

**Experiment and Visual Transformation in
Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338–c. 1405**

by

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To my parents

Acknowledgments

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List of Abbreviations

Albi

Bibliothèque municipale d'Albi

Arsenal

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

BdK

Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf

BL

British Library, London

BNE

Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

BnF

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Bodleian

Bodleian Library, Oxford

BUV

Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat de València

Chantilly

Château de Chantilly

CUL

Cambridge University Library

Geneva

Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Geneva

KBR

Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels

Morgan

The Morgan Library and Museum, New York

ÖNB
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Walters
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Abstract

Experiment and Visual Transformation in
Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338–c. 1405

by

Melanie Garcia Sympson

Chair: Elizabeth Sears

The *Roman de la rose*, by far the most popular romance in medieval Europe, was also one of the most richly and imaginatively illuminated works in French vernacular literature. Illuminators began providing miniatures in the late thirteenth century, focusing first on narrative episodes contained in the portion of the text composed by Guillaume de Lorris c. 1225–40, but increasingly coming to terms with Jean de Meun's continuation, written about forty years later. In the course of more than two centuries of illumination, no single set of images emerged to accompany the narrative: pictorial cycles varied greatly in number of images, placement, and iconographic content. Over time, artists distinguished their copies from the work of predecessors by changing their manner of rendering and clothing the large cast of characters according to the latest fashions. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, when intellectuals in court circles began to debate the morality of Jean's continuation, patrons became eager to own deluxe versions of a text that had by now become a classic. In this dissertation, I trace the nature and extent of these visual transformations over time by focusing on the production of *Rose*

manuscripts in four shops active in Paris from c. 1338–c.1405. Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (active c. 1338–1353), a husband and wife team, developed image cycles for at least seventeen manuscripts that exhibit the range of variation found in later copies of the text. Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good (active c. 1350–65), working at a moment of market saturation, responded with image cycles that highlighted new fashions and more fully articulated the romance’s narrative. Four copies of the *Rose* illuminated by the Maître du Policratique de Charles V (active c. 1366–1403), and a singleton volume illuminated by an artist participating in a style known as the “Bedford Trend” (c. 1405–15), provide evidence that their artists collaborated with planners to create image cycles that reflected contemporary interests in the ethical and philosophical aspects of the text.

Chapter One

Introduction

As attested by the sheer number of surviving manuscripts, the *Roman de la rose* was by far the most popular romance in medieval Europe. Guillaume de Lorris wrote the first portion, comprising about 4000 lines, c. 1225–40; about forty years later, c.1275, Jean de Meun prepared a lengthy continuation of about 18,000 lines.¹ The *Rose* is an allegorical poem in which a lover, in a dream, finds himself on a quest for a rose. In the course of his long journey, he encounters a host of allegorical figures such as the Dieu d’Amors (God of Love), Raison (Reason), and Richesse (Wealth), who sometimes help and sometimes hinder his progress.² In Jean de Meun’s continuation, while characters move the plot forward – as they do in Guillaume’s part – they are also made to deliver lengthy speeches on a wide range of topics, including the art of love, mythology, philosophy, and the nature of representation. While this remarkable text has received a good deal of attention in the field of literary study, art historical investigations are less

¹ The dating of the text has been the subject of some discussion. Ernest Langlois ascribed Guillaume’s death to c. 1225-40 and dated Jean de Meun’s continuation to between 1275 and 1280 based on several convincing pieces of evidence. He mentioned two historical exempla that appear in Jean’s text, namely the death of Conrad, a nephew of the King of Sicily (1268), and the figure of Charles d’Anjou (1285), whom the author speaks of as if he were still alive. Additionally, in a letter to Phillip IV, Jean included the *Roman de la rose* in a chronological list of his works with firmer dating, suggesting that Jean wrote his portion in the second half of the 1270s. Félix Lecoy provided a similar range of dates for the authoring of each section: he proposed Guillaume wrote between 1225-30, and Jean between 1269 and 1278. See Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris: Didot [Vols. 1-2]), Champion [Vols. 3-5], 1914-24), 1:2; Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun*, ed. Félix Lecoy, 3 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1965-70), 1:viii.

² Throughout the dissertation, I use the translations of characters’ names provided by Charles Dahlberg, whose translation has become the standard English version of the text. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

numerous. Relatively little scholarship examines what the great cycles of illuminations that accompany the narrative might tell us about such topics as the changing perceptions of the romance, late medieval artistic practice, and the perceived function of images in relation to a text. The broader studies of the illuminations that do exist – that is, those treating more than a single manuscript – beginning with the seminal work of Alfred Kuhn (1912), tend to take the shape of taxonomies of style or catalogs of iconography.

No standard pictorial cycle ever emerged to accompany the poetic narrative in manuscript copies of the *Rose*. This is highly unusual. Cycles illustrating other widely copied late medieval texts, such as the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* or the *Somme le roi*, quickly became relatively fixed, and illuminators tended to adhere more carefully to the iconography and placement of miniatures established early on in the manuscript tradition.³ In contrast to these, surviving *Rose* manuscripts vary greatly in appearance. Over 315 copies or partial fragments survive from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries; 243 of these manuscripts have miniatures, and another 46 have spaces for miniatures that were not executed.⁴ The number of images contained in illuminated copies of the *Rose* ranges anywhere from 1 to 161.⁵ Moreover, no two *Rose* manuscripts,

³ On the pictorial cycles of the *Pèlerinage*, and the existence of an “archetypal” series of images, see Michael Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1985). On the *Somme le roi*, see Ellen Kosmer, “A Study of the Style and Iconography of a Thirteenth-Century *Somme le Roi* (British Museum, Ms. Add. 54180) with a Consideration of Other Illustrated *Somme* Manuscripts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries” (Dissertation, Yale University, 1973); Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “‘Honoré’ and the Papeleu Master: The Dissemination of the Illustrated *Somme le roi*,” in *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, vol. 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2000), 145-72.

⁴ These statistics are given by Meradith McMunn, who is currently at work on a highly anticipated catalog of *Rose* manuscripts. Meradith McMunn, “Was Christine Poisoned by an Illustrated Rose?,” *The Profane Arts of the Middle Ages* 7 (1998), 140. The only current catalog of *Rose* manuscripts is by Langlois, who gives very little information about the images. Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: description et classement* (Paris: Champion, 1910).

⁵ The *Rose* manuscript at the Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, Ms. 387, has a remarkable 161 miniatures, and at least three more were excised at some point. For recent scholarship on this

even when they have the same number of images, have precisely the same set.⁶ This holds true even amongst manuscripts produced within a single workshop. Commonly illustrated episodes, moreover, were not always rendered in the same manner. The conspicuous differences in image cycles—affecting the whole and the part—lead us to consider why there was so little fixity in the tradition of illuminating the *Rose*, and to ask why and how this flexibility arose and in time came to be valued in itself. What we will find is that, free of an obligation to adhere to a standard set of images, illuminators had options. Able to customize manuscripts, they could satisfy different ambitions and budgets. They crafted pictorial cycles with more or fewer images, chose from a broad range of image types, highlighted different episodes in the romance, and competed with their predecessors by representing episodes in new ways. In their selection, adaptation, and creation of image types, they displayed their ingenuity in the illumination of this medieval bestseller.

In this dissertation, I analyze and define the nature of pictorial variation in *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by four Parisian workshops active between c. 1325 and c. 1405. The shops selected are those of Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (active c. 1338–c. 1353), Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good (active c. 1350–65), the Maître

manuscript, see Heidrun Ost, “Illuminating the Roman de la rose in the Time of the Debate: The Manuscript of Valencia,” in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth, *Synthema* (Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 405-35; Heidrun Ost, “The ‘Mythographical Images’ in the Roman de la rose of Valencia (Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat, MS. 387),” in *De la Rose: Texte, image, fortune*, ed. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet, *Synthema* (Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 141-81. As mentioned by Ost, other highly illuminated *Rose* manuscripts include: Brussels, BR 18017 (102 miniatures); Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 7 (101 miniatures); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 371 (79 miniatures); and Paris, BnF fr. 1570 (77 miniatures).

⁶ As observed by Alcuin Blamires and Gail Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated: Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), xxiii-xxiv; Meradith McMunn, “In Love and War: Images of Warfare in the Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*,” in *Chivalry, Knighthood, and War in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Sewanee, Tenn.: University of the South Press, 1999), 169.

du Policratique de Charles V (active c. 1366–1403), and an unnamed illuminator participating in a style known as the “Bedford Trend” (c. 1405–15). All were prolific artists, catering to targeted clientele, and each shop in turn showed particular interest in the possibility of experimentation offered by the tradition of *Roman de la rose* illumination. The products of the latter two workshops bracket the famous episode of the Querelle de la rose. This lively exchange, which took place between 1401 and 1403, saw prominent Parisian intellectuals – Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, and Gontier and Pierre Col – passionately debate the moral value of the text.

My practice is to analyze copies of the *Rose* illuminated by each workshop in turn, evaluating each with respect to the longer tradition of illumination. This method not only helps us gain insight into the specific readings proposed by individual manuscripts, but also allows us to have a greater appreciation of the canniness of *Rose* illuminators. They presented image cycles that reflected readers’ evolving interests in the multi-faceted text and they rendered images using artistic strategies that were considered of-the-moment. In the ongoing adaptations of artists, who continually built on earlier developments, we see the value that was placed on novelty: *Rose* manuscripts were kept fashionable through the artist’s representations of contemporary dress and accoutrements, and through the incorporation of new trends in manuscript illumination. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminators increasingly experimented with references to the world of appearances and played with pictorial space, fundamental changes that have received attention in broader discussions in art historical literature. This dissertation allows us to revisit those changes through the study of an exceptionally rich corpus that can be seen to register larger developments in artistic culture.

Arc of Production

The *Rose* corpus as a whole does not lend itself to easy generalizations, either in terms of textual recension or pictorial cycle. In his catalogue of over 200 *Rose* manuscripts, Ernest Langlois lamented the fact that it is impossible to create a genealogical tree or chart that might easily present the filiation of textual variants.⁷ Of course, the fact that the *Rose* had two authors, writing forty years apart, complicated the processes of its transmission.⁸ Several manuscripts testify to this: BnF fr. 12786 contains only Guillaume's section of the text, while BnF fr. 1573 contains a slightly different early copy of Guillaume's text, with the later addition of Jean's continuation written in a different hand.⁹ Subject to more extensive revisions, Jean's text existed in multiple versions, which were then combined in somewhat arbitrary ways.¹⁰ Compounded the difficulty is the fact that later scribes did not necessarily use the same exemplar throughout the process of copying the text. Interestingly, however, differences in the text do not explain differences in image cycles: particular textual recensions do not align with particular image cycles.

The pictorial cycles of *Rose* manuscripts also resist any search for an "original," let alone definitive, set of images. Extensive variations in the number and placement of the images – in hundreds of copies lacking precise dates – make it impossible to trace a

⁷ Langlois writes, "Il m'est impossible de figurer en un arbre généalogique, ni par un graphique, la filiation des mss. ; ceux-ci s'unissent entre eux par des alliances si compliquées que les traits par lesquels on voudrait marquer les rapports de l'un à l'autre s'entrecroiseraient, beaucoup moins symétriques, mais aussi nombreux que les fils d'une toile d'araignée, et personne n'essaierait de démêler cette trame." Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 236.

⁸ Langlois found that Guillaume's work existed in different versions even before Jean wrote his continuation. *Ibid.*, 235.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 235 and 238.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 235. Also see Sylvia Huot's summary and critique of Langlois in her *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5.

linear development. What is possible, and perhaps necessary, however, is to briefly sketch, at the outset, major developments in the tradition of production and reception of *Rose* imagery.¹¹ The first point to make is that the text was deemed worthy of illustration from a very early point. Copies of *Rose* manuscripts from the end of the thirteenth century, just a decade or two after Jean wrote his continuation, already reveal the desire for images. BnF fr. 12786, containing only Guillaume's text, has blank spaces for an intended fifty-one miniatures; BnF fr. 1559, a Northern French manuscript dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century, has twenty-one images; BnF fr. 378, another late thirteenth-century example painted in Northern France or Paris, has twenty-seven.¹² In the latter two examples, almost all of the illuminations accompany Guillaume's section, indicating that his portion may have been illuminated before Jean's text was even in circulation.¹³

The second quarter of the fourteenth century witnessed the beginning of the widespread commercial production of illuminated *Rose* manuscripts in Paris. The text had become so popular that it could support artists who specialized in providing pictorial

¹¹ König offers a useful account of the earliest manuscripts with illuminations. See Eberhard König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose. Die Handschriften des Rosenromans in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1992), 15-16.

¹² On BnF fr. 12786, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 49-52; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose. Die Handschriften des Rosenromans in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, 15. On BnF fr. 1559, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 16; Alfred Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1912), 20; Nathalie Coilly and Marie-Hélène Tesnière, eds., *Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2012), 190. Kuhn states that the manuscript has eighteen miniatures in total, but this is just the number of miniatures in Guillaume's portion of the text. On BnF fr. 378, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 3; Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 20; Coilly and Tesnière, eds., *Le Roman de la rose*, 183. Eberhard König has dated a *Rose* manuscript now housed at the Vatican, Codex Urbinatus Latinus 376, to c. 1280. This manuscript has an astounding ninety-three miniatures, and König designates it the most important early example of a *Rose* manuscript with illuminations appearing throughout the text. See Eberhard König, *Der Rosenroman des Bernard d'Achy* (1987); König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose. Die Handschriften des Rosenromans in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, 16-17. The Rouses suggest that this date is "unlikely"; I agree that the manuscript may be a later copy, and therefore do not include it among the manuscripts illustrated at the end of the thirteenth century. I have not, however, been able to see the manuscript firsthand.

¹³ Blamires and Holian suggest that Guillaume's narrative may have had a "head start" in illumination. See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxix.

cycles for the romance. Illuminators such as the Master of Thomas de Maubeuge, active between 1303 and 1342, and Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, active between c. 1338 and c. 1353, efficiently managed workshops that illuminated multiple copies of the *Rose* for a variety of clients.¹⁴ The Montbastons, whose works are the subject of the second chapter of this dissertation, experimented freely in the at least seventeen extant *Rose* manuscripts produced in their shop: the number of illustrations in their works ranges from sixteen to fifty-one, and they employed five different types of frontispieces. Over time, the number and placement of miniatures continued to vary greatly from manuscript to manuscript, even those produced by the same workshop. Some fourteenth-century copies have just one image – or none at all – but several have a staggering number: BnF fr. 9345, for instance, dated to c. 1320-40 and illuminated by the Maubeuge Master, has eighty-three.¹⁵ We know a little about the owners of these fourteenth-century manuscripts, even if we cannot firmly attach individual manuscripts to particular clients. Pierre-Yves Badel has compiled a list of individuals and institutions that include an entry for the *Rose* in their inventories beginning in 1323, noting that owners included royals, nobles, the elite bourgeois, and members of the clergy.¹⁶ At the height of its popularity, the text clearly appealed to a broad spectrum of literate society.

Throughout the tradition, illuminated *Rose* manuscripts were created to satisfy audiences with different tastes and budgets. While copies of the *Rose* continued to have

¹⁴ On the Maubeuge Master, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, vol. 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2000), 184-87. The Rouses find the hand of the artist in four *Rose* manuscripts. See *ibid.*, 2: App. 7F, 176-79. For full references on the Montbastons, see n. 3 in chapter two of this dissertation.

¹⁵ On BnF fr. 9345, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 40; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 2: App. 7F, 178. A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at: <http://romandelarose.org/#read;Francais9345>, last accessed July 30, 2014.

¹⁶ Pierre-Yves Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIV^e siècle: étude de la réception de l'oeuvre*, Publications romanes et françaises (Geneva: Droz, 1980), 56-62.

varying numbers of illuminations, the beginning of the fifteenth century also witnessed the production of several luxury manuscripts with particularly extensive image cycles created at the behest of wealthy patrons: Ludwig XV 7, a manuscript now housed at the Getty Museum, and the subject of the final chapter of this dissertation, has 101.¹⁷ A slightly later manuscript now housed in the Biblioteca Històrica at the Universitat de Valencia was likely produced for Philip the Bold and has 161 extant miniatures.¹⁸ The first printed edition appeared c. 1481, and, as F. W. Bourdillon has noted, the images continued to be an integral component of the romance in this new form. He wrote, “We see from the manuscripts that the work was regarded as preeminently a field for illustration, almost as if it had been a religious book; and the printed editions carried on the tradition.”¹⁹ These early editions, produced until 1538, had between thirty-three and eighty-six images.²⁰ Moreover, several lavishly illuminated manuscripts were produced after printed editions became readily available. These include a manuscript now housed at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, with seventy-six miniatures, and BL Harley 4425 (c. 1490-1500), illuminated by an artist known as the Master of the Prayer Books for Count Engelbert II of Nassau and Vianden, with ninety-two.²¹ The *Rose* corpus was characterized by a great number of manuscripts, the vast majority of which were illuminated, sometimes with a large number of miniatures.

¹⁷ See n. 3 of chapter five for an extensive bibliography of this manuscript.

¹⁸ For scholarship on this manuscript, see n. 5 of this chapter.

¹⁹ Francis William Bourdillon, *The Early Editions of The Roman de la Rose* (London: 1906), 23. Also quoted in Maxwell Luria, *A Reader's Guide to the Roman de la Rose* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), 16. Twenty new printed editions of the text appeared before 1538, when enthusiasm for the romance appeared to have waned.

²⁰ Luria, *A Reader's Guide to the Roman de la Rose*, 19.

²¹ On Harley 4425, see Thomas Kren, “Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose*,” in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, ed. Thomas Kren (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1983), no. 6; Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 120. On the Philadelphia manuscript, see James Tanis, ed., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from the Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art), no. 73.

An Unwieldy Corpus of Images

The dawn of the digital era and the dramatic increase in the number of available images has brought with it new possibilities for discussing the general character of the corpus, which has previously been based on only a few well-known manuscripts. The standard catalog of *Rose* manuscripts by Ernest Langlois, published in 1910, continues to be a touchstone in any study, but the book contains no reproductions and the philologist gives very little information about the miniatures.²² He sometimes stated whether a manuscript had few or many miniatures, or if they were executed in grisaille, but his descriptions were usually limited to vague value judgments about their quality – images are “belles,” “très belles,” or “très grossières” (“very crude”).²³ If one searches for the logic in his opinions, it becomes clear that he was not fond of fourteenth-century Parisian examples, and that he favored later miniatures, a trend that has continued throughout subsequent scholarship on *Rose* illuminations.

The art historian Alfred Kuhn conducted the first, and only, comprehensive iconographical study of *Rose* illuminations in the form of a lengthy article published in 1912.²⁴ Kuhn focused his attention on Vienna ÖNB Codex 2592, using this fourteenth-century manuscript containing sixty-one images as his major case study, and he also attempted to establish related groups among the great number of manuscripts he viewed in libraries across Europe, using frontispieces as his primary form of evidence.²⁵ This was appropriate: every illustrated version of the text has one, and accordingly they lend

²² Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*.

²³ Blamires and Holian also noted “informal” character his descriptions. Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xviii-xix, n. 4.

²⁴ Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 1-66.

²⁵ Reproductions of the image cycle of Vienna ÖNB Codex 2592 are included in the article. At the end of the article, Kuhn included a comprehensive list of illuminated manuscripts known at the time, dividing it between those he had seen and those he had not. See *ibid.*, 64-66.

themselves more to a systematic study than other aspects of the miniatures.²⁶ At a later point, I will address Kuhn's methodology, but it is worth noting here that he made an important contribution by making available so much visual material: he reproduced twenty-eight frontispieces, displaying the unusually rich variations, as well as the entire image cycle from the deluxe Vienna manuscript. Additionally, throughout his essay, Kuhn related *Rose* iconography to broader aspects of visual culture: in representations of the lover in bed dreaming, he saw traces of the composition of the Tree of Jesse; in the courtly vices, he found a connection to sculptures of the vices on the exterior of Gothic cathedrals; in the characters' clothing, he saw a reflection of contemporary trends in fashion.²⁷ While studies of *Rose* imagery continue to be somewhat insular, Kuhn showed the fruitful ways in which illuminators incorporated and appropriated existing compositions and themes.

To a good degree, discussions of the imagery in *Rose* manuscripts have are owed to literary critics, who have tended to favor fifteenth-century illuminations. In her 1966 work *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity*, Rosemund Tuve included reproductions of miniatures in several late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, notably Douce 195, which, as we will see, has subsequently received a great deal of attention in *Rose* scholarship.²⁸ In *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (1969), John Fleming included reproductions of forty-two miniatures from across the tradition of illumination, but focused a great deal

²⁶ The placement and number of images and rubrics are incredibly varied; no two manuscripts are completely alike in these respects. Kuhn sometimes refers to the manuscript groups established by the literary scholar Ernst Langlois for localization.

²⁷ As Blamires and Holian put it, "he had an eye for the wider visual context." See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 2.

²⁸ Tuve included images from Bodleian Library, Douce 195 (Figs. 93, 96, 99, 107), Douce 332 (Figs. 62), and e Museo 65 (Fig. 100). Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

on images from the exceptional Valencia manuscript. In his English translation of the *Rose*, Charles Dahlberg provided black and white reproductions of sixty-four miniatures to illuminate the tale: scenes from Guillaume's text are illustrated by the early manuscript BnF fr. 378, while Jean's text is illustrated by Douce 195.²⁹

Other scholars have chosen to focus on individual characters or frequently occurring scenes.³⁰ Topics of these iconographic studies, appearing as both independent articles and sections in book-length projects, include the frontispieces, the vices, Oiseuse (Idleness), the author portraits of Jean de Meun, Jalous (Jealous Husband), Faux Semblant (False Seeming), and Nature.³¹ Meradith McMunn, currently working on a full catalog of *Rose* manuscripts, has published a number of interesting pieces that point to

²⁹ Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, figs. 1-58.

³⁰ As Blamires and Holian put it, "Modern scholarship is beginning to register the usefulness of making less ambitious forays into the poem's iconography." Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 21.

³¹ These include, but are not limited to following works. Beyond Kuhn, other studies on the frontispieces are Eberhard König, "'Atant fu jourz, et je m'esveille': Zur Darstellung des Traums im Rosenroman," in *Träume im Mittelalter: Ikonologische Studien*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Giorgio Stabile (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser, 1989), 171-82; Herman Braet, "Der Roman der Rose, Raum im Blick," in *Träume im Mittelalter: Ikonologische Studien*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Giorgio Stabile (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser, 1989), 183-208; Herman Braet, "Le Roman de la rose, espace du regard," *Studi francesi* 35 (1991), 1-11. The most influential work on the vices is Philippe Ménard, "Les Représentations des vices sur les murs du verger du *Roman de la Rose*: la texte et les enluminures," in *Texte et Image. Actes du Colloque international de Chantilly (13 au 15 octobre 1982)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982), 177-90. On the vices, also see, Stephen G. Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire," in *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 133-66. On the character of Oiseuse, see the debate waged between Earl Jeffrey Richards and John Fleming: Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Reflections on Oiseuse's Mirror: Iconographic Tradition, Luxuria and the *Roman de la Rose*," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 98 (1982), 296-311; John Fleming, "Further Reflections on Oiseuse's Mirror," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* (1984), 26-40. On the author portraits of Jean de Meun that appear in almost all manuscripts with images beyond the frontispiece, see David Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First "Roman de la Rose"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Lori Walters, "Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*," in *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 359-73. On the images of Jalous as part of a larger program of erotic violence in *Rose* manuscripts see Marilynn Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath: The Ethics of Erotic Violence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 79-103. Timothy Stinson has written a recent article on representations of Faux Semblant, concentrating on BnF fr. 25526 and Philadelphia Museum of Art MS Collins 1945-65-3. See Timothy Stinson, "Illumination and Interpretation: The Depiction and Reception of Faux Semblant in *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts," *Speculum* 87 (2012), 469-98. On medieval representations of Nature, with references to those found in *Rose* manuscripts, see Mechthild Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter: Ikonographische Studien zu Darstellungen der personifizierten Natur* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997).

the richness of the tradition of illumination, including essays on representations of erotic scenes, violent imagery, and animals; she has also published an article addressing the iconography of the romance's antagonist, Dangier (Danger).³²

Art historians have been drawn to miniatures depicting the figure of Pygmalion, who, in Jean's portion of the romance, is described first and foremost as a sculptor seeking to prove his skills in representation. In her article "Pygmalion as Sculptor" (1966), Virginia Egbert classified miniatures representing the mythological figure by type, basing her observations on around twenty manuscripts.³³ Her article was one of the earliest attempts to talk about Pygmalion in relation to actual artistic practices. In *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (1989), Michael Camille included an analysis of images depicting the myth of Pygmalion in the Valencia manuscript in his exploration of the treatment of women as idols in the later Middle Ages.³⁴ More recently, Victor Stoichita has analyzed *Rose* illuminations in his larger study of representations of the figure of Pygmalion in the western tradition.³⁵ He understood Pygmalion's sculpture as a simulacrum, an autonomous object that exists in the world, as opposed to other types of representation governed by the laws of mimesis.

³² Meradith McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic in Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*," *Romance Languages Annual* (1992), 125-30; Meradith McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier in the Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*," *Romance Languages Annual* 5 (1994), 86-91; Meradith McMunn, "Animal Imagery in Texts and Illustrations of the *Roman de la Rose*," *Reinardus: Yearbook of the International Reynard Society* 9 (1996), 87-108; McMunn, "in Love and War," 31-62.

³³ Egbert ended her article with a short interpretation of one type of image, where illuminators represent the artist carving a figure that bears a striking resemblance to contemporary tomb sculptures. Following the ideas of Robertson and Fleming, she suggested that we might read the image as a moralizing gloss. She wrote, "the illumination may indicate the ephemeral aspect of physical pleasure or the association of death" with the sin of lust. See Virginia Egbert, "Pygmalion as Sculptor," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 28 (1966), 20-32, p. 22.

³⁴ Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 320-33. Camille also touched upon the subject of Pygmalion in a chapter on medieval attitudes toward consummation in his *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 148-52.

³⁵ Victor Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*, trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 21-54.

For this reason, Stoichita was most interested in the more extended Pygmalion cycles in fifteenth-century manuscripts, including the Valencia manuscript and Douce 195, which depict the artist's attempt to bring the sculpture to life. Such studies necessarily draw on illuminations from a select group of manuscripts and are not based on the particular circumstances of their production.

Other image-based studies have paid close attention to pictorial cycles in individual manuscripts, most of which were illuminated in the fifteenth century.³⁶ In particular, Douce 195, thought to have been illuminated c. 1390 by Robinet Testard for Louise of Savoy, has received a great deal of attention by both literary scholars and art historians. It is certainly one of the most lavish copies in existence, and the fact that both artist and patron are known allows for historical precision. Deborah McGrady has suggested that the artist and planner of Douce 195 anticipated a female audience by creating imagery that “favors women and openly questions the misogynist and misogamous passages.”³⁷ Two recent articles by art historians have also called attention to the complexities of Testard's image cycle. Anne Harris has examined how Testard's representations of Narcissus and Pygmalion “guided viewers through different reading experiences” as a means of emphasizing how one's perception of the text was central to

³⁶ Exceptions to this fifteenth-century bias include the work of Lori Walters, who has published several in-depth studies of individual fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts and their pictorial cycles. See Lori Walters, “A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 51 (1989), 31-55; Lori Walters, “Illuminating the Rose: Gui de Mori and the Illustrations of MS 101 of the Municipal Library, Tournai,” in *Rethinking the ‘Romance of the Rose’: Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 167-200; Lori Walters, “Marian Devotion in the Tournai Rose,” in *De la Rose: Texte, image, fortune*, ed. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (Louvain and Dudley, MA: 2006), 207-70. BnF fr. 25526, a fourteenth-century manuscript illuminated by Jeanne de Montbaston, is also an exception, though the scholarship focuses on a single element of its program of illumination: the marginalia. The historiography on this manuscript is discussed later in this chapter.

³⁷ Deborah McGrady, “Reinventing the *Roman de la Rose* for a Woman Reader: The Case of Ms. Douce 195,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 4 (2001), 202-27, p. 215.

the construction of its meaning.³⁸ Marian Bleeke has argued that Testard's imagery diverges from the text's retelling of the myth in a way that reflects upon "the changing status of both the artist and the work of art" at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance.³⁹ Heidrun Ost's studies of the Valencia manuscript, an equally impressive volume, also throw light on the way in which fifteenth-century planners and illuminators created learned image cycles for sophisticated court audiences.⁴⁰

Individual institutions have made important contributions to the literature by publishing on *Rose* manuscripts in their collections. In *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated* (2002), Blamires and Holian reproduced imagery from seven copies of the *Rose* housed at the National Library of Wales.⁴¹ They also provided a fair and useful summary of studies of *Rose* iconography, to which I refer throughout this dissertation. In addition to including thorough descriptions of each manuscript, the authors referred to images in their collection in a broad analysis of commonly illustrated *Rose* scenes.⁴² In 2012-13, the Bibliothèque nationale de France held an important exhibition of manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*, as well as manuscripts inspired by the *Rose*, from French collections. The first portion of the exhibition, and the beginning of the

³⁸ Anne Harris, "Pygmalion Reconfigures Narcissus: Questions of Rewriting and Rereading in Images of the *Roman de la Rose* (MS. Douce 195)," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 337-51.

³⁹ Marian Bleeke, "Versions of Pygmalion in the Illuminated 'Roman de la Rose' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195): The Artist and the Work of Art," *Art History* 33 (2010), 28-53, p. 31.

⁴⁰ Ost, "Illuminating the Roman de la rose in the Time of the Debate: The Manuscript of Valencia," 405-35; Ost, "The 'Mythographical Images' in the Roman de la rose of Valencia (Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat, MS. 387)," 141-81.

⁴¹ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*.

⁴² Because Guillaume's section tended to have a more "standard" set of images, their extensive discussion of images centered on miniatures illustrating the earlier portion of the tale rather than Jean's continuation.

corresponding catalog, analyzed typical iconography of narrative portions of the text.⁴³

Several monographs and facsimiles have also made entire image cycles available to those interested in exploring the particularities of individual manuscripts. These include facsimiles of Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 376, with commentary by Eberhard König, and Simonetta Peruzzi's monograph on Florence, Bibl. Laur. A. ED. 153.⁴⁴

During my time in graduate school, digital resources have radically changed the face of manuscript study. Countless library and museum collections, as well as library consortia such as Europeana Regia, have made *Rose* manuscripts available to the public in the form of digital facsimiles or reproductions of individual images. *Rose* scholars have also benefitted from sites that are specifically dedicated to making *Rose* images more accessible. A project called "Reading the *Roman de la rose* in Text and Image," hosted by the University of Waterloo and organized by a research group called the *Moyen Age et Renaissance Groupe de recherches – Ordinateurs et Textes*, has brought together images of selected episodes in different manuscripts and textual excerpts from the *Rose*, and has gathered textual witnesses to the fifteenth-century debate surrounding the romance.⁴⁵ Most crucial of all has been the *Roman de la Rose Digital Library*, a joint venture between the Sheridan Libraries of Johns Hopkins and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which has digitized more than 130 manuscripts in their entirety.⁴⁶ Some manuscripts are accompanied by detailed descriptions – a rarity in the case of many *Rose*

⁴³ See *Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge*. Edited by Nathalie Coilly and Marie-Hélène Tesnière. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2012. Curators also addressed issues that have been raised in *Rose* scholarship. They showed how different copies of the *Rose* encouraged different readings, and explored the text's influence on figures such as Guillaume de Machaut and Christine de Pizan.

⁴⁴ König, *Der Rosenroman des Bernard d'Achy*; Simonetta Mazzoni Peruzzi, *Il codice laurenziano Acquisti e doni 153 del Roman de la rose* (Florence: Casa editrice Le Lettere, 1986).

⁴⁵ See <http://margot.uwaterloo.ca/index.html%3Fp=45.html>, last accessed on July 10, 2014.

⁴⁶ See <http://romandelarose.org/>, last accessed on July 10, 2014. For further thoughts on the utility and drawbacks of this site, see my review of the project: Melanie Sympson, "Roman de la Rose Digital Library," *Digital Philology* 1 (2012), 166-69.

manuscripts – and sometimes even transcriptions of the text. Although I was able to see most of the manuscripts in this dissertation in person, the site was indispensable at the beginning of the project, when I was working to narrow its scope, and while writing, when I was able to use reproductions as a reference. It is certain to inspire further work by medievalists interested in the text and its image cycles.

Now, on the basis of wider access to *Rose* manuscripts in the form of digital facsimiles, it is possible to do crucial comparative work. Most scholars have spoken about the pictorial cycles in generalized terms, simply stating that there is a great deal of variety, or marching through commonly represented scenes – a somewhat ineffective exercise because each manuscript tends to be so distinct. While precedents for comparative studies do exist – Lori Walters’s work charting iconography in fourteenth-century manuscripts was an inspiration for certain aspects of my project – the unwieldy nature (and previous inaccessibility) of the *Rose* corpus has led to comparisons between manuscripts that have little to no relation to one another.⁴⁷ It is difficult to know, for instance, whether differences in pictorial cycle or iconography are rooted in artistic practice or are meaningful as a particular interpretation of the text. But now, with a large number of manuscripts available for study, it has become possible to establish reasonable criteria for examining particular sets of images, alone and in their interrelations. By providing comparisons of manuscripts painted by the same workshops in individual chapters, and comparing clusters of manuscripts produced at different dates, it is my hope that we can gain insight into the purposes of these image cycles. By grounding my discussion historically, it will be possible to understand images with respect to the

⁴⁷ Walters, “A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*,” 31-55. Her study compares Princeton University Library, Garrett 126 with the following fourteenth-century Parisian manuscripts: BnF fr. 1565, Morgan Library M.324, and BnF fr. 24388.

changing reception of the text as well as the changing expectations to which illuminators were subject.

The Role of Illuminators

There has been a tendency to impose the role of textual critic onto the illuminator or, inversely, to discredit their abilities, both of which reduce the function of images to textual commentary. Instead, I propose to incorporate what is now known about manuscript production in medieval Paris into our interpretation of the images, deriving evidence from a close analysis of the material artifact. While recent art historical scholarship on late medieval French illumination has tended to focus on patrons and other figures in the booktrade as the active agents, I hope to draw some attention back to the role of the illuminators, the trusted experts in visual form. It is impossible to give a critical account of all *Rose* scholarship relevant to the study of their images. I will instead focus here on the changing assumptions about the role of the illuminators (whether implicit or explicit) in major studies of the romance. The views expressed say much about how approaches toward *Rose* imagery – and vernacular illumination in general – have developed over time.

In his study of *Rose* illuminations, Alfred Kuhn was most interested in classifying the frontispieces and establishing principles that would allow him to recognize a given group, rather than on determining the logic behind decisions made by individual illuminators working for individual patrons. In keeping with art historical norms during his time, Kuhn traced a progression from the earliest and simplest frontispieces, found in his Group I, toward fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frontispieces that rendered more

details from the opening of the romance, which he classified as Groups V and VI. He understood the later illuminators to have worked to remedy the pictorial irrationalities of their earlier counterparts and adhere to the text in a more literal way.⁴⁸ Kuhn argued that, as time progressed, artists let go of symbolic elements that did not correspond with “realistic” forms of representation. For instance, in Group I, the character Dangier, who appears later in the romance and serves as a major obstacle in the lover’s quest, is already present, standing at the foot of the dreaming lover’s bed (Fig. 2.46). Kuhn regarded this premature appearance as a symbolic representation, in that it points forward to the lover’s struggle to win the rose, and viewed it as primitive.⁴⁹ For Kuhn, a realistic rendering consisted of both an adherence to the text and a naturalistic method of rendering. By Group IV, Dangier has finally “disappeared,” with the three-dimensional rendering of the miniature in BnF fr. 804 paving the way for further developments (Fig. 1.1).⁵⁰ As is characteristic of such strict classifications, there are frequent exceptions to this rule.⁵¹ Naturalistically rendered images often include Dangier at the foot of the bed; and, as we will see, many frontispieces do not fit into Kuhn’s scheme at all. Particularly important to this dissertation, which revisits the concept of visual change in the sphere of manuscript illumination, is Kuhn’s implicit assumption that frontispieces were the result of larger evolutionary forces helping move illumination from “symbolism” toward “naturalism.”

⁴⁸ See Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 26. Kuhn complained, for example, that the foot of the lover’s bed illogically runs into the walls of the garden in manuscripts such as BnF fr. 802 and Mazarine MS 3873. In contrast, Kuhn explained that in the frontispiece of the later CUL Gg.IV.6, “in clear awareness of the foolishness of such an image,” the artist created a space between the bed and the garden wall: “Auf Cambridge Univ. Bibl. g.4.6, etwa um 1330 entstanden, zieht man in klarer Erkenntnis der Unsinnigkeit eines solchen Bildes Bett und Garten auseinander und bringt sie links und rechts an den Rändern der Miniatur an.” Fleming complained that Kuhn had an “inflated regard for pictorial movement.” John Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 40.

⁴⁹ Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 20.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵¹ Blamires and Holian gave an extensive and interesting critique of Kuhn’s methods. See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 1-3.

The particular desires of, and pressures on, illuminators, patrons, and third-party agents in specific historical circumstances have no place in his analysis.

For both Tuve and Fleming, writing in the 1960s, the images were secondary to the text, but the two disagreed about the illuminators' level of engagement with Jean de Meun's allegorical strategies. Tuve examined the images of the *Roman de la rose* as part of a broader study of allegory inspired by Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596). She celebrated the writing style of Jean de Meun, who, she maintained, left room for ambiguity and encouraged the reader to come to an understanding of his intent after a deeper reflection upon the different components of the text.⁵² She argued that contemporary methods for interpreting medieval and Renaissance allegories anachronistically simplified their complex methods and imposed modern associations on the material. She contended that, in the case of the *Rose*, this began as early as 1482, when Jean Molinet created a moralized prose translation of the romance in which every detail was interpreted in light of an overall moral program.⁵³ In a general way, she views the illuminators as if they behaved like these later interpreters; their visual representations, in her view, pinned down the subject matter too concretely and did not convey Jean de Meun's artistic play or wit. According to Tuve, the images simply portrayed allegory less effectively than the text: when illustrating the consummation scene at end of the tale, for instance, some artists simply represented the siege of the castle, giving no indication of it being a sexual metaphor, while others departed from the

⁵² For some of her key statements on the particularities of Jean de Meun's allegory, see Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 245-46. For instance, Tuve thought that Jean de Meun "had a just sense of the peculiar possibilities of allegory as a figure, and his book is one of the few extant demonstrations that it is possible to have a secular allegory in the strict mediaeval sense, extending its explorations beyond moral interests to consider beliefs."

