can be seen God, Fortune and Nature. God, seated, surrounded by busts of red angels, is looking into the mirror he holds in his right hand. Fortune, crowned, naked except for the loin cloth she wears, with wings on her back, standing on a sphere, looks like she is grabbing the king on the wheel, supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, with her right hand. Fortune and Nature together support a kind of disk on which the landscape is projected. This large miniature is followed by line 17458 and below: “Quant il les voit a bien entendre/ Ne n’a pas pource subplante/ Pouoir de franche volente.”<sup>123</sup>

72. United States, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, MS Collins 1945-65-3, folio 38

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, sits in a plush chair, holding the rim of the wheel with both hands, with a red gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Ve[z] a fortune qui est en sa Roe les/ yeulx bandez et la tourne tout a sa/ volente.”<sup>124</sup> And the rubric is followed by line 4819 and below: “Par la debonnaire et la mole/ Luer ment et les boule et afole.”<sup>125</sup>

73. United States, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum & Art, MS Collins 1945-65-3, folio 47

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, wearing a gown consisting of white and red colors, stands on the right side of a large wheel, which is supported by the posts firmly anchored to the ground, gripping the crank in her right hand. Three figures on the edge of the wheel represent ‘regno,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’. On the bottom of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Cy ap[r]es parle raison de fortune/ Et co[m]me[n]t elle est en sa roe les yeuls/ Bandez et la tourne de toutes pars.”<sup>126</sup> And the rubric is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce les yeuls bandes li fure[n]t/ Des anciens qui la cognure[n]t.”<sup>127</sup>

74. United States, Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 126, folio 36

Fortune, crowned, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, with a light brown gown on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Co[m]ment fortune est q[ui] est en sa/ Roe les yex bandez et la tourne/ Toute a sa volente.”<sup>128</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below:

122 = It is true that the heavens will lead them to this end through obedient matter that proceeds to shake their hearts in this way. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 66

123 = when predestination sees them striving to do good, but that doesn’t mean that it has supplanted the power of free will. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 65.

124 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

125 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

126 = Below is an explanation of how Reason talks about Fortune, how she is at the wheel, bandaged above her eyes and how she turns them on all sides.

127 See footnote 18 for the English translation.

128 See footnote 13 for the English translation.

“Car la debonaire et la mole/ Leur vient et les boule et afole.”<sup>129</sup>

75. Vatican, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1492, folio 35

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands with her back to us, holding the spokes with both hands, with a red gown and a blue garment on. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “Vecy fortune en sa Roe les/ yeux Bendez et to[ur]ne a sa vole[n]te.”<sup>130</sup> And this miniature is followed by line 4819 and below: “Car la debonnaire et la mole/ Les boule decoit et afole.”<sup>131</sup>

76. MS Astor A. 12, folio 50<sup>o</sup>

Fortune stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands, and stares at the figure ‘regnabo’, smiling. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. On the top of this miniature can be found the following rubric: “La roe de fortune.”<sup>132</sup> And then line 5847 and below follows: “Gar que fortune ne tabate/ Combu[en] q[ue]ll te tormente e[t] bat[e]/ Nest pas bons luitierres ne fors.”<sup>133</sup>

77. The Jersey MS, folio 26

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. This is a miniature of Fortune published in McMunn (1999), Plate 7(a). The rubric, which can be found on the top of this miniature, is hard to decipher, but McMunn shows it in his paper (p. 48): “Comme fortune est en [sa roe] les yex bendes.”<sup>134</sup> On the top of the rubric is “Cest bien p[ar] argume[n]t pro[u]uable.”<sup>135</sup> This is line 4818 in the revised text, which leads us to speculate that the miniature at the bottom of the right column is a visual language of line 4819 and below.

78. The Jersey MS, folio 35

Fortune, blindfold with a bandage over her eyes, stands behind a large wheel, holding the spokes with both hands. Four figures who represent ‘regno,’ ‘regnavi,’ ‘sum sine regno’ and ‘regnabo’ are put on the outer rim of the wheel. This is a miniature of Fortune published in McMunn (1999), Plate 7(b). This miniature is followed by line 6143 and below: “Pour ce les yes bendez li fure[n]t/ Des ancians qui la co[n]nure[n]t.”<sup>136</sup>

#### IV. Discussion

To be continued.

129 See footnote 4 for the English translation. cf. Todoroki (2000), Fig. 57.

130 See footnote 3 for the English translation.

131 See footnote 4 for the English translation.

132 = the wheel of Fortune.

133 = ...however she torments or strikes you, for he is neither a good fighter nor a strong one who will not do battle with Fortune. cf. Kurose (1977), Pl. 76.

134 See footnote 114 for the English translation.

135 = It can be proved by argument.

136 See footnote 18 for the English translation.