⁵³ For a discussion of Molinet's moralization, *Romant de la rose moralise cler et net*, see *ibid.*, 237-84.

text in order to signify its metaphorical content, rendering explicit scenes of a woman's body under attack and losing some of the author's "psychological and physiological double meanings."⁵⁴ Moreover, Tuve argued, the images do not give any evidence of reflection on the author's textual strategies: the placement of the images did not relate to the structure of the allegory, and the content of the miniatures largely consisted of "stock" scenes.⁵⁵ As Blamires and Holian have noted, the study differed from others by literature specialists in that it did not assume the miniatures were always a carefully planned response to the text.⁵⁶ Tuve wrote: "Interest or charm in the iconography of all these books assisted their longevity and their breadth of distribution, but, though we too may be charmed or interested, we largely learn that the pictures are helpless before this special type of allegorical meaning."⁵⁷ For Tuve, the text is necessary to explain the significance of the images: "allegorical imagery is obstinately difficult to translate into visual terms unless we ourselves know enough to provide the 'literary' key."⁵⁸

Fleming, on the other hand, considered illuminators to be very knowledgeable with respect to the text and regarded the images they produced to be "glosses" that could help uncover its allegorical meaning. He wrote, "it is likely that a medieval painter knew as much about how to read medieval poetry as a modern philologist."⁵⁹ Fleming believed that he could recover medieval attitudes toward the *Rose* by using the art historical

⁵⁴ Michael Camille also took up this issue in his analysis of the end of the romance. See Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 320-24.

⁵⁵ Tuve singled out illustrations of Nature, who is often represented at her forge, hammering out the shape of a baby – and worried that the picture was "almost divorced from the complexities that flicker across this text – natural love, our nature, animal nature, man's viewpoints, created nature including him opposed to the Creator, marriage natural and sacramental..." She lamented that such a simple image did not create rich associations with the overall themes of the text or Nature's speech. Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 324.

⁵⁶ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 3.

⁵⁷ Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 233.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁵⁹ Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 44.

method of iconography, which, he explained, found symbolic meaning in art by stripping well-known works of modern assumptions and reconstructing associations that had been lost over time.⁶⁰ Fleming attacked modern criticism he considered to be anachronistic, in particular Alan Gunn's 1952 work, *The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the Rose*, which argued that the text was a celebration of free love and procreation.⁶¹ While Fleming claimed to be exempt from modern bias, his own polemical argument would in time be subject to much criticism for its rigidity: he argued that the entire romance would sustain a strict moral interpretation and did not leave any room for secular meaning. According to Fleming, the lover's quest is in fact a negative exemplum: it represents a foolish decision to pursue carnal love instead of the sacred love of God. He explained that the *Rose* presents love as a religion that "clearly parodies Christianity" in a way that "ridicules the idolatry of the Lover."⁶² He took this as a given and began his analyses of the *Rose*, in both text and image, with this interpretation as a starting point.⁶³

Fleming's interpretation of iconographic detail was selective and always supported his strict, moralized reading. This is perhaps most clear in his interpretation of the character Oiseuse. In the text, the narrator describes the figure as a "sweet and lovely girl"⁶⁴ who holds a mirror and arranges her hair; accordingly, artists frequently represented her holding a mirror and comb. Fleming pointed out that this pictorial

⁶⁰ He wrote, "The past three or four decades, an exciting and fruitful period in the field of iconology, have produced demonstrations that a number of Renaissance paintings which had thought lacking in emblematic content, including still-life and genre paintings, are in fact allegorical." *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶¹ Fleming included any number of studies of the *Rose* among "misinterpretations," writing, "If I am right the subject matter of the *Roman de la Rose* has been almost entirely ignored for the past five hundred years." He did, however, name Alan Gunn's work as particularly problematic, "advancing a blatantly unhistorical reading." *Ibid.*, 17. For the subject of Fleming's criticism, see Alan Gunn, *The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the Rose* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Technical Press, 1952).

⁶² Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 205-6.

⁶³ This practice of seeking out sacred meanings below the surface of "secular" allegories was strongly promoted by D. W. Robertson. Most relevant here would be his influential work, *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

⁶⁴ "...une pucele, / Qui assez estoit gente e bele" *Roman de la rose*, line 525-26; trans. Dahlberg, 37.

iconography firmly connects Oiseuse to the vice of Luxuria, pictured in the rose window of Notre-Dame de Paris, a fact first noted by Kuhn.⁶⁵ While Kuhn simply understood this crossover to be the result of illuminators drawing on an existing visual motif, Fleming suggested that the shared iconography was intended to portray Oiseuse in a negative light. He supported his reading by pointing out the negative valence of mirrors in representations accompanying other medieval texts, such those of Carnalité in the *Roman de Fauvel*.⁶⁶ Fleming allowed no room for a multivalent reading of the character's attributes. Subsequent scholars have criticized Fleming for forcing a particular interpretation on a select group of images while ignoring any contrary evidence. Earl Jeffrey Richards, and later Blamires and Holian, have demonstrated that the illuminators did not always represent the character holding a comb and mirror – sometimes she holds a key or has no attribute at all.⁶⁷

Fleming's interpretation of the visual material, however, fits into a larger argument that the lover's psychological states may on the surface refer to the stages of courtly love, but allegorically refer to the stages of sin. Fleming argued that the lover's interaction with Oiseuse could be understood as the first stage, "suggestion," while his subsequent encounters lead him to "the sin in deed" at the end of Jean de Meun's continuation, so lewd that it is meant to be read ironically.⁶⁸ As this example makes clear, even the smallest iconographic detail played into Fleming's overarching argument about the Christian reading of the romance and the ways images serve as moral glosses on the

⁶⁵Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 76; Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 25-26.

⁶⁶Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 76.

⁶⁷ See Richards, "Reflections on Oiseuse's Mirror: Iconographic Tradition, Luxuria and the *Roman de la Rose*," 296-311. On the interpretations of Blamires and Holian, and an extensive bibliography on the discussions of Oiseuse, see *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 10.

⁶⁸ On the three stages of sin, see Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 99. For Fleming's full interpretation of the end of the poem, see *ibid.*, 242-44.

text. Blamires and Holian concluded that, for Fleming, “iconography” did encompass issues of artistic practice; they wrote, “mostly he is committed to a theory that an ‘iconographic’ technique – whether textual or pictorial – is one which invokes ‘discursive concepts’ familiar in the culture and existing independently of the immediate narrative.”⁶⁹ Fleming proposed that the illuminators engaged critically with the allegory because this allowed him to argue that his own readings of the images were aligned with the period reception of the *Rose*.

In her highly influential book, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers* (1993), Sylvia Huot expanded on and refined Fleming’s idea that other aspects of a manuscript – including its illuminations – might give insights into the medieval reception of the text.⁷⁰ In the greater portion of her book, Huot focused on the activities of scribal redactors, who added or deleted moralistic passages, censored erotic scenes, and restructured entire portions of the text.⁷¹ In her final chapter, she addressed the responses of illuminators to the allegory. Unlike Tuve and Fleming, Huot did not make any universalizing claims about the function of imagery or imply that all illuminators were intent on providing a particular interpretation; she observed that images “could be used, like rubrics, verbal glosses, and textual interpolations, to record impressions or to expand upon the text.”⁷²

Huot focused on images in a single copy of the *Rose*, BnF fr. 25526, an unusually well-illustrated manuscript attributed to the Montbastons. In addition to one-column

⁶⁹ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 6. They quoted terms from Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 236.

⁷⁰ Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 285.

⁷¹ She has impressively employed a range of codicological evidence in much of her scholarship. See, for instance, Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); Sylvia Huot, “The Scribe as Editor: Rubrication as Critical Apparatus in Two Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*,” *L’Esprit Createur* 27 (1987), 67-78.

⁷² Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 285.

miniatures representing major scenes in the romance, the bas-de-page of every folio is filled with imagery. These marginalia sometimes illustrate events in the narrative – a battle scene appears on a folio where the text describes the battle for the rose, for instance – but often they represent subjects seemingly unrelated to the story. Huot, for example, singled out an interesting juxtaposition between the text’s description of the myth of Venus and marginal illustrations of a bagpipe dance (Figs. 1.2 and 1.3).⁷³ The association between Venus, erotic love, and bagpipes is logical as the musical instrument was often represented in erotic imagery during the time. But she also argued that the location of the bagpipes on the same bifolio as marginal images of the Annunciation to the Shepherds is significant because the instrument was often represented in this religious context as well. Thus, in this manuscript, the bagpipe dance helps “contribute to [the manuscript’s presentation of] the opposition of the Fall of Man and Redemption, erotic love and divine love.”⁷⁴ While the argument echoes themes that Fleming also saw in the text, Huot was a bit more tentative in ascribing intentions to the illuminator.⁷⁵ She wrote, “A reader of the bound codex would have to be extraordinarily curious to discover this; it may have originated as a private joke on the part of the artist and the other artisans involved in making the book.”⁷⁶

Huot additionally argued that marginal illuminations fostered patterns of looking that intentionally diverged from the narrative order of the text. The illuminator represented narrative stories across the bas-de-page of several unbound folios. Once the

⁷³Ibid., 305-8.

⁷⁴Ibid., 307.

⁷⁵ She wrote, “Indeed, one would have to say that the designer of the marginalia interpreted the *Rose* as a parodic religion of erotic love, to be contrasted with real religion. In this respect, the marginalia suggest a reading close to that outlined by John Fleming.” Ibid., 298.

⁷⁶Ibid., 308.

pages were arranged into gatherings, according to the textual narrative, the vignettes appeared out of sequence.⁷⁷ She argued that the resulting “kaleidoscopic flow of the marginalia, the interlace of themes, certainly does parallel Jean’s digressive and encyclopedic poetics.”⁷⁸ Huot suggested that the Montbastons intentionally devised an iconographic program echoing the structure of the text and carefully planned it with respect to the material practices of bookmaking. Traces of her influential work are found throughout my study, especially in the idea that each manuscript offers its own reading of the text. In Huot’s analysis, however, the artist’s intentions are solely related to a concern with the text, and like Fleming before her, the function of the images is deemed equivalent to that of a written commentary or gloss. In subsequent publications, she has softened her emphasis on the intentionality of the artist, instead focusing on the ways in which images affect the reader’s reception.⁷⁹

In response to literature specialists in general, and Huot in particular, Richard and Mary Rouse have argued that the illuminators of BnF fr. 25526, Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, were simply craftsmen working by the hour who would have been unable to provide such nuanced visual commentaries. In one chapter of their two-volume work *Manuscripts and their Makers*, they gathered evidence suggesting that the Montbastons, working under restrictive time constraints, were paid for the number of images, rather

⁷⁷ Ibid., 290-91.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 320.

⁷⁹ Huot has since retracted her emphasis on the intention of the artist by employing the term “accidental meaning,” which she borrowed from Blamires and Holian, placing textual interpretation in the hands of the medieval reader rather than the illuminator. She wrote, “It could be misleading indeed to interpret the miniatures as though they were a record of conscious, intentional interpretive acts. What we can do, however, is assess the impact that the illustrated manuscript has on its readers: a particular combination of text and image can work to produce meanings and to highlight aspects of the poem, whether or not these effects were specifically intended.” See Sylvia Huot, “Women and ‘Woman’ in Bodley, Douce 332 (c. 1400): A Case of Accidental Meaning?,” in *De la Rose: Texte, image, fortune*, ed. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (Louvain and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 41-57, p. 41; Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

than their quality.⁸⁰ The Rouses took issue with Huot's arguments about marginalia and were adamant that the iconography and order of the scenes have material explanations, bearing no real interpretive relationship to the text. In fact, the Rouses have claimed that the Montbastons were not capable of this type of symbolism: they were just literate enough to get the job done, and their illuminations can by no means be taken as visual glosses. In their more recent work, Blamires and Holian followed suit, arguing that *Rose* illuminators were by no means literary critics.⁸¹ Such studies push the scholarship forward by demanding a consideration of material practice, but, in the process of critiquing literary scholars, they tend to focus on the illuminators' failure to properly "understand" the text. *Rose* images are thus assigned the narrow role of literary glosses that either succeed or fail. The larger array of functions they may have served for the medieval viewer is not sought out.

While literary scholars (and their critics) working on *Rose* images in particular have focused on the role of the illuminators, more generally, specialists of late medieval French illumination have tended to regard pictorial cycles as a product of forces beyond the artist's control. With respect to *Rose* manuscripts in particular, Richard and Mary Rouse have suggested that patrons specified the number of images and the episodes in the text that they would like to have illuminated, "in accord with their taste and purse."⁸² This is largely persuasive in that manuscripts, whether religious or secular, were generally made not on speculation but on commission; patrons' desires had to be met.

⁸⁰ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 253-54.

⁸¹ "The craft in which medieval illuminators were steeped was not the craft of literary criticism, and their working practices were probably not conducive to extended textual analysis. Any introduction to *Rose* illumination properly begins with reflections upon those practices." Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxvii.

⁸² Rouse and Rouse, "A 'Rose' by any other name," 243.

Yet archival research conducted by the Rouses and others has revealed the complexities of the booktrade in the capital city of Paris, bringing to light the roles of various agents in the production of medieval manuscripts.⁸³ In particular, the Rouses have emphasized the importance of the *libraires*, figures who acted as combination “book-sellers and book-contractors,” dealing in new books as well as secondhand volumes.⁸⁴ *Libraires* were the hub of medieval book production, orchestrating a manuscript’s construction by organizing the many people involved in its manufacture, including parchmenters, scribes, binders, and illuminators.

While the term *libraire* does not make a widespread appearance until the commercial tax rolls of the 1290s, there is enough evidence to suggest that this type of figure already existed in the book trade much earlier in that century.⁸⁵ The Rouses, for instance, pointed to the bookseller “Herneis *le romanceeur*,” a specialist in vernacular manuscripts, who advertised his services in the colophon of a law book dated to around 1250, which states that the codex of “Justinian’s code in French” was “sold” by him.⁸⁶ The colophon explains, “whoever wants a similar book, let them come to him and he will

⁸³ Robert Branner was one of the first to note the importance of the *libraire* in the medieval Parisian booktrade and to use records such as tax rolls as a means of better understanding book production. See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977), 9-10. Richard and Mary Rouse called attention to the importance of the *libraire* in many of their works, including the following: Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris,” in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA: The Red Gull Press, 1990), 103-15; Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350,” in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 191-219; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*.

⁸⁴ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 11.

⁸⁵ Before 1275, we do not see booksellers referred to with this title, even though documents suggest that a figure like this already existed in the commercial book trade much earlier. *Ibid.*, 24-25. Branner noted that in thirteenth-century Paris the various tasks involved in bookmaking were already becoming more distinct: it was not unusual for every aspect of a manuscript’s construction to take place within a different workshop. See Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis*.

⁸⁶ Rouse and Rouse, “The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris,” 105.

give them good advice – regarding this book, and all others.”⁸⁷ Herneis positioned himself as the go-to person for patrons and their agents who were be looking for similar manuscripts. In order to fulfill orders from patrons likely including wealthy nobles and royals, Herneis would have subcontracted out different tasks to neighbors in the booktrade, many of whom resided near him in Paris “in front of Notre Dame.”⁸⁸ It is now assumed that such figures would have been involved in determining an image cycle appropriate to a patron’s desires and budget. Analyzing the accounting books of Philip the Bold (1342-1404),⁸⁹ Brigitte Buettner has brought attention to the agency of merchants such as Jacques Raponde, who not only helped his patrons build their collections but also acted much like a libraire, organizing the specialists responsible for various tasks.⁹⁰ Such studies have disrupted the patron-artist binary that has long colored the analysis of late medieval French illuminations; we are now becoming accustomed to seeking out the traces of decisions made by the “middlemen,” the commercial entrepreneurs.

Internal evidence, too, has yielded information about process: visual and verbal “instructions” to the artist are sometimes found in manuscript margins, indicating the collaborative nature of the projects.⁹¹ Drawing on such instructions and other forms of

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 105.

⁸⁹ The first surviving inventory of Philip the Bold is dated to 1404, but it has been suggested that an earlier inventory may have been compiled as early as 1385. See Brigitte Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 102, n. 5; Patrick M. de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1985), 33.

⁹⁰ Buettner suggested that merchants like Raponde may have helped bring certain texts out of relative obscurity. See Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 13. For more on Raponde, see Buettner Brigitte Buettner, “Jacques Raponde ‘marchand de manuscrits enluminés,’” *Médiévales* 14 (1988), 27-62.

⁹¹ For general conclusions about the functions of these instructions to illuminators, see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, “Preliminary Marginal Drawings in Medieval Manuscripts,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vol. 3 (Paris: 1990), 307-20; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53-71. In

evidence, including corrections to images and written programs for pictorial cycles, Anne D. Hedeman has done much to shed light on the ways in which illuminations in fifteenth-century French manuscripts were the product of complex interactions among libraires, artists, patrons, and notaries of the court. Most recently, Hedeman has uncovered the activities of the figure of Laurent de Premierfait, a notary and secretary who translated several important works into French, including Cicero's *De senectute* (1405) and Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1400 and 1409).⁹² In addition to employing codicological evidence pointing to Laurent's involvement in the creation of pictorial cycles, Hedeman examined how illuminations of the text meticulously adhered to details specific to his translation and the goals he set out in his prologues. Such evidence helps firmly ground these manuscripts in humanist circles in early fifteenth-century Paris and reveals the role assumed by a figure who was neither artist nor patron. The meticulously kept inventories of collectors such as John, Duke of Berry, coupled with other documents and surviving manuscripts, show the degree to which patrons could be involved in the process of manuscript manufacture, even if this is exceptional.⁹³ This type of written documentation is rarely available from before the early fifteenth century, making it difficult to identify the specific agents at work in the creation of early *Rose* manuscripts. The codices themselves, however, reveal a great deal about their making and the many minute decisions made by illuminators.

the 1980s Hindman used this evidence to shift attention away from the illuminator to the patron (or a manager acting on the patron's behalf). Sandra Hindman, "The Roles of Author and Artist in the Procedure of Illustrating Late Medieval Texts," *Acta* 10, 27-62.

⁹² Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008). Also see Hedeman's analysis of manuscripts whose production was supervised by Pierre Salmon, a royal notary and secretary to Charles VI. Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

⁹³ For an analysis of John, Duke of Berry as a patron, as well as selections of his inventory, see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 36-67.

In my dissertation, I attempt to reassess the role of illuminators, the figures who applied paint to parchment and physically executed the imagery in manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*. Though doubtless working under a number of constraints set by commissioners or overseers of their work, the illuminators were the acknowledged experts in visual form. The type of pictorial variation that is commonly encountered in *Rose* manuscripts was not always the kind that could have been readily controlled by outsiders – those not in the workroom with a brush in hand. Artists had to work from a number of cues; it fell to them to interpret oral instructions and the content of the text in light of changes in taste over time, and to decide how to use and adapt a cycle found in earlier manuscripts if one was available. Any illuminator would have gained skills and habits through practicing his or her trade: a seasoned artist would have developed a stock of images that could be readily adapted in a variety of contexts as well as a deft hand that could execute images in a consistent and often distinctive style. Patrons paid to be impressed, and libraires and other agents sought out illuminators who could satisfy their sometimes elevated demands.

With the intent of shedding light on the contributions of illuminators, I structure chapters two through five around *Rose* manuscripts illustrated by a given workshop. Drawing on attributions made by other art historians, I have identified three fourteenth-century Parisian workshops responsible for illuminating multiple copies of the *Roman de la rose*: each produced the majority of images in three or more copies of the romance. These illuminators include the husband and wife team, Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (active c. 1338–c. 1353), responsible for at least seventeen copies; Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good (active c. 1350–65), responsible for three; and the

Maître du Policratique de Charles V (active c. 1366–1403), responsible for four. I end the dissertation with the examination of a single *Rose* manuscript illuminated by an artist participating in a style known as the “Bedford Trend” (c. 1405–15) whose lavish cycle, filled with unusual imagery, shows significant engagement with the text. The themes of this dissertation emerged out of close comparative analysis of these groups of manuscripts in terms of their visual programs and formal features. Illuminators did not seem inclined to create identical copies of *Rose* manuscripts. Instead, experimentation and innovation seem to have been valued in the competitive Parisian market. Because artists were playing to the market, the shared attributes of a given group – their image cycles and the illuminator’s manner of rendering individual scenes – reflect the expectations of patrons in a given historical moment. This comparative analysis sharpens our view of “change” as it was understood by illuminators and appreciated by their patrons.

Changing Image Cycles and New Demands

Scholars have rightly argued that illuminations affected the reading of the text, but the tendency has been to seek out meaning in the (sometimes minute) differences between the narrative content of the text and individual images inspired by that content. Perhaps more telling are the overall programs of illumination. In examining the images in interrelated manuscripts over the course of the fourteenth century, I have found that patterns in the selection of scenes changed over time. This focus allows insights into the ways *Rose* manuscripts were used and read, as well as changes in patronal tastes and ambitions.

Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, both of them libraires and illuminators, flooded the market with *Rose* manuscripts containing widely different sets of images, setting a precedent for later experimentation. They favored including illuminations rendering actions that were part of the romance's main narrative – the lover's first impressions of the garden, the characters in their interactions, the storming of the castle at the end of the tale. In more heavily illuminated volumes, the two artists included additional scenes from the lover's journey or, less frequently, exempla introduced into given characters' speeches. In all but one of their manuscripts, Guillaume's portion of the text received more images than Jean's continuation, even though the latter was more than four times as long.

Artist L, active at the end of Jeanne's career, followed suit, creating cycles consisting of scenes that were familiar from the time of the Montbastons. There was substantially less variety in the overall programs of the three manuscripts illuminated by this artist, suggesting that readers were not always anxious to possess copies with unique sets of images. Artist L's manuscripts, however, indicate that consumers began to expect more images in Jean de Meun's portion of the text: the artist visualized a greater number of scenes and illustrated exempla in speeches from Jean's continuation. This supports findings by the Pierre-Yves Badel that there was an increased interest in Jean de Meun as an author in the mid-fourteenth century.⁹⁴

By the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the situation had changed, and readers expected image cycles that engaged more deeply with the philosophical issues set forth in Jean de Meun's continuation. The image cycles in manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique, for instance, contain illustrations of passages in the continuation

⁹⁴ Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 62-63.

that had never before been visualized. Perhaps working with a planner who was knowledgeable about the allegory's subtleties, the illuminator brought attention to misogynous passages in the text and marked moments when the author defended himself against detractors. The final manuscript treated in this dissertation, the exceptional Getty Ludwig XV 7, illustrated c. 1405 with 101 images, provides clear evidence that its illuminator worked alongside a planner, carefully considering the way in which images could affect reading. It was still deemed important to emphasize the main narrative episodes of the *Rose*, a strategy employed by the Montbastons, but the image cycle also shows a new desire to find ways of representing the philosophical and ethical problems posed by the romance, and in a way even more intense than the Maître du Policratique.

These changes in the means of illustrating the *Rose* anticipated and reflected concurrent literary debates, highlighting aspects of the text that came under intense scrutiny during a heated epistolary exchange now commonly known as the Querelle de la rose, which took place between 1401 and 1403.⁹⁵ The Querelle provides unusually specific information about the late medieval reception of a literary text and offers a context for understanding later image cycles; at the same time, the image cycles give a context for grasping the roots of the debate. The Querelle was initiated by the prolific

⁹⁵ As noted by Maxwell Luria, there is no consensus regarding what documents should be considered part of the Querelle. See Luria, *A Reader's Guide to the Roman de la Rose*, 64. My brief discussion of the debate does not require that I propose a canonical set of documents. The dates I have chosen follow Christine McWebb's determination that the "Debate Epistles" proper could be considered those that Christine de Pizan included under the rubric of "Le livre des Épîtres sur le *Roman de la rose*" in BL Harley 4431, a compilation of her works for Isabeau of Bavaria compiled between c. 1410–14 (discussed more fully later in this section), as well as the related letters, treatises, and sermons of Jean Gerson and Jean de Montreuil. These related works appear in a separate chapter in McWebb's volume, entitled "The Architectonics of Voices." See Christine McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 199–380. Throughout this dissertation I refer to this compilation, which includes the primary texts with facing page translations in English. My line citations refer to the Latin or French. Other frequently cited sources on the debate include Charles F. Ward, *The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose and Other Documents in the Debate* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1911); Eric Hicks, ed., *Le Débat sur la Roman de la Rose* (Paris: Champion, 1977).

writer Christine de Pizan (1363-c.1440), the daughter of a physician and astrologer in the court of Charles V and the widow of a royal secretary to Charles VI.⁹⁶ Christine had criticized the *Roman de la rose* in her earlier works, such as the *Epistre au dieu d'amours* (1399), but opened the formal debate when she responded to a now-lost treatise in praise of the romance by Jean de Montreuil (d. 1418), a provost in Lille.⁹⁷ Jean Gerson (1362-1428), theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, soon joined Christine in denouncing the text. In addition to authoring an allegorical treatise and a letter, he condemned the romance in a series of sermons between 1402 and 1403. In turn, the humanist brothers Gontier Col, secretary and notary to Charles VI, and Pierre Col, canon of Paris and Tournai, wrote a series of letters in defense of Jean de Meun and his text.

The critics argued that the *Rose* was at best useless, and at worst could corrupt innocent readers. While Christine and Gerson argued from different backgrounds and with different writerly personas, they voiced similar concerns.⁹⁸ Both complained that Jean de Meun used vulgar language without purpose: in particular, they singled out Raison's use of the terms "testicle" and "penis," as well as the author's comparison of

⁹⁶ The scholarship on Christine de Pizan is vast. For a general introduction to the issues raised by her writing, see Charity Willard, ed., *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984); Barbara Altmann and Deborah McGrady, eds., *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁹⁷ For a full chronology of the debate see Hicks, ed., *Le Débat sur la Roman de la Rose*, LI-LIV; Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Introduction: Returning to a 'Gracious Debate': The Intellectual Context of the Epistolary Exchange of the Debate about the *Roman de la Rose*," in *Debating the Roman de la rose: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Christine McWebb, xxi-xxxvi.

⁹⁸ According to Alistair Minnis, Gerson wrote as a trained theologian while Christine "constructs herself as a straight-talking vernacular writer." Alistair Minnis, *Magister Amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 216. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski characterized the difference between the two as follows: "Put succinctly, Christine de Pizan objected to the *Rose*'s misogyny, while Jean Gerson considered the text and its author immoral." See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Jean Gerson and the Debate on the Romance of the Rose," in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 323.

female genitalia to a “holy sanctuary” at the end of the tale.⁹⁹ They questioned the lack of decency in the author’s comparison of sexual organs to sacred objects without any “shame” or purpose.¹⁰⁰ Christine and Gerson also criticized the speeches of certain characters in Jean’s continuation, whose immoral advice encouraged copulation outside of marriage. These included the discourses of La Vieille (Old Woman), who was given the role of teaching young women “how to sell their bodies early and at a high price, without fear or shame”;¹⁰¹ Genius, whom Jean had claim that sexual activity is the sure route to heaven; and Jalous (Jealous Husband), who, according to Gerson, made marriage seem so unappealing that men might avoid it altogether. Often visualized in illuminations as a figure violently beating his wife, the controlling Jalous accuses his spouse of flirting with other men, dressing in expensive clothes, and exposing his secrets. Christine lamented, “In the passage of the Jealous Husband, my God, what could possibly be the benefit of such shameful and insulting speech, frequently uttered by those poor souls afflicted by this illness? What good example can this possibly set?”¹⁰²

As Marilyn Desmond has pointed out, “texts were thought to gain their ethical urgency through their memorability” and *Rose* illuminations undoubtedly played a large

⁹⁹ The passage by Raison has received a great deal of scholarly attention. For different perspectives on its function in Jean de Meun’s continuation, see Daniel Poirion, “Les mots et les choses selon Jean de Meun,” *Information littéraire* 26 (1974), 7-11; Douglas Kelly, *Internal Difference and Meanings in the Roman de la Rose* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 44-50; Minnis, *Magister Amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 88-89; Christine McWebb, “Hermeneutics of Irony: Lady Reason and the *Romance of the Rose*,” *Dalhousie French Studies* 69 (2004), 3-14.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, “Christine’s reaction to Jean de Montreuil’s *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*” (June/July 1401), lines 69-87 in McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 120-23, trans. McWebb.

¹⁰¹ “...comment toutes jeunes filles doivent vendre leurs corps tost et chierement sans paour et sans vergoingne,” Jean Gerson, *Treatise against the Roman de la rose* (May 18, 1402), lines 45-47. See *ibid.*, 274-75, trans. McWebb.

¹⁰² “Puis ou chapitre de Jalousie, pour Dieu! quieulx grans biens y peuent estre nottéz, n’a quel besoing recorder les deshonestetés et laides paroles qui asséz sont communes en la bouche des maleureux passionnéz d’icelle maladie? Quel bon exemple ne introduction peut estre ce?” “Christine’s reaction to Jean de Montreuil’s *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*,” lines 108-12. See *ibid.*, 122-23, trans. McWebb.

role in making certain passages in the text more affecting.¹⁰³ While defenders of the *Rose* did not mention the text's illustrations, Jean Gerson understood images to play a central role in the reader's encounter with the allegory. In his first treatise against the *Rose*, he wrote, "What ignites these souls more than dissolute speech and frivolous writing and images [*paintures*]?"¹⁰⁴ In Gerson's view, text and image worked together to lead the reader astray. In a sermon against the *Rose* in December 1402, Gerson said that if he were confessing a reader who "misused" the text, he "would recommend that several things be effaced or that the entire book be thrown away." Commenting on the seductive power of the miniatures, he continued, "The same applies for filthy images [*paintures*] and images which are enticing or made for foolish lovers of both genders."¹⁰⁵ That same month, Gerson wrote a response to a treatise by Pierre Col, explaining that his attacks were "not against a foolish lover but against writings, words and pictures [*picturas*] which rouse, stimulate, and encourage illicit loves more bitter than death."¹⁰⁶ According to Gerson, images were certainly more than decorations or simple illustrations of the text; they had a provocative quality with the potential to affect the behavior of their viewers.

In her letters, Christine de Pizan did not directly address *Rose* illuminations.

Meradith McMunn has speculated that when she used terms such as "figures," Christine

¹⁰³ Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, 153. Here Desmond referred to Mary Carruther's canonical work Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 156-88.

¹⁰⁴ "Mais qui plus art et enflemme ces ames que paroles dissolues et que luxureuses escriptures et peintures?" Gerson, *Treatise against the Roman de la rose*, lines 218-20. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 282-83, trans. McWebb.

¹⁰⁵ He wrote, "Third, if I confessed someone who misused it, I would recommend that several things be effaced or that the entire book be thrown away. The same applies to filthy images and images which are enticing or made for foolish lovers of both genders, etc." ("Tiercement, se je confessoie personne qui en abusast, je lui commanderoie effacer plusiers choses ou du tout le geter hors. Ainsi des peintures ordes et qui enflamment, ou sont faictes pour les amies et amis folz, etc.") "Sermons of the Series Poenitemini by Jean Gerson" (December 24, 1402), lines 65-68. See *ibid.*, 368-69, trans. McWebb.

¹⁰⁶ "...orationem non contra Insanum Amatorem sed adversus scripta, verba et picturas ad illicitos amores amariores morte sollicitantes, stimulantes et urgentes." "A Letter by Jean Gerson" (December, 1402), lines 11-13. See *ibid.*, 352-53, trans. Richards.

was not responding to the images at all, but, rather, to “verbal descriptions” in the text.¹⁰⁷ As someone who supervised the production of illuminated manuscripts, however, Christine was keenly aware of how miniatures could affect a text’s reception. Sandra Hindman has shown that, in addition to serving as a scribe in parts of at least fifty-five of her own manuscripts, Christine carefully oversaw their illumination, including the famous volume of her collected works, BL Harley 4431, which was presented to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria in 1414 which included the author’s epistles from the Querelle.¹⁰⁸ Hindman found a strong correspondence between illuminations and specific details in the texts they accompanied, in particular the *Cité des dames* (c.1405), an allegory that praised famous women from antiquity to the present, and the *Epistre Othéa* (c.1400-1), an allegory in the form of a letter from the Goddess Othea to Hector of Troy. Marilynn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn have proposed that Christine’s illuminators drew upon imagery found in *Rose* manuscripts – with which she was intimately familiar – when illustrating the *Epistre Othéa*, which had several of the same characters, including the God of Love, Pygmalion, and Narcissus.¹⁰⁹ However, Christine did not instruct

¹⁰⁷ McMunn referred to a particular line in Christine’s text, where the term “figures” is often translated as “images.” See, for instance, “Christine’s Reaction to Jean de Montreuil’s *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*,” line 252. See *ibid.*, 130-31, trans. McWebb. McMunn’s article is thought-provoking, especially with regard to whether or not Christine was responding to actual miniatures or the visual aspects of certain manuscripts. She argued that Christine probably did not have her own copy of the *Rose*, but made the educated conjecture that she would have had access to manuscripts owned by her patrons or acquaintances. Studying six manuscripts that Christine may have seen before she wrote her epistles, McMunn concluded that the images did not highlight aspects of the text that were particularly violent or misogynistic. McMunn herself pointed out that it is an impossible task to determine the exact manuscripts that to which Christine refers. McMunn, “Was Christine Poisoned by an Illustrated Rose?,” 151.

¹⁰⁸ On the identification of Christine’s hand and its presence in so many of her manuscripts, see Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, “Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan,” *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 221-38. For Hindman’s work on Christine’s careful supervision of the construction of Harley 4431, including the incorporation of previously existing folios into this larger volume, see Sandra Hindman, “The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan’s Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment,” *The British Library Journal* 9 (1983), 93-123; Sandra Hindman, “With Ink and Mortar: Christine de Pizan’s ‘Cité des Dames’,” *Feminist Studies* 10 (1984), 457-83.

¹⁰⁹ Marilynn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan’s Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 47-84.

illuminators simply to copy *Rose* illuminations in manuscripts of her works. Instead, the artists adapted the imagery to the new context of Christine's text – one where the God of Love did not control the protagonist, and where mythological exempla were more clearly given a negative valence. It is likely that Christine had access to several copies of the *Rose* with different image cycles, and she doubtless understood the important role images could play in shaping the reader's experience.

It appears that illuminators of fifteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts had a similar view of the ways in which images could shape the reception of a text. Image cycles for deluxe *Rose* manuscripts produced from the end of the fourteenth century onward were carefully crafted to draw out the ethical and philosophical dimensions of the text in accord with patrons' newfound interests. Topics in the debate did not necessarily have a one-to-one correspondence with these post-Querelle image cycles, though images sometimes called attention to portions of the text that had come under fire. Instead, it seems that artists and planners, including those involved in the production of the Getty *Rose*, felt the pressure to create learned cycles that would satisfy patrons accustomed to seeing the text in light of these ethical dilemmas.¹¹⁰

Changes in Form

Rose illuminators felt the pressure to not only update the shape and content of their image cycles, but also the manner of rendering their images. As discussed previously, Kuhn observed that development of *Rose* frontispieces over time not only

¹¹⁰ With regard to Douce 195, Anne Harris and Deborah McGrady have convincingly argued that the images were intended to pose ethical dilemmas for the reader. Harris, "Pygmalion Reconfigures Narcissus," 337-51; McGrady, "Reinventing the *Roman de la Rose* for a Woman Reader: The Case of Ms. Douce 195," 202-27.

reveals efforts to provide narrative clarity, but also provides evidence of an increasing interest in naturalistic effects; for him, this meant a display of incidental details and an effort to set figures and objects in a plausible space. He noted, for instance, the differences between Group I frontispieces (Fig. 2.45) and that of BnF fr. 804 (Group IV), a fifteenth-century manuscript (Fig. 1.1).¹¹¹ He appreciated that, in later illuminations, the lover's bed is placed logically within a bedroom setting equipped with windows, walls, doors, and even a chair – minor details not mentioned in the text but which give a fuller impression of the scene. He also mentioned the figure of the lover, who in later images appears to lie on the surface of the bed, beneath the covers, as well as his face, which convincingly “shows the expression of quiet sleep.”¹¹²

Kuhn's observations prefigured those of major art historical figures whose narratives later became the dominant model for discussing the nature of change in fourteenth-century Parisian manuscript illumination. In *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953), Erwin Panofsky stressed that the most important development during this period was the depiction of an illusionistic space through the use of contrast between light and dark, orthogonal lines, and foreshortened walls.¹¹³ Panofsky focused on the manner in which fourteenth-century Parisian illuminators used perspectival arrangements seen in Italian panel painting, incorporating these into their miniatures. There is no better way to discuss the type of analysis that has shaped the discussion of miniatures from this period than to take the example of Jean Pucelle, an illuminator working in Paris beginning c.

¹¹¹ Kuhn dated BnF fr. 804 to the fifteenth century. See Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 32. In the recent catalog of the *Rose* exhibition, the manuscript is dated to between 1420-40. The illuminator is referred to as “Le Maître d’Egerton.” See Coilly and Tesnière, eds., *Le Roman de la rose*, 183.

¹¹² He wrote, “Sein blasses Gesicht zeigt den Ausdruck ruhigen Schlafes.” Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 32. On his concern with the lover's position on the bed, see his description of the opening initial of BnF fr. 797 *ibid.*, 31.

¹¹³ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 29.

1320, whom Panofsky credited with rescuing the tradition of French manuscript illumination from “a point of complete stagnation.”¹¹⁴ Panofsky used the example of the Annunciation image from the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux (Fig. 1.4) to describe the important changes initiated by Pucelle, including an increased focus on the “effect of plastic forms” as opposed to the “linear contours” that are found in the high gothic style characteristic of earlier royal commissions (Fig. 1.5). Panofsky explained that Pucelle was able to revive Parisian painting by assimilating Italian techniques. He wrote, “figures are placed, for the first time in Northern art, in a coherent perspective setting.”¹¹⁵ This was only the beginning: the “doll’s house arrangement,” where the front wall is on the same plane as the pictorial surface and the interior and exterior of a building are visible at the same time, was still employed.¹¹⁶ The general sense was that artists’ methods were quasi-scientific, and could ostensibly be used to convey Alberti’s Renaissance conception of the image as “window” while retaining the medieval impulse toward flatness.

Art historians have also noted a marked interest in depicting elements of the natural world in a “naturalistic” manner in the fourteenth century. Some of the most telling and oft-discussed examples are the illuminations accompanying the collected works of Guillaume de Machaut, produced by the Boquetaux workshop in Paris c. 1350, which set an allegory of artistic inspiration within a large-scale demi-grisaille image (Fig.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 29. John White devoted a chapter at the end of his book to the role of French illumination in the development perspective in the European tradition. He also began with the example of Pucelle. See John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 219-220.

¹¹⁶ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 53. On the different ways that art historians have tended to describe this composition, see Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 125, n. 143.

1.6).¹¹⁷ The God of Love brings his children to the author, who sits in an open-walled structure in the foreground of a landscape with a high horizon line rising steeply in the background. The image is full of rich details that show the illuminator's attempts to enliven the landscape by depicting a variety of animals: rabbits leap out of holes or from behind trees; ducks peer out from the surface of a pond, looking to the left and right. Commentators from Henri Martin on have remarked that the importance of the work lies in its depiction of various species, trees, and signs of daily life in the background, complete with windmills and fanciful architecture.¹¹⁸ But this celebration of an increased observation of nature is often accompanied by complaints about the discrepancies in scale and a lack of unified one-point perspective, traits that continue to be noted in catalogues by scholars such as François Avril and Charles Sterling.¹¹⁹ Particular attention has been paid to the size of the rabbits in the background, which are as large as the horse, and technically closer to the viewer if one follows the division of land going back in space.¹²⁰ This emphasis on pictorial space and natural observation has encouraged scholars to seek out traces of "realistic" sensibilities in fourteenth-century images.

Medieval illuminations, however, always fall short of these anachronistic expectations. Recent scholarship on the nature of representation in this period has done much to undermine the prevalent idea that increased attention to the simulation of volume, space, and texture in painting and sculpture necessarily corresponds to a desire

¹¹⁷ On this image, and other illuminations accompanying the works of Guillaume de Machaut, see Dominic Leo, "Authorial Presence in the Illuminated Machaut Manuscripts" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2005), 217-49.

¹¹⁸ Henry Martin, *La miniature française du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris et Bruxelles: G. Van Oest & Cie, 1923), 46.

¹¹⁹ François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century*, trans. Ursula Molinaro (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 96; Charles Sterling, *La Peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987), 180-83, no. 29.

¹²⁰ Martin, *La miniature française du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, 46.

for more accurate rendering of real world phenomena.¹²¹ Scholars such as Brigitte Buettner have proposed new terms to analyze the formal qualities of late medieval illuminations. Instead of pictorial “space,” which is bound to notions of mathematical perspective, she discussed a system of “spatial inscription” where some elements push deep into space, while others reinforce the material surface.¹²² Artists’ renderings of these elements – rocks, trees, rivers, buildings, furniture, checkerboard floors – serve a plethora of representational functions not limited to, or defined by, accurate representations of mathematical, three-dimensional space.¹²³ They could refer to themes embedded in the text, help maintain a balanced composition, or create multiple spaces to portray different moments within the same miniature. By abandoning the idea that late medieval illuminations strove to be something other than what they are, we can begin to find new ways to examine the functions of the formal qualities of art in this period on their own terms.

Recent trends in the study of French manuscript illumination offer models to assess the significance of visual changes as traced in specific manuscript traditions. John Lowden’s work on the *Bibles moralisées*, Anne Hedeman’s on illustrated copies of Boccaccio’s *De casibus*, and Claire Sherman’s on French manuscripts of Aristotle have all pointed to ways in which specific illustrated moments in a given text offered artists

¹²¹ Jean Givens has expanded the language used to describe late medieval art to include terms such as “realism,” defined by its subject matter, and “descriptiveness,” defined by a work’s ability to convey information about actual objects and real world phenomena. See Jean A. Givens, *Observation and Image-Making in Gothic Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 5-36. Stephen Perkinson has used late medieval royal portraiture to think about period notions of resemblance and to show that the concept was surprisingly flexible: older conventions for likeness, such as heraldry, continued to be relied upon. See Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009).

¹²² Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 82-93.

¹²³ Ibid.

and patrons occasions to revise earlier pictorial cycles and to update illuminations.¹²⁴ By examining formal changes in the illuminations that accompany one particular text – the *Roman de la rose* – we can see how new trends were deployed in a specific context.

Many of the broad visual changes noted by earlier scholars, however, continue to hold true, leaving us with the challenge of accounting for rapid visual transformations in the illumination of late medieval manuscripts, including copies of the *Rose*. Styles changed from one decade to the next, with three-dimensional structural elements becoming more popular. Rather than understanding new developments as a stepping stones on the path to more impressive works, it is important to consider each as fulfilling and participating in fashions that were popular at the time. Panofsky himself alluded to the connection between changing artistic styles and changes in dress, noting, “Even in the matter of dress, the period after 1350 marks a radical break with the High Medieval and, in a sense, the beginning of modern fashion.”¹²⁵ By viewing the technologies themselves as fashionable, it becomes possible to understand style as a conscious choice, which encourages us to interpret visual forms as the result of complex interactions amongst active agents. In adopting a particular style, illuminators did not unknowingly push forward the quest for mastering appearances. Rather, they deployed new styles with an understanding of their meanings in the social sphere and within the context of an individual manuscript.

¹²⁴ John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, vol. I (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2000); Hedeman, *Translating the Past*; Claire Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

¹²⁵ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 40.

Fashion Forward

By comparatively studying a select group of luxury copies of the *Roman de la rose*, it is possible to shed light on widespread changes in the formal qualities of manuscript illumination precisely in the years that witnessed the accelerated development of the phenomenon we now call “fashion.” Consumers in elite circles sought to keep up with current trends in dress, accoutrements, architecture, and décor, knowing that change was ceaseless. I argue that *Rose* illuminators, especially from the mid-fourteenth century on, capitalized on the romance’s emphasis on material culture to render current trends in clothing and other fashionable particulars of their surroundings. Working to impress patrons, they responded to the pressures of artistic change by representing familiar subjects in of-the-moment artistic styles.

The inclusion of the *Roman de la rose* in historical discussions of fashion has been a longstanding practice. Because *Rose* manuscripts are such a rich resource – containing a large cast of characters, male and female, many bedecked in stylish clothes – costume specialists have used their illuminations as documentary evidence of the appearance of elements of clothing mentioned in contemporary records and inventories.¹²⁶ They have tended to take the exaggerated proportions of clothing found in *Rose* imagery – short hemlines, padded chests, and ballooning sleeves – as witness to general trends in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century clothing in Northern Europe.¹²⁷ Recent historians of medieval fashion such as Margaret Scott and Anne van Buren have exposed

¹²⁶ For example, see *Rose* illustrations, or drawings based on *Rose* illustrations, in Goeff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories: c. 1150-1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London (London: HMSO, 1991), 358; Margaret Scott, *The History of Dress: Late Gothic Europe, 1400-1500*, (London: Mills and Boon, 1980), 196-97; Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library, 2007), 161-62. The art historian Michael Camille used *Rose* imagery to display the development of consumer goods associated with the concept of courtly love. Camille, *Medieval Art of Love*, 59, fig. 46.

¹²⁷ Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 18.

the fallacies in this approach, and they are quick to remind their readers that representations of clothing not only reflected real practices, but also followed artistic conventions.¹²⁸ This was a period in which verisimilitude was prized, and artists often sought to reproduce the appearance of rich clothing, furniture, objects, and structures, but were not bound to veristic demands. They depicted older forms of dress no longer in use when appropriate for a particular story or character, and created fanciful silhouettes to delight their customers.

Fashion is studied today through a number of theoretical lenses, but here I will draw upon currents that allow us to push beyond factual evaluations to consider the significance of change itself. In an often-cited remark, Elizabeth Wilson observed that “Fashion is dress in which the key feature is rapid and continual changing of styles. Fashion, in a sense, *is* change...”¹²⁹ Whether discussing fashion in relation to aesthetic pleasure, explaining its place in the world of mass consumption, or searching for clues to the development of the modern subject, many have argued that the primary characteristic of fashion as a phenomenon is its transitory nature.¹³⁰ In her 2010 dissertation on style-consciousness in the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, Christina Waugh called attention to fourteenth-century observers who found themselves unsettled by the fast pace of visual change. Moralists, observing their surroundings, sought ways to heap ridicule on the followers of fashion as cultural phenomenon developed. Jean de Condé, a moral commentator and cleric, wrote c. 1310-40 that “if a man goes out of the country and stays

¹²⁸ Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, 7-9; Ann van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (New York: Morgan Library and Museum, 2011), 17. For a useful summary of the changing ways fashion historians have used manuscript images as evidence, see *ibid.*, 14-17.

¹²⁹ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 3.

¹³⁰ For an overview of the historiography of fashion theory see Daniel Leonard Purdy, ed., *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

for two months, and if he comes back just as the third month is finished, he finds the usages quite changed.”¹³¹ Waugh made the point that Jean wrote with the certainty that his noble readers would surely understand his observation.¹³²

Jean de Jandun, in his encomium of Paris of 1323, noted that new objects for bodily adornment were being invented so quickly that old terminology simply could not keep up. To emphasize the wonder of goods, he described himself as overwhelmed by the wealth of items on view in the covered markets of Paris’ right bank. Writing in Latin, he was at a loss to describe many of the things that he saw: the language did not provide appropriate words. One passage, worth quoting at length, gives the impression of a luxury goods market that offered adornment from head to toe. He wrote:

In the upper part of the building, which is formed like a street of astonishing length, are displayed all the objects that serve to adorn the different parts of the human body: for the head, crowns, braids, caps; ivory combs for the hair; mirrors for looking at oneself; belts for the loins, purses to hang at the side; gloves for the hands; necklaces for the breast; and other things of this sort that I cannot cite, rather because of the penury of Latin words than for not having actually seen them.¹³³

¹³¹ Cited by Christina Waugh, “Style-Consciousness in Fourteenth-Century Society and Visual Communication in the Moralized Bible of John the Good” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2000), 58. Stella Mary Newton also mentioned the poetry of the abbot Gilles li Muisis, who mourns the passing of the “good old days” by referencing the change in clothing. See Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 1980), 129.

¹³² The passage begins with a critique of new forms of dress. Waugh wrote, “Jean points out a phenomenon familiar to any modern traveler returning from a long trip, and he describes it as if he expected his audience to recognize it and nod their heads in wry agreement.” See Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 58.

¹³³ “In superioribus vero illius edis partibus, que ad modum unius vici mirabilis longitudinis ordinate sunt, pretenduntur specialia paricularum humani corporis paramenta; pro capite quidem corone,serta et mitre; discriminalia quoque eburnean pro capillis; specula pro oculis; cinguli pro lumbis; burse pro lateribus; cyrothece pro minibus; monilia pro pectore; cetaraque talia de quibus nominum latinorum penuria, magis quam visive cognitionis defectus, me tacere compellit.” Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), 50. This translation is found in Robert W. Berger, ed., *In Old Paris: An Anthology of Source Descriptions, 1323-1790* (New York: Italica Press, 2002), 11-12.

He continued by explaining that the “varieties and infinite number” of these “brilliant objects” prevented “a complete and detailed description”.¹³⁴ A sense of delight in the rapid development and wide variety of luxury goods underscores his loss for words.

There has been much debate about when the phenomenon we recognize as “fashion” began in the European domain, with scholars tending to claim its inception in their own period of inquiry.¹³⁵ Among medievalists drawing on visual evidence – including *Rose* manuscripts – the fourteenth century is recognized as a time of acceleration, and the observations of Condé and Jandun support this theory. More recently, however, medieval textual scholars have pushed the date back. Following the criteria of theorists such as Barthes, Baudrillard, and Bourdieu, Sarah-Grace Heller has argued that medieval romances evidence a “fashion system” already present in the thirteenth century.¹³⁶ Making the case that a conceptual system placing value on novelty had to be in place before people had the impetus to create new styles, she wrote a history of fashion without using any visual material as evidence. This controversial move was later questioned by those interested in costume.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ “Sed, ut illa politorum corporum refulgentia creberrima, quorum secundum individual numerous infinitus complement profunde et dearticulate narrationis obsistit...” In de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, 50, trans. Berger, 12.

¹³⁵ Early modernists Ann R. Jones and Peter Stallybrass, for instance, argued that the phenomenon began in the late sixteenth century. Elizabeth Wilson, taking a broader view, placed its debut in the fourteenth century. See Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, 16; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹³⁶ Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007).

¹³⁷ Heller suggested that fashion historians largely saw fourteenth-century Burgundy as the birthplace of fashion. In a review of Heller’s work, van Buren, however, called attention to a number of works that claim fashion emerged as early as the Roman period, or, more conservatively, in the twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries. Instead, she explained that it is commonly accepted that in the mid-fourteenth century, fashion occurred at an accelerated pace with new shapes of dress. See Anne van Buren, review of *Fashion in Medieval France* by Sarah-Grace Heller and *Medieval Dress and Fashion* by Margaret Scott, *Speculum* 84 (2009), 160-63.

Heller nevertheless convincingly argued that texts such as the *Roman de la rose* give evidence of a consumer culture in which a premium was placed on dressing extravagantly, specifically in new attire.¹³⁸ In the *Rose*, the character of La Vieille offers advice to Bel Accueil (Fair Welcoming) regarding how a young woman might trick a lover into buying her clothes and accessories, even at the risk of rendering him penniless.¹³⁹ Jalous complains about buying his wife shoes, crowns, clothes, ivories, and other goods, which encourage other men to flirt with her in public.¹⁴⁰ In these passages the practice of buying new clothes is cast as a luxury or a vice, but in others the author describes it as a naturalized behavior, a part of social custom. The God of Love, for instance, encourages lovers to “Get fresh and new laced shoes and boots often” according to the dictates of courtly conduct.¹⁴¹ *Rose* manuscripts, in which the text explicitly references fashion, themselves became part of the process of fashion: illuminators kept characters up-to-date, and copies were produced in great numbers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, precisely when the pace of change began to pick up.

Historians of costume have pointed to several reasons why France, and Paris in particular, witnessed such a rapid development in the domain of fashion.¹⁴² France was a major international commercial center, and in the fourteenth century attracted new classes of consumers, such as merchants financed by Italian bankers. The exile of the papacy to

¹³⁸ For telling passages in thirteenth-century romances including the *Roman de la rose*, see Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*.

¹³⁹ *Roman de la rose*, lines 13665-750; trans. Dahlberg, 35-36.

¹⁴⁰ *Roman de la rose*, lines 9173-282; trans. Dahlberg, 166-68. Jalous interestingly claims that the flirting men are after her goods, not her body. See Sarah-Grace Heller, “Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the *Roman de la Rose*,” *French Historical Studies* 27 (2004), 346.

¹⁴¹ “Solers a laz e estiviaus / Aies sovent frois e noviaus” *Roman de la rose*, lines 2149-50; trans. Dahlberg, 60. Heller used this passage to discuss the concept of “freshness” as a desirable attribute of clothing. See Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 71-73.

¹⁴² On the social conditions that led to the acceleration of fashion in fourteenth century France, see François Boucher, “Les conditions de l’apparition du costume court en France vers le milieu du XIVe siècle,” in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Bruenl par ses amis, collègues et élèves*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1955), 183-92; van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 2-3.

Avignon also brought a new emphasis on trade. The newly affluent were hungry to acquire visible signs of status by participating in fashion trends. While officials in other kingdoms like Italy developed sumptuary laws in the fourteenth century in an effort to enforce social hierarchies, clothing regulations appear to have been largely absent in France.¹⁴³ The one ordinance addressed to Parisian dressmakers in 1350 “regulated the prices they could charge for garments ‘in the traditional fashion’” but “for garments in a new style, such as the cote hardy, they could charge as much as they liked.”¹⁴⁴ As van Buren has suggested, this likely “provided an incentive to invent further novelties.”¹⁴⁵

New technologies – notably, the practice of setting sleeves and the widespread use of buttons – allowed for the development of new styles of clothing that conformed closely to the body without restricting movement.¹⁴⁶ Newton described the change as follows: “[it] transformed human beings from soft rounded creatures with a mobile surface into harsh, spare, attenuated insect-like things.”¹⁴⁷ Before the fourteenth century, clothing was typically cut in the shape of a “T” to prevent any waste in material, resulting

¹⁴³ Van Buren noted that only two clothing ordinances were issued in France between 1294 and 1485. See van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 3. Sarah-Grace Heller has convincingly posited a relationship between sumptuary laws issued in 1279 and 1294 and the discussion of clothing in the *Roman de la rose*, but she did not address fourteenth-century regulations. See Heller, “Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the *Roman de la Rose*.” On the situation in Italy, see William Jordan, “Sumptuary Laws, European,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer, vol. 11 (New York: Scribners, 1982-89), 506. Investigating sumptuary statutes in northern Italian towns from the mid-thirteenth-century to the beginning of the sixteenth, James Brundage showed that three-quarters of the regulations occurred in the period between 1306 and 1490. Once again, this suggests that the fourteenth century witnessed an accelerated pace of fashion. The laws, it is often suggested, hint at the failure of late medieval cities to control such displays; they imply, rather, the frequent transgressions of the accepted visual order that necessitated their existence. See James Brundage, “Sumptuary Laws and Prostitution,” *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987), 343-55, p. 347.

¹⁴⁴ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ For a classic description of changes in European clothing c. 1350, see Paul Post, “La naissance du costume masculin moderne au XIVE siècle,” in *Actes du Ier Congrès international d’histoire du costume* (Venice, 1952), 28-41. Also see François Boucher, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: Abrams, 1965), 191-217.

¹⁴⁷ Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 2.

in loose, robe-like clothing tied at the waist.¹⁴⁸ By the mid-fourteenth century, clothing had become so tight that moralists such as Gilles li Muisis complained that it made people appear almost “nude,” encouraging illicit thoughts and behavior.¹⁴⁹ Newton and Waugh noted that, as the fourteenth century progressed, the silhouettes of clothing did not simply change form, but also became more complicated and “three-dimensional.”¹⁵⁰ The edges of clothing and hoods began to be cut into “little tongues or dags,” buttons became more numerous, and hoods became ever larger.¹⁵¹ *Rose* imagery recorded these shifts, as we can see when comparing an illumination from a manuscript illuminated by the Montbastons to one illustrated just a decade later by Artist L (Figs. 2.6 and 3.2).

Clothing, of course, is only one aspect of material culture, and a similar pace can be detected in related domains. The French term “façon” derived from the Latin “facio, facere,” meaning “to make.”¹⁵² The realm of made objects was extensive, as Jandun’s list and contemporary guild regulations reveal.¹⁵³ Though made objects – from carved and cast items to manuscript illumination – are rightly placed in separate categories from attire, all were susceptible to forces demanding change. Inventories from the period include references to the style of luxury items – such as jewelry and plate – as “old” or “new.” A brooch, for example, might have been described as “of old workmanship” (“de

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴⁹ Odile Blanc, “Vêtement féminin, vêtement masculin à la fin du Moyen Age: Le point de vue des moralistes,” in *Les Cahiers du Léopard d’Or (Le vêtement au Moyen Age)*, vol. I (1989), 243-51.

¹⁵⁰ Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 71-76.

¹⁵¹ Their statements are based on representations of clothing in miniatures as well as textual evidence. See Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 4-5. Waugh explained that changes can be seen in the representations of clothing from decade to decade in the fourteenth century. See Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 75.

¹⁵² On the etymology of the term from a sixteenth-century perspective, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 1-2.

¹⁵³ For a sampling of the wide variety of objects mentioned in guild regulations, and critical editions of the documents themselves, see Elizabeth Sears, “Craft Ethics and the Critical Eye in Medieval Paris,” *Gesta* 2 (2006), 221-38.

viel ouveraign”).¹⁵⁴ As Danielle Gaborit-Chopin has noted, inventory writers from this period were careful to specify the new technologies employed by goldsmiths.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps the most popular of these was basse-taille enamel, a technique in which translucent glass, in brilliant color, was poured over metal that had been worked to give the impression of shallow, three-dimensional relief and texture (Fig. 1.7). These written records support the idea that consumers had become more visually alert, able to discriminate between old and new forms. A sensitivity to, and awareness of, the minor details that rendered an object fashionable encouraged medieval craftsmen to pay close attention to current visual trends, as well as to anticipate new ones.

It is tempting to envision the process of fashion as one of overthrowing the tyranny of the past, replacing old visual rules with the latest trends. But change is a more complex phenomenon, which is meaningful only in light of fundamental continuities. Despite this seeming contradiction, it is continuity that makes change vivid, giving it definition; the trace of the past in newer forms makes the novelty visible. In the domain of clothing, as in other spheres, differences between “old” and “new” could be very subtle. New forms built upon existing ones: hemlines for men became shorter, and hoods and ornaments like “tippetts” – thin bands hanging from the elbows – were added to older

¹⁵⁴ This quote refers to a 1313 description of a brooch as it appears in a list of jewels once belonging to Piers Gaveston, who was thought to have access to the king’s treasures. See Ronald Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1992), 46. Listed in the inventory of the dauphin Charles V is “un petit croix d’or grossette de façon ancienne.” See Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *L’inventaire du trésor du dauphin futur Charles V 1363* (Nogent-le-Roi: J. Laget, 1996), 35. Gaborit-Chopin also listed other qualifiers such as “nouvelle guise.” In the later inventories of John, Duke of Berry, panel paintings are described with qualifiers such as “d’ancienne façon”; sometimes items are placed geographically, though it is unclear whether this referred to a particular style or the original location of the work. See Meiss, *Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 40-58.

¹⁵⁵ Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, “Les collections d’orfèvrerie des princes français au milieu du XIV^e siècle d’après les comptes et inventaires,” in *Arts, objets d’art, collections: Etudes sur l’art du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance sur l’histoire du goût et des collections* (Paris: Blanchard, 1987).

silhouettes (Fig. 1.8).¹⁵⁶ There was also a practical dimension to the process of updating existing forms: alterations made economic sense in a society that did not produce cheap ready-to-wear attire. These subtle changes can be understood to have made fourteenth-century viewers even more accustomed to seeking out minute visual differences in material culture.

While other studies have used *Rose* illuminations as documentary evidence of trends in fashion, I am more interested in how the illuminations themselves were subject to the processes of fashion. In this dissertation I examine changes in *Rose* manuscripts over time, making it possible to see how illuminators adapted iconography and rendered familiar scenes in new ways. I call attention throughout to the manner in which illuminators of *Rose* manuscripts used the text's descriptions of courtly fashions as an opportunity to display their knowledge of contemporary trends in clothing. Because methods of rendering were also subject to fashion, I carefully examine how illuminators reworked *Rose* images in ways that would have been considered novel, and thus how they developed the market for a "signature style" sought by discerning patrons.

Chapter Descriptions

The goal of this dissertation is to provide a broader context for understanding *Rose* imagery, which is so often discussed outside the framework of the longer tradition of illumination. Scholars more interested in what the images might tell us about the text's reception have habitually analyzed individual miniatures without addressing the image cycles as a whole, or considering a given image in relation to other aspects of a particular

¹⁵⁶ For more on the changes of silhouettes in the fourteenth century, see Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 4; Waugh, "Style-Consciousness," 61-83.

manuscript. Recent article-length studies have provided insight into a select group of individual manuscripts, and Sylvia Huot's work has revealed how different recensions of the text reflect the interests of different readers. There remains much to learn about the transformation of the image cycles over time. I thus examine a select group of manuscripts that were produced mostly by illuminators who tackled the text repeatedly, and who developed various solutions to the problem of giving visual form to the text. I am therefore able to analyze the changing expectations for image cycles with respect to their iconographic content as well as their manner of rendering. I further show how *Rose* illuminators, responding to patrons' desires, were keenly aware of the elements of fashion and the need to update styles.

In the four chapters to follow, I examine manuscripts produced by four Parisian workshops, conveniently spaced from the second quarter of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth. The chapters are organized both chronologically and thematically, as illuminators' methods of approaching the text changed over time. In each chapter, I analyze interrelated *Rose* manuscripts produced within a given workshop: in chapter two, I examine manuscripts illuminated by husband and wife Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (active c. 1338–53), who were responsible for at least seventeen copies of the *Rose*. The activities of the Montbastons are well documented, and, in a real sense, they were specialists in the illumination of this romance. Their works thus provide a baseline for understanding methods of production, as well as *Rose* iconography, at a moment when illuminated copies of the text were growing in popularity. Through a close examination of the images, I circumscribe the extent of pictorial variation within the workshop, and consider what this says about the illuminators' assumptions of what might

sell. By depicting action scenes and conversations between characters, the Montbastons brought narrative clarity to the often digressive text. They developed methods of illustration allowing them to adapt the iconography for widely differing pictorial cycles. Richard's illumination of BnF fr. 12462, an early illustrated copy of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, also shows how the artist adapted *Rose* iconography in a new context.

In chapter three, I discuss three *Rose* manuscripts whose illuminations are attributed to Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good (active c. 1350–65). By this time, expectations for well-illuminated copies of the *Rose* had changed. While the artist followed the lead of the Montbastons in terms of both the selection of scenes and the composition of individual images, he clothed characters in the latest fashions and rendered them in an of-the-moment artistic style. The latest manuscript in the group further showcases how the artist altered his representations of fashion later in his career in order to satisfy a new audience.

In chapter four I present a study of manuscripts illuminated by the prolific artist known as the Maître du Policratique de Charles V (active c. 1366–1403), responsible for the illustration of four *Rose* manuscripts. Possibly working with a learned advisor, the artist created image cycles that anticipated many of the topics later raised in the Querelle. Miniatures served not only to depict the main narrative, but also to highlight subsequently controversial portions of the text, including misogynistic passages as well as passages where Jean de Meun defended his work. The artist displayed alertness to current fashions, and in rendering new trends, recognized the demand for forms of visual verisimilitude.

I end with a chapter on the Getty *Rose*, a luxury manuscript illustrated c. 1405 by an artist participating in a popular style known as the “Bedford Trend.” Active during the

years of the Querelle, the illuminator showed a strong awareness of the ways in which images could affect the reading of the text. Again, the artist, probably working with a planner, presented the *Rose* as a philosophical discourse and rendered a startling number of thought-provoking exempla calling attention to the ethical dilemmas posed by the allegory. In particular, the artist highlighted the text's emphasis on concepts of wealth, property, and possession. This was an apt focus for the expensive manuscript, owned by a well-to-do patron and full of miniatures that exhibit affluence in the form of representations of expensive and stylish dress. The comparative analysis of the clusters of *Rose* manuscripts discussed in this dissertation, executed in a period that witnessed rapid changes in visual culture and an increased reflection on the subtleties of the romance's content, thus provides an ideal vehicle for the consideration of late medieval developments in fundamental artistic processes.

Chapter Two

Specialization, Variation, Adaptation: *Rose* Manuscripts from the Workshop of Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston

Specialization in illuminating the *Roman de la rose* was rare. The workshop of Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, active in mid-fourteenth-century Paris, produced at least seventeen illustrated copies, that is, significantly more than any of their contemporaries, predecessors, or successors.¹ This is fully one third of their surviving oeuvre and suggests that the workshop made the decision to specialize in *Rose* manuscripts and that a growing reputation drew consumers to their shop. Most *Rose* manuscripts are singletons: that is, they exist as the only example of their kind in the oeuvre of an illuminator or a team of illuminators. This implies that the Montbastons created a market niche, making themselves known as the place to go for illustrated copies of the *Rose*. The team grew familiar with the text's demands and possibilities. They developed ways of rendering complex content, drawing on pictorial precedents and other cycles that they illuminated and adapting the forms to new ends. It is clear that they developed an unusually acute understanding of what a range of patrons might expect in

¹ Several contemporaries of the Montbastons produced multiple *Rose* manuscripts, if far fewer; the Fauvel Master, whom the Rouses have shown to be a collaborator of Richard de Montbaston, produced four: BnF fr. 24390; BL Stowe Ms. 947; Meaux BM Ms. 52; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Ms. Gall. 17. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 195-200, App. 8D. The Rennes *Rose* Master also has four *Rose* manuscripts attributed to his hand: BnF fr. 12588; Draguignan, BM Ms. 17; Paris, Mazarine Ms. 3873; and Rennes BM Ms. 243. The artists of BnF fr. 161-62, active in the middle of the fourteenth century, also produced four: London, Gray's Inn Library, Ms. 10; BnF fr. 12593; and Princeton University Library Garrett, Ms. 126. For these attributions, see Akiko Komada, "Les illustrations de la Bible Historiale: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord" (Dissertation, Université Paris IV, 2000), 554-61.

an illuminated copy of the *Rose* and responded knowingly to the commercial pressures of the late medieval Parisian booktrade.

This was the moment when highly illuminated volumes were coming into vogue. The Montbastons offered patrons alternatives by producing image cycles that were wide ranging in extent, developing over time a surprising variety of compositions to illustrate a given scene. When the pictorial tradition is looked at as a whole, the great majority of compositional types found in later manuscripts are already present here. Montbaston manuscripts, for instance, contain examples of all but one of the six types of frontispieces commonly encountered in later manuscripts; they include some of the earliest extant examples of the most complex compositions (corresponding to Kuhn's Groups V and VI). Because *Rose* manuscripts produced by the shop circulated in such number, many evidently served as direct models or were consulted in the production of later manuscripts. Montbaston images thus became part of a loose stock of images associated with the text. Coming to know manuscripts produced in this workshop makes it possible to appreciate the nature of the innovations introduced by later illuminators of the *Rose*, who selected from and built upon these foundational compositions in intriguing ways. Richard and Jeanne played to the market by creating both simple and deluxe cycles, a differentiating pattern that would (in part owing to their example) continue throughout the 250 years of illumination. Richard de Montbaston, as will be seen, also adapted *Rose* imagery for the illustration of one copy of a new, closely related text, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. Observing these various methods of creation and adaptation makes it possible to more fully understand the canniness of artists engaged in and known for their illumination of vernacular texts.

The Montbastons and the Parisian Book Trade

Active in Paris “before 1338 until sometime after 1353,”² Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, whose names turn up in a number of Parisian documents, were responsible for a corpus of illustrated *Rose* manuscripts – some seventeen of which are now extant – that was highly distinctive in style (See App. A).³ They created their cycles of images over fifty years after Jean de Meun had finished his continuation of Guillaume de Lorris’ verse text, at the moment when the *Roman de la rose* was becoming a canonical work. In 1338, it was listed among the titles of works chained to the benches in the “grande librairie” of the Sorbonne to be used as a reference.⁴ While there was certainly a precedent for illuminating *Rose* manuscripts, a surge in production appears to have taken place at the moment in which the Montbastons were working. According to Langlois’ classification of over 200 surviving manuscripts, production doubled between the first

² Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 235.

³ In *Manuscripts and their Makers*, Rouse and Rouse, and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, attributed nineteen *Rose* manuscripts to the Montbaston workshop, App. 9A, 202-6. The present location of two of these manuscripts, once part of the collection of Patrick and Elisabeth Sourget, is now unknown. Sales catalogs give the information that one of these has nineteen miniatures, but it does not provide a complete description of the contents of its image cycle. I am therefore unable to include either manuscript as part of the larger statistics in this study. See Drouot, 27-28 June 1990, *Bibliothèque du Château de Prye (Nièvre): Splendeurs de la littérature française du Roman de la Rose au Bestiaire d’Apollinaire*, no. 61; Patrick and Elisabeth Sourget, *Manuscrits et livres précieux*, no. IX, *Du Roman de la Rose au Mythe Sisyphe*, Chartres 1994, no. 1. On these references, see Gregor Weyer, “The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf,” in *De la Rose: texte, image, fortune*, ed. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 131.

Elsewhere Mary Rouse states that Gousset has added four additional *Rose* manuscripts to the list included in *Manuscripts and their Makers*. See her article, “Keeping up Appearances: The Cambridge *Roman de la rose* and its Associates,” in *The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayatova (London: Harvey Miller, 2007), 151. Gousset is preparing an art historical study of the Montbastons’ oeuvre. Much of this work remains unpublished, but her early thoughts about the Montbastons can be found in Marie-Thérèse Gousset, “Parcheminiers et libraires rouennais à la fin du quatorzième siècle d’après un document judiciaire,” *Viator* 24 (1993), 233-47. For more recent scholarship addressing the work of the Montbastons, especially in relation to the Düsseldorf *Rose* manuscript, see Weyer, “The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf,” 117-40, especially 126-127. Weyer reports that Meredith McMunn has also attributed a fragment of the *Roman de la rose* (known as the ‘Alan Thomas fragment’) to the Montbastons. See *ibid.*, 127, n. 35. Recently Anne Korteweg attributed two *Bible historiale* fragments to the Montbastons. See Anne S. Korteweg, *Splendour, Gravity, and Emotion: French Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections*, trans. Beverly Johnson (Zwolle: Waanders 2004), 206-7, figs. 64 and 65.

⁴ Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 57.

and second half of the fourteenth century: forty-seven copies were produced between c. 1300 and the middle of the century, while ninety-five were produced in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁵ The Montbastons profited from and fostered the taste for expensive copies of the *Rose* that included images.

We know more about the Montbastons than any other team of illuminators active in mid-fourteenth-century Paris. Richard and Mary Rouse have tracked references to the team in university records, and they dedicated a full chapter of *Manuscripts and their Makers* to their career.⁶ The Rouses' work has provided us with key dates in Richard's and Jeanne's lives, evidence of their dealings with the university, and insight into the effects of economic pressures on their commercial practice. In collaboration with Marie-Thérèse Gousset, they identified a corpus of over fifty manuscripts that they assign to the workshop, and they took the further step of developing criteria to distinguish between the hands of Richard and Jeanne.⁷ They do not much admire the style of the miniatures. They explain that the artists were paid "for adornment, not for artistry"⁸ and suggest that the images themselves were "simple and unsophisticated responses to chapter-titles."⁹ The Rouses concede that "the Montbastons were manifestly successful in their profession," but concluded that the "decoration of vernacular books did not require exceptional

⁵ Ibid., 55. This should be taken as a ballpark estimation. Badel explained that when Langlois provided a vague dating of a manuscript, he accepted the most recent date possible in order to create this tally.

⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 235-60.

⁷ Ibid., App. 9A, 202-06. Also see n. 3 of this chapter.

⁸ Ibid., 253.

⁹ Ibid. These descriptions are in part a response to earlier characterizations of the artists as learned figures; in particular the Rouses pointed to Sylvia Huot's interpretation of the imagery in BnF fr. 25526, a manuscript with extensive marginalia painted by Jeanne. Huot argued that the illuminator created subtle juxtapositions of themes and fostered patterns of looking that intentionally diverged from the narrative order in the text. See Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 273-322. In response, the Rouses claimed that the Montbastons were not learned and that their illuminations "usually manifest only the most superficial connection with the written words they accompany." Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 254.

artistry, but competent and dependable professionalism.”¹⁰ It is possible to approach the oeuvre in another way, taking the success of the artists as a sign that their products were not considered merely adequate, but desirable. The question becomes why these “competent” works so perfectly met contemporary demand.

As the Rouses have established, Richard first appears in the historical documents on August 26, 1338, when he swore an individual oath to the University of Paris, which gave him license to operate as a libraire; the oath was renewed on October 2 of the same year.¹¹ Then in 1342 he swore a corporate oath to the University as a member of a group of libraires.¹² In 1353 Jeanne de Montbaston, not previously a libraire but rather a sworn illuminator, took over the family business by swearing the libraire’s oath as Richard’s widow.¹³

In Paris, libraires – along with scribes, parchmenters, and binders – were under the supervision of the university rather than the prévôt de Paris (a representative of the king who controlled the trades from his headquarters in the Châtelet).¹⁴ The university’s overriding intention was to ensure that copies of university texts were accurate and to regulate the prices of books for masters and students; this arrangement also meant that the

¹⁰ Ibid., 260.

¹¹ The Rouses noted that the documents do not suggest that it was unusual for a libraire to swear the oath multiple times within such a short period. The second oath, however, mentions that Richard uses a house that they owned as collateral for university bonds. It is possible that in the earlier oath “he had not posted an adequate bond.” Ibid., 236. Here the Rouses drew on the records of the University of Paris. See Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (1889-97), 2.189n.

¹² Denifle and Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 2.530-32. Cited and interpreted by the Rouses. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 236, n. 5.

¹³ Denifle and Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 2.658n. Cited and interpreted by the Rouses. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 236-38, n. 9.

¹⁴ On the Châtelet as the administrative center of Paris, see Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge: Espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006), 186-87. Under Louis IX, the thirteenth-century prévôt Etienne Boileau attempted to compile standardized regulations for Parisian craftsmen in what is now known as the *Livre des métiers* (The Book of Trades). Elizabeth Sears has shown how the *jurés*, masters of specific trades, helped to ensure a quality product for medieval consumers. See Sears, “Craft Ethics and the Critical Eye in Medieval Paris,” 221-38.

regulations applied only to business transactions among members of the university.¹⁵ The result was that the production of the most profitable type of manuscript – the luxury codex with costly illuminations – occurred outside of university control.¹⁶ The Rouses have argued, in fact, that the wealthy, literate members of the nobility were just as crucial to sustaining the book trade as were the patrons associated with the university.¹⁷

The libraires were better off than others in the trade and many invested in property with their surplus funds.¹⁸ Despite their relative wealth, it was not uncommon for them to cut down on the costs of production by performing one of the tasks in the process of making manuscripts.¹⁹ The Rouses hypothesize that Richard may have entered into the booktrade as an illuminator and that this would have provided him with the initial funding to increase his social standing and become a libraire.²⁰

Documentary and visual evidence supports the suggestion that both Richard and Jeanne were illuminators. In a written record from 1348, Richard is seen advertising his entrepreneurial abilities in pastedowns fixed inside the front and back covers of BnF fr. 241, a manuscript of Jean de Vignay’s French translation of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend* created for Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip VI (Fig. 2.1). The text reads, “Richard de Montbaston, libraire, residing at Paris on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, caused the writing of this legend of the saints in French, in the year of our Lord’s

¹⁵ Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 22-23.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 14. This is a theme throughout their volume.

¹⁸ Rouse and Rouse made this point with the example of Nicolas Lombard, who owned or received income from (at least) sixteen houses in Paris. Ibid., 62.

¹⁹ Rouse and Rouse noted that a libraire was very often also “a scribe, illuminator, pen-flourisher, binder, parchmenter.” Ibid., 238.

²⁰ Ibid.

grace 1348.”²¹ The “calling card” reveals a good deal about Richard’s role. It specifies that he “caused” (“fist escrire”) the creation of this manuscript, making a nod to his role as libraire.²² The short text also indicates the category of book he produced, a French translation of a Latin text. Most significantly it places Richard on “New Street,” the rue Neuve on the Ile de la Cité, laid at the time of the rebuilding of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, undertaken in the 1160s. By 1292, at least half of the city’s libraires resided in the multi-storied dwellings on this very street.²³ Libraires catering to a university market tended to live on the left bank among the college and university buildings.²⁴ Residents of the rue Neuve served the wealthier patrons, including aristocratic and royal clientele.²⁵ Their tastes for vernacular texts determined the neighborhood specialty, reflected in the Montbastons’ own oeuvre: French translations of religious texts, such as the Bible with gloss (*Bible historiale*), and romances like the Romance of Troy (*Roman de Troie*), the Romance of Alexander (*Roman d’Alexandre*), and the Romance of Tristan (*Roman de Tristan*). But best represented in their oeuvre was the *Roman de la rose* (App. A).

²¹ For this transcription, see *ibid.*, 236. This type of “advertisement” is not unheard of; the Rouses suggested that the advertisements were “an innovation of the commercial producers of vernacular books.” Among other similar “advertisements,” Rouse and Rouse analyzed the opening rubric of BnF fr. 10132, a manuscript of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (1318), which advertises the work of Thomas de Maubeuge. See Rouse and Rouse, “The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris,” 111; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 179. This pastedown is also noted in Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426”, 58, n. 24.

²² Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 236.

²³ Rouse and Rouse, “The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris,” 104.

²⁴ On the geography of the left bank in relation to the development of the University, see Lorentz and Sandron, *Atlas de Paris*, 170-77.

²⁵ Rouse and Rouse, “The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris,” 104-113.

Richard and Jeanne: Crafting a Style

An examination of BnF fr. 241, the richly illuminated copy of the *Golden Legend* presented to the queen – the manuscript with pastedowns advertising Richard’s services as a libraire – allows us to connect the historical personality with an artistic style. The Rouses have argued that, in addition to organizing the manuscript’s production, Richard was its likely illuminator.²⁶ The pastedowns, stating that he “caused the writing of the manuscript,”²⁷ suggest that he himself was not a scribe. Because Jeanne was an illuminator, it is likely that Richard was one too, as families tended to be involved in the same trade.²⁸ Stylistically the miniatures in BnF fr. 241 fit well with the dates of Richard’s career. Moreover, the style bears a striking resemblance to that of a frequent collaborator, who, the Rouses suspect, is his wife Jeanne.²⁹ Such circumstantial evidence has led the Rouses to a plausible attribution of BnF fr. 241 to Richard and, by extension, has provided a fixed point for the attribution of further works to the team.

The formal qualities of the Montbastons’ miniatures are typical of what Joan Diamond has called the “vernacular style” of illumination.³⁰ Developed in conjunction

²⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 238. Not everyone is in agreement regarding the attribution of the illuminations in BnF fr. 241 to Richard de Montbaston. See Weyer, “The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf,” 126. Camille accepted this attribution. François Avril and Alison Stones appeared to think that the attribution is not definitive, but accepted that it is plausible and convenient to have a name associated with the style. Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: 1992), 147; François Avril, “The Fauvel Illuminations,” in *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Messire de Chaillou de Pestain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr 146*, ed. Edward Roesner et al. (New York: 1990), 47; Alison Stones, “The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, with a Note on Fauvain,” in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 543-44.

²⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 238.

²⁸ The Rouses pointed to a number of husband and wife teams of illuminators, including Jean de Lignay and Ameline de Berron, who were active in the second half of the thirteenth century. They also discuss a marginal image in BnF fr. 25526, addressed later in this chapter, as a self-referential depiction of the illuminators at work. See *ibid.*, 239.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 238.

³⁰ For one of the first uses of this term, see Joan Diamond, “Manufacture and Market in Parisian Book Illumination around 1300,” in *Europäische Kunst um 1300*, ed. Gerhard Schmidt (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1986), 101-10, p. 105.

with a demand that illuminators produce a lot of images quickly, it shows signs of a premium placed on rapidity: its defining features are loose brushwork, heavy black outlines, and a reduced color palette of blue and red (sometimes green), with touches of gold for visual impact. Though the style was efficient, it would be misleading to cast its visual qualities solely in a negative light. The “vernacular style,” precisely because of its looseness, allowed for characteristics that signaled a more individualized approach while ensuring enough conformity to enable the type of collaboration that was necessary for large-scale commissions in Paris.³¹ Robert Branner noted that, in the early thirteenth century, Paris was home to a number of different styles produced by artists “with different backgrounds and different manners of painting,” but that toward the end of that century a single “Parisian” style began to emerge.³² As Diamond suggests, the development of a more unified visual style was in good part the result of collaborative processes between illuminators living in the same neighborhood.

Much effort has been given to distinguishing between Richard’s and Jeanne’s styles, the purpose being to attribute particular manuscripts to their hands. The Rouses have described Richard’s style as more “professional” and recognized certain characteristic forms, including taller figures with a “concave ‘ski’ nose” that remain confined within the frame. Jeanne’s figures, which often extend into the margins of the page, are described in contrast as “shorter and squatter, frequently with large heads” (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3).³³ It will also be seen that Richard and Jeanne had distinct preferences in the ways they represented individual scenes. Distinguishing their hands has value, especially insofar as it provides insight into process, showing how two individuals

³¹ Ibid., 105.

³² Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis*, 21.

³³ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 240-41.

worked together to produce a single product. What is significant is the fact that they made their styles conform so closely: a premium was placed on visual consistency.

Features common to miniatures painted by the team include the overall structure of the narrative scenes and the style of rendering the figures. Richard and Jeanne, like their contemporaries, show a preference for diapered, checkered, or gold backgrounds that serve as a backdrop for characters' narrative actions. Vegetation and architecture are included as a means of indicating whether the characters are located in an interior or exterior space, an important distinction in the *Roman de la rose*, where much of the storyline takes place in a garden and revolves around a series of thresholds that the lover must overcome to obtain his rose. Figures rarely overlap these background elements, giving the impression of shallow ground. Toes that frequently extend onto the border of the miniatures heighten the effect. Where figures overlap with architectural elements, there is often a narrative purpose: in one *Rose* manuscript, Richard, for example, represents Oiseuse (Idleness) ushering the lover through a passageway as he enters into the Garden of Love (Fig. 2.4).

Such commonalities across the Montbastons' vernacular oeuvre point to ways in which the illuminators worked in this style not only because it allowed for speed of execution, but also because it was apt for compositions that could represent actions in romances and histories in a lively, energetic fashion. Characters are never static. They are typically represented in three-quarters view, either in conversation or performing an action. Lead characters, with firmly planted feet, raise or point their hands, their gestures indicating their central role in the narrative scene (Fig. 2.5). Montbaston figures are rather stocky, with fairly large heads, capped by wavy golden hair. Regardless of the action

taking place in the scene, their facial expressions are consistent, with wide comma-like eyes made to appear even larger owing to the absence of bottom lids. The team clearly strove for uniformity so as to create a signature style. Customers ordering manuscripts from their workshop would have had a reliable idea of what the miniatures in the purchased manuscripts would look like.

Others in the neighborhood working in the “vernacular style” could adapt their own styles to allow for joint work in order to meet market demands. The Montbastons collaborated with a number of contemporary illuminators: sometimes the Rouses find the hands of more than four artists in one volume, as is the case of a copy of the *Roman de Tristan* now at the J. Paul Getty Museum.³⁴ One collaborator was a figure identified as the Maubeuge Master, active in Paris between 1303 and 1342, who worked with the Montbastons in at least three projects.³⁵ A comparison between miniatures attributed to Jeanne and this illuminator in a *Rose* manuscript produced in the Montbaston shop, Arsenal 3338, throws into relief the range of the differences and similarities in the styles of collaborators working within this milieu (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7). Jeanne had presumably

³⁴ Ibid., App. 9A: 204. I examined this manuscript with curator Elizabeth Morrison, who suggested that there were even more hands involved in its illumination. See *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 153-54, no. 18. Lillian Randall, in her description of Walters W.143 – one of the more thorough descriptions of a Montbaston manuscript – suggested that the manuscript was not just the product of one artist, but several collaborators. See Lillian Randall, “Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery,” vol. I (1989), 174. This contradicts the Rouses’ attribution of all the illuminations to Jeanne. It is likely that the workshop could have enlisted even more artists for large-scale projects, though, for present purposes, I follow the general attributions of the Rouses. I look forward to exploring these issues further at a later date.

³⁵ On this illuminator, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “Thomas de Maubeuge and the Vernacular Legend Collections,” in *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2000), 184. The Rouses noted that the Maubeuge Master has not yet received much attention from art historians. The anonymous artist was given this name because his hand has been found in several manuscripts produced for the Parisian libraire Thomas de Maubeuge. See *ibid.*, 173-202. According to Rouse, Rouse, and Gousset, the two shops worked together on at least two other projects, including Morgan Library M.322-23 (*Bible historique*) and BnF fr. 24386 (*Voeux du paon*). See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, App. 9A: 202-6. On the dating and attributions to the Maubeuge Master, also see Stones, “The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, with a Note on Fauvain,” 529-67.

farmed out a portion of her commission to the Maubeuge Master in order to expedite the process of illuminating the book. To the modern art historian the visual differences between the two hands are clearly detectable. The Maubeuge Master's tall and slimmer figures are defined through sharp, broken lines that give little indication of a body underneath the expressive drapery. Jeanne's figures, rendered with curvier lines, are generally weightier in appearance, the drapery folds indicating the volume of their torsos. But these idiosyncrasies do not detract from an overall consistency in effect. The two illuminators use the same pigments – the tones of blue and red with touches of gold are consistent – and their figures have nearly identical gestures.

We might go so far as to hypothesize that the Maubeuge Master learned to illuminate *Rose* manuscripts through the collaboration. The text became part of his repertoire but not his specialty. While a good seventeen extant *Rose* manuscripts are attributed to the Montbastons, only four manuscripts, including the Arsenal manuscript, have illuminations attributed to the Maubeuge Master, whose extant oeuvre comprises a broader spectrum of romances.³⁶ The Montbastons were clearly the go-to shop for *Rose* manuscripts.

The Making of a *Rose* Manuscript

An often reproduced image from the margins of a Montbaston *Rose* manuscript provides some idea of the practices of illumination in a fourteenth-century workshop (Fig. 2.8). A man and woman – assumed to be Richard and Jeanne themselves – are

³⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, 176-179.

shown sitting at their lecterns, illuminating initials on parchment folios.³⁷ Behind them, folios already wet with paint hang on a line to dry. Using this image as a starting point, we can try to imagine what the illumination of a *Rose* manuscript would have involved.

First would have come the commission. Perhaps Richard, as libraire, negotiated the sale and then saw to the organization of collaborators. Parchment would have been ordered in a standard size in the anticipation that, at the end of the process, the folios in gatherings would be bound by a professional binder. One or more scribes would have been hired to copy the text from an existing exemplar. Codicological evidence suggests that the Montbastons did not consistently work with the same scribes; instead they enlisted whoever was available.³⁸ The Montbastons would have farmed out individual bifolios to scribes, with instructions as to where to leave spaces for the images and how large the spaces should be. Multiple scribes could make headway on the same project at the same time.³⁹

Scribes first created ruling patterns that supplied a consistent template, marking out spaces for the text, rubrics, initials, miniatures, and borders. The Montbastons favored the two-column format, which had become the norm by the mid-fourteenth century. This was not the only option: some of the earlier *Rose* manuscripts had been ruled in three

³⁷ See Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, 147-48; Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, fig. 21, 321-22; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, fig. 23, 235; Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," fig. 1, 127.

³⁸ Ross noted that the texts of four manuscripts in the British Library, later attributed by the Rouses and Goussset to the Montbastons, were written by different scribes, "a fact which seems to indicate that this workshop was engaged in illumination only, and did not work in association with any particular scriptorium." D. J. A. Ross, "Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, BL Ms. Royal 19.D.I)," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952), 63-71, p. 67. In their index, the Rouses did not attempt to identify scribal hands, though they did note the number of scribes involved in the writing of each manuscript. See below.

³⁹ According to the Rouses, at least three *Rose* manuscripts contain the work of two scribes: BdK A.B. 142, BnF fr. 802, and BnF fr. 24389. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, App. 9A: 202-6.

columns (Fig. 2.9).⁴⁰ Each folio would then be ruled to receive about forty lines of text per column. The grid-like layout of the page would also have served in the calculation of spaces for the miniatures: apart from the large frontispieces, these were column-width and between 8 and 12 lines high.⁴¹ The text breaks and positioning of the image cycles would have been determined at the outset, with the number of images ranging between sixteen and fifty-one. The size of the manuscripts varied. Morgan M.503 measures 32 x 22.8 cm; at the other end of the spectrum is Madrid, BNE Ms. 10032, which measures only 24 x 19 cm.⁴²

Scribes would have worked from preexisting transcriptions of the text, of course. The text itself was subject to variation. Of the eleven Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts described by the philologist Ernest Langlois, only two contain versions of both Guillaume's tale and Jean's continuation that belong to the same textual families.⁴³ This variation suggests that scribes used copies of the text that were on hand or that were supplied by the commissioner. Moreover, alterations crept in during the writing: scribes of the *Roman de la rose* had no compunction about making changes to the text as they were copying it. In her influential study of *Rose* manuscripts, Sylvia Huot demonstrated that scribes frequently expanded upon passages or relocated (or deleted) certain lines of

⁴⁰ For more on the most popular text layouts utilized in *Rose* manuscripts, see Nathalie Coilly, "La diffusion de *Roman de la rose* au Moyen Âge," in *Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nathalie Coilly and Marie-Hélène Tesnière (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2012), 139.

⁴¹ The height of miniatures contained within the same manuscript is not always regular. Scribes, for instance, often made miniatures smaller in order to fit them into fewer lines at the end of a column.

⁴² CUL Gg.IV.6 is also quite large: 30 x 21 cm.

⁴³ The two portions of the text traveled separately. According to Ernest Langlois' philological study, Chantilly 664 and 665 are the only two Montbaston manuscripts where both parts of the text belong to the same families. There are two further pairs of Montbaston manuscripts in which either Guillaume's section or Jean's section belong to the same family. Brussels KBR 9576 and Arsenal 5226 contain recensions of Guillaume's text that are from the same family; BnF fr. 802 and BnF fr. 25526 contain recensions of Jean's text that are from the same family. See table of filiation in Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 238-40. While Chantilly 664 and 665 have similar pictorial cycles, these two pairs are no more similar than any other Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts that do not share a textual sibling.

the text.⁴⁴ Still, as Pierre-Yves Badel has remarked, the text of the *Roman de la rose* is relatively stable when compared to other great works written in the thirteenth century, such as Arthurian romances, whose manuscripts show substantial alterations to the plot over time.⁴⁵ The descriptions of the narrative events that tended to be illustrated in Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts remained largely unchanged.⁴⁶ In other words, despite the fact that the Montbastons illustrated different recensions of the text, and that the text was not perfectly stable within a given recension, textual variations do little to explain differences in the pictorial cycle.

After the body of the text was filled in, rubrics – textual headings of varying length and detail – were transcribed in red by a scribe or a designated rubricator. The *Roman de la rose* did not have standard chapter divisions, but sets of rubrics were developed that varied considerably from manuscript to manuscript. They sometimes took the form of words naming a speaker (“l’amant”).⁴⁷ Often they describe an action (“How the lover pays homage to the God of Love” / “Comment l’amours fet hommage au dieu d’amours”). In Jean’s continuation they frequently signal the subject of a digression (“Here begins the story of Pygmalion and his sculpture” / “Ci commence lystoire de Pymalion et son ymage”). The rubrics have received much scholarly attention and have been assigned a number of roles, among them livening up the page with their red color

⁴⁴ This is the subject of a book-length study. See Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*.

⁴⁵ Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIV^e siècle*, 144.

⁴⁶ This is not to say that there are not exceptions to this rule, the most famous being the “Medusa interpolation,” which entered into the textual tradition in the several decades following Jean de Meun’s continuation. See Sylvia Huot, “The Medusa Interpolation in the Romance of the Rose: Mythographic Program and Ovidian Intertext,” *Speculum* 62 (1987), 865-77.

⁴⁷ As Mary Rouse has shown, rubrics did not just indicate a change in speaker – they often repeated a speaker’s name within the same exposition. Rouse, “Keeping up Appearances,” 154.

and even providing readers with complex glosses on the text.⁴⁸ There were far more rubrics than illuminations, but the former could sometimes serve as captions for the latter, thus helping the reader quickly identify the content of a miniature.

The Rouses have argued that lists of rubrics for the *Rose* likely travelled separately from copies of the text, lending even more variation to a text that circulated in multiple recensions.⁴⁹ They suggest that Richard or Jeanne may have used such lists as a means of communicating the specificities of a given commission to the scribe. By marking up a list, they could indicate which rubrics to include and where to leave space for the miniatures.⁵⁰ In a Montbaston *Rose* manuscript housed at the Cambridge University Library, the scribe noted the content of the rubrics (perhaps from a list) in the margins, so that they could be recopied into the body of the text later (Fig. 2.10). Most importantly for this study, rubrics helped Richard and Jeanne identify the subject matter of the imagery to be executed and decide in advance how much space was to be left for miniatures. The rubric's text may have allowed Richard and Jeanne to identify the theme of a passage without necessarily reading through the verses of the *Rose* – especially

⁴⁸ Nathalie Coilly provided a useful overview of the different forms rubrics could take with respect to the octosyllabic format of the poem. Some rubrics reveal an attempt to avoid disrupting the rhymed octosyllables (at the expense of the comprehensibility of the dialogue), while other rubrics prioritize clarity in the exchanges between characters. See Coilly, “La diffusion de *Roman de la rose* au Moyen Âge,” 139-41. Sylvia Huot has demonstrated that rubrics could be used to tailor the romance for a particular audience by calling attention to particular passages, or even promoting a certain interpretation of the open-ended text. I have yet to study if this is a possibility in the oeuvre of the Montbastons. See Huot, “The Scribe as Editor: Rubrication as Critical Apparatus in Two Manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*,” 67-78. On the other hand, Mary Rouse has argued that the placement of rubrics in many fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts was often random and that audiences simply expected large numbers of rubrics that added color to the page. See Rouse, “Keeping up Appearances,” 154.

⁴⁹ As evidence, the Rouses pointed to a list of rubrics found at the end of Florence Biblioteca Riccardiana 2755, a *Rose* manuscript that predates the work of the Montbastons. Interestingly, the text contained in the manuscript does not have any rubrics at all, which, to the Rouses, suggested, “The list had a life of its own.” See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 249-50.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*

important because the folios were not yet bound and the images were not necessarily painted in sequential order.⁵¹

Richard and Jeanne also seem to have occasionally included in the margins verbal notes about the composition of the image that were more specific than the rubrics could be.⁵² Most were erased before they ever reached the customer, and none appears in a *Rose* manuscript, but the Rouses have found a couple, including a note in a *Bible historiale*: “a church and a man, Paul, who gives a book to those who are at the entrance of the church.”⁵³ While notes like this are typically understood as an indication of the presence of an overseer, here it is no less possible that this was a reminder written by Richard for his own use.⁵⁴

Sketches in the margins were commonly used to speed up the process of illumination.⁵⁵ BnF fr. 802, a manuscript with thirty-five miniatures attributed to Jeanne, is the only copy of the *Rose* in the Montbastons’ oeuvre containing sketches. The illuminator herself likely executed these 22 preparatory drawings, which may have served as mnemonic devices to remind her of the subject matter and composition needed in each miniature.⁵⁶ In a scenario reminiscent of that proposed by Blamires and Holian with

⁵¹ The Rouses discussed this as a possibility but focused on how the illuminators sometimes represented content that differed from the information the rubrics provided, which they saw as a “detachment” from the text. This will be discussed later in this chapter. See *ibid.*, 254-56.

⁵² The Rouses have remarked that verbal notes may have also appeared in the space of the picture, but are not visible with the naked eye. See *ibid.*, 250.

⁵³ Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 21, fol. 219r. Translation and transcription by Rouse and Rouse. *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ In 1908, Henri Martin suggested that these notes were typically written by a master illuminator for lesser artists in the shop. Henri Martin, *Les miniaturistes français* (Paris: H. Leclerc, 1906), 99-115. Branner, however suggested that it was common practice for workshop masters to leave marginal notes for themselves. Robert Branner, “The ‘Soissons Bible’ Paintshop in Thirteenth-Century Paris,” *Speculum* 44 (1969), 13-34.

⁵⁵ For in-depth discussions of the possible functions of these sketches, see Alexander, “Preliminary Marginal Drawings in Medieval Manuscripts,” 307-20; Alison Stones, “Indications écrites et modèles picturaux, guides aux peintres de manuscrits enluminés aux environs de 1300,” in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vol. 3 (Paris: 1990), 321-49.

⁵⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 250.

regard to *Rose* manuscripts in general, it is possible that Jeanne made the sketches based on a manuscript exemplar to which she had access for only a short amount of time, which she either borrowed or viewed in someone's residence.⁵⁷ However, considering the wide range of image cycles in the Montbaston oeuvre, the sketches could have been improvised, with Jeanne, drawing on experience, laying out for herself the compositions she would include in each instance.

As noted by both Kuhn and the Rouses, the sketches in BnF fr. 802 are remarkably efficient, sometimes consisting of only a few deft lines conveying the substance of a composition.⁵⁸ On fol. 14v, for example, a simplified sketch in the lower margins seems to be based on the rubric "Comme l'amant fet homage a amours." The sketch more specifically reminds the artist to create a representation of the lover paying homage to the God of Love in a particular way: two ovals pressed together indicate two kissing figures. Simple details specify type of character: three spokes emerging from the oval on the left suggest the crown of the God of Love, while a curved line attached to oval on the right suggest a male figure's hairstyle (Fig. 2.11).⁵⁹ From these simple visual cues, Jeanne was able to fill in the remaining details of the scene when proceeding to the next step.

Thus, on the basis of rubrics, verbal notes, preliminary sketches, or some combination of all three, Jeanne, Richard, or an assistant could undertake the work of illumination. In some cases at least, they would create an underdrawing. An unfinished miniature in BL Harley 4903, a copy of the *Sept sages de Rome* illuminated by Jeanne,

⁵⁷ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxxii.

⁵⁸ For Kuhn's discussion of these sketches, see Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 61-62.

⁵⁹ The Rouses describe a very similar sketch on fol. 139v. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 250.

allows us to see what an underdrawing in a Montbaston *Rose* probably looked like (Fig. 2.12).⁶⁰ The ink drawing provides the outlines of three figures with shields on horseback as well as background elements – architectural structures and trees.⁶¹ Next came the application of gold leaf, applied over gesso, of which we can see traces in Harley 4903. In Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts, gold was used, sometimes lavishly, whether to produce elaborate architectural frames, as seen in Arsenal 3338, or to create shimmering backgrounds that are entirely metallic, as seen in Morgan M.503 (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14). Following this, the illuminators would add washes of color to individual portions of the image, using the underdrawing as a guide.⁶² They tended to paint the miniature color by color, laying down of the elements rendered in one hue before moving on to the next. In BnF fr. 241, Richard’s *Golden Legend*, the artist evidently used a verbal notation to mark what colors should be used where (e.g. *a* for *azure*).⁶³ Like the notes regarding the iconography of the miniatures, those about color were probably made at the outset. After adding color to the images, the Montbastons could add their signature energetic outlines, lively detailed elements, and decorative patterns to fill out the scenes. The bifolia were then stacked into quires, eight leaves to a standard gathering, and bound, the binding commensurate with the wealth of the patron.

⁶⁰ Ross, “Methods of Book-Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, BL Ms. Royal 19.D.I),” 71.

⁶¹ While illuminators working on more intricate compositions tended to render preliminary drawings in graphite or hard point before finalizing the drawing in ink, the Montbastons may have been able to skip this step, especially when executing scenes that were particularly familiar, such as those in *Rose* manuscripts. It is also possible that the marginal drawings helped the illuminator move directly to ink. For an explanation the typical method of moving from graphite to ink, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 40.

⁶² For a more detailed account of this step, see Chap. 2 of *ibid.*, 39-47.

⁶³ *Ibid.* On the notes in BnF fr. 241 in particular, see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 251. On notes communicating the intended color of the miniatures to the illuminator, see Stones, “Indications écrites et modèles picturaux,” 330, fig. 16. On methods for specifying non-iconographical elements in general, see Marie-Thérèse Gousset and Patricia Stirnemann, “Indications de couleur dans les manuscrits médiévaux (Colloque international du C.N.R.S.),” in *Pigments et colorants de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris: Diffusion, Presses du CNRS, 1990), 189-98.

The Visual Logic of Morgan M.503

The structure of the *Roman de la rose* did not provide obvious places to insert images: there were neither regular chapter divisions nor standardized headings in the form of rubrics. Both Guillaume de Lorris and his continuator Jean de Meun wrote from the point of view of a protagonist who moved continuously through space and engaged in lengthy discussions with other characters. There were long ruminations, especially in the second part, and stories within stories. The Montbastons, like their predecessors and successors, inserted miniatures at various points in the text, especially when the story transitioned from the voice of one character to another, or at the beginning of a new tale, or at any significant turning point in the narrative. Though it is impossible to discover any standardized or even core pictorial cycle in *Rose* manuscripts produced by the Montbastons, certain scenes do recur. Morgan Library, M.503 (c. 1350) with twenty-nine miniatures painted by Jeanne in the workshop's typical style includes many of the images that were used most frequently. Large in scale, measuring 30.0 x 21.0 cm, it follows that the images are each quite large, the frontispiece measuring about 15.0 cm x 14.5 cm (Fig. 2.14). At this size, the illumination's rich reds and blues, as well as the black outlines of the figures and drapery, have strong visual impact; it may be that the manuscript was intended to be read aloud to a group. An analysis of the logic behind the placement of images in this one manuscript with a mid-range number of miniatures provides concrete insights into the representational problems common to all *Rose* manuscripts, setting the stage for an exploration of the range of pictorial variation in the Montbaston corpus. This, in turn, provides essential information for assessing the nature of later innovations.

Every *Rose* manuscript readily divides into two sections of unequal length: Guillaume de Lorris' text is around 4000 lines in length while Jean de Meun's, at about 18,000 lines, is roughly four and half times as long. Nonetheless, in M.503, sixteen images accompany Guillaume's part while thirteen accompany Jean's: the ratio, as we will see, would change later in the century. Typically illuminated *Rose* manuscripts open with a large frontispiece, which in Montbaston manuscripts almost always occupies half of the folio (Fig. 2.14); Jean's section opens with a column-width author portrait (Fig. 2.30).

The Montbastons developed four types of frontispiece to stand impressively at the head of the text and to introduce the principal narrative thread, in which the lover (l'amant), in a dream, finds himself on a quest for a rose.⁶⁴ The most complex type was used for the oversized M.503. It is a four-part frontispiece that was designed to be read from left to right, top to bottom. Jeanne painted the opening scene in the upper left-hand corner, showing the lover dreaming in bed. Behind him she painted an incongruous rose bush, a device pointing ahead to the future object of his affection, and beside it she placed the labeled character Dangier (Danger), who much later emerges as the guardian of the rose (line 3020).⁶⁵ Jeanne then depicted three scenes episodes that follow rapidly upon one another in the narrative. In the upper right corner the protagonist wakes within his dream and, sitting on the edge of his bed and in strict accord with the text, laces his shoes before setting out on his journey. Below, he walks along a stream lined with rows of trees and chirping birds. In the last scene, he encounters the exterior wall of the Garden of

⁶⁴ The four types of frontispieces are described later in this chapter.

⁶⁵ Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 20. Despite the fact that he thought the representation of these elements at the outset of the text primitive, Alfred Kuhn acknowledged that this composition pointed to some of the main aspects of the lover's journey in a very compact manner.

Love, enclosing the courtly world wherein his quest will unfold. Below the image is the first rubric in the manuscript, inscribed in red: “Here is the Roman de la rose / which contains the entirety of the art of love” (“Ce est li romans de la rose / ou l’art d’amours est toute enclose”).⁶⁶ The rubric, both lines drawn from the poem, is just one of the many headings in the manuscript that provided readers with a framework for locating themselves in the text and furnished painters with subject matter.⁶⁷

Another rubric on the following folio, “Hate portrayed” (“Hayne pourtraite”), introduces the first in a series of images visualizing the lover’s encounter with the vices sculpted on the wall enclosing the garden: these are described as *ymages* illustrating states of mind inimical to courtly love.⁶⁸ Every Montbaston manuscript contains a cycle of the vices. The miniatures constitute a large portion of the total number in any given manuscript, and it is not unusual to see three or four miniatures per opening. In M.503, eight illuminations – half the total number of miniatures accompanying Guillaume’s section – visualize these *ymages*, each of them announced by a rubric.⁶⁹ The term *ymage* was used refer to any number of forms of representation, including painting, sculpture, or relief; Guillaume’s description of the images as both “carved” and “painted” suggests that the reader was to imagine a niche sculpture or work in high or low relief.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Transcriptions of the rubrics are provided in CORSAIR, the online catalog of The Morgan Library, <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/>, last accessed on July 27, 2014. I have consulted them here and note when my own observations lead to a different conclusion. Thomas Maranda generously offered feedback on my translations. All mistakes, of course, are my own.

⁶⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 37-38; trans. Dahlberg, 31.

⁶⁸ The standard reference on the representations of the vices is Ménard, “Les Représentations des vices,” 177-90. For a more recent take on the subject, see Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 41-63.

⁶⁹ The term “ymage” could refer to different types of objects, with modern scholars proposing definitions ranging from “likeness” to “statue.” See dictionary entry for “image” in Alan Hindley, Frederick Langley, and Brian Levy, in *Old French-English Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁷⁰ Ménard has argued that the use of the term “pointures” in line 134 suggested that, for Guillaume, the vices were paintings. Ménard, “Les Représentations des vices,” 178. Fleming noted that Guillaume describes the images as both sculpted and painted. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 33. The term “entaillé”

Jeanne rendered these sculpted vices as she would any other living personification in the romance. She did nothing to suggest that she was aiming for a representation of a representation, but she went beyond many of the poem's suggestions in order to more effectively convey the distinct quality of a given vice by visual means. Following well-established norms, on six successive pages she expressed the character of the personifications in question through their actions as much as attributes. On fol. 2r, the figure of Hayne (Hate) raises both hands and gazes at a young woman within a crenellated tower, an inventive visualization of the vice's quarrelsome nature (Fig. 2.15). Below, on the same page, Vilenie (Villainy) kicks a kneeling servant who offers her a goblet (Fig. 2.16). Convoitise (Covetousness) hoards pieces of gold plate in a chest, an action that undoubtedly also served to illustrate the related vice of Avarice (Avarice), whose textual description follows but was not pictured in this manuscript (Fig. 2.17). Jeanne represented the character of Envie (Envy) as a woman wearing a coverchief, staring resentfully at a young couple engaged in a tender embrace (Fig. 2.18). In the case of Tristece (Sadness), she adhered to the actions described by Guillaume, who explains that Sadness is so miserable she pulls her hair and tears at her dress (Fig. 2.19). The vice's flowing pink robe is in a state of disarray, falling off of her shoulders. Next, Viellesse (Old Age), wearing a cloak, is shown steadying herself on two crutches and warming herself by a fire (Fig. 2.20). In line with the text's suggestion that Papelardie (Hypocrisy) feigns her faith to God by carrying a psalter, Jeanne represented the figure

in line 132 evokes the sense of a three-dimensional object, but it is unclear whether it describes the *ymages* or the inscriptions that identify them. Blamires and Holian aptly noted that the two terms are not mutually exclusive: reliefs and sculptures were usually painted. Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 41-42. Their representational status is indeterminate in the text and rarely referenced in the individual portraits of the vices. In some later manuscripts – such as Douce 195 and BUV 387 – however, illuminators represent the figures as sculptures on pedestals.

with an open book, kneeling before an altar (Fig. 2.21). Lastly, on fol. 4v, Povrete (Poverty) sits bare-chested upon a grassy mound, in a manner reminiscent of representations of Job on his dunghill (Fig. 2.22).⁷¹ Jeanne here adds a character, representing a young man walking up to the figure and presenting her with a coin; it has been suggested that this action signifies the act of giving alms.⁷² In a text that does not give many cues to illuminators, Guillaume's highly descriptive ekphrases – eight discrete descriptions of artworks – provided natural breaks for the inclusion of miniatures.⁷³

Jeanne's logic is clear: after launching the narrative in the frontispiece, which ends with an image of the lover outside the garden wall, she proceeded through the catalogue of miniatures representing images of the vices. She then painted a number of images that highlight moments in the lover's passage into the world of courtly love as he enters the garden. On fol. 5v, she represented Oiseuse (Leisure / Idleness), talking to the lover ("Comment Oiseuse parole a l'amant") and holding a key, a detail that is not described in the text but points to her action of opening the garden gate (Fig. 2.23). On fol. 6v, the rubric reading "The carol of the God of Love represented here" ("La karole au dieu d'amours pourtraite") prompted Jeanne to depict the first scene described as taking place inside the garden. The God of Love and several young couples dance merrily in a circle to the sounds of the bagpipe (Fig. 2.24). This cheerful image resonates with the lover's remarks upon first seeing the spectacle, "No man born ever saw such beautiful

⁷¹ The similarity between representations of Povrete and medieval renderings of Job is also noted by Blamires and Holian. See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 61.

⁷² On the various ways of representing Povrete in the fourteenth century – including the figure warming her hands or eating small bits of food – see Ménard, "Les Représentations des vices," 178. Also see Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 62.

⁷³ Stephen Nichols was perhaps the first to introduce the critical category of ekphrasis in an examination of the workings of text and image in this section. He argued that the textual descriptions of the vices and their accompanying illuminations "dramatize the paragone of text and image," and called attention to the fact that images of the vices were virtually never direct illustrations of verbal descriptions. Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire," 152.

people.”⁷⁴ The Montbastons liked to include images of Oiseuse and the dance, though they would insert Oiseuse with rubric at slightly different points in the text.

Like the vast majority of Montbaston manuscripts, M.503 contains a high concentration of images that visualize how the lover came to fall in love with the rose.⁷⁵ The first of these depicts the plight of the mythological figure Narcissus, identified by the rubric “How Narcissus saw himself in the fountain” (“Comment narcissus se mire en la fontaine”) (Fig. 2.25). In his dream wanderings, the lover stumbles upon the very fountain in which the beautiful young man had become entranced with his own image, and this causes him to relay the tragic tale. Jeanne visualized this story within the story and depicted Narcissus’ experience: a reclining young man with wavy yellow curls gazes into a pool of water at a mirror image of himself. In the poem, the lover goes on to explain that when he himself gazed into Narcissus’ fountain he saw not his own reflection but crystal stones that appeared like mirrors, revealing the entirety of the garden “as if it were painted in detail.”⁷⁶ The crystals revealed reflections of beautiful rosebushes, prompting him to seek out the actual flowers and single out the loveliest bud. The rest of the romance follows the lover’s quest to obtain this rose. Four Montbaston manuscripts (Ms M.503, Chantilly 664, Chantilly 665, and Arsenal 3338) contain only one miniature, illustrating the point in the text where author recounts the mythological figure’s fate, often with a rubric specifying that the image represents Narcissus. In five manuscripts (Arsenal Ms. 5226, CUL Gg.IV.6, BnF fr. 19156, BnF fr. 802, and BnF fr. 25526) the

⁷⁴ “Si beles genz ne vit on nez.” *Roman de la rose*, line 726; trans. Dahlberg, 40.

⁷⁵ Even less fully illuminated Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts have at least two images that visualize the process of the lover falling in love. Walters W.143, which has a large number of miniatures (forty-two), is an exception: this portion of the text only has one illumination. Instead, the latter portion of Guillaume’s text receives more images. For a thorough description of Walters W.143, see Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 174-75.

⁷⁶ “Con s’ele iert es cristaus portraite” *Roman de la rose*, line 1570; trans. Dahlberg, 51.

illuminator included two nearly identical miniatures of a young man before the fountain, one with a rubric identifying the figure as Narcissus, the other as the lover. These images occur at a key juncture in the text, the moment when the purpose of the quest is revealed, and indicate that Jeanne was consciously using images to emphasize crucial points in the plotline of the romance.

Jeanne then went on to portray further episodes necessary for the reader to follow the main action. First, she represented the lover's initial encounters with the God of Love, a figure who rules over the Garden and helps guide the lover on his journey. In a vivid image on fol. 12v, she depicted the God of Love shooting an arrow into the lover's eye, an act that occurred in the dream the instant after the lover had singled out the garden's most beautiful rose as his beloved (Fig. 2.26). In a passage sometimes used by art historians to demonstrate the importance of sight to conceptions of courtly love, the lover explains that the arrow had traveled directly from his eye to his heart, making him loyal to the God's cause.⁷⁷ Captivated by the beauty of the rose, he is consumed with a desire to obtain it. In an image on fol. 14v, Jeanne then showed the lover paying homage to the God of Love, winged and wearing an ermine lined mantle, indicative of his high status (Fig. 2.27). The two men engage in a ritual kiss that signifies the lover's surrender to the God of Love as his vassal.⁷⁸ This is followed on fol. 20v, with a miniature showing the lover's first sight of the rose. The figure of Bel Acueil (Fair Welcoming) stands before a rose bush and presents the single flower to the lover, who extends his hand (Fig. 2.28). In the text, Bel Acueil is gendered as male, but Jeanne represented the character as a female

⁷⁷ See, for instance, Camille, *Medieval Art of Love*, 39; Stoichita, *Pygmalion Effect*, 27.

⁷⁸ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 77-78. Also see Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 256.

figure, a disjunction between text and image that is common throughout the tradition.⁷⁹ In the course of the romance, Bel Acueil signifies the lover's access to the rose: the closing image in Guillaume's section shows her locked away in the castle of Jealousy, who had seized her, preventing any amorous trysts: Bel Acueil's head is seen through a window of a crenellated tower with doors (Fig. 2.29). The rest of the plot, as it unfolds in Jean's continuation, is loosely structured around the lover's quest to obtain her.

In Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts generally, there is more variation to be seen in the image cycle in the later portion of Guillaume's text than in the opening sequences. The illuminators sometimes included additional miniatures showing the lover talking to other characters, such as Ami (Friend), Franchise (Frankness), and Pitie (Pity); the most standard elements are Narcissus and the God of Love.⁸⁰ But in M.503, Jeanne focused on episodes that were essential for understanding the broader narrative framework, especially those crucial moments affecting the relationship between the lover and the rose. This set up the romance as an allegorical quest and informed the reader's experience of Jean's continuation.

Different pictorial strategies were called for when it came to provide images for the far lengthier section owed to Jean, whose exposition is less narrative, with more digressions from the main storyline in the form of speeches delivered by various

⁷⁹ The pronoun "il" is used throughout the text in reference to Bel Acueil. Both Rosemund Tuve and John Fleming have examined images of the Bel Acueil in Douce 364, where the figure is sometimes male and sometimes female. Tuve argued that the artist misunderstood the nature of character, interpreting it to literally be a woman – the object of the lover's affections – rather than a psychological state. Reluctant to interpret unusual iconography as a mistake, Fleming understood the representations to "show an extraordinary sensitivity to the psychological abstraction of Fair Welcome which, after all, embraces a spectrum ranging from the shy friendliness of a schoolgirl to the 'come hither' of a practiced siren." While I do not think the illuminators were necessarily so much engaged with the allegorical subtleties of the text, I would argue that the fact that Bel Acueil is represented in different ways points to the fact that the character's identity was difficult to pin down. See Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 322-23; Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose*, 43-45.

⁸⁰ Walters W.143 is the exception. In the opening sequence of images, Jeanne does not include the episodes with the God of Love and Bel Acueil described above.

characters whom the lover encounters. A rubric and an image sufficed to signal to the reader that the following pages were the work of a different writer.⁸¹ On fol. 28r, the rubric reads “Here begins the romance of master Jean de Meun, and he saw it through to the end” (“Ci commence le romans mestre jehan de meun et le parfist jusque la fin”). In the author portrait on fol. 28v, Jeanne represented the author as a tonsured cleric sitting at his lectern before an open book, with a pen in one hand and a pen knife in the other (Fig. 2.30). In all but two manuscripts the Montbastons inserted an author portrait at this juncture.⁸² The first narrative image is that of Raison (Reason), who leaves her tower to advise the distraught lover (Fig. 2.31). This is the first of many images that marks the beginning of a speech.⁸³ In her exceptionally long exposition, Raison urges the lover to abstain from the pursuit of material and carnal pleasures, and the Montbastons often included miniatures of some of the more readily visualizable exempla in her speech. On fol. 34r, for instance, Jeanne depicted the Wheel of Fortune, a trope Raison uses to remind the lover of the instability of worldly success and wealth (Fig. 2.32). The scene appears in at least eight Montbaston manuscripts; the subject matter may have more easily lent itself to illustration because it had an established iconography in other contexts, including manuscripts of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, the sixth-

⁸¹While there has been much literary debate about the perceived relationship between these two texts in the Middle Ages, as Blamires and Holian noted, “Illuminated manuscripts enforce with rubrics and author-portraits what the narrative itself does not here disclose – the junction between Guillaume’s and Jean’s parts of the poem.” See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxi. David Hult has argued that the author portrait of Jean de Meun emphasizes the dual authorship of the work. See Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First “Roman de la Rose”*, 74-93. Lori Walters conducted a survey of 91 manuscripts created before 1400 and determined that two-thirds of the group contained some type of author portrait. She also discussed some of the variations of this type of image. See Walters, “Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*,” 359-73.

⁸²Two Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts (Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Kunstakademie A.B. 142 and Walters W.143) do not include author portraits of Jean de Meun, and do not mark the change of author in any way.

⁸³Blamires and Holian described these miniatures in Jean de Meun’s portion as “conversation” images. Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxi.

century text in which the motif originated, and which Jean de Meun translated into French.⁸⁴

A miniature on fol. 49v signals the beginning of another character's speech, that of Ami (Friend) (Fig. 2.33). Ami offers the lover counsel, instilling hope that Bel Accueil will eventually be released, and directs him on a path to Jealousy's Castle. Ami also relays a cautionary tale about the trials of marriage through an imagined speech delivered by the figure Jalous (Jealous Husband) to his wife. This speech-within-a-speech contains anecdotes, sometimes illustrated by the Montbastons, about the difficulties and frustrations of marriage from the perspective of a jealous husband. Jeanne illustrated those scenes that contain more dramatic, violent action and were thus, perhaps, more easily representable and more likely to seize readers' attention. An image on fol. 58v, for instance, portrays Lucretia, who kills herself after being raped by the son of a king; the story is used to illustrate the impossibility of guarding one's wife from other men who desire her (Fig. 2.34).⁸⁵ An image on fol. 63r marks the point at which the text transitions back to the voice of Ami, who describes how Jalous violently beat his wife (Fig. 2.35). Jalous is shown grabbing his spouse and raising a club, ready to strike, while the neighbors attempt to rescue her from his grasp. We can see a pattern emerging in these illuminations. Jeanne used images to help the reader make out the complicated structure of the text: the stories she illustrated are nested within longer speeches, which themselves are contained within the larger narrative of the romance.

⁸⁴ On images of the Wheel of Fortune, and their close relationship to representations of the Wheel of Life, see Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 144-51. Jean translated the *Consolation of Philosophy* into French (*Li livres de confort de philosophie*) soon after completing the *Roman de la rose*. For this text, see ed. V. L. Dedeck-Héry, "Boethius' *De Consolatione* by Jean de Meun," *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952), 165-275.

⁸⁵ Lucretia is represented as a male figure, perhaps because the rubric did not specify the figure's gender. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 255-56. This image is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

The next two miniatures mark the transition back to the allegorical narrative from Ami's digression and signal the appearance of a new speaker, Faux Semblant (False Seeming), a character who deceptively dresses like a friar to mask his true malicious nature. Along with his female companion, Contreinte Atenance (Constrained Abstinence), Faux Semblant pledges his services to the God of Love (Fig. 2.36). In a particularly violent image on fol. 83v, the seated Faux Semblant, here represented as a nun, cuts the off the tongue of Malebouche (Foul Mouth), a guard of Jealousy's Castle (Fig. 2.37). The miniature again is used to mark a turning point in the narrative: after Malebouche is defeated, Love's Army is one step closer to reaching Bel Accueil.

On fol. 101v, Jeanne – prone to seizing on violent imagery – visualized the attack against the guards of the castle: a chaotic group of men, some armored and some not, raise their swords in every direction (Fig. 2.38). In the text, members of the God of Love's army go head-to-head with each guard individually, with Franchise (Openness) first encountering Dangier (Resistance). Rather than representing each individual fight, Jeanne painted a single battle scene at the beginning of the description of the conflict. The text explains that Love's army suffered great losses during the siege, prompting him to send messengers to the goddess Venus to enlist her aid.

Another character is introduced, and a miniature was deemed necessary. Nature overhears Venus swearing an oath to help Love's army and promptly begins her own long speech that delays the narrative action. This turn is signaled by an unfinished image on fol. 106r where Nature is shown at her forge holding a stone that has the proportions of the human form (Fig. 2.39). The language of the rubric marks the moment as a digression "Here the author speaks about Nature, who is at her forge, and her works" ("Ci

devise l'auteur de nature qui est en sa forge et de ses oeuvres"). In the poem, Nature, speaking to her priest, Genius, laments humanity's lack of interest in perpetuating the species through procreation.

Jeanne again introduced a miniature at the beginning of the speech of Genius, who, alarmed by Nature's comments, flies to Love's army to preach the importance of reproduction. A miniature on fol. 129r marks the beginning of his sermon, where the character also reviews the central points in the romance's narrative (Fig. 2.40). In the image, Genius speaks from his pulpit to a group of eager young listeners in the hope of inspiring them in their fight to unite the lover with the rose. Then Venus takes the stage, prompting Jeanne to include another image, this time not showing the speaker herself but referring to a long passage that delays the romance at the height of its narrative momentum. Just before Venus and her followers storm the castle, the goddess compares the beauty of a statue on the castle wall to that of Pygmalion's creation, prompting the lover to recount the ancient myth. On f. 137v Pygmalion is represented as an artist at work, carving his sculpture (Fig. 2.41).⁸⁶ While the text tells the story as a series of episodes – the act of making the sculpture, Pygmalion's attempts to bring it to life, and the goddess Venus vivifying the statue – Jeanne created a single image that efficiently refers to all of these moments at once. As the sculptor uses a mallet and chisel to chip away at a block of stone, his creation is seen already coming to life: her raised hand, open eyes, and colored hair and clothing all signal her animation with Venus's aid.

The final image Jeanne painted in this manuscript represents the beginning of a successful siege: Venus aims her fiery bow at the castle of Jealousy, which is depicted

⁸⁶ On the different ways of representing Pygmalion at work in fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts, see Egbert, "Pygmalion as Sculptor," 20-33. On the various ways that artists represented the sculpture transforming from stone to living figure, see Stoichita, *Pygmalion Effect*, 29-54.

ablaze (Fig. 2.42). The artist's inclusion of a woman and child beside the castle may refer to the procreative act that can take place once the lover has finally obtained his beloved. A thinly veiled allegorical passage describing the protagonist's sexual encounter with the rose closes the romance. Jeanne did not represent this episode and few did. Most illuminators chose to end the tale with an image of Pygmalion and/or Venus with her arrow. Perhaps, as Michael Camille suggested, a visual representation seemed too explicit to medieval illuminators.⁸⁷

The pictorial cycle in M.503 offers one means of following of the choices the Montbastons made when constructing and executing an image cycle. Jeanne is seen to have included images to mark the opening of each section, key junctures in the narrative, changes in speaking voice, and especially violent scenes of action. While the manuscript is useful for introducing a range of image "types" typically employed by Richard and Jeanne, it cannot be considered standard. The number of illuminations in Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts, as noted above, ranges from sixteen to fifty-one, and only the frontispiece and images of the vices were considered requisite elements.⁸⁸ Read in sequence, each set of images tells a slightly different tale.

Variations in Image Cycles

Images in the corpus of *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by the Montbastons do not lend themselves to broad generalizations. Even pictorial cycles containing a similar number of images do not emphasize the same points in the text, the divergences being especially great in Jean de Meun's continuation. It is possible, however, to note some of

⁸⁷ Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 325.

⁸⁸ The Rouses noted that BnF fr. 24389 only has one illumination, but the manuscript in fact has twenty-one, including a half-page frontispiece. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 243.

the larger patterns in the concentration of images that carry across the majority of the manuscripts. In what follows, I draw on work I have conducted charting the distribution of images in the Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts, data which I present in Appendix B.

A couple of episodes are always pictured. All of the manuscripts have frontispieces illustrating, at the very least, the protagonist as a lover dreaming in bed. The series of images illustrating the vices also appears in every manuscript, with some variation in the vices included. Richard and Jeanne almost always represent either Felonie (Violence) and Vilenie, but rarely both.⁸⁹ After this point, they typically insert narrative images at pivotal moments in the plot, many of which we have seen in Morgan M.503. These include miniatures of Oiseuse and the Lover, the “Carole” of dancing figures, Narcissus and/or the Lover at the fountain, the God of Love shooting the Lover with his arrow, and the Lover paying homage to the God of Love. These scenes are relatively fixed in the corpus.

After this point in Guillaume’s text, there is much more variation in the pictorial cycle. Blamires and Holian have noted with regard to *Rose* manuscripts in general, “a profusely illustrated manuscript might do little more than multiply ‘talk’ scenes, B speaking to C, X advising Y, C rebuking X.”⁹⁰ This statement generally holds true with regard to the Monbaston copies: in manuscripts with more images, the illuminators tended to multiply the number of images of characters in conversation. The artist might include characters little featured, such as Malebouche, Franchise, and Pitie, or introduce characters who will play a larger role in Jean’s portion, such as Raison. Despite the prevalence of this type of image, there is little correspondence between the number of

⁸⁹ Only Madrid, BNE 10032 includes both Felonie and Vilenie.

⁹⁰ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxi.

miniatures a manuscript has and what images are included; there is no baseline to which the Montbastons added optional scenes. Episodes that do make a repeat appearance, present in at least four of the seventeen manuscripts, include: the God of Love “securing the lover’s heart”⁹¹ by locking it with a key, Bel Acueil speaking to the lover, Dangier confronting Bel Acueil, Raison and the lover, Ami counseling the lover, Dangier warning the lover, Ami comforting the lover, Franchise and Pitie appealing to Dangier on the lover’s behalf, and Jalousie arguing with Bel Acueil. Other episodes are only illuminated once or twice in the entire corpus, including Malebouche spreading rumors about Bel Acueil and the Lover kissing Bel Acueil. Through such images, often marking points in the text where the character begins to speak, the reader was able to come by a fuller picture of the rich array of characters in the allegory. At the end of Guillaume’s section, the Montbastons were more consistent: in nine manuscripts they included an image of Honte (Shame) and Paor (Fear) approaching Dangier; in ten they included a concluding miniature of Jalousie building the castle where she will imprison Bel Acueil. It is possible that they wanted to bring the section some closure with this image that set up nicely for Jean’s continuation, which follows the lover’s quest to free Bel Acueil and obtain the rose.

While some patterns can be discovered in the image cycles accompanying Jean’s lengthier text, there is considerably more variation. As noted above, all but two manuscripts begin with an author portrait of Jean, similar to the composition adopted in M.503. But this conformity is the exception: no other image appears in more than nine manuscripts of the seventeen analyzed here. The most frequently illustrated episodes, present in at least seven manuscripts, include: the Wheel of Fortune, Ami speaking to the

⁹¹ I borrow this title for the scene from Blamires and Holian. See *ibid.*, 78-79.

Lover, Jalous beating his wife, the Lover asking Richesse for directions, the Lover and the God of Love, Faux Semblant cutting off the tongue of Malebouche, the battle against the guards of the castle, Nature at her forge, and Pygmalion finding his *ymage* alive. Nine manuscripts have at least one scene from the tale of Pygmalion, with five illustrating the artist at work carving his masterpiece.⁹² In addition to regularly including scenes with a long tradition of illumination, such as the Wheel of Fortune, both Richard and Jeanne show a preference for scenes of violent action, such as the battle between the barony of Love and the guards of the castle.⁹³

Episodes from Jean's section that are infrequently visualized can be placed into a small number of categories. The Montbastons often added representations of characters in conversation that signaled a change in speaker; several of these types appear in at least four manuscripts, including illuminations located at the beginning of Nature's speech and Genius' sermon. Richard and Jeanne also represented mythological exempla (stories within stories), though none become standard, each appearing in two to four manuscripts. These include the suicides of Lucretia and Dido, whose stories only occupied a few lines in the text. Their presence might indicate a particular patron's taste for the ancient story or the illuminators' own taste for representing violent episodes. A few unusual episodes occur in only one or two Montbaston copies; one of particular interest is an image accompanying Jean de Meun's address to the future critics. In Arsenal 3338 and BnF fr.

⁹² The following manuscripts have images of Pygmalion at work: BnF fr. 802, BnF fr. 19156, BnF fr. 25526, Morgan 503, and Walters W.143. On the appearance of medieval representations of Pygmalion in manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose* and the *Ovide moralisé* see Egbert, "Pygmalion as Sculptor," 20-33.

⁹³ Meredith McMunn aptly pointed out that the whole structure of the text is one of chivalry and battle, including the references to a feudal structure at the beginning of the romance. McMunn, "In Love and War," 165. McMunn used her extensive knowledge of *Rose* manuscripts to discuss violent scenes that sometimes receive illustration. In addition to her observations and conjectures about reasons behind the prevalence of violent imagery, I believe that artists working in a narrative mode may have simply been more accustomed to representing action scenes.

25526 he is seen gesturing to a group of three figures, two men and a woman, speaking in his own defense (Fig. 2.43). This seems prescient: the Querelle that would break out at the end of the century focused on Jean's continuation.

When comparing the pictorial cycles of the entire Montbaston corpus, however, one common feature emerges (App. B): there are always more images accompanying Guillaume's portion of the text, even though it is much shorter.⁹⁴ The Montbastons included anywhere from fourteen to twenty-seven images in this section, the average being twenty-one.⁹⁵ In Jean's section, the number of miniatures ranged from one to twenty-seven, the average being only ten. Albi BM Rohegude 103, Lyon BM 23, BnF fr. 24389, and Arsenal Ms. 5226, for instance, have between fourteen and twenty-three miniatures accompanying Guillaume's portion, while only one or two accompany Jean's, which occupies around five times the number of folios. Despite this common aspect, the relative density of illuminations in the two sections could vary considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts with a number of miniatures in the middle range (between 23 and 31), including Morgan M.503, Chantilly 664 and BnF fr. 802, have a similar number of images in each section. Others – such as CUL Gg.IV.6, BnF fr.19156, and Bibliothek der Kunstakademie A.B. 142– have between three and four times the number of images in Guillaume's section. The only manuscript where Jean's text is given a greater number of miniatures is BnF fr. 25526. With the largest total

⁹⁴ Guillaume's section of the text may have received more illuminations because it had been in circulation longer, or as Meredith McMunn noted with regard to *Rose* manuscripts in general, the Montbastons may have included more images at the beginning because to make the manuscript "appear fuller" to the patron. *Ibid.*, 169.

⁹⁵ Nineteen manuscripts have been attributed to the Montbastons by Rouse, Rouse, and Gousset, but unless otherwise noted, the statistics in this section do not include the two mystery Sourget manuscripts. See n. 3 of this chapter.

number of miniatures and extensive marginal decoration on every folio, it is exceptional in almost every respect.⁹⁶

Richard and Jeanne hone in on scenes of action, taking place in both the larger framework of the allegory in the characters' speeches, as well as quieter scenes of conversation between figures. While the text itself, especially Jean's, has been likened to an encyclopedia in that it contains so much information on so many matters, things *happen* in the miniatures: the protagonist falls in love, people talk to one another, armies are formed, and sculptures come to life. In the more densely illuminated manuscripts of the group, the Montbastons show themselves able to create a coherent visual narrative existing alongside the text. This in itself seems significant and gives us some insight into why the Montbastons chose to illustrate certain passages, even if we cannot account for precise reasons behind variations in the image cycle.

It seems likely that Richard and Jeanne – as a libraires having decided to specialize in *Rose* manuscripts – determined the choice of rubrics for a particular manuscript themselves, the number of images having been decided in consultation with a given patron. As we have seen, the connections between images and rubrics are tight, and the rubrics served as cues as they illustrated the text. The alternative scenario, as suggested by the Rouses, is that lists of *Rose* rubrics circulated independently from the text and that libraires may have used them as an aid when arranging the commission with

⁹⁶ As noted in the introduction, the scholarship on the marginalia in this manuscript is extensive. See Sylvia Huot, "Vignettes marginales comme glose marginale dans un manuscrit du *Roman de la rose* au quatorzième siècle (BN fr. 25526)," in *La Présentation du livre (colloque Paris X-Nanterre, décembre 1985)*, ed. E. Baumgartner and N. Boulestreau (Centre de recherche du département de français de Paris X-Nanterre: Paris, 1987), 173-86; Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 273-322; Herman Braet, "Entre folie et raison: les drôleries du ms. B.N. fr. 25526," in *Risus Mediaevalis: Laughter in Medieval Literature and Art*, ed. Herman Braet, Guido Latré, and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 43-74; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 256-59.

patrons or their advisors.⁹⁷ The scenario implies a very erudite and engaged patron, one who knew the *Roman de la rose* quite intimately and would have been able to visualize scenes on the basis of a list of often vague rubrics that sometimes consisted only of the name of a character. It seems more likely that the patron in most cases would have relied on both the Montbastons' expertise and available models. Considering the popularity of the *Roman de la rose* at this moment, patrons may have suggested a general type of cycle and number of images based on manuscripts that they had seen before; there was likely a desire to keep up with and impress their friends and neighbors. Because they were a workshop that specialized in *Rose* manuscripts, it is also entirely possible that Richard and Jeanne had examples in house, loose leaves or entire manuscripts, and that they used these to confer with patrons about what elements they would like in their own volume.

A vexed question is the level of literacy of these and other illuminators of the day. The Rouses argue that the Montbastons had a "basic literacy in the vernacular," allowing that Richard (and sometimes Jeanne) frequently used the rubrics as cues, but suggesting that they were not necessarily aware of the nuances of the texts that they were illustrating.⁹⁸ They explain, "to be able to read is not the equivalent of being well read."⁹⁹ As evidence, they have called attention to the illuminators' errors, even when illustrating the *Roman de la rose*, a text which with they were presumably familiar. In Morgan 503, for instance, Jeanne renders the figure of Lucretia as a man rather than a woman: the

⁹⁷ Rouse and Rouse suggested that scribes were not necessarily copying from a text that already had integrated rubrics. Rather, they suggested that lists of rubrics circulated independently of vernacular texts and that the scribe integrated the rubrics himself according to the libraire's instructions. They noted the fact that many of the lists of rubrics that appear at the beginning of volumes, much like a table of contents, do not match the rubrics appearing within the text. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 249 and n. 49 of this chapter.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

rubric offered no gender cues.¹⁰⁰ In their defense, this rarely illustrated figure – appearing only two other times in their corpus (with the correct gender) – represents an unusual slip. It is also possible to focus on the inverse: relying on both the rubrics and their expertise illuminating in this genre, Richard and Jeanne not only guided readers to key turns in the story, but added iconographic elements where they found it necessary to help clarify the narrative.

***Rose* Frontispieces: Types and Precedents**

Scenes that are illustrated in almost all of the Montbaston manuscripts, inserted at the same points in the text and accompanied by rubrics that are almost identical, are not necessarily given exactly the same form. This is perhaps best demonstrated by analyzing the frontispieces of the manuscripts. The Montbastons rendered five types, four of which fit easily into the six groups of frontispieces identified by Alfred Kuhn in his study of *Rose* manuscripts, published in 1912.¹⁰¹ Kuhn created a classification based on his study of 111 manuscripts, which date from the earliest known illuminated copies produced at the end of the thirteenth century to the lavishly illuminated manuscripts from the end of the fifteenth century. Kuhn's classification of types is based on art historical criteria: where they fall on a spectrum ranging from symbolic to realistic modes of representation, defined by the degree to which images adhere to the actions as described in the opening lines of the text. Kuhn had a clear preference for the latter.¹⁰² Despite this bias, his classification does provide a means for tracking the types of frontispieces that were in

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 255-6.

¹⁰¹ Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans."

¹⁰² Kuhn used the term "symbolische" in his description of early frontispieces. For instance, see *ibid.*, 20, 22, 24. He used the term "realen" to reference the mode of illustration. *Ibid.*, 40.

circulation at a given moment.¹⁰³ According to his scheme, earlier types originated in northern France at the beginning of the tradition of *Rose* illumination and others were developed in mid-fourteenth century Parisian ateliers like that of the Montbastons. I use Kuhn's classification of the frontispieces as a starting point in order to explore the range of compositions found in the Montbaston corpus, and to analyze the sorts of precedents available to them as they embarked on their professional careers.

The least lavish Montbaston frontispiece is that found in Madrid, BNE Ms. 10032, which features a one-column miniature of the lover sleeping in bed, painted by Jeanne (Fig. 2.44). This belongs to Kuhn's Group I.¹⁰⁴ Kuhn explains that two of the earliest examples of this type discovered in are BnF fr. 378 and BnF fr. 1559, both dating to the 1290s and illuminated in northern France (Figs. 2.45 and 2.46).¹⁰⁵ As Kuhn notes, the type of composition has iconographical elements that point forward to the main aspects of the lover's quest – the protagonist, the antagonist, and the lover's goal – in a very compact scene, a device that we have already seen Jeanne use in Morgan M.503. Illuminators represented the lover in bed: his torso turns toward the viewer, and his head rests his right hand in front of a square pillow. While Kuhn draws connections between representations of the protagonist and those of the Virgin Mary lying in bed in representations of the Nativity, others have more convincingly argued that the pose had become widely accepted as a sign of dreaming.¹⁰⁶ Two other pictorial elements point

¹⁰³ Blamires and Holian have critiqued Kuhn's classification, noting the general sense that he attempted "to impose order on what is essentially an erratic phenomenon." Some compositions do not easily fit into his classification and probably warrant a separate group, such as a two-part frontispiece type that he mentioned in passing. Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 1; Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 48-50.

¹⁰⁴ Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 20-24.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 20-22. Dahlberg continued in the tradition of claiming an explicit connection to Nativity scenes. See Charles Dahlberg, "Love and the *Roman de la Rose*," *Speculum* 44 (1969), 78-81. Others have

forward. Behind the lover is a curving rosebush, which divides into two branches near the base before separating into smaller stems that end with a flowering rose. Kuhn likened the depiction to earlier representations of the Tree of Jesse, again a formal similarity that did not necessarily indicate a thematic connection between the two subjects.¹⁰⁷ At the foot of the bed is Dangier (Danger), an enemy who does not appear until line 3020. Kuhn argued that the premature appearance of this figure, and the use of compositions employed in the religious context, arose from the symbolic “mindset” of thirteenth-century illuminators, “following a tradition learned in the monasteries.”¹⁰⁸ It is more likely that the illuminators, accustomed to working on both secular and liturgical material, adapted religious iconography in this new context.¹⁰⁹

Working about fifty or sixty years after these first frontispieces were illustrated, Jeanne adopted the composition, leaving it largely unchanged, instead adding decorative components to update the type (Fig. 2.44). The relation of the three major elements is nearly identical to that seen in the earlier counterparts, and the frame, with alternating blue and red, closely resembles that in BnF fr. 1559. The only difference in placement is

convincingly argued that the posture was used to signify dreaming in any number of contexts. See Sixten Ringbom, “Some Pictorial Conventions for the Recounting of Thoughts and Experiences in Late Medieval Art,” in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. Flemming G. Anderson, et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), 38-69, p. 45; Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 34; Braet, “Le Roman de la rose, espace du regard,” 111-24, p. 120-21. It has also been suggested that the pose was similar to images of Boethius dreaming. See Ann W. Astell, “Visualizing Boethius’s *Consolation* as Romance,” in *New Directions in Boethian Studies*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor Jr. and Philip Edward Phillips (2007), 120-21.

¹⁰⁷ Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 22. Dahlberg argued that the iconography, with Christian overtones, carried moral significance. See Dahlberg, “Love and the *Roman de la Rose*,” 78-81. Blamires and Holian noted that, unlike the Tree of Jesse, the stalk of the rosebush does not sprout from the loins of the dreamer. Instead, they argued for a looser connection between the two iconographies, explaining that the rosebush “highlights the concept of growth and procreation itself.” Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 22.

¹⁰⁹ Alison Stones’ seminal work on secular illumination in France, which posits that images for liturgical works and romances were produced side-by-side, in the same workspace, continues to be relevant here. See Alison Stones, “Secular Manuscript Illumination in France,” in *Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism*, ed. C. Kleinhenz (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Symposia, 4, 1976), 83-102.

Dangier, who stands behind the bed, rather than at its foot. Other elements allude to Jean's efforts to create visual interest through the juxtaposition of colors: she adds white stripes to the coverlet, makes the pillow red, and paints the flower blossoms in alternating colors. The background of the image is gold, a costly addition. The least elaborate type of frontispiece, it was also the least popular in the workshop, appearing in only this one manuscript, suggesting that the Montbastons won clients by creating more impressive opening images.

Kuhn's Groups II and III are the least well circumscribed; he seems to place here frontispieces with iconography that simply did not fit easily into the groups of other types, which are more tidily aligned with his story of a developing interest in mirroring the textual narrative.¹¹⁰ Kuhn loosely characterized Group II, which originated c. 1330, as including a representation of the Garden, along with depictions of either the vices on the exterior walls or the courtly figures within.¹¹¹ The type does not make an appearance in the Montbaston workshop. But two manuscripts illuminated by the workshop – BnF fr. 802 and KBR 9576, painted by Jeanne and Richard respectively – fall into Kuhn's Group III. He found the earliest example of this type in BnF fr. 24391, a Parisian manuscript that he dated to the first third of the fourteenth century (Fig. 2.47).¹¹² The frontispiece is divided into two parts by an internal framing element. The scene on the left, representing the lover dreaming in bed, is almost identical to that in Group I, but now, on the right, the illuminator includes a representation of the garden. In the middle, behind a low, crenellated front wall, it is possible to see its gatekeeper, Oiseuse, comb in one hand and

¹¹⁰ As Blamires and Holian have remarked, "almost every element in Group III turns out to be optional." Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 1.

¹¹¹ Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 22-25.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 25.

mirror in the other. In BnF fr. 802 and KBR 9576, the Montbastons departed from the prototype by replacing the divider with a connecting gate and thus setting the lover and the garden within a single pictorial field (Fig. 2.48).¹¹³ In BnF fr. 802, Jeanne even added grass across the entire lower portion of the image, further connecting the two scenes. She innovated freely: Oiseuse, holding a key (as an indication of her role) instead of a comb, now stands above the garden's pink walls. In BnF fr. 802, we also see that the artist updates the image in a familiar way: covering the entire background in gold.

Two further Montbaston manuscripts, Arsenal 3338 and BdK A.B. 142, painted by Jeanne, have frontispieces that belong to what Kuhn describes as a subgroup of Type III (Fig. 2.49). In naming Arsenal 3338 as one of only two examples of its kind, he implied that the composition could be owed to their atelier.¹¹⁴ Occupying about three-quarters of the opening folio, these frontispieces show the Montbastons expanding the scale of the image. They divided the miniature in half: the upper register resembles the Group III frontispiece in BnF fr. 802, where Oiseuse appears above the garden wall. Yet in both manuscripts, so as to increase the size of the composition, Jeanne placed Dangier in the lower register at the garden's gate, raising his club and looking back at the full-length representations of the vices. Here the vices, represented as living figures, interact with one another. There are nine of them – the average number of vices represented individually later in the manuscript. Several are identifiable by their attributes or actions, such as Vieillesse holding her crutches and Hayne pulling at her hair. In this type of

¹¹³ Kuhn mentioned the two manuscripts among others created in mid-fourteenth century Paris. See *ibid.*, 26.

¹¹⁴ Arsenal 3338 is mentioned by name; the other is Codex C from the collection of Jacques Rosenthal in Munich. See *ibid.*, 27. On the Düsseldorf manuscript, including reproductions of many of the illuminations, see Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf."

frontispiece, the Montbastons play with the earlier conventions to create an opening image that, in both size and scope, was intended to impress.

While no Montbaston frontispieces fit the criteria of Kuhn's Group IV, four manuscripts attributed to Richard have frontispieces that belong to Kuhn's Group V. These include: Albi Rochegude 103, BnF fr. 24389, BnF fr. 19156, and Cambridge University Library Gg.IV.6.¹¹⁵ Kuhn mentioned all but the Albi manuscript and posited that the Cambridge manuscript, which he suggested originated in northern France, may have been the earliest example of this type.¹¹⁶ The conception is different: rather than employing frames to separate the protagonist's actions, frontispieces in this group set the lover within a continuous landscape studded with architectural elements that organize his movements visually (Fig. 2.50). Reading the lover's actions from left to right, one first sees the unclothed lover sleeping in an interior, the inevitable rose bush behind him. He is then re-presented on the threshold of this structure, now fully dressed. The pinnacles and doorway are flattened against the picture plane and the architecture juts just beyond the borders of the frontispiece, calling attention to the exact moment of transition between the states of sleeping and waking within the dream. Finally, the lover is represented a third time contemplating vices on the exterior of the garden wall. Slight differences between the works create visual interest: In BnF fr. 24389, Richard played with perspective in order to let the viewer see vegetation within the garden; in the Albi

¹¹⁵ We could also add to this group one of the manuscripts that appeared in the Sourget collection, whose reproductions appear in one sales catalog: Drouot, 1990, no. 61. As Weyer noted, the catalog states that the frontispiece has four compartments, though it is a representation of four successive actions within one pictorial field. See Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 131, n.39.

¹¹⁶ Rouse, Rouse, and Gousset attributed the manuscript to the Montbastons. Kuhn suggested that the more complicated architecture and delicate penwork localized the manuscript to Northern France. Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 33. This may have been a result of his clear preference for exemplars from that area; he deemed most Parisian types to be "poor quality goods" ("minderwertige Fabrikware"). *Ibid.*, 30. He explained that the mid-fourteenth century Parisian works evidence the "slavish use of northern French exemplars" ("slavische Benutzung nordfranzösischer Vorbilder"). *Ibid.*, 27.

manuscript he reduced the number of figures by combining two actions: walking across the threshold, the lover is shown already raising his hand and gazing at the vices on the garden wall. In these manuscripts, Richard experimented with the possibilities of continuous narrative, articulating the scene through the thoughtful placement of architectural structures.¹¹⁷

Kuhn placed a great deal of emphasis on a perceived advance in Group V compositions over those of Group III. Of primary importance for him is that the lover's bed no longer juts against the wall of the garden in an illogical way, giving artists more space in the pictorial field to fully articulate the lover's actions.¹¹⁸ He explains, "All of these elements, told in continuous narrative in one image, are a faithful illustration of the text! One cannot over-estimate this progress. It is the greatest made in the one and a half centuries of Roman de la rose illumination."¹¹⁹ Kuhn's enthusiasm for literal rendering and the development of continuous narrative in Group V frontispieces affects his entire classification, and sometimes created difficulties. One aberrant Montbaston manuscript, Lyon BM 23, for instance, is described as a "missing link" between Group III and Group V (Fig. 2.51),¹²⁰ since in this composition, the lover is represented twice: on the left, he lies in bed dreaming and, on the right, he is positioned just beyond the doorway of the tower, at the foot of a river, gazing into the garden. Richard, of course, would not have seen his work as a transitional typological variant. Rather, the difficult-to-place variation

¹¹⁷ This format has an interesting afterlife in the fifteenth century, when illuminators begin to showcase their skills in artifice by representing the scene in a shallow space that has more three-dimensional elements. See *ibid.*, 33-43.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹¹⁹ "Alles, auf einem Bild in kontinuierlicher Darstellungsweise erzählt, ist treue Illustration des Textes! Man kann diesen Fortschritt nicht hoch genug bewerten. Es ist der grösste, der in den anderthalb Jahrhunderten der Rosenroman-Illustration überhaupt gemacht worden ist." *Ibid.*, 33.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

can be regarded as evidence of the freedom that illuminators felt to add or to subtract details.

The most popular form of frontispiece in the Montbastons' oeuvre, found in seven of the seventeen manuscripts I have been able to view, is the four-part composition found in Morgan M.503, described earlier in this chapter (Fig. 2.14). The other six manuscripts containing this opening composition, which aligns with Kuhn's Group VI, include:

Arsenal 5226, Chantilly 664 and 665, Walters W. 143, BnF fr. 25526, and BnF Smith-Lesouëf 62.¹²¹ Kuhn lists two Montbaston manuscripts among the oldest in the group,

thus implying that the shop had a key role in developing the fashionable format, which, in the future would be used to launch the narrative not only in *Rose* manuscripts but in copies of many works in many genres, including histories.¹²² The four-part frontispiece in

Rose manuscripts was something of a fad, very popular for a relatively short period of time: of twenty-five examples that I am aware of, all but three date to between c. 1325 and c. 1375.¹²³ Variation in the Montbaston group indicates the illuminators'

improvisational play within a composition circulating throughout Parisian workshops.

The upper two registers are consistent across the group, the illuminators always rendering the lover in bed and, in conformity with the text, the lover tying his shoes. The lower left scene is also consistent, with representations of the lover walking through a landscape,

¹²¹ Two of these frontispieces were repainted at a later date: Chantilly 665 and BnF. fr. 25526.

¹²² Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43. Suzanne Lewis has also explored how these four-part frontispieces began to "encompass the idea of a pilgrimage or a quest." See Suzanne Lewis, "Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure in the Roman de la Rose," *Word & Image* 8 (1992), 216.

¹²³ Kuhn's examples include: BnF fr. 1560, Arsenal 5209, Rosenthal Cod. B, BnF fr. 19157, BnF fr. 24388, Arsenal 5226, Chantilly Mss. 664 and 665, BnF fr. 1565, Bibliothèque de Genève BPU fr. 178, Biblioteca Corsini 55 K 4, KBR 9577, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 57, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genève 1126, BnF fr. 12593, BnF fr. 25526, BnF fr. 1665, and BnF fr. 24392. See Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43-48. I add to this group Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier H 245, BnF Rothschild 2801, BnF Smith-Lesouëf 62, and Walters W.143. Later manuscripts include BnF fr. 24392, discussed at the end of this section. BnF fr. 1665 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 169, slightly damaged, are said to be from the end of the fourteenth century, though I have not seen the former. See *ibid.*, 46.

sometimes along a river, with trees in the background. There is some degree of variation in the iconography of the lower right-hand register, where the lover encounters the garden wall. In three manuscripts (Chantilly 664, Smith-Lesouëf 62, and Arsenal 5226), the gatekeeper Oiseuse greets him at the entrance, while in three others (Walters W. 143, Morgan 503, and BnF. fr. 25526), he walks toward the garden alone. In Chantilly 665, Richard offers the lover a less pleasant encounter with the antagonist Dangier, has been shifted from the foot of the lover's bed to the garden's gate.

Kuhn's method makes us attentive to types, and while the term "group" implies the omniscient view of a modern art historian who is able to look back over surviving material, rather than that of the medieval maker, the categories describe a phenomenon. That Richard and Jeanne gravitated to Kuhnian "types" can be considered a function of fourteenth-century artistic practice. On the one hand, the illuminators clearly did not feel bound to employ standard frontispieces: they felt free to improvise with traditional elements. On the other hand, it was efficient to work in types, and perhaps even a marketing strategy. The Montbastons could easily have shown clients different possibilities for the all-important opening image – in loose leaves or earlier manuscripts – as they talked about the different grades of *Rose* manuscripts that they could offer. Kuhn's assumption that formats became more and more realistic over time is undermined by the Montbaston corpus. The illuminators created frontispieces belonging to virtually all of the major types in the very same years, and played with some of their components in innovative ways.

The focus on different types of *Rose* frontispieces gives other sorts of insight into workshop practice, because it points to further specialization or proclivities within the

shop. Montbaston manuscripts with Group V frontispieces, for instance, are all attributed to Richard. That is, Richard was not only a specialist in *Rose* manuscripts, but also a specialist in one particular type of *Rose* frontispiece. This is a theme that recurs across the corpus: we find that Richard and Jeanne favored working with certain types of compositions. What Kuhn did for frontispieces could be done with other sorts of images, if the work was undertaken with a closer attention to the range of invention and signs of spontaneity that was typical of the Montbastons.

Type and Variation in *Rose* Images

The degree of variation found in miniatures illustrating a given scene depended on a number of factors, including whether or not there was an established tradition of representing the same content. The one-column author portrait of Jean de Meun, appearing in almost every manuscript, was one of the most consistently rendered images, regardless of which illuminator was painting. Richard and Jeanne both showed the author sitting at his writing desk, pen in hand (Fig. 2.30). His clothing remains consistent as well. He wears a *houce*, an element of apparel that has been described as “a hooded surcot with short cape-like or wing sleeves,” which is rendered in red in all but three manuscripts.¹²⁴ There are some variations in detail: for instance, sometimes the author is shown tonsured, and sometimes he wears a clerical cap.¹²⁵ But these author portraits had

¹²⁴ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 40-41, fig. 3.

¹²⁵ In five manuscripts, he is tonsured and, in ten, he wears a clerical cap: both variations serve to let us know that he was a scholar. Jean de Meun wears a hat in BnF fr. 24389, Arsenal 5226, BnF Smith-Lesouëf 62, Chantilly 665, and Brussels KBR 9576; he is tonsured in Morgan 503, Albi Rochegude 103, Lyon BM 23, CUL Gg.IV.6, BnF fr. 19156, BnF fr. 802, Chantilly 664, Arsenal 3338, BnF fr. 25526, BNE 100. In an effort to add visual interest in the miniatures, the illuminators sometimes added background elements – such as curtains, trees, or architecture – to this general scheme.

such a long history that there was little room for major changes in iconography or composition.

Miniatures of the vice of Envie, appearing in sixteen of seventeen manuscripts, on the other hand, reveal that the Montbastons might develop several different types when iconography was unstable. Envie is a somewhat enigmatic personification.¹²⁶ Rubrics accompanying this section of the text, presumably serving as cues for the artist, were inconsistent and, while naming the figure, provided little information regarding the iconography. These include: “ci endroit parle de envie”; “ci est pourtraite envie”; “envie”; and “envie pourtraite.”¹²⁷ The text is not very much more helpful – the one indication of her “very ugly” physical appearance is that “she looked at everything obliquely.”¹²⁸ That Richard knew the textual description is suggested by the fact that, in six instances, he tried to visualize precisely this feature.¹²⁹ In Rohegude 103, he represented Envie in strict profile; in others, he showed the vice looking to the side, her head in three-quarters view (Figs. 2.52 and 2.53). In five manuscripts, including Arsenal 5226, the illuminators took a different approach and represented Envie as a jealous figure looking at an amicable couple, striding past – a clever visualization of the text’s description of her anger at other people’s happiness and good fortune (Fig. 2.54).¹³⁰ This

¹²⁶ Others have noted the difficulties illuminators seem to have faced when representing the figure of Envie. Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 55; Ménard, “Les Représentations des vices,” 183; Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 55-57. Stephen Nichols used differences between the verbal and visual representations of Envie to argue that *Rose* manuscripts stage a paragone of text and image. See Nichols, “Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire,” 152-57.

¹²⁷ Translations and respective manuscripts: “This passage addresses Envy,” Lyon BM 23; “Here Envy is described,” Arsenal 5226.

¹²⁸ “Then I saw, in the painting, that Envy had a very ugly appearance: she looked at everything obliquely” “Lors vi qu’Envie en la peinture / Avoit trop laide esgardeüre : / Ele ne regardast neient / Fors de travers en borgneiant” *Roman de la rose*, lines 279-282; trans. Dahlberg, 34.

¹²⁹ The other manuscripts include: KBR 9576, BnF Smith-Lesouëf 62, CUL Gg.IV.6, and BnF fr. 14389. In the latter, *Envie* is seated, resting her head in her hands.

¹³⁰ Lyon BM 23, Morgan 503, Walters W.143, Chantilly 665, and BNE 10032.

was not their invention: the type dates back to some of the earliest copies of the *Rose*.¹³¹ But again improvisations can be found: in three other manuscripts the vice appears looking over her shoulder at a pious couple who kneel in prayer (Fig. 2.55); in one manuscript, Jeanne represented *Envie* as a standing figure, looking down at a seated young woman (Fig. 2.56).¹³² Once again, when drawing in the factor of the attributions of these manuscripts to the two artists overall, it emerges that each favored a certain type: Richard had his hand in all of the illuminations of *Envie* represented by herself, while Jeanne was responsible for all of the images that included a kneeling couple. Part of the appeal of the Montbaston manuscripts seems to have been the variations the shop could offer.

Representations of the lover paying homage to the God of Love, present in all but one *Rose* manuscript, were individualized. Richard and Jeanne both tended to include an image at the same point in the text, along with a variation of the rubric, “How the lover paid homage to the God of Love” (“Comment l’amant fet hommage au dieu d’amors”).¹³³ Still “homage” was visualized through a number of different gestures that could be understood to signify the lover’s submission. In seven manuscripts, all but two painted by Richard, the lover was depicted kneeling before God of Love, his hands in supplication or

¹³¹ See fol. 3r of BnF fr. 1556 and fol. 13v of BnF fr. 378, for instance.

¹³² Manuscripts illustrating the couple kneeling in prayer include Dusseldorf BdK A.B. 142, BnF fr. 802, and Arsenal 3338.

¹³³ Variations of this rubric are similar in nature to those of the accompanying *Envie*; other variations include: “Comment l’amant fet homage au dieu d’amors et il le recoit” (Morgan M.503, Chantilly 664, and Chantilly 665) and “Ci parole comment lamans fet homage et le baise en la bouche” (Lyon, BM 23, Arsenal 3338). The image tends to appear before the verses: “Immediately, with joined hands, I became his man. And you may understand that I grew very proud when his mouth kissed mine; this gift gave me great joy.” (“Atant devin ses on mains jointes. / E sachiez que mout me fis cointes / don sa bouche baise la moie: / ce fu ce don j’oi graignor joie.”) *Roman de la rose*, lines 1955-58; trans. Dahlberg, 57.

grasping those of the deity (Fig. 2.13).¹³⁴ The latter gesture was borrowed from images portraying the relationship between vassal and lord in a range of secular manuscripts.¹³⁵ Two further manuscripts painted by Richard include a related composition, the lover standing rather than kneeling.¹³⁶ But in six manuscripts, all but one painted by Jeanne, the two figures instead tenderly embrace and touch faces (Fig. 2.27).¹³⁷

We might return to Jeanne's marginal sketch on fol. 14v of BnF fr. 802 to see how certain types of compositions were transferred from one manuscript to another (Fig. 2.11). The sketch, we remember, shows two ovals, one with an indication of the God of Love's crown, which prompted Jeanne to represent two characters kissing. From the rapid outline, Jeanne was able to fill in the remaining details of the miniature at the moment of its execution: she conveyed the closeness of the figures' by representing entwined arms and signaled their individual identities through the details of their costumes, including the God of Love's wings and cape, and the lover's fashionable belted, hooded gown and pointy shoes. Such speedily-rendered, simplified notation only worked because Richard and Jeanne were experienced in representing the same scenes multiple times.

The sketches give evidence of instances of improvisation, a skill that would have been necessary for both Richard and Jeanne, who were producing image cycles of varying extent to meet the needs of a range of clients. A sketch on fol. 83r, for instance, refers to the important moment when Faux Semblant and Contreint Atenance cut off

¹³⁴ Lyon BM 23, BnF fr. 24389, KBR 9526, Arsenal 5226, Chantilly 664, Arsenal 3338, and BnF Smith-Lesouëf 62.

¹³⁵ For a more extensive account of the relationship between this miniature in Rose manuscripts and this gesture in other contexts, see Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 76-78. Also see Le Goff, "The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage," 256.

¹³⁶ BnF fr. 19156 and Düsseldorf, BdK A.B. 142.

¹³⁷ CUL Gg.IV.6, Morgan M.503, BnF fr. 802, BnF fr. 25526, and BnE 10032.

Malebouche's tongue, an act allowing them to gain entrance into the castle, where Bel Acueil has been held captive (Fig. 2.57). The sketch presents a composition showing two figures seated on the left, suggested by the angled line of a bent knee, and a lower torso on the right. In the lightly traced ovals on the left side of the drawing, we see Jeanne trying out different positions for the characters' heads before settling on a satisfactory composition. She also adjusted the level of the arm of the kneeling Malebouche until the character had what seemed to her an appropriate height in relation to the others in the image. As Jonathan Alexander has noted with regard to marginal drawings, such quick renderings exhibit a "workings out of compositional ideas" so that, in this way, they evoke the term "sketch" in a modern sense.¹³⁸ When discussing sketches found in the margins of works by the fifteenth-century Boucicaut Workshop, Christine Andrews has argued that these reveal the artists' careful consideration of elements that the workshop was known for: in this case, a play with perspective to achieve compositional consistency across miniatures in a given manuscript.¹³⁹ Something similar may be happening here. Richard and Jeanne created sketches that could translate easily into the workshop's signature linear style of stark outlines over saturated washes of color.

Montbaston manuscripts had a certain look; a few exceptions show the illuminators' scope of experimentation with aspects of their manuscripts' appearance. Richard, for instance, finished the illuminations of Chantilly 665 in a manner that is quite distinctive from his other works. He rendered the same heavy black outlines that the workshop was known for, but, rather than applying heavy layers of paint, he built up color using thin washes and created shading that gave dimension to the drapery folds

¹³⁸ Alexander, "Preliminary Marginal Drawings in Medieval Manuscripts," 311.

¹³⁹ Christine Geisler Andrews, "The Boucicaut Masters," *Gesta* 41, no. 1 (2002), 29-39, p. 32-33.

(Fig. 2.58). The technique was unique in the Montbaston oeuvre and suggests an effort to try a new method, perhaps in collaboration with another illuminator. BnF fr. 25526, illuminated by Jeanne, is also exceptional, in a different way. The bas-de-page of every folio is decorated with imagery, ranging from stories from saints' lives to hunting scenes to scandalous erotic vignettes.¹⁴⁰ The left side of every column is also framed by a baguette that ends in red, blue, and gold ivy leaves and, on many folios, Jeanne has represented birds perched in their midst. Variations in quality and quantity and even the nature of imagery suggest the illuminators ability to improvise, adapt, and meet client demands.

This more extensive examination of the range of pictorial variation in Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts offers a clearer picture of the nature and degree of differentiation in image cycles produced by their hand. Because the Montbastons were the most successful shop specializing in the *Rose*, we can come to several conclusions about what consumers had come to expect in a *Rose* manuscript. Certain episodes in the text would virtually always be illustrated: the protagonist dreaming in frontispiece, the cycle of vices, the God of Love shooting his arrow, the deity taking the lover as his vassal, and the author portrait of Jean de Meun, among others. Most scenes were optional, their inclusion probably depending on consumer preferences (the Montbastons guided by the list of rubrics that was available), the client's budget, and, perhaps, the client's particular interest in the text. Playing to the market at the height of the *Rose*'s popularity, the Montbastons created both simple and deluxe cycles, a differentiating pattern that would continue throughout the 250 in which the romance was copied and illuminated. We also see that consumer demand did not require that episodes always be represented in a particular way. What

¹⁴⁰ See n. 95 of this chapter.

seems to have attracted clients was that the Montbastons' illuminations were rendered in a consistent, energetic style that brought some of the more exciting moments in the romance to life.

Beyond the *Rose*: The Montbastons as Specialists in Vernacular Iconography

Richard and Jeanne seem to have been regarded as specialists in illuminating *Rose* manuscripts in particular, but over half of their extant oeuvre consisted of illustrated copies of other popular texts of the time, including recently composed secular works and religious and political tracts newly translated into French (App. A). Many of these texts made analogous visual demands. The Montbastons had a developed idiom and, unsurprisingly, there were significant crossovers among their products in style, format, and figure type. Too often *Rose* manuscripts are treated in isolation. Artists, including the Montbastons, learned by working on other commissions and illuminating other types of texts, borrowing and adapting imagery from different iconographical programs when it was appropriate and convenient. The advantages of this practice for the Montbastons included speed and efficiency, but there were also advantages for viewers, who were often learning how to read new iconographies.

A manuscript of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* containing a frontispiece and twenty-two images attributed to Richard demonstrates how his experience illuminating *Rose* manuscripts helped him construct a new image cycle. It was fitting that he should have applied his work with the *Roman de la rose* to the new task, for, in the very beginning of the *Pèlerinage*, the author, Guillaume de Deguilleville, drew an explicit

connection to the romance.¹⁴¹ He wrote, “While I was awake, I had read, studied, and looked closely at the beautiful *Romance of the Rose*. I am sure that this is what moved me most to have the dream I will tell you about in a moment.”¹⁴² The *Pèlerinage* manuscript, BnF fr. 12462, was created soon after the author had completed the text (c. 1331) and, as the Rouses have discovered, a partially erased ex libris suggests that the probable patron was Blanche de Bourgogne, Countess of Savoy.¹⁴³ Richard may have been the very first illuminator to create an image cycle for the tale. At the very least, his copy represents one of the earliest manuscripts provided with image cycles not supervised by the author himself.¹⁴⁴ The iconographies in the manuscript appear wholly independent of any models. Michael Camille, who wrote his dissertation on the manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage*, regarded Richard’s manuscript as representative of the early

¹⁴¹ On the *Rose*’s influence on the author, see Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 362-87.

¹⁴² Quotations from the *Pèlerinage* are taken from Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le pèlerinage de vie humaine*, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London: Roxburghe Club, 1893). The English translations refer to Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of Human Life (Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine)*, trans. Eugene Clasby, vol. 76, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992). “En veillant avoie lëu, / Considerere et bien vëu / Le biau roumans de la Rose. / Bien croi que ce fu la chose / Qui plus m’esmut a ce songier / Que ci apres vous vueil nuncier.” *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, lines 9-14; trans. Clasby, 3.

¹⁴³ According to the Rouses the inscription reads, “This book belongs to milady the countess of Savoie, given to her by milady the duchess of Burgundy, her mother.” They convincingly argued that Blanche most likely commissioned the manuscript herself, considering her ownership of the book between sometime after 1331, when the text was composed, and the death of her daughter in 1344. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 243 and 389, n. 60. Unaware of this inscription, Camille dated the manuscript to c. 1348. Camille proposed that Richard de Montbaston was the libraire who organized the production of the manuscript but did not go so far as to say that he also illuminated the text. Instead, he referred to the artist as the “Master of the Golden Legend.” See Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 33.

¹⁴⁴ The Rouses suggested that BnF fr. 12462 may be the first illuminated copy of the text. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 243. Camille did not suggest what he thinks is the earliest illuminated copy; instead he turned to a related group of early illuminated manuscripts for the “archetypal series” of miniatures: Morgan M.772 (dated 1348), BnF fr. 1818 (before 1348), and BSB cod. Gall. 30 (c. 1348), all of which he dated to c.1348. Camille argued that the close correspondence between the textual details of these early manuscripts and the iconographic content of the miniatures suggested that the author may have initially advised artists regarding the illuminations. These manuscripts had a longer life in shaping the content of future cycles. He did, however, date BnF fr. 12462 as early as c. 1348. See Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 20-52.

commercialization of the text; this might remind us of the role Richard played in the commercialization of *Rose* manuscripts.¹⁴⁵

The importance of the rubrics to Richard's practice is perhaps most evident here when he was illustrating an unfamiliar text.¹⁴⁶ The most frequently cited example of the close relationship between rubrics and images in the *Pèlerinage* manuscript centers on Richard's response to a dense and somewhat convoluted caption inserted in the manuscript in red at the beginning of the fourth book that reads: "A high sea, which is the world, clothed people in it, their feet tied together by the weed" ("Une grant mer qui est le monde, gent vestus dedens, liés par les piés à l'herbe").¹⁴⁷ Richard visualized a literal translation of the phrases in the rubric. A boat floats on a "high" sea that occupies half of the image—in the boat, two groups of men face one another, the two parties connected by the grass growing between them (Fig. 2.59).¹⁴⁸ In the allegory, the author more clearly explains that the figures are swimming in the water with their feet entangled in seaweed. It is worth emphasizing, however, that this "blunder" only strengthens the notion that he took his inspiration from words. He read the rubric but did not refer back to body of the text.

In other instances, Richard's experience illuminating *Rose* manuscripts came into play. When tasked with creating a frontispiece for the *Pèlerinage*, he chose a multi-scenic

¹⁴⁵ "Commercial" need not be equated with "cheaper." Camille explained that the illustrations in BnF fr. 12462, "represent a contemporary, cheaper alternative to the luxury grisaille examples or perhaps, on the contrary, it is their full colour and gold-decorated miniatures which made it necessary to limit the number of illuminations." Camille, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426," 40.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 36.

¹⁴⁷ Transcription and translation from Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 255. This was first noted by Camille. See Camille, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426," 38.

¹⁴⁸ Also described in Camille, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426," 38; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 255.

format that he had used several times in *Rose* manuscripts (Fig. 2.60).¹⁴⁹ In addition to the author's invocation of the *Rose* in the allegory's opening lines, the rubric mentions the *Roman de la rose* by name, and this may have prompted the illuminator to recall his *Rose* frontispieces and insert a variant.¹⁵⁰ In the upper left, the protagonist is shown dreaming, his head resting on his right hand. In the next scene, the protagonist sits at the edge of the bed, tying his shoes. In the lower register, Guillaume is shown writing at his desk and on the right he appears presenting the text to an audience of lay figures. As Camille has remarked, the first scene in Richard's frontispiece, showing the dreamer, is the only one that makes direct reference to the text of the *Pèlerinage*.¹⁵¹ This was one of three scenes previously encountered in multi-scenic *Rose* frontispieces: the dreamer is reminiscent of the lover in the Montbaston *Rose* frontispieces; the scene of the author lacing his shoes, a detail not present in *Pèlerinage*, is taken from the *Rose*; and the author portrait is akin to the single-column images that began Jean de Meun's section. The opening image of the *Pèlerinage* is clearly an adaptation of a *Rose* frontispiece.

Richard adopted similar visual strategies to deal with the related storylines of the *Pèlerinage* and the *Rose*. Also a dream vision, the *Pèlerinage* describes a journey, but in this case follows the wanderings of a pilgrim on his quest to enter the Heavenly Jerusalem; along the way, he encounters personifications who serve as both a help and a hindrance. Virtuous personifications such as Charité (Charity) and Sapience (Wisdom) teach him the meaning of the seven sacraments before the figure of Oiseuse convinces

¹⁴⁹ Camille has discussed the similarities between the frontispieces of BnF fr. 12462 and *Rose* mss Chantilly 664 and BnF fr. 25526. There are a few typos in this section, where he referred to BnF fr. 12462 as BnF fr. 12465. Camille, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426", 33-35.

¹⁵⁰ The rubric reads, "Ci commence li romans de l'umain voyage du viel moine qui est exposez sus le romans de la rose." Transcription from *ibid.*, 33. Camille also suggested that the illuminator was following the initial rubric. *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

him to take the path of leisure. There he encounters the antithetical personifications of the vices before making his way to encounter the monastic virtues. Twelve of the twenty-two miniatures in the *Pèlerinage* manuscript are representations of the protagonist speaking to one or two characters.¹⁵² Drawing on *Rose* manuscripts, Richard could easily adapt images of characters in conversation: he only needed to know the names of the figures, almost always given in the rubrics. He imported the signature style of the workshop in the disposition of figures: characters rendered in three-quarters view turn to one another, as they often do in *Rose* manuscripts, and gesture actively at one another.

Others of Richard's images also echo Montbaston depictions of the protagonist's journey in the *Rose*. He shows a predilection for action scenes and for turning points. Thus in an image on fol. 21v he represents Charité and Sapience baking bread for the Eucharist, and on fol. 56v, shows the protagonist caught in the ropes of Paresse (Laziness) (figs. 2.61 and 2.62). Additional images mark turning points in the protagonist's pilgrimage: in an image on fol. 50v, for example, Richard visualizes the encounter between the pilgrim, Oiseuse, and Labour (Labor) (Fig. 2.63). In the text, Oiseuse convinces the indecisive pilgrim that her path is more desirable than Labour's more arduous, if wholesome route.¹⁵³ As seen so often in *Rose* manuscripts, Richard represented encounters that change the course of the lover's path: we might think of images of Oiseuse at the beginning of the romance, in which she opens the Garden gate, or images where Richesse helps guide the lover toward the Castle of Jealousy (Fig. 2.4). Such miniatures emphasized the narrative thrust of the story, forming a category separate from the exempla nested within character's speeches. Camille has remarked that

¹⁵² "Conversation" images can be found on fols. 5r, 12v, 26v, 30r, 34r, 44r, 48r, 50v, 63r, 67v, 69v, 78v, 92r, 101r. Camille does not list fols. 30r and 48r in his description of BnF. fr. 12462. See *ibid.*, 346.

¹⁵³ *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, lines 6740-6900; trans. Clasby, 91-93.

Pèlerinage miniatures stand apart from others accompanying texts such as the *Somme le roi* because “illustrators are required to bring all into one continuous narrative series.”¹⁵⁴ Richard adapted his methods for creating a narrative throughline in manuscripts of the *Rose* for this new context.

When a personified character appeared in the *Rose* who found a counterpart in the *Pèlerinage*, there was a good chance that Richard would adapt it for the latter. It is difficult to determine whether this was a conscious decision or unconscious habit. We saw that the figure of Oiseuse, for instance, also appears as a character in the *Pèlerinage*: She had made her debut in the *Roman de la rose*, and this was Guillaume’s source. In the *Pèlerinage*, he described a few of her attributes, including gloves, a mirror, and a comb – these elements were also associated with Oiseuse in the *Rose* and considered standard iconography for Luxuria.¹⁵⁵ However, it is likely that Richard did not read the body of the text to obtain this information but, instead, simply rendered the figure in an accustomed manner after recognizing her name in the rubric. She appears much as she does in *Rose* manuscripts; her hair in braids and wrapped around her ears, she wears a long gown and holds mirror in her right hand (Figs. 2.63 and 2.64). We see similar strategies of adaptation in Richard’s representations of the protagonist and Raison in the *Pèlerinage* (Fig. 2.65).¹⁵⁶ Rubrics do not describe the appearance of the protagonist (named as the “author”) or Raison, which gave the illuminator leave to represent the scene as he did in manuscripts of the *Rose*. Clad in a familiar long gown, Raison grasps the hand of the

¹⁵⁴ Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 8.

¹⁵⁵ Camille argued that Deguileville “does not associate the mirror with Huiseuse.” The similarities in the descriptions of the character in the *Rose* and *Pèlerinage*, however, suggest otherwise. See *ibid.*, 38; *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, lines 6847-49; trans. Clasby, 93. Kuhn proposed a relationship between the iconography of Oiseuse and thirteenth-century representations of Luxuria. Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 27.

¹⁵⁶ *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, line 571; trans. Clasby, 10.

protagonist, here represented as the youthful lover wearing a red, hooded robe rather than the floor-length white robe of the pilgrim depicted in some in some other miniatures. While others have criticized Richard for a lack of initiative and a failure to read the text, it seems more accurate to say that he found shortcuts for adapting imagery already in his iconographic repertoire.

In his representation of *Envie*, Richard once again drew upon his experience in representing a personification of the same name in *Rose* manuscripts. But here Richard was prompted to represent the figure in an entirely new context. The vices in the *Rose* are *ymages*, sculpted personifications that the Montbastons visualized as single figures not distinguishable from other characters in the manuscript; in the *Pèlerinage*, the vices are active personae who interact with the protagonist.¹⁵⁷ This was reflected in a rubric accompanying the miniature on fol. 63r: “How the author rebukes old, hideous *Envie* and her wicked tribe” (“Comment l’auteur argue la vielle [?] *Envie* et sa lignie que male est”). In the allegory, the author describes the vice as having a number of visible attributes – holding threatening spears, she is “lean and wasted, pale and wan.”¹⁵⁸ In this image, Richard showed no spears, and did not try to represent the figure as wasted and wan, but relied on the rubric’s cue that this was a “conversation” image and drew on his previous experience representing the vice in the *Rose* with a pug nose and wimple (Fig. 2.66).¹⁵⁹ It is as if the figure *Envie* from a *Rose* manuscript has been set in motion.

¹⁵⁷ Camille aptly noted that the vices of the *Rose* differed from those of the *Pèlerinage* in that they are primarily psychological. On descriptions in the *Pèlerinage*, he wrote: “The poet’s descriptions are so concrete already that the illustrators simply have to translate verbal into visual objects: they are ‘givens.’” Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 48.

¹⁵⁸ “Je sui maigre et dehslee / Et pale et descouloree.” *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, lines 8269-70; trans. Clasby, 111.

¹⁵⁹ In his description of the manuscript, Camille noted that *Envie* has a “female headdress with no attributes” and that this was an error on the part of the artist. Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 346.

Richard renders Avarice, another vice who appears in both the *Rose* and the *Pèlerinage*, with more specific attributes because the rubric includes a bit more detail about her appearance, stating that she had a hunched back, carried a “sac,” and had six hands.¹⁶⁰ In the image, the pilgrim, once again represented not in white robes but rather as the lover, approaches the vice, who hunches over, holds a sack over her shoulder, and gestures with multiple hands (Fig. 2.67). Richard does not attempt to tackle the complex iconography suggested in the body of the text and visualized in other contemporary manuscripts: in these, illuminators represent the figure sticking out her tongue and gesturing with multiple limbs that hold different attributes, such as scales and a hook (Fig. 2.68).¹⁶¹ Instead he renders only the distinctive characteristics that are mentioned in the rubric.

Richard’s training in illuminating *Rose* manuscripts led to this particular iteration of the *Pèlerinage* cycle, one of the earliest of its kind. His extensive experience illuminating the allegorical dream vision of the *Roman de la rose* allowed him to create images for this relatively new text of the same genre: he singled out similar types of episodes for illustration and rendered them in a similar manner. Relying heavily on rubrics that focused on narrative action to guide his imagery, he based many of the characters on figures he had previously encountered in the *Rose*. His adaptations sometimes led to images that diverged from the text and the divergences throw light on workshop practice: this type of variation was in good part the result of a context wherein

¹⁶⁰ The rubric reads, “An old, stooped hunchbacked woman wearing a cloak of old rags. She had her tongue sticking out and six hands” (“Une vielle torte bocue d’un burel (?) vestue de viez clustria .i. sac au col. La langue traite et .vi. mains a voit (?)”).

¹⁶¹ The lengthy description of the physical appearance and attributes of Avarice includes an account of the significance of these characteristics. See *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, lines 9055-10218; trans. Clasby, 123-38. On these more complex representations of Avarice, see Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426,” 45-47.

illuminators were constantly moving between texts and genres. Richard developed instincts for visual adaptation that allowed him to alter figures and compositions in ways that made them appropriate for the task at hand. He did not simply copy and paste figures – but when an existing type of image fit the bill, he found it expedient to make use of it. When these modes of adaptation are brought to light, some images that have been traditionally been read as mistakes or “blunders” seem like logical solutions to a problem at hand.¹⁶² For instance, Richard’s illumination of the God of Love leaving the lover in a *Rose* manuscript is strikingly similar to medieval representations of the Ascension (Fig. 2.69). The God of Love appears as if in the process of rising into the celestial sphere, his feet peeking through below the cloud. The appearance of this sacred iconography in a romance has been understood as a misguided use of a “stock” figure.¹⁶³ The frequency of such iconographic crossovers, however, encourages us to see them as visual adaptations rather than carelessly deployed images.

In the case of the *Pèlerinage* manuscript, Richard was responsible for fashioning a singleton that did not appear to have much influence in the longer tradition of illustrating the text, which was accompanied by a varying, but more stable, cycles of images.¹⁶⁴ Responsible for the illumination of so many copies of the *Rose* manuscripts, however, the Montbastons helped set in motion some of the larger patterns in the illumination of *Rose* manuscripts, which were constant in their inconstancy. Pictorial types used and developed by the Montbastons had an astonishingly long afterlife. As we will see in the next chapter, the types circulating in Paris in the mid-fourteenth century served as a point of departure for a great many later illuminators, who updated and

¹⁶² Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 255.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁶⁴ Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville’s *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426”, 32.

transformed the image cycles and iconography for new, demanding and discerning audiences. Few workshops specialized in Rose manuscripts, and none produced anything close to number of Montbastons. But several later workshops were involved in the illumination of at least three manuscripts, allowing us to follow the changing expectations for pictorial cycles over time, with respect to both the content of the image cycles and the style of miniatures.

Chapter Three

The Pressure of Fashion: *Rose* Manuscripts Illuminated by Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good

Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, the illuminator at the center of this chapter, was active c. 1350-65, his career reaching its highpoint in the decade after the last mention of the Montbastons in the records of the University of Paris. While Richard and Jeanne were able to dominate the Parisian market for *Rose* manuscripts in their time, and to contribute to the development of new pictorial cycles for recently composed vernacular texts, Artist L illuminated copies at a moment when the pool of available *Rose* manuscripts had steadily increased and production was more diffuse. Beyond the Montbastons and Artist L only three other workshops active c. 1325-75 produced even two manuscripts; most surviving manuscripts are singletons.¹ Artist L was involved in the production of three. In this chapter, with the Montbaston chapter in the background, I consider how the tasks of *Rose* illuminators changed after the text, now over seventy-five years old, had become a classic. Badel has posited that, after copies of devotional works and texts related to one's profession, the romance was the text most likely to be included in one's library.² At this point, there were likely over one hundred

¹ See n. 1 of chapter two for workshops active earlier than c. 1350 who illuminated two or more *Rose* manuscripts.

² Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 61-62. This is based on his study of about thirty inventories from the fourteenth century that include copies of the *Rose*.

manuscripts in circulation, many of them painted in a style that would have been considered archaic by the time Artist L came onto the scene.³

By this time, expectations for a well-illuminated *Rose* manuscript had been set. The pictorial cycles produced by Artist L – which included between forty and sixty-two images – are heavily indebted to those devised by earlier commercial illuminators such as the Montbastons. This is perhaps not surprising in that, according to current thinking, the beginning of Artist L’s career overlapped with the end of Jeanne’s. The artist followed now-established principles in choosing episodes in the text for illustration, and tended to preserve the general composition of images when precedents existed. Change came by way of the artist’s awareness of trends in the rendering of figures and their accoutrements. He met the evolving tastes of medieval consumers by updating existing types that were in wide circulation, clothing characters in the latest fashions and rendering them in a novel style. Two manuscripts in Artist L’s corpus with nearly identical pictorial cycles – Geneva Ms fr. 178 and BnF fr. 1565 – provide a contrast to Montbaston practices, where a premium was placed on individualization. ÖNB Codex 2592, produced later than these, allows us to see how one artist responded to the pressures of satisfying a commission for a lengthier cycle by providing imaginatively expanded and updated set of images in Guillaume’s section of the text.

Artist L: A Fashion-Forward Style

Artist L participated in the illumination of one of the largest manuscript projects of his time, the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good (BnF fr. 167), produced between 1349

³ See n. 5 of chapter two. This estimate is based on Badel’s statistics about the production of *Rose* manuscripts. *Ibid.*, 55.

and 1352.⁴ The manuscript was a fourteenth-century revival of a type of bible “picture book” developed in the thirteenth century for royal and aristocratic patrons, which in most complete of surviving copies, sets out biblical history from Genesis to the Apocalypse.⁵ It did so through pairs of images, the first being a biblical image, accompanied by a biblical extract, and the second illustrating its moral significance, accompanied by a brief explanatory text. The illumination of BnF fr. 167, an enormous undertaking that included 5,112 images, required the collaborative efforts of a number of artists (of different shops) working in the well-established book trade in Paris: François Avril discerned no less than fifteen hands and suggested that the manuscript represents a conspectus of Parisian illumination of its time.⁶

Illuminators’ processes of updating thirteenth-century images in this deluxe volume for John the Good help us to contextualize formal changes in *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by Artist L. The 5,112 miniatures were modeled on those found in BL Add. 18719, a late thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* whose quickly executed line drawings were possibly created with the sole intention of serving as an exemplar for future artists.⁷ Coordinated by an overseer of the entire project, but working under “very little direct

⁴ On the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, see François Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre de l’enluminure sous la règne de Jean le Bon: La Bible moralisée manuscrit 167 de la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Monuments et mémoires de la fondation Piot* 58 (1972), 91-125; *Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V*. Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1981, 319-21, no. 272; Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 221-250; Waugh, “Style-Consciousness.” For the attributions, see Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 104, 110, 115-16.

⁵ Lowden referred to the *Bible moralisées* as “picture books of the Bible.” See Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2. For a comprehensive account of the making of each of the *Bible moralisées*, see *ibid.*

⁶ See Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 92. Patrick de Winter has argued that the number of hands proposed by Avril is too high: Artists A and B were the same illuminator, as well as Artists D and K. John Lowden agreed with Avril’s number, noting that hands are “readily distinguishable” because the artists probably carried out almost every aspect of the illuminations independently. See de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)*, 262; Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 232.

⁷ This suggestion was first made by Avril. See Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 125. Lowden suggested that “It seems to have been commissioned specifically as a record of another book, rather than as a new production in its own right.” Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 218.

supervision,” the illuminators of BnF fr. 167 represented the subjects that were depicted in their model, retaining the disposition of figures, but updated the style in which they were rendered and re-clad characters in accord with mid-fourteenth century fashion (Fig. 3.1).⁸ The entire volume was painted in a delicate grisaille, with touches of gold and thin washes of color throughout. In the earlier *Bible moralisées*, the frames were simple medallions – and, in the immediate model, plain rectilinear borders sufficed – but in BnF fr. 167, the artists employed two types of frames to distinguish biblical scenes from those depicting moral significance, which were often of contemporary subjects.⁹ The former were framed by fanciful Gothic architectural forms, reminiscent of those seen in the works of the Jean Pucelle, and the latter by polylobed frames of a kind that remained in vogue during the reign of John’s son Charles V.¹⁰ Waugh has shown that artists represented biblical characters in timeless, bulky clothing, but depicted figures in the contemporary scenes wearing the new fashions that would have been familiar to the mid-fourteenth century viewer. Young men, for instance, now wear short, tight clothing and are coiffed in stylish curls.¹¹ Despite the common grisaille method, distinctly individualized artistic styles appear side-by-side, indicative of a situation where

⁸ Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 127. Waugh has shown that the iconographic supervisor does not appear to have been particularly learned: many of the changes seemed to encourage less nuanced representations, and most minute decisions about the images’ appearance were left to the artists themselves. *Ibid.*, 122-40. On the identification of Jean de Montmartre as the supervisor of the project, see Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 121-23. John Lowden reinvestigated what is known for certain about Jean’s possible involvement in the project based solely on the documentary evidence – that he was an agent working for the king. See Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 248-50.

⁹ Waugh posited that one of the main tasks of the frames was to “separate one historical epoch from another.” Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 118. Lowden also discussed the ornate system of frames. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 229-30.

¹⁰ Avril mentioned the Pucellian nature of the frames in Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century*, 77. Also see Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 229.

¹¹ This is only one example of the many significations of clothing in this manuscript, which could be used to “identify a subject historically, socially, and morally.” Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” p. 230, 209-33.

workshops were seeking to distinguish themselves from the pack by developing individualized manners of rendering.¹²

Artist L was not major a major contributor to the project, only assisting other artists in finishing pages they had been assigned.¹³ His hand, however, has been recognized in a number of other manuscripts from the 1350s and 1360s (App. D),¹⁴ including three *Rose* manuscripts; no other artist involved in the illumination of the *Bible moralisée* produced more.¹⁵ Two of these manuscripts have dated explicits: BnF fr. 1565 was painted in 1352 with the assistance of one of his frequent collaborators, Artist E of the *Bible moralisée*; Geneva fr. 178 was finished in 1353.¹⁶ The third, ÖNB Cod. 2592,

¹² Avril classified the hands of the different artists according to stylistic trends, including “manneristic” and “naturalistic.” See Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century*, 114-16.

¹³ In the catalog accompanying the recent exhibition of *Rose* manuscripts at the BnF, the artist is referred to as the “Maître du *Roman de la rose* de Genève,” a designation which the online catalog of the BnF indicates was given by Avril. See <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr>, last accessed on July 31, 2014, and *Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2012), 186. I continue to refer to the illuminator as Artist L, the name given by Avril in his study of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, because it better indicates his role as a collaborator with contemporary Parisian illuminators. See Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110, n. 2.

¹⁴ For more information on manuscripts attributed to Artist L, which will be discussed later in this section, see Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110, n. 2.

¹⁵ Artist E of the *Bible moralisée* also illuminated a *Rose* manuscript: Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 57. For Avril’s attribution, see *ibid.*, 104, n. 3. On general aspects of Selden Supra 57, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 158; Falconer Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953), vol. 2, no. 3445, 636-37; Otto Pächt and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 46-47, no. 597; A. G. Hassall and W. O. Hassall, *Treasures from the Bodleian Library* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 109-12. In his extensive description of this manuscript on the JHU-BnF *Roman de la rose* site, Timothy Stinson stated that the following inscription is written by hand in the entries for this manuscript in copies of the *Summary Catalogue* available in Duke Humfrey’s Library at Oxford: “Et est...; Parisius...; ..[anno d[omi]ni] MCCC; XLVIII.” While this is now nearly invisible, the date of 1348 is repeated in the electronic databases of the Bodleian Library. See <http://romandelarose.org/#book;SeldenSupra57>, last accessed on August 4, 2014. Because it is a near contemporary of the manuscripts illuminated by Hand L, it will serve as a comparative case study later in this chapter. Avril also attributed two *Rose* manuscripts to followers of Artist N of the *Bible moralisée*: Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, 245 and KBR 9577. See Avril, “Manuscrits,” *Fastes du gothique*, 322-3.

¹⁶ BnF fr. 1565 is dated in an explicit on f. 142r. On BnF fr. 1565, see Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français* (Paris: Didot, 1868-97), 255.; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 22-23; Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” fig. 33. For Artist E’s involvement in BnF fr. 1565, see Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 104 and 110. Geneva fr. 178 is dated in an explicit on fol. 190v. For more on the Geneva manuscript, see Hippolyte Aubert, *Notices sur les manuscrits Petau conservés à la bibliothèque de Genève* (Paris: Nogent-le-Rotrou, Imprimerie Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1911), 145-50; Langlois, *Les*

has been given the date 1355-65.¹⁷ This cluster of *Rose* manuscripts – two produced at about the same time, and one a bit later – allows us to consider variation among pictorial cycles in contemporary manuscripts and trace one illuminator’s adaptation of his own work in accord with changes in taste and the market.

Artist L illuminated copies of texts that were popular among patrons in the immediate circle of the early Valois ruler John the Good (App. D). Following in the footsteps of his father Philip the Fair, John the Good supported the Parisian booktrade and built up the royal collections, ordering French translations of Latin works, including Livy’s *History of Rome*, commissioning an ambitious glossed Bible from the Master of Jean de Sy,¹⁸ and patronizing the colossal project of the *Bible moralisée* – a manuscript type reserved for royalty and the most wealthy. Even when imprisoned after the disastrous battle of Poitiers in 1356 – a battle in which he was captured by the English and brought to London to be held for ransom – the king continued to order books, especially political and historical texts in the vernacular.¹⁹ It was in this climate, where well-illuminated manuscripts were thought to have the ability to bolster one’s status and reputation, that Artist L was working.

With the help of Avril’s astute attributions, it is possible to gain a detailed picture of the illuminator’s career, as seen in Appendix D. Artist L was involved in illustrating at

Manuscripts, 195; Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” fig. 28; Philippe Monnier, “Trois manuscrits ayant appartenu au duc de Berry,” *Librarium* 11 (1968), 125-37. Also see the detailed description of the manuscript by Paule Dubuis at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bge/fr0178>, last accessed on July 20, 2014.

¹⁷ On the dating of this manuscript, see Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110, n. 2. See also n. 62 of this chapter. For more on Codex 2592, see H. J. Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, vol. 7: Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gothik und der Renaissance (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1936), 76-87, no. 24.

¹⁸ On BnF fr. 15397, the glossed Bible, see , 325-26, no. 280. On the translations ordered by Philip the Good as a precursor to those commissioned by Charles V, see Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 4-5.

¹⁹ See Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V: roi de France, 1337-1380* (Paris: Champion, 1907), vol. 1, 331; Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 4-5.

least twelve manuscripts, of which the earliest is dated 1350.²⁰ He illuminated religious texts above all, including several copies of the *Bible historiale*, which included extracts from the Bible as well as glosses by figures such as Peter Comestor, a glossed Latin Bible, and two breviaries. While his livelihood did not depend on French romances and histories, three of his works – that is, a quarter of his extant identified oeuvre – were manuscript copies of the *Roman de la rose*.²¹

Art historians have recognized that Artist L was at the cutting edge of Parisian illumination. According to Avril, he painted in a “mannerist” style: his figures are most readily recognized by their slight sway in the form of an S-curve– replacing the stocky figures of the Montbaston era – and faces with eyes placed close to short noses (Fig. 3.2).²² The figures themselves are spindly: they have lengthy limbs, with knobby knees and muscled calves. Young men wear short cotes and tights in alternating colors of red, pink, blue, and purple. The artist also added an array of fashionable elements to this basic silhouette, most frequently hooded chaperons worn over their shoulders. Red and blue dominates his color palette, and large areas of bright color – which had often been left undisturbed in the styles popular in the 1330s and 1340s – are, on his figures, more frequently broken up by highlights and shadow. The backgrounds are covered by delicate spirals or checkerboard patterns.

Commonalities among *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by Artist L provide a starting point for thinking about how norms for well-illuminated copies of the *Rose* had shifted since the time of the Montbastons. While Richard and Jeanne utilized four

²⁰ See Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110, n. 2.

²¹ Dominic Leo has suggested that Brussels KBR 11187, a fragment of the *Rose*, might be attributed to Hand L, but having examined it closely, I would say that this does not appear to be the case. Leo, “Authorial Presence in the Illuminated Machaut Manuscripts”, 66.

²² Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110.

different types of frontispieces, Artist L opened all three *Rose* manuscripts with the four-part composition that Richard favored and that belongs to Group VI of Alfred Kuhn's classification (Figs. 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5). By this time there was an expectation that a *Rose* manuscript of any pretension would begin with a large-scale image, and the four-scene format – one of the most elaborate and most popular types that the Montbastons had circulated – filled the page most effectively. This was the format that Artist L favored, as did other artists in the circle responsible for the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good.²³

The number of miniatures in Artist L's three *Rose* manuscripts ranged between forty and sixty-two, with the Geneva manuscript having the fewest images and the Vienna manuscript the most (App. E). This represents a significant escalation compared with the Montbastons' count of sixteen to fifty-one images per *Rose* manuscript. The increase is seen especially in Jean de Meun's section of the text, which, in all three manuscripts, is illuminated by at least twenty miniatures; only two Montbaston manuscripts have more than twenty images in the continuation. The expansion of the number of illuminations illustrating Jean's portion may simply have been a consequence of the fact that the text had been in circulation for a longer period of time and artists had collectively added to the stock of available images. But the increase may, however, also be related to the growing interest in Jean de Meun as an author, signaled by the occasional inclusion of others of his writings in manuscripts of the *Rose*. According to Badel's statistics, based on Langlois' catalog, twenty-five manuscripts, about one-fifth of the *Rose* manuscripts dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, incorporated

²³ These include Selden Supra 57 (Artist E), Montpellier H 245 (follower of Artist N), and KBR 9577 (follower of Artist N). For these attributions, see *ibid.*, 104, n. 3, 112-14. On the Selden Supra manuscript, see n. 15 of this chapter. On the Montpellier manuscript, see , 322-23, no. 276. For a reproduction of the frontispiece of KBR 9577, see Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 38.

another work by Jean de Meun.²⁴ In all three manuscripts attributed to Artist L, the *Rose* is bound with Jean's *Testament*, a didactic poem in which he imparted his wisdom to future readers in anticipation of his own death and judgment.²⁵ While the *Testament* was the text most frequently included, Jean's other works, including the *Codicille*, a short devotional poem in praise of repentance, and the *Trésor* (also known as the *Sept articles de la foi*) appeared, too, alongside the romance.²⁶ The latter, attributed in the Middle Ages to Jean de Meun, has now been reassigned to Jean Chapuis, an author whose name is identified in the text, but about whom very little is known.²⁷ Sylvia Huot has suggested two reasons for the inclusion of Jean's texts: by the mid-fourteenth century single-author compilations were generally becoming more popular, and, at this time, there was an ever increasing interest in the didactic value of the *Rose*.²⁸ As we will see in BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscript, this interest is registered in the pictorial cycles as well.

BnF fr. 1565 and Geneva fr. 178: Sister Manuscripts by Artist L

Created only one year apart, BnF fr. 1565 and Geneva Ms. fr. 178 are remarkably similar. Both contain recensions of the *Rose* that belong to the same textual family – group N in Langlois' classification; the rubrics accompanying miniatures in the two manuscripts are alike in placement and content; and the image cycles have striking

²⁴ See chart in Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 64. Also see Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 33. For more on other texts bound with the *Rose*, see Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 63-64; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 213-18.

²⁵ Chantilly 665, a *Rose* manuscript illuminated by Richard de Montbaston, also includes the *Testament* of Jean de Meun. The only modern edition of this text is found in Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Dominique Martin Méon (Paris: Didot, 1814), vol. 4, 1-116.

²⁶ For the *Codicille*, see *ibid.*, vol. 4, 117-21. For the *Tresor*, see *ibid.*, vol. 3, 331-95.

²⁷ The only record of this author is the mention of his name at the end of the poem. See Genevieve Hasenohr and Michel Zink, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen âge* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 761.

²⁸ Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 33.

commonalities.²⁹ This suggests that the two manuscripts were designed at the same time and that one was modeled on the other or both on the same exemplar. One was made by Artists E and L in collaboration, and one by Artist L alone. The pair serves as evidence of a strategy for workshop efficiency or, perhaps, a request from a given patron for a manuscript copying another. Regardless, the fact that so many features of the two manuscript are nearly identical – a rarity – indicates that the image cycle had been met with success. By examining the overall shape of the twin pictorial cycles, which evidently played well to tastes of the time, it is possible to see how later artists experimented with patterns of illumination established in earlier manuscripts. The artist’s systematic updating of preexisting compositions, primarily by way of style, allows us to gauge changes and discover what patrons were coming to value.

BnF fr. 1565, as noted above, is dated 1352 in the explicit.³⁰ It is a medium-sized volume, measuring 30.2 x 22.6 cm and containing 169 folios; the text is written in two columns of forty lines in a moderately formal gothic hand.³¹ While its patron remains unknown, one of its images suggests a courtly milieu: fashionable donor figures, dressed much like characters in the *Rose*, appear kneeling in the half-page frontispiece of the

²⁹ On the recensions of the text, see Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 238-39. For an analysis of the common textual interpolations found in K, M, and N manuscripts, see Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 163-194. The level of correspondence between rubrics that accompany images in the two *Rose* manuscripts is unusual, though I have admittedly limited my scope to those that had an effect on the pictorial cycle. For more on the variation between rubrics amongst manuscripts with texts that are in the same family, see Rouse, “Keeping up Appearances,” 13. In BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscript, the following images have rubrics that differ slightly in language: Virginius cutting of the head of his daughter, the second representation of the Wheel of Fortune, the lover asking Richesse to show him the way, La Vieille handing the lover the chaplet, the battle against the guards of the castle, and Pygmalion finding his *ymage* alive. The following images have scenes that differ slightly in placement: La Vieille approaching the lover and Venus aiming her arrow at the castle.

³⁰ The explicit reads, “Maintes gens dient que en songes / N’a se fables non et mençonges ... - ... Que tout quant que j’ai recite / Est fine et pure verité / Explicit et completum anno LII.” Langlois provided a transcription of the first and last two lines; this more complete transcription is provided on Gallica. See Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 22-23. and <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, last accessed August 10, 2014.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Testament (Fig. 3.6). Artist L was responsible for the majority of the forty-three one-column miniatures; Artist E executed all twelve images in the first gathering, including the frontispiece, and two other miniatures later in the manuscript.³²

Geneva fr. 178 was illuminated exclusively by Artist L just one year later. An explicit on fol. 190v, written by the scribe “Girart de Biaulieu,” places the manuscript in Paris and provides the date of 1353.³³ Measuring 29 x 21 cm and containing 191 folios, the text written in two columns of thirty-six lines, it is very close in size to its sister manuscript.³⁴ The manuscript contains a frontispiece and thirty-nine one-column miniatures, just four fewer than BnF fr. 1565, generally occurring at the same points in the text and with the same rubrics – though sometimes the rubrics are a little longer as if the scribe had access to a more complete set.³⁵ Based on a partially effaced coat of arms, it has been proposed that the manuscript belonged to Jean Budé, a celebrated humanist who later became secretary to King Charles V; a damaged ex libris on fol. 190v led Hippolyte Aubert to suggest that it subsequently ended up in the collection of Jean, Duke

³² Avril attributed miniatures on fols. 1-8 and 97r to Artist E. I agree with Waugh’s proposal that this appears to be an editorial error and that Artist E was actually responsible for images on fols. 1-8, 96v, 34r, and 39r. See Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 104, n. 3; 110, n. 2; Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 406. In a very informative article, Lori Walters compared the image cycles of four contemporary *Rose* manuscripts: Princeton University Library Garrett 126, BnF fr. 1565, Morgan M.324, and BnF fr. 24388. Her charting of the iconography of these four manuscripts was an early inspiration for my own work. All four manuscripts are classified as belonging to Kuhn’s Group VI, but are otherwise unrelated. Walters is not interested in the relationship between these image cycles and those of earlier *Rose* manuscripts. Walters, “A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*,” 31-55.

³³ “Girart de Biaulieu, cleric de S. Sauveur de Paris a escript cest livre. Dieus le gart. Et fu parfait l’an cinquante trois.” For this transcription, see Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 43 and the manuscript description by Paule Hochuli Dubuis: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/description/bge/fr0178>, last accessed on August 1, 2014. In his earlier catalog description, Aubert posited that the illuminations might postdate the explicit, and that they were executed sometime between 1353-75. Based on stylistic evidence – and close similarities to its sibling manuscript – I would suggest that the illuminations were created at the earlier end of this window. Aubert, *Notices sur les manuscrits Petau*, 561.

³⁴ I refer to the more recent information by Dubuis in the online catalog. Langlois noted that the manuscript is 29 x 21.3 mm, with 190 folios.

³⁵ When the rubrics are different, Geneva fr. 178 is more likely to have longer rubrics, as on fols. 16r, 38r, 47v, 50v, 75v, and 114r. See n. 29 of this chapter.

of Berry.³⁶ At the time, Paris was full of exemplars of the *Roman de la rose* and there were probably precedents for most, though perhaps not all, of the images found in the large pictorial cycles in these two manuscripts. The libraire who was in charge of the projects, unknown in both cases, would likely have informed the artists as to what they would be paid for the commission, and, perhaps, have given them a general idea of the patron's expectations. But the fact that the manuscripts are not perfect duplicates of one another shows the artist feeling as free to improvise as did the Montbastons, even when producing twin manuscripts, and when – in creating those manuscripts – drawing extensively on precedents. Adaptation can be seen on the level of individual images. Even when Artists L and E employed a composition and iconography familiar to us from Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts produced in the previous decade, they responded to the expectation for change by updating the style and manner of rendering the compositions.

Passages that Artists E (working on the first eight folios of BnF fr. 1565) and L (responsible for the rest of BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscript) selected for illumination in Guillaume de Lorris' section correspond closely to the norm established by the earlier generation of illuminators (App. E). Both artists included a four-part frontispiece showing the lover dreaming, putting on his shoes, walking through a natural

³⁶ Hippolyte Aubert attributed a partially effaced coat of arms on f. 1r to the Budé family. He also noted that on fol. 190v, there are signs of an ex-libris that had later been erased, stating that the book later belonged to Jean, Duke of Berry. His transcription of the ex-libris is as follows: “C[e li]vre, [appelé le] R[omans de la] R[ose, est à monseig]neur [Jehan, fils de roy, duc de] Berry, [conte de Poitou et d’Auvergne].” This text is now invisible to the naked eye. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify the book with a particular entry in the duke's inventory of 1402, though Aubert has suggested number 275 as a possibility. The vague entry does not give much information about the manuscript, only stating that it was given from the duke to Guillaume de Lode. See Aubert, *Notices sur les manuscrits Petau*, 145-50. For this entry in the duke's inventory, see Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868-81), vol. 3, 192. Others have made different suggestions for the identity of the manuscript mentioned in the inventory. Langlois, for instance, thought it might refer to BnF fr. 12595 for he found, on fol. 157r of that manuscript, a partially erased inscription, which he read as “Ce livre est au duc de Berry. Jehan”. Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 48. On three manuscripts, now located in Geneva, including fr. 178, that may have subsequently ended up in the duke's collection, see Monnier, “Trois manuscrits ayant appartenu au duc de Berry,” 124-137.

landscape, and entering the garden of love. This is followed by images of the vices, representations of the carole, Narcissus at the fountain, interactions between the God of Love and the lover, Venus speaking to Bel Acueil (Fair Welcoming), Paor (Fear), and Honte (Shame) approaching Dangier (Resistance), and the building of Jealousy's Castle. The image cycles differ at three points. BnF fr. 1565 includes two images that not in the Geneva manuscript: one of Oiseuse (Idleness) speaking with the lover, and another of Bel Acueil handing the lover the rose. The Geneva manuscript includes an additional conversation image showing Dangier reprimanding the lover after his encounter with the flower. While it is difficult to know the precise reasons for these variations, it is clear that the placement of the images was generally more carefully thought out in the Geneva manuscript than in BnF fr. 1565. Miniatures in BnF fr. 1565 are irregular in size, mostly between eight and twelve lines high, and, in two instances, even squeezed down to a height of six lines at the bottom of the column, when the scribe did not leave enough room for a miniature (Fig. 3.7).³⁷ All of the images in the Geneva manuscript, by contrast, are eleven or twelve lines in height, revealing an emphasis on uniformity. This may suggest that Artist L rationalized the scheme when making a virtual duplicate.

In the two manuscripts, as mentioned above, Jean de Meun's section of the text is more fully illuminated than it is in any Montbaston manuscript. Both manuscripts begin with an author portrait, which launches Reason's discourse. The artists do not represent "conversation" images showing dialogue between Reason and the lover; instead they focus on the illustration of exempla in her speech. This was a section where the number of illustrations varied greatly, both in the time of the Montbastons and in the second half

³⁷ This is seen on fols. 14v and 44r. Two other images are almost as small, only seven lines tall, as seen at the bottom of columns on 87r and 109v.

of the fourteenth century. The Montbastons often skipped the illumination of this section, or only provided an image of the Wheel of Fortune. In three manuscripts, however, they included more: BNE 10032 and BnF fr. 25526 contained illustrations of four of Reason's exempla and Chantilly 664 contained five. On the other hand, Artist E, a frequent collaborator of Artist L only included an image of the Wheel of Fortune in a *Rose* manuscript that he illuminated on his own.³⁸ Most of the scenes found in BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscript had precedents in the Montbaston oeuvre: two images of the Wheel of Fortune, Virginius cutting off the head of his daughter, the Death of Seneca, and Croesus asking his daughter to interpret a dream foreseeing his death. An image of Charles of Anjou defeating Manfred, King of Sicily in 1268, introduced by Jean de Meun from then very recent history, was a new addition.

The images accompanying Ami's speech follow the trend of visualizing exempla rather than conversations between characters: the death of Lucretia and Jalous (Jealous Husband) beating his wife appear in both manuscripts. After this point, when Artist L once again began to represent scenes from the narrative framework of the romance, the image cycles of the sibling manuscripts continue to vary slightly. Both manuscripts include images of the God of Love crowning Faux Semblant (False Seeming) as leader and Faux Semblant cutting off the tongue of Malebouche (Foul Mouth). In BnF fr. 1565, the artist included images of La Vieille (the Old Woman), and Bel Accueil with the lover; in the Geneva manuscript he included these and two more conversation images between Vieille and the protagonist. Both manuscripts have images of the Battle against the Guards of the Castle – a turning point in the narrative. To ensure a fitting distribution of images, Artist L inserts miniatures in the text in the speeches of Genius and Reason that

³⁸ Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 57, fol. 34r.

follow: Nature at her forge, Nature's confession (only in BnF fr. 1565), Genius absolving Nature, and Genius' sermon. All of the above images are common in the greater corpus of *Rose* manuscripts.

In both manuscripts Artist L ended the romance with a sequence of three images, two of which are quite unusual. The sequences show the illuminator experimenting with possibilities for visualizing Jean de Meun's complex closing of the tale. First comes an image of Venus aiming her fiery bow at the Castle of Jealousy – the moment before the goddess compares the beauty of a statue on the castle wall to that of Pygmalion's creation (Fig. 3.8). In BnF fr. 1565, the artist followed with an unusual scene of Pygmalion as a dreamer, prompted by the rubric: "Here begins the story of Pygmalion and his dream" ("Ci commence l'hystoire de Pygmalion et de son songe") (Fig. 3.9). The scene may refer to a detail in Pygmalion's monologue, taking place after he had become enamored with his creation: "Am I sleeping? I have many images that could not be priced, and I never fell in love with them, but I am badly tripped up by this one."³⁹ As Lori Walters has noted, the images and rubric here at the end of the romance create an immediate connection to the representation of the lover as a dreamer in the frontispiece at its beginning, thereby emphasizing the allegory's narrative framework.⁴⁰ Interestingly, in both manuscripts, the artist ends the story not with a representation of Pygmalion carving the statue, as was the case in a great number of *Rose* manuscripts, but with a representation of the sculptor embracing his creation, which has now come to life (Fig.

³⁹ "...dor gié? / Mainte image ai fait e forgié / Qu'en ne savait prisier leur pris, / n'once d'eus amer ne fui surpris./ Or sui par cete mal bailliz" *Roman de la rose*, lines 20843-20847; trans. Dahlberg, 341.

⁴⁰ See Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*," 44.

3.10).⁴¹ As Robert Edwards has suggested, Pygmalion's story, like that of the lover, follows the path of courtly love charted by Andreas Capellanus, "beginning with sight and thought, moving to embraces, and ending in sexual consummation."⁴² The artist may have felt that the representation of Pygmalion provided a better analogue to the end of the lover's quest, when the lover is ultimately united with his beloved. In BnF fr. 1565 this is the final image, but in the Geneva manuscript, Artist L sought to wrap up the narrative with an unusual miniature depicting the lover rescuing Bel Acueil from the castle (Fig. 3.11). The constellation of images at the end of both cycles shows the artist trying to give shape to a narrative arc.

To summarize, patterns in the pictorial cycles in the sister manuscripts reveal something of the evolving logic of illuminators who were creating image cycles for wealthy patrons. The taste for copious illustrations – already evidenced in the Montbastons' oeuvre – continued and increased. In terms of content, the cycle of images accompanying Guillaume's section of the text would not have seemed out of place amongst those in Montbaston manuscripts – the number of images (nineteen in the Geneva manuscript and twenty in BnF fr. 1565) is remarkably close to the average of twenty-one in manuscripts illuminated by Richard and Jeanne. On the other hand, both manuscripts contain more than double the average of ten illuminations present in Montbaston manuscripts in Jean's portion of Montbaston *Rose* manuscripts: twenty-one images in the Geneva manuscript and twenty-four in BnF fr. 1565. The growing interest in Jean de Meun as an author may account for some of these changes, but there also

⁴¹ A similar image of the two embracing figures is found in BnF fr. 802, fol. 139v, a Montbaston manuscript.

⁴² Robert R. Edwards, *The Flight from Desire: Augustine and Ovid to Chaucer* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 111.

appears to have been a desire for more even distribution of images throughout the manuscript. Artist L did not choose to increase the number of conversation scenes but sought representable subjects in the actions in the tale and in exempla in Jean de Meun's long discourses. Despite the larger number of images, the points of the text selected for illumination had precedents. With the exception of only a few scenes Artists E and L could rely on earlier compositions created by artists such as the Montbastons as they put together their image cycles. The most unusual feature of the image cycles is the illustration of six exempla in Raison's speech, and most of those could even be traced back to earlier types.⁴³ What was new was the manner of illustrating received images.

Transformation: The Nature of Change

The frontispieces were the manuscripts' showpieces, and they provide a starting point for considering how Artists E and L, responsible respectively for the opening image in BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscript, updated an existing composition (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4). As noted above, they chose most elaborate of the types, the frontispiece divided into four compartments – a type well represented in the oeuvre of the Montbastons, who had produced at least seven of this kind (Fig. 2.14). In BnF fr. 1565, Artist E, who had illuminated a *Rose* manuscript just a few years earlier, changed his design when collaborating with L, and the resulting composition is so close to that in the Geneva manuscript, that we can discuss the two manuscripts together.⁴⁴ In both images the lover

⁴³ Chantilly 664 is the most similar, with five images accompanying this portion of the text. The Chantilly manuscript does not include the second representation of the Wheel of Fortune or the Defeat of Duke Manfred, but includes an additional representation of the Death of Nero. Lori Walters has also noted the unusual number of images illustrating moral exempla in BnF fr. 1565. Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*," 46.

⁴⁴ The frontispiece of Selden Supra 57, though quadripartite and placed by Kuhn in Group VI, is different in effect. Artist E separates the protagonist's actions into adjoining squares that are placed next to each

is depicted dreaming in bed, putting on shoes, walking through a landscape, and entering the garden. But the illuminators each made subtle changes to the earlier schemes: unlike the Montbastons, they left out the representation of characters who appear only later in the text, so as to focus on the lover's early actions in the romance.⁴⁵ While the final scene in several Montbaston frontispieces represents Oiseuse or Dangier greeting the lover at the garden's gate, Artists E and L simply represent the lover bending forward as he passes through.⁴⁶ The rosebush still appears, though, to frame the narrative. Kuhn championed the disappearance of Dangier and Oiseuse in later frontispieces; he felt that their presence was nonsensical this early in the tale.⁴⁷ His value judgments notwithstanding, the change that he notes is real – as Blamires and Holian noted, later artists tended to adhere to what they call an “ad verbum” principle, restricting the content of the images to what is described at the beginning of the narrative.⁴⁸

Still, the most striking differences in the later illuminators' versions of what had become a standard frontispiece lie not in iconography, but in the inclusion of stylish decorative elements and also in the very manner of rendering the scene. The framing of the frontispieces is more elaborate than anything seen earlier: the borders of Montbaston frontispieces are strictly linear, but here each scene is framed by a polylobed border in red, white, and blue. Kuhn long ago noted that these tricolor quadrilobed frames were such a common feature in mid-century Parisian workshops that they help confirm the

other, “somewhat like postage stamps.” Hassall and Hassall, *Treasures from the Bodleian Library*, 110. In this earlier manuscript, Artist E includes the figure of Dangier in the first scene.

⁴⁵ The iconography of the frontispiece of BnF fr. 24388 is almost identical to the frontispieces of the two manuscripts under discussion.

⁴⁶ Montbaston frontispieces that have Oiseuse in this scene include Chantilly Ms. 664 and Smith-Lesouëf 62. Frontispieces that include Dangier in this scene include Chantilly Ms. 665, Walters W.143, Morgan M.503, and BnF fr. 15526 do not include a character in the final scene.

⁴⁷ On the omission of Dangier in later frontispieces, see Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 27.

⁴⁸ Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 39.

scribe's dating in the explicit.⁴⁹ The artists not only showed their awareness of trends in the framing but also in the backgrounds of the images, which they filled with intricate checkerboard and spiral forms.⁵⁰ Pieces of cloth – like the coverlet on the sleeper's bed in BnF 1565 – are layered with colorful stripes to bold effect, and the trees and ground are represented with individual leaves and blades of grass. Minutely rendered birds perch on the treetops. The enclosed garden in the fourth scene is depicted in three-quarters view – more dramatically by Artist L – creating a perspective that invites the inclusion of more architectural detail: the artists provided regular crenellations and thin lancet windows. They rendered clothing with care. Both retained an older iconography for representing the lover as cleric: the outfit of a loose, hooded surcote that left visible the long sleeves of the cote – very similar to the one represented in Montbaston frontispieces – did not seem to need updating. The real difference lay in the way that the later artists handled the folds: rather than rendering them in black outlines, the artists created soft, subtle highlights and shadows that give substance to the forms. In short, Artists E and L made use of the most lavish of existing frontispiece types but rendered the frames, fields, and figures in their own visual idiom. Through these updateings they invited a comparison between their work and that of earlier Parisian illuminators.

The illuminators naturally included images of the vices. A well-established feature, the vices had also become a site of competition, a space for artists to show off their skills. Both artists opted for the traditional cycle of nine personifications, as typically found in Montbaston copies, but they allowed themselves some leeway to introduce changes. Differences between the two illuminators' representations of the vices

⁴⁹ Kuhn also mentioned BnF fr. 24388, BnF fr. 1565, Biblioteca Corsini 55 K. 4, and Geneva fr. 178.

⁵⁰ Kuhn noted that the spiral forms also confirm the Parisian origins of the manuscript. Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43.

point to the kind of practical freedom granted to artists: it would not have been feasible for the libraire or lead illuminator to oversee every visual decision, and artists represented different types of figures as they saw fit.⁵¹ Thus, for instance, the rubric “Hayne pourtraite” prompted Artist E to represent Hayne (Hate) as a seated figure looking away from a youth; Artist L rendered the same vice as a long-haired female figure committing suicide by sword (Figs. 3.12 and 3.13).⁵² Artist L’s unusual representation looks much like images of the death of Lucretia in other *Rose* manuscripts and catches the quality of the vice as a “woman crazy with rage.”⁵³ What is clear is that both artists saw the vices – with their complex visual attributes – as a place to display technical mastery of fashionable trends in illumination. They used representations of the related vices of Convoitise (Covetousness) and Avarice (Avarice), both typically depicted with an open chest full of gold plates or coins, as an opportunity to experiment with representations of three-dimensional forms. In several Montbaston manuscripts, for instance, the vices are shown stacking gold on the top edge of a chest that is rendered flatly on the page (Fig. 2.17).⁵⁴ But, in BnF fr. 1565, Artist E played with rendering furniture in perspective. He represented Convoitise as a young woman seated before a banquet table and tilted the table top so it was represented flat against the surface of the page, the gold items represented as if hovering in front of the tablecloth (Fig. 3.14). Avarice, on the same page, sits between two chests that are depicted as if viewed from slightly above, and from

⁵¹ Interestingly, in Selden Supra 57, Artist E does not represent the vices in the same manner as he does in BnF fr. 1565.

⁵² There are two other instances where the artists took different approaches to illustrating the same vice: Convoitise, discussed below, and Vieillesse, whom Artist L oddly represented as a bearded man (fol. 4r).

⁵³ “Ainz sembloit fame forsenee” *Roman de la rose*, line 146; trans. Dahlberg, 33. Blamires and Holian have suggested that, in addition to the name in the rubric, illuminators may have intended to invoke this particular line in the text. See Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 39.

⁵⁴ This same type of composition is found in Walters W.143, fol. 2v. See description in Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 173, no. 65.

an oblique angle, so that we see both the volume of the box, and the gold and expensive cloth held within (Fig. 3.15). In the Geneva manuscript, Artist L depicted Convoitise stacking gold coins into a gold chest, represented from this same angle, but depicted a second chest to her right to contain clothing (Fig. 3.16). Here the illuminator painted shadows cast from the legs of the chests, giving us the impression that the scene takes place on a shallow stage. In these and in other examples, the artist updated the manner of rendering to enliven what had become a familiar scene.

Artist L took over the illumination of BnF fr. 1565 in the second quire: the change is marked by a sudden and complete correspondence with illuminations in the Geneva manuscript, even when the iconography is unusual. As we saw in the case of the Montbastons, illuminators often developed preferences for rendering particular types of images. In both manuscripts, Artist L represented the figure of Narcissus, identified by rubrics, at the moment in which he first stumbles upon the fountain rather than that when he kneels gazing at himself (Figs. 3.17 and 3.18).⁵⁵ He is shown walking through the green landscape, pointing toward a pool of water, and leaning forward as if first catching sight of his reflection. The lover's own encounter with the fountain is not represented at all, and the image of Narcissus was likely intended to stand in for both characters' stories. This choice aligns with Artist L's instinct to include more action images in the cycle than did others of his contemporaries.

⁵⁵ I have determined this to be an image of Narcissus because the unfinished rubric at the bottom of the previous page reads, "Comme narcissus se mire en la [fontaine]." The image is also followed by the lines in Narcissus' tale: "A la fontaine tout a dens / se mist lors pour boire dedens." These lines are a slight variation of those found in Langlois' edition of the text. See *Roman de la rose*, lines 1481-82. Because the lover's experience mirrors that of Narcissus, images such as this one were undoubtedly intended to refer to both moments at once. Lori Walters also noted that the scene was unusual, though she focused on the fact that the illuminator did not represent a reflection in the water. This, however, was not a rare occurrence. Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the *Romance of the Rose*," 42.

Artist L was compelled by both the text's structure and by precedents to illuminate his share of "talk" scenes. Included in so many *Rose* manuscripts in circulation, many of these images were understated. But images of Paor and Honte approaching Dangier, very similar to those in several Montbaston manuscripts, had more complex composition, allowing him to update them in his signature style. The differences between representations of the scene by the Montbastons and Artist L show us what the artist found necessary to update. Honte and Paor gesture toward the antagonist, who sleeps on the side of a hill, topped with a tree (Figs. 3.19 and 3.20). In the Montbaston image, the relative scale of the pictorial elements is different than in Artist L's example: the figures are larger, taking up most of the pictorial field, and their faces broad, with prominent features. The trees in front of the sleeping Dangier – with thick, curved trunks and large leaves that gather into a circle – are smaller than those behind the figure. The robes of Honte and Paor seem to gather on the lower border, which also serves as the ground plane of the image. In Artist L's miniature, the figures are smaller and more slight – the space between them gains prominence. Some of their limbs appear to be behind the frame of the image, giving us the impression that there is a shallow space behind the border. The artist has limited himself to the representation of one tree at the top of the hill, but gave it a trunk with a more complex system of branches – two boughs of small leaves that form rounded canopies. We see that Artist L built cycles out of precedents, and generally retained the major components of the composition, but rendered them in a more current style.

Artist L also used fashion as a means to update the images, a device he would employ to even greater effect in ÖNB Codex 2592. An image of the lover approaching

Richesse and her companion serves as a good example (Fig. 3.21). In the text, Richesse (Wealth) is described as “an honorable lady of high rank, pleasant of body, with a beautiful figure” who is accompanied by a lover, making the representation of her and her companion the perfect place to show off court styles.⁵⁶ In her recent volume on fashion in late medieval northern European illumination, Anne van Buren used this miniature to describe the new fashions sweeping the court of John the Good. Of note is the dagging found on the hem of the young men’s chaperons, the hooded garments worn over their shoulders. The detail was recent and did not exist for illuminators to introduce even ten years earlier.⁵⁷ The men also wear a new type of outer garment – rather than a loose surcote, a new “lengthened doublet”: Artist L used its more fitted shape to accentuate his S-shaped presentation of the body.⁵⁸ Richesse he showed wearing a fashionable “open surcote” with armholes that extend past the hips, giving a glimpse of the cote underneath.⁵⁹ The illuminator was not completely consistent in his representation of fashion across the two manuscripts. In the Geneva manuscript, though slightly later, he dressed Richesse in a plain cote and did not render dagging on the young men’s chaperons (Fig. 3.22). But signs of “newness” are still there – the two young men wear a lengthened doublet and now tippetts hang from lover’s elbows, referencing yet another mid-fourteenth century trend in fashion.

Waugh has gone so far as to propose a direct link between newer styles of painting seen in the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good and the increased appearance of

⁵⁶ “Dame poissant e enourable, / Gente de cors, bele de fourme.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 10054-55; trans. Dahlberg, 180.

⁵⁷ The image is used by van Buren to explain dagging’s early appearance as a trend in illuminations. See van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 57, fig. F.15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

newer forms of clothing. According to Waugh, the “mannerist” style of painting employed by L was “highly suited to the slimmer garments fashionable around 1340, with the exaggerated legs of the male figures emphasizing the higher hemlines of that date.”⁶⁰ Among the illuminators of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, Artist L tended to include newer forms of dress more frequently.⁶¹ His representations of novel fashions, in a novel style of rendering, made him an appropriate choice for patrons seeking *Rose* manuscripts.

ÖNB Codex 2592: Experiments in Narrative and Style

Avril assigned Codex 2592 to Artist L and dated it c. 1355-65, five to ten years later than his other two *Rose* manuscripts.⁶² Kuhn posited that the frontispiece was executed by a different artist who was technically more advanced, a possible scenario for such a richly illuminated volume, but Avril made no mention of the presence of another hand.⁶³ Measuring 30.0 cm x 21.2 cm, with 147 folios, the manuscript is comparable in

⁶⁰ Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 198-99.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

⁶² Avril dated the manuscript more specifically in relation to others attributed to Artist L. The style of Codex 2592 is most similar to the illuminator’s work in BnF lat. 2119 (*Milleloquium sancti Augustini*), dated 1358. Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre,” 110, n. 2. Alfred Kuhn had dated the work slightly later, to the early 1370s, based on its formal similarities to BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4515 (*Les voyages de Jean de Mandeville*), which Avril would later attribute to an associate of Artist L. Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 16. Despite the slight discrepancies in dating, both art historians placed the manuscript among works by a group of Parisian illuminators working in a similar style. I follow Avril’s slightly earlier date, which better corresponds to the dates of other manuscripts painted by Artist L and the general style of the miniatures.

⁶³ See Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 15-16. This opinion was seconded by Hermann, who went even further, suggesting that the image cycle was, in fact, the product of a several miniaturists who worked together so closely together that, with the exception of the frontispiece, it was impossible to distinguish between the different hands. See Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 78. I would see this as a possibility, but have not had the opportunity to pursue the question. Following Kuhn’s protocol in his description of the manuscript, I will continue to refer to the artist in the singular, because only the frontispiece is painted in a markedly different style.

size to other copies of the *Rose* illuminated by Artist L and his collaborators.⁶⁴ It also has a familiar standardized ruling: the text is written in two forty-line columns. The manuscript is dated only on the basis of style, and its specific patron is not known. But a figure in the initial L on fol. 148r, which begins Jean de Meun's *Testament*, indicates aristocratic ownership: a man dressed as a knight, wearing armor equipped with spurs, kneels in front of the Trinity. The heraldic insignia on his tabard – blue, with large gold diamonds, has not yet been identified.⁶⁵

To satisfy such a client the artist would have sought ways to make the volume impressive when compared to those that were already in circulation. He had clearly received a big commission for a lot of miniatures, making his first step the extension of the pictorial cycle. The manuscript contains sixty-two images – twenty-two more than in Artist L's earlier *Rose* manuscripts. The additions, perhaps surprisingly, came especially in Guillaume's section – already traditionally more densely illuminated than Jean's – where he incorporated forty-one images, twice as many as in BnF fr. 1565 or the Geneva manuscript. In creating such a dense image cycle for the first portion of the text, Artist L showed ingenuity, reaching beyond immediate precedent, including scenes certainly never illustrated by Montbastons. Despite inconsistencies in the rubrics accompanying the images – sometimes they are long and descriptive, and at other times they are absent altogether – the artist attempted to give a fuller sense of the plotline.⁶⁶ The images accompanying Jean de Meun's section, on the other hand, remain about as frequent as in BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscripts, even if the illuminator emphasized different

⁶⁴ See Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 3-4; Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 76.

⁶⁵ For a description of this figure, see Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 87.

⁶⁶ Rubrics are transcribed, but not translated, in *ibid.*, 79-87.

points in the text. Jean spent many lines recounting exempla, scientific accounts, and religious doctrine, none of which Artist L found to be particularly receptive to representation. The result is an image cycle focusing on characters in their interactions, and its tone is accordingly more courtly in nature, perhaps better suited to the patron at hand and the strengths of this particular illuminator, who relished in the opportunity to represent fashionable garb and animated interactions between figures.

In the opening fourth of the manuscript, the artist multiplied the number of images in a striking way. The image cycle begins in much the same fashion as its earlier counterparts, with a four-part frontispiece and miniatures representing nine vices, followed by Oiseuse and the lover at the garden gate, and the Carole. After this conventional start, the pictorial cycle becomes very unusual. The artist includes no fewer than six representations of the God of Love's companions, giving each an individual image in a manner similar to the vices. These include: Richesse (Wealth), Largesse (Generosity), Franchise (Openness), Courtoisie (Courtesy), Oiseuse (Idleness), and Jeunesse (Youth).⁶⁷ When the rubric indicates that the courtly figure in question has a companion, such as "Franchise pourtraite et son ami" ("Openness portrayed and her friend"), the author renders a stylish young man along with the personification (Fig. 3.23).

The illuminator steadily expanded the pictorial cycle. He infused more action into the lover's encounter with the fountain of Narcissus by including three images to accompany the tale, rather than the single image we encountered in the two earlier copies. First he represented the lover encountering the fountain, then Narcissus kneeling and

⁶⁷ A contemporary *Rose* manuscript illuminated by an artist who was the "direct disciple" of Artist N, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier, H 245, has representation of three of these figures – Richesse, Largesse, and Cortoisie.

looking into it, and only then the lover standing and looking into the fountain (Figs. 3.24, 3.25, 3.26). He also brought clarity to the scene by rendering the fountain not as pool but as square of cut stones; the text describes that it was made of marble and engraved with “small letters saying that there the fair Narcissus died.”⁶⁸ Artist L also included more images visualizing the early interactions between the lover and the God of Love, painting a fuller picture of the lover’s capture and his ritual initiation as Love’s vassal. While the earlier manuscripts only include three miniatures in this sequence, Codex 2592 has five: the God of Love shooting the lover, the God of Love hunting down the lover, the lover paying homage to the God of Love, the God of Love locking the lover’s side, and the God of Love explaining his commandments.

The expansionist pattern continues. The next three images represent the lover’s early encounter with the rose: Bel Acueil speaks to the lover and offers him the flower before Dangier warns both figures away from the rosebushes. Then comes a large number of conversation images – many of which can be found in the earlier Montbaston manuscripts but never in such great number. Raison, Dangier, Bel Acueil, Ami, Franchise, Pitie, and Venus all make an appearance. Finally, Guillaume’s section of the text ends with two unusual images depicting Jealousy’s castle. In the first image, the artist represents Jalousie ordering a young man to build the castle. Instead of showing the typical image of workers building the structure, here a young man swings a sickle at the base of the rosebush, perhaps visualizing the very first step in the construction, where Jalousie ordered men to “construct ditches around the rosebushes” in order to form a

⁶⁸ “Si ot dedenz la pierre escrites, / Ou bort amont letres petites, / Qui disoient qu’iluec desus / se mori li biaux Narcisus.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 1435-38; trans. Dahlberg, 50.

moat (Fig. 3.27).⁶⁹ The rubric accompanying the final image of Guillaume's section reads, ("How the tower of Jalousie was made and enclosed on all sides. The lover speaks.") "Comment la tour de jalousie est faicte et close tout en tour. L'amant parle." This double rubric encouraged the artist to depict an unusual image of the lover, arms crossed, gazing at the built tower (Fig. 3.28).

Jean's far longer text, filled with digressions without narrative action, contains only twenty miniatures – half the number that appear in Guillaume's section. The artist had a propensity to illustrate narrative scenes, and the continuation simply afforded fewer opportunities for this. Artist L started off with the typical one-column author portrait and then moved onto the miniatures that accompany Reason's speech. First comes an image of Raison and the lover, and then miniatures representing three exempla, half of the number found in his earlier manuscripts: the Wheel of Fortune, Virginius holding the head of his daughter, and the defeat of Duke Manfred. Ami's speech follows, only the Death of Lucretia visualized.

Artist L then returned to seeking out action scenes. He included three representations at the point in the text where the lover encounters the God of Love and his army. In the following three miniatures, he represented Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance and the defeat of Malebouche. La Vieille – whose conversation with Bel Accueil is almost 2500 lines in length – is only given two images. One represents the character handing a chaplet to Bel Accueil, and the other illustrates the story of Dido, an exemplum

⁶⁹ "...and, for a beginning, she had them construct ditches around the rosebushes." ("Si fait faire, au comencement, / Entor les rosiers uns fossez.") *Roman de la rose*, lines 3802-03; trans. Dahlberg, 85.

intended as a reminder that it is foolish for young women to dedicate themselves to only one man.⁷⁰

Then come forty folios without an image, the largest number of consecutive imageless pages in any manuscript illuminated by the artist. The long spell is broken with a miniature accompanying the representation of Nature at her forge – there is no rubric, and, as in his earlier manuscripts, the illuminator represented a couple in bed to illustrate the passage. The last five images draw out narrative episodes at the end of the poem: the attack on Jealousy’s castle, the story of Pygmalion, and the lover reuniting with the rose. The illuminator illustrated the story of Pygmalion in a way very similar to his treatment of Narcissus at the beginning of the tale: he framed the exemplum with images from the allegory’s main narrative. Near-identical images of Venus aiming her fiery arrow at the castle appear both before and after the artist’s representation of Pygmalion, pulling viewers out of the main narrative through-line and bringing them right back into the action of the romance (Figs. 3.29, 3.30, 3.31). While the rubric accompanying the image of Pygmalion is fairly standard “Comme Pygmalion fist .i. ymage en ivoire” (“How Pygmalion made a sculpture out of ivory”), the sculptor, a basket of tools behind him, appears to hold a needle, sewing a robe to clothe his creation (Fig. 3.30).⁷¹ It is an unusual choice, perhaps a reference to the sculptor’s manic attempt to bring his *ymage* to

⁷⁰ For the story of Dido, see *Roman de la rose*, lines 13173-210; trans. Dahlberg, 228. The double rubric affected the artist’s rendition of the scene. It reads, “Ci dit la vieille a bel acueil comment dydo la royne de cartage s’occist d’une espee pour l’amour de Eneas son ami qui la lessa et s’en ala par mer a navie” (“Here La Vieille tells Bel Accueil how Dido, the queen of Carthage, killed herself with a sword for the love of Aeneas, her lover, who abandoned her and set out to sea by boat”). Accordingly, on the left, the illuminator represents Queen Dido leaning on her sword; on the right Eneas sails away on his boat, floating on the water.

⁷¹ Hermann described the objects in the basket as tools of the sculptor’s trade, but the tool held by Pygmalion is much finer in appearance than those represented in other miniatures, where the sculptor tends to hold a mallet and a chisel. See Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 86. On other representations of Pygmalion as sculptor, see Egbert, “Pygmalion as Sculptor,” 20-33.

life by dressing her in fine garments and accessories.⁷² The visualization of the scene also echoes the illuminator's own interest in the transformative qualities of clothing, which, as we will see, he continued to use to update older compositions.

Next, the artist continued his pattern of ending his copies of the *Roman de la rose* in an unusual way. A rubric calls attention to the wordplay at the end of the poem, in which Jean described the lover as a pilgrim who wears a purse and carries a staff, two objects that become a thinly veiled metaphor for male anatomy: "Here the lover wants to relate to you / how he wants to carry his sack / to touch the holy reliquary / which is sweet and obliging."⁷³ The image itself does not overtly refer to the double entendre, instead maintaining a sense of decorum by representing the lover walking with his staff in one hand and his sack in the other (Fig. 3.32). In the final miniature, the illuminator represented the lover grabbing a flower from the rosebush – the final action in the text before the protagonist awakes from his dream (Fig. 3.33).⁷⁴ The illuminator's decision to represent two images at the end of the tale was unusual – another effort to highlight the narrative structure of the poem.

The artist expanded the image cycle by choosing images that would flesh out the arc of the narrative. Even though he received a commission for a large number of miniatures, he did not create filler images for the sake of uniform distribution. Instead, he relayed the intricacies of the storyline, perhaps because he thought that this is what would be best received by his patron. This type of narrative continuity, not seen in his earlier manuscripts or those illuminated by the Montbastons, is displayed well in the sequence of

⁷² *Roman de la rose*, lines 20931-21013; trans. Dahlberg, 343.

⁷³ "Ci vous veult l'amant raconter / comment veult son hernois porter / pour toucher an saint saintuaire / qui tant est doux est debonnaire." My translation; for transcription, see Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 86.

⁷⁴ *Roman de la rose*, lines 21775-21780; trans. Dahlberg, 180.

three images representing Narcissus and the lover at the fountain (Figs. 3.23, 3.24, and 3.25). The illuminator draws an explicit visual connection between the three miniatures and calls attention to the active, changing dispositions of the character's bodies by repeating the same setting and composition. A prominent tree is represented in all three images, likely a response to the first rubric, which stated that the fountain was located under a tree.⁷⁵ In the first miniature, the hooded, bearded figure, identified as the lover in the rubric, contemplates the fountain in front of him, his sword positioned suggestively between his legs.⁷⁶ In the second image, the figure, identified as Narcissus by the rubric, appears to have taken off his hood before kneeling over the fountain to get a better look at himself.⁷⁷ Finally, the hooded figure steps back from the fountain, leaning away and crossing his arms in a gesture of contemplation. While the rubrics identify the character as either Narcissus or the lover, the sequence of actions was likely intended to mesh the stories of the two characters, both entranced by what they saw in the reflective waters. The different colors of the figures' dress – blue, purple, then pink – a strategy also used by the Montbastons, perhaps indicated that different scenes are different moments in time. Because images of the lover at the fountain of Narcissus are one of the most common in the *Rose* corpus, the artist's decision to render it differently and expansively calls attention to his desire to show himself capable of articulating the narrative in new ways. He presented a sequence of miniatures that encouraged the reader to pause and consider the mythological tale, and then to return to the narrative action.

⁷⁵ "Ici est la fontaine d'amours souz le pin." See transcription in Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 81.

⁷⁶ This type of "suggestive" positioning of the sword between the legs is also repeated in various scenes of the lover in later manuscripts such as Bodleian Library, Douce 195, fol. 5r.

⁷⁷ The incomplete rubric reads, "Comment Narcissus se mire en la [fontaine]."

Throughout the manuscript the illuminator shows his interest in the expressive qualities of the figures, who do much of the work of conveying the story's action. An image of the God of Love chasing down the lover had precedents in Montbaston manuscript (Fig. 3.34).⁷⁸ Artist L used much the same gestural language in his version of the scene in Codex 2592: the God of Love lunges forward, his elegantly curved arms reaching toward the lover, who looks back and raises both hands (Figs. 3.35). Much like the Montbastons, the faces remain stoic, but, as Kuhn noted, the illuminator conveyed emotion and narrative content through gesture and movement.⁷⁹ He reveals an effort to make the body a site of dramatic action, emphasized by the new, tight fashions, which accentuate his legs and torso: the lover cowers and bends forward, his knobby knees almost hitting the raised ground. The miniature clearly drew upon earlier renditions of the scene but extended and exaggerated the action – a goal aligned with his expansion of narrative scenes, and his effort to make a visual story that ran parallel to the text.

Compelled by his audience to observe and record subtle changes in the visual environment, the artist rendered characters' fashions differently than he did in his earlier *Rose* manuscripts. In BnF fr. 1565, the lover wears a short, buttoned cote with long tippets, along with a hood in a contrasting color (Fig. 3.2). In Codex 2592, he is seen similarly garbed but now the tippets are wider and emphasized by being painted in a lighter color (Fig. 3.36).⁸⁰ As first observed by Kuhn, male figures now are seen with

⁷⁸ BnF fr. 19156 (fol. 13v) and CUL Gg.IV.6 (fol. 16r).

⁷⁹ Interestingly, Kuhn argued that attempts to assess the merits of the artist should not be based on his representation of space – something that was particularly prized by the art historian – nor on facial expressions, but on gesture and costume. See Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 15.

⁸⁰ My observations about the representations of clothing in this manuscript are indebted to observations about the fashions by Kuhn, *ibid.*, 13-15. As Kuhn noted, Artist L's depiction of the lover's clothing is inconsistent in Codex 2592. At some points the decision to change the lover's dress is logical; different scenes imply different facets of the protagonist's character. In most cases, the reasons behind a change in the lover's dress is unclear. In the frontispiece, he is represented as a cleric – this is typical in many

more prominent dags on the hems and hoods. New accessories were introduced and emphasized, including swords hanging from low-slung belts and pointy, laced shoes, rendered conspicuously in black. Kuhn noted that the short, pointy beards and the blonde, curly hair of the male figures at the beginning of the manuscript are known to have been in style from around 1340 to 1370.⁸¹ The wealthy patron of this manuscript appeared to have subscribed to the same fashions that the artists rendered in paint: represented on fol. 148r, he sports the same pointy beard as the other figures in the manuscript (Fig. 3.37). In his representations of dress, the artist was clearly registering and participating in larger trends: we find similar men's fashions – the same short, colorful cotes and long, strappy black shoes – in a contemporary manuscript, Montpellier Ms. 245 (Fig. 3.38).⁸²

The inclusion of the God of Love's companions provided Artist L with an opportunity to show off his observational skills. These were some of the romance's most stylish female characters. Richesse, for example, is not clad in conformity with the text, where her fantasy garment is described as "covered with gold embroidery which portrayed the stories of dukes and kings" and having a gold collar "decorated with black enamel."⁸³ Instead Artist L represented her in a long, belted, purple robe that would register as trendy to the fourteenth-century viewer. The garment is fitted close to the body: a blue surcote that exposes the white cote beneath and long, white tippetts that

fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts. From there, the artist represents the protagonist wearing stylish, youthful clothes until fol. 21v, when the artist begins to represent the lover as a cleric again. He is represented as a young lover in the first image on 71v – in the second image on this same folio, a cleric. In the final two images of the manuscript, he is represented first as a pilgrim, in line with the text's description, and then as a cleric.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸² The manuscript is attributed by Avril to a direct disciple of Artist N. On this attribution, see Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre," 332-3. On the Montpellier manuscript, see , 322-23, no. 276.

⁸³ "La porpre fu toute orfroisiee; / S'i ot portraites a orfois / Estoires de dus e de rois. / D'une bande d'or neelee / A esmaus fu au col orlee." *Roman de la rose*, lines 1059-62; trans. Dahlberg, 45.

extend from her elbows (Fig. 3.39).⁸⁴ Her hair, very chic, is worn in braids underneath an ornate crown and brought toward the front of the face in large loops. The language of the rubrics, “Richesce pourtraite,” also echoes the language of the rubrics naming the vices, encouraging the viewer to contrast the fashionable clothing of these figures with the ragged, worn clothing worn by the *ymages* as carved and painted on the exterior of the garden wall.

Clothing was not only meant to reflect the necessary updates of fashion, but served also an identificatory function within the manuscript. In his analysis of images in the Vienna manuscript, Kuhn revealed the illuminator’s systematic use of particular items of clothing to identify certain types of characters: older women wear long coats and headscarves, for instance, while young women wear their hair uncovered in braids.⁸⁵ In her study of a copy of Boccaccio’s *Des cleres et nobles femmes* made for Philip the Bold, Brigitte Buettner has argued that artists drew upon the “representational function of costumes” in society by dressing characters in a way that would allow the viewer to immediately locate the figure as a part of an estate.⁸⁶ Illuminators often went beyond descriptions of clothing in the text, as Waugh has noted, in order “to give the people they depicted more complex identities—by choosing the style of their dress, artists added layers to their characters’ personalities.”⁸⁷ This was possible because styles of dress had diversified, and registered change more rapidly in the mid-fourteenth century, at the very

⁸⁴ *Richesce*’s clothing corresponds closely to representations of noble women in the Coronation Book of Charles V; BL Ms. Cotton Tiberius B viii, dated 1365. See van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 66-67.

⁸⁵ Kuhn, “Die Illustration des Rosenromans,” 15.

⁸⁶ Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 60-72.

⁸⁷ Waugh used the four-part frontispiece of BnF fr. 1565, one of the earlier *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by Artist L, to emphasize this point. The lover is shown in various stages of dress – in private, he wears a long, loose robe, with his hood “carelessly draped around his neck.” But, after exiting into the dream landscape, he wears an outer robe and his hood in the normal fashion. Waugh, “Style-Consciousness,” 167. As described earlier, in the second scene, the lover prepares for the outside world by putting on his shoes, a detail that is mentioned in the text.

moment when Artist L was working. But, as Kuhn also noted, the artist's images were not direct recordings of current fashions, and could be fanciful in nature. In particular, Kuhn cautioned against Viollet-le-Duc's acceptance as fact that cotes always appeared in such bright colors – the rich blues, pinks, and purples that we find in the Vienna manuscript were not necessarily a reflection of trends in clothing.⁸⁸ We are reminded that the formal qualities of the illuminations themselves were subject to taste.

Unlike the Montbastons, who dominated the market when images were just beginning to become an integral component of the text, Artist L started in when a tradition had been established, and many copies circulated in private hands. Consumers, in a fashion-conscious age, continued to provide commissions, and Artist L was left to make a space for himself in what had become a crowded field. He produced no *Rose* manuscript with less than 40 miniatures, began every manuscript with the same type of frontispiece, and appeared to rely on and adapt from available models. With very few exceptions, the episodes selected for illumination in all three manuscripts would have been familiar to readers and viewers of *Rose* manuscripts. BnF fr. 1565 and the Geneva manuscripts, illuminated at around the same time, had remarkably similar cycles, but, by the time the artist illuminated Codex 2592, there were different demands. In the later manuscript, the artist focused on the narrative arc of the romance and presented further articulations of the stories that were almost always included earlier copies of the *Rose*, such as Narcissus at the fountain or Pygmalion as a dreamer. When a precedent existed, his compositions were generally conservative. Instead, he focused on updating the framing of the image, the silhouettes of the figure, and the fashions of the characters. Distinguishing his *Rose* manuscripts from those of the earlier generation, he used the

⁸⁸ Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 13-14.

romance as an opportunity to exhibit fashionable clothing, rendered in a style designed to best show off its features.

Chapter Four

Wholesale Change: *Rose Manuscripts Illuminated by the Maître du Policratique de Charles V*

The Maître du Policratique illustrated four copies of the *Rose de la rose* between c. 1380 and 1390, that is, on the eve of the Querelle, the great courtly debate around the romance.¹ At this point in the reception of the text, it appears, there was a feeling that both the overall shape of the image cycles and the compositions of individual illuminations required an overhaul. The manuscripts produced by the Maître contained between forty and seventy miniatures, many of which were new to the *Rose* corpus, especially in Jean's continuation. The expansion of the image cycles was an ambitious effort, for it was not just a matter of presenting episodes in a new way, but of displaying new readings of the text. Created in response to current interests in Jean de Meun's continuation, miniatures contained in the manuscripts anticipated many of the topics addressed in the Querelle itself.

The image cycles in all four manuscripts, in different ways, highlight portions of the romance that would later raise questions regarding the morality of Jean de Meun's text. Three of the manuscripts include rarely visualized exempla in the speeches of characters such as Ami (Friend) and La Vielle (Old Woman), who espoused misogynistic ideas and encouraged deceitful practices in rituals of courtship. And while manuscripts

¹ Again, I thank Patricia Stirnemann for bringing to my attention the dissertation of Akiko Komada, whose meticulous scholarship on workshops that produced manuscripts of the *Bible historiale* led me to the *Rose* manuscripts of the Maître du Policratique. See Akiko Komada, "Les illustrations de la *Bible historiale*: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord," vol. 2, 562-65.

illuminated by the Maître contained visual representations of sexually explicit material, they also included images that might serve as justifications for its inclusion. In two of the manuscripts, for instance, the artist represented Christian themes from the speech of Genius to the God of Love's barony, which framed the sexual act – the object of the lover's quest – in terms of its procreative function. Lastly, all four manuscripts include images at points where Jean de Meun interjects himself into the narrative in order to defend himself against future detractors who might find his text immoral, or who might question his place among the great classical love poets. This new, close engagement with the complexities of the text suggest the presence of an engaged advisor who may have helped the illuminator select new episodes for illustration and determine appropriate iconographies for the scenes.

The topics featured in these additions to the image cycles prefigured those that would come under intense scrutiny in the debate about the allegory, which occurred between 1401 and 1403.² The *Rose's* detractors – the writer Christine de Pizan and chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson – would claim that the *Roman de la rose* was an immoral work that had the potential to corrupt its readers. Gerson and Christine drew attention to the content of the speeches of Ami, La Vielle, Jalous, and Genius in particular – in some cases drawing on passages that began to receive more images in deluxe manuscripts by the Maître du Policratique – because, they claimed, the characters encouraged copulation outside of the Christian institution of marriage.³

² On these dates for the Querelle, see n. 95 of chapter one. Throughout this chapter, I refer to Christine McWebb's recent compilation of documents concerning the Querelle, which provides the original texts and their English translations in parallel. Line numbers refer to the Old French and Latin texts. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*.

³ For Christine's criticisms, see, for instance, "Christine's Response to Pierre Col" (October 2, 1402), lines 802-61. See *ibid.*, 178-83, trans. McWebb. For Jean Gerson's criticisms of Jean de Meun's ideas in the

Christine also called attention to the author's misogynistic views of women, as evidenced by Genius and Jaloux, who, among other accusations, described women as deceptive and unfaithful.⁴ Jean de Meun's supporters – including Pierre and Gontier Col – argued that the voices of the author's characters were meant to serve as satirical personae, that they did not represent the views of the author but of the characters, who were negative examples. Pierre Col, for instance, writes, “in his book Master Jean de Meun introduced characters which he had speak according to their designation, that is, the Jealous Husband speaks as a jealous person, [la Vieille] as [la Vieille], and so on with the others.”⁵ Instead, the exposure to such material would better help readers avoid vice. Later, in the same epistle, he writes, “I say that whoever reads this book well – and often – in order to understand it better, will find lessons on how to flee from every vices and follow every virtue.”⁶ Alistair Minnis has shown that the roots of these aspects of the debate were grounded in medieval criticisms and justifications of Ovid, a poet from whom Jean de Meun borrows heavily, especially in the speeches of Ami and La Vielle.⁷ But it is also tempting to suggest that such passages became the topic of heated debate, in part, because deluxe *Rose* manuscripts circulating among the wealthiest members of the court, called

speech of Jaloux, with regard to the attitudes toward marriage in particular, see his *Treatise against the Roman de la rose* (May 18, 1402), lines 52-59. See *ibid.*, 274-75, trans. McWebb.

⁴ Christine's criticisms of Jean de Meun's misogyny are evident throughout her *Querelle* documents, but on her views of these characters in particular see “Christine's Reaction to Jean de Montreuil's *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*” (June/July, 1401), lines 134-64. See *ibid.*, 124-27, trans. McWebb.

⁵ “...maistre Jehan de Meun en son livre introduisy personnaiges, et fait chascun personnaige parler selonc qui luy appartient: c'est assavoir le Jaloux comme jaloux, la Vielle come la Vielle, et pareillement des autres.” “Pierre Col's Reply to Christine de Pizan's and Jean Gerson's *Treatises*” (end of summer, 1402), lines 369-72. See *ibid.*, 324-25, trans. McWebb.

⁶ “Je dy que qui bien lit ce livre – et souvent pour le mieux entendre –, il y trouvera ensaignemans pour fourir tous vices et ensuir toutes vertus.” “Pierre Col's Reply to Christine de Pizan's and Jean Gerson's *Treatises*”, lines 430-32. See *ibid.*, 326-27, trans. McWebb.

⁷ See the chapter “Theorizing the Rose: Crises of Textual Authority in the *Querelle de la Rose*” in Minnis, *Magister Amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics*, 210-56. For more on the relationship between criticisms lodged at the *Rose* in the *Querelle* and medieval criticisms of Ovid, especially with regard to inherited attitudes about the place of violence in the erotic, see “The *Querelle de la Rose*: Erotic Violence and the Ethics of Reading” in Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, 144-64.

greater attention to the themes and poetic intricacies of Jean's continuation. As mentioned in the introduction, Jean Gerson explicitly approached the *Rose* as an *illustrated text*, explaining that his attack on the allegory was against "words and pictures [*picturas*] which rouse, stimulate, and encourage illicit loves more bitter than death."⁸

In addition to working with an advisor to help create image cycles that addressed current interests in the romance, the Maître du Policratique continued the trend of updating pictorial precedents when they existed. Like Artist L, he clothed the characters in the latest fashions, especially in his three later manuscripts, and rendered the image cycles in a new, signature style as a means to keep up with and surpass the current trends. But these formal changes also take a new flavor: the artist experimented more with his possibilities of representing volume and form, and placed an even greater emphasis on situating figures in a shallow space. Plays with gestures and the rendering of emotions, something we saw developing in the Vienna manuscript illuminated by Artist L, take on a new urgency here, where the image cycles ask the viewer to consider the ethical stakes of passages concerning the relations between the sexes. The artist certainly knew and engaged with earlier images, but he also incorporated new details generated by a fresh reading of the text.

⁸ "...verba et picturas ad illicitos amores amariores morte sollicitantes, stimulantes et urgentes." "A Letter by Jean Gerson" (December, 1402), lines 12-13. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 353-53, trans. Richards. Meredith McMunn has published essays in which she speculates about the *Rose* manuscripts to which Christine may have had access in order to provide insight into her complaints about the manuscripts. See McMunn, "Was Christine Poisoned by an Illustrated Rose?"; Meredith McMunn, "Programs of illustration in Roman de la Rose manuscripts owned by patrons and friends of Christine de Pizan," in *Au champ des escriptures: Actes du IIIe colloque international sur de Christine de Pizan* (Paris: 2000), 136-51. I would not go so far as to make a direct connection between any of the manuscripts in this dissertation and Christine's responses, though I do believe that she was responding to the precise themes that were highlighted by images.

Career and Style

The Maître du Policratique was an extremely successful Parisian illuminator working in the generation immediately following Artist L. Fifty-three manuscripts have been attributed to his hand, including the name-giving BnF fr. 24287, a French translation of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* commissioned by Charles V for his royal library.⁹ He illuminated a diverse array of texts, including four manuscripts of the *Grandes Chroniques*, three manuscripts of Jean de Vignay's French translation of the *Légende dorée*, and four manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose* (App. C. II). The earliest *Rose* manuscript assigned to his hand is Morgan 132, dated to c. 1380, thus falling into what Avril calls the first period of the artist's career.¹⁰ It appears that he here collaborated with another artist, who painted an impressive frontispiece and several later images in the manuscript.¹¹ The three later manuscripts are all dated to the artist's second period (c.

⁹ He also participated in the illumination of at least one other manuscript for the library of Charles V: BnF fr. 9749, a manuscript of *Valerius Maximus*, translated by Simon de Hesdin. See François Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire d'un enlumineur parisien à la fin du XIV^e siècle: La carrière et l'oeuvre du Maître du Policratique de Charles V," in *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie: Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, ed. Barbara Fleith and Franco Morenzoni (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 265-82, p. 266. The dates for his career are taken from the earliest and latest dated manuscripts with illuminations attributed to his hand: a charter for the foundation of the chapter for Rouen cathedral is dated July 20 1366 (Paris AN A E II 385), and a manuscript of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (BnF fr. 1647) has a scribal signature dating the manuscript to 1403. See *ibid.*, 270-71.

¹⁰ A 1906 catalog dates the manuscript to the last third of the fourteenth century. See *Catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books from the libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and other sources: manuscripts*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), no. 112. William Voelkle dated the manuscript to c. 1380 and found evidence for "Parisian origins" but did not mention the Maître du Policratique. See William Voelkle, *The Pierpont Morgan Library: Masterpieces of Medieval Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 8-9. For Avril's attribution to the illuminator, see Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 280. Kuhn listed the manuscript under those of which he was aware but not able to see. Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 66.

¹¹ Dominic Leo has suggested that the Morgan manuscript was painted by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy and dates the manuscript slightly earlier, to the 1370s. See Dominic Leo, "The Pucellian School and the Rise of Naturalism: Style as Royal Signifier," in *Jean Pucelle: Innovation and Collaboration in Manuscript Painting*, ed. Kyunghye Pyun and Anna D. Russakoff (London: 2013), 149-69, p. 168. Certain miniatures in the manuscript, such as that of Pygmalion, discussed later in this chapter, have such a strong connection to manuscripts attributed to the Maître du Policratique by Avril that I have decided to hold with his attributions.

1380-1395): Douce 332,¹² e Museo 65,¹³ and Warsaw BN 3760 III.¹⁴ The Maître du Policratique appears to be the latest Parisian illuminator who produced multiple copies of the romance.

The illuminator's earliest known patron was the bibliophile king Charles V, who created a royal library housed in the Tower of the Louvre: Charles collected manuscripts, had illustrated copies made of contemporary texts including the French coronation ritual, and commissioned French translations of over thirty classical and medieval texts which exist in often richly illuminated copies.¹⁵ The Maître du Policratique also fulfilled commissions for Charles's brothers, some of the most important patrons of the time: Louis I of Anjou, Philip the Bold, Louis I, Duke of Orléans (and his wife Valentine Visconti), and Jean, Duke of Berry, for whom he continued to work after Charles's death (Appendix G).¹⁶ The last quarter of the fourteenth century was a tumultuous period in

¹² For the placement of the three manuscripts to this period in the illuminator's career, see Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 281. Catalog descriptions of the three manuscripts tend to date them later than c. 1390. The *Summary Catalogue* of the Bodleian Library – and Langlois – dated Douce 332 to the fifteenth century. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 1, 597, no. 21904; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 155-56.

¹³ In the *Summary Catalogue*, e Mus. 65 is described as being written "in the 15th cent. in England." See Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 728, no. 3680. Langlois did not specify an origin, but also dated E Mus. 65 to the fifteenth century. See Langlois, *Les manuscrits*, 157. The online catalog of the Bodleian library says that the origin of the manuscript is "French" and dates it to c. 1390. See <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/emusaeo/emusaeo.html>, last accessed August 10, 2014. The images clearly belong to the same group as others attributed by Avril to the Maître du Policratique.

¹⁴ Olim MS fr.Q.v.XIV.1. Laborde dates the manuscript c. 1390. See Alexandre de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Petersbourg*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1936-38), 49-50, no. 51. The manuscript is given a slightly later date – c. 1385-95 – in the digital library of the Biblioteka Narodowa Polona. See <http://www.polona.pl/item/2028058/6/>, last accessed August 8, 2014.

¹⁵ On Charles V's interest in translation, see Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*. On the royal library, see Delisle, *Recherches; La Librairie de Charles V*, (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1968); *Les Fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V*, (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1982).

¹⁶ In an index to his essay, Avril listed manuscripts containing miniatures attributed to the illuminator and provided the name of the patron when it is known. Manuscripts commissioned by or belonging to John, Duke of Berry include: a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques*, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs français (kept at the BnF); a French bible, BL Lansdowne 1175; a Latin bible given to Clement VII, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 50-51; a Guillaume de Machaut manuscript, BnF fr. 9221; a copy of the *Ovide moralisé*, Lyon BM 742, and a copy of *La Cité de Dieu*, BnF fr. 6271. A copy of Guillaume

French history and all of the Maître du Policratique's patrons were struggling to secure their political position. After the death of Charles V in 1380, Charles VI assumed the throne at the age of twelve. His uncles Philip the Bold and Louis of Anjou, entrusted by Charles V with the responsibility of acting in the interests of the state, jockeyed for power before and after Charles VI, a "mad" king who suffered psychotic episodes, took control in 1388. Meanwhile, John, Duke of Berry, who heavily taxed his subjects, was managing revolts in Languedoc and Paris. It has been shown that royal and aristocratic patrons indulged their tastes while shoring up their status as they amassed their collections of manuscripts and other joyaux, keeping detailed inventories of their holdings and participating in complex public court rituals surrounding their gifting and exchange.¹⁷ The artist was thus working at a time when patrons were becoming even more alert to the visual qualities of objects.

Avril sees the Maître du Policratique as having participated in a larger "realist" trend in Parisian illumination of the 1370s, when the style associated with the shop of Jean Pucelle (c. 1319-34) – known for his figures with elegant, classicized features and

Peyraut's *Livre de l'information des princes*, BnF fr. 1213, has the coat of arms of Louis d'Orléans and a copy of Honoré Bouvet's *L'apparition de Maître Jean de Meun* is dated to 1398. In the body of his essay, Avril noted two other manuscripts commissioned by dukes that contained illuminations by the Maître du Policratique: a copy of the Office of Mary Magdalene for Louis I of Anjou (Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro E 5) and a manuscript of the works of Théodore Paléologue for Philip the Bold (KBR 11042). See Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 267. See previous footnote for manuscripts commissioned by Charles V. See *ibid.*, 280-282.

¹⁷ On the inventory of the library of Phillip the Bold, see de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)*. On the practice of exchanging gifts in the Valois court on New Year's Day, known as *étrennes*, see Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (2001), 598-625. On the patronage of Jean, Duke of Berry, who has received the most scholarly attention, see Meiss, *Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*. Camille revisited the duke's collecting practices in light of his larger desire for power and ownership of both people and things. See Michael Camille, "'For our Devotion and Pleasure': The sexual objects of Jean, Duc de Berry," *Art History* 24 (2001), 169-194.

modeled, three-dimensional drapery – had gone out of fashion.¹⁸ The artist’s hand is recognized by his figures’ slight frames, pointed noses, and wide-set eyes (Fig. 4.1).¹⁹ But, as Avril suggests, his style was defined by just as much by his method of composing images. The illuminator is interested in capturing the three-dimensionality of furniture and architecture, often representing them at an oblique angle in order to emphasize their volume.²⁰ In an author portrait of Jean de Meun, for instance, the illuminator delighted in representing books, a lectern, and a bench from different angles (Fig. 4.2). The plotline of the *Roman de la rose*, along with the norms established in preceding manuscripts, allowed the artist to play with the disposition of figures in three-dimensional space, and he experimented in his renderings of the walled garden and Jealousy’s castle. This interest is perhaps best seen in the frontispiece of the Warsaw manuscript, where the frame is represented as a fanciful late medieval structure with flagged turrets (Fig. 4.3). Horizontal architectural elements project back into space on a diagonal, creating a still relatively shallow but deeper setting for the lover’s actions. In their frontispieces corresponding to Kuhn’s Group V, the Montbastons had already set a precedent for using architectural structures to separate the lover’s early actions. But in the Warsaw frontispiece they are also used to give a give the image a sense of depth.

We are reminded of Erwin Panofsky’s description of the such architectural structures in the works of Pucelle, which he referred to as “doll’s house” compositions: these are three-dimensional buildings that allowed the artist “to display a coherent

¹⁸ Avril, “Le parcours exemplaire,” 276. On Pucelle’s style in relation to broader developments in northern European art, see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 27-35. Avril has argued that the Maître du Policratique’s style was on trend at the beginning of his career, but considered his methods to be conservative for an artist working toward the end of the fifteenth century. Avril, “Le parcours exemplaire,” 276. Interestingly, three of our *Rose* manuscripts are dated to this later period of his career, indicating that his style was still considered suitable at the time.

¹⁹ Avril, “Le parcours exemplaire,” 276.

²⁰ Ibid.

interior without endangering the graphic unity of the page; he could permit us to look into a ‘room’ by removing the front wall of a house instead of cutting a hole in the vellum.”²¹ In Panofsky’s account, and others who followed suit, these are often understood to be quasi-scientific techniques that anticipate Alberti’s Renaissance conception of the image as “window” while still holding onto the medieval impulse toward flatness.²² As in the case of Pucelle, the illuminator, in creating the frontispiece, did not appear to see any contradiction or find any issue with juxtaposing elements that reinforced the surface of the page with others that simulated volume or space. The flat patterned backgrounds of the image happily coexist with, and perhaps highlight, elements that indicate shallow depth: ceiling beams and tiled floors have parallel lines at a slight diagonal that do not recede to any particular vanishing point. Elements within the image also suggest multiple perspectives rather than any single viewpoint: we view the bed and bench from slightly above while the lover washing his hands in the basin appears to be in our direct line of sight. Avril has described the artist’s efforts at simulating three-dimensional space to be “une formule de pure convention.”²³ While this perceived separation of the artist’s goal from a realistic representation of space could be understood as deficiency, it is more constructive to view it as an experiment with conventions that were part of larger trends in illumination. Plays with modeling and rendering three-dimensionality were a desirable feature of manuscript illumination but were not necessarily tied to the unified

²¹ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 30.

²² Also see Panofsky’s account of late medieval perspective in Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher Wood (New York: Zone Books 1991), 39-40. For a new reading of the function of “spatial inscriptions” found in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century northern European manuscripts, and a revisiting of Panofsky’s teleological account, see Buettner, *Boccaccio’s Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 82-93.

²³ Avril, “Le parcours exemplaire,” 276.

presentation of space.²⁴ As we will see, the artist's representation of contemporary clothing and accoutrements – that aspect of his technique where he most clearly shows an effort to capture the world of appearances – changes over time, but these general compositional strategies are in evidence in all four manuscripts.

The artist's play with volume is enhanced through his use of grisaille, then much in vogue: his four *Rose* manuscripts are among sixteen volumes he painted in this technique.²⁵ His methods encompassed two different ways of painting with a more limited color palette. The first method, which consisted of gray figures on colorful, patterned backgrounds, is found in miniatures contained in e Museo 65 and Douce 332, as well as the frontispiece of the Warsaw manuscript. The modeling of the figures was executed solely in black and white, calling attention to the artist's virtuoso presentation of objects and figures with a sense of volume (Fig. 4.2). As noted by Avril, the figures are often set in a shallow ground, which he took as a sign of the "faible maîtrise par l'artiste de la représentation de l'espace."²⁶ But again, we can find aesthetic grounds for his decision. This presentation of figures, who appear as if rendered in shallow relief, may have been an intentional effort to mirror the effects of other expensive media, namely ivory carvings.²⁷

²⁴ Again, on this topic, see Buettner, *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 82-93.

²⁵ Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 278. Regarding the popularity of the grisaille method in the production of *Rose* manuscripts: In a description of New York Public Library Spencer 78, Meredith McMunn explained that there is a "group of manuscripts produced in the last half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries employing the technique of grisaille in its illustrations." In the corresponding footnote, she mentioned three of the manuscripts in this group: Morgan M.132, e Museo 65, and the Warsaw manuscript. See Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, eds., *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library 2005), 394, n. 14, 396.

²⁶ Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 277.

²⁷ Michaela Krieger has written an extensive account of the purposes behind grisaille. Among other purposes, she noted, it was prized for the ability to mimic other media and thus draw on their associated prestige. Michaela Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher: zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verlag Holzhausen, 1995).

In Morgan 132 and the majority of miniatures in the Warsaw manuscript, the artist relies heavily on line, rather than saturated swaths of color, to delineate forms. Avril explains that the latter technique – in which the illuminations appear almost as if they are ink drawings – was an economic choice because of the speed at which the miniatures could be executed.²⁸ But this type of painting can also be understood as a representational feat on the part of the illuminator: it required a confident hand and energetic linework to suggest volume and to maintain the viewer’s interest without the help of bright, saturated colors.²⁹ Light gray washes and select touches of opaque white highlight drapery folds and, sometimes, characters’ limbs and faces (Fig. 4.4). In Morgan 132, the artist used color selectively: pastel washes of green, purple, blue, and yellow appear throughout the manuscript, sometimes reflecting a correspondence with colors in nature (blue skies and green grass), but often used in fanciful ways as well (buildings bathed in purple, blue, and yellow). The artist’s preference for a limited color palette highlighted his experiments with representing volumetric figures in a shallow space, his chief form of updating earlier compositions.

The Authority of Jean de Meun

Copies of the *Rose* illuminated by the Maître du Policratique reveal a sustained interest in Jean de Meun’s role as author. Both Morgan M.132 and the Warsaw manuscript, like the manuscripts illuminated by Artist L, contain copies of Jean de Meun’s *Testament*. The latter also, more unusually, contains the *Tresor* (also known as

²⁸ Avril, “Le parcours exemplaire,” 278. Krieger has argued that this technique might not be considered grisaille, but, instead, a form of drawing. See her entry on “grisaille” in the Grove Dictionary of Art, accessed from www.oxfordartonline.com on August 4, 2014.

²⁹ As John Lowden pointed out with regard to the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, grisaille should not necessarily be understood as a second-rate technique. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 232.

the *Sept articles de la foi*).³⁰ This interest in Jean is creatively incorporated into the image cycles: three of the four manuscripts show evidence that the planner of the cycles went beyond including the requisite author portrait of Jean de Meun, combing the text to find other opportunities where they might bring attention to his interventions in the narrative. In these instances, Jean de Meun displays his moral intentions, calls attention to his extensive learning, and tries to solidify his place in the canon of great poets.

In the earliest *Rose* manuscript illuminated by the artist, Morgan M.132, the Maître included an image at the point in the text where the author shifts from writing in the voice of the lover to speaking in the voice of the author. This occurs the moment before the God of Love's army attacks the castle. Continuing to write in the first person, the author leaves the narrative action and promises the reader that the true meaning of his poem will be revealed in time. He writes, "Remember what I am saying here. You will have an adequate art of love, and if you have any difficulty, I will clarify what confuses you when you have heard me explain the dream."³¹ The image and passage are introduced by a rhymed rubric, a full six lines long, which glosses Jean's gloss on the text: "Hereafter the author tells how / one must correctly understand / his words with good intention(s) / and make his apology / that he blames no one at all / except him who feels guilty."³² In the image, Jean is depicted wearing a scholar's robe, bowing before a

³⁰ Douce 332 and e Museo 65 do not include other works by the author, although the latter appears to have been rebound and transformed in significant ways, leaving the possibility that it once included other texts. See App. G of this dissertation.

³¹ "Notez ce que ci vois disant: / D'Amours avreiz art soufisant; / E se vous i trouvez riens trouble, / J'esclarcirai ce qui vous trouble, / Quant le songe m'orreiz espondre" *Roman de la rose*, lines 15143-47; trans. Dahlberg, 258.

³² "Ci apres dit l'a[u]cteur co(m)ment / L'en doit entendre saineme(n)t / ses diz en bonne entencion / et fait son excusacion / q'il nulz ne blasme aucunem(en)t / fors cil qui coupable se sent." Transcriptions of the rubrics in Morgan M.132 are provided in CORSAIR, the online catalog of The Morgan Library. See <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/>, last accessed on August 9, 2014. I have consulted them here and note

group of tonsured clerics (Fig. 4.5). In the passage to follow, over one hundred and fifty lines long, Jean predicts that he will be accused of slander and indecency in the future and includes a few words to defend himself “against wicked people” who will undoubtedly see his writing as indecent.³³ The image calls attention to the author’s role in shaping the reception of his own text – the section heralds many of the courtly debates about the morality of the text that would begin just two or three decades after Morgan 132 was produced. No manuscripts illuminated by Artist L contain the image, though two of the seventeen Montbaston manuscripts contain a miniature at this point; in one, the Maubeuge Master represented the author speaking before a group consisting of both monks and women.³⁴ Their more abbreviated rubric reads: “Here Master Jean de Meun defends himself against all men of the religious orders and all women” (Fig. 4.6).³⁵ The planner of Morgan M.132 may possibly have been familiar with this precedent – however infrequent earlier in the century – but he upped the ante with a rubric that called even more attention to Jean’s apology.

In e Museo 65 the additional image of Jean de Meun occurs on fol. 66r. Here the illuminator represented the author writing at his lectern on the left while his anticipated audience, a couple, looks on from the right (Fig. 4.7).³⁶ The image appears in the long digression by Jalous (Jealous Husband), who complains that he should have followed the

when my own observations lead to a different conclusion. Translations are my own, again, assisted by Thomas Maranda.

³³ “Pour mei de males genz defendre.” *Roman de la rose*, line 15156; trans. Dahlberg, 258.

³⁴ See Arsenal 3338, fol. 102v and BnF fr. 25526, fol. 114v.

³⁵ “Ci s’escuse maistre jehan de meun contre toutes les relegieus et contre toutes fames.” My transcription and translation.

³⁶ This identification of the image as a second author portrait of Jean de Meun is taken from the description of the image in the Bodleian’s image database. See

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/emusaeo/emusaeo.html>, last accessed August 8, 2014. I have considered the possibility that the image is intended to represent Theophrastus, but believe that the similarities between this image and the earlier author portrait of Jean de Meun confirm the figure’s identity as the author.

words of third-century author Theophrastus who, in his *Aureolus*, advised against marriage.³⁷ The miniature served to highlight the beginning of the misogynistic passage in which Jalous rants about the miseries of marriage, a result of women's nature.³⁸ But placed at this point, it also called attention to Jean de Meun and his learned rereadings of ancient works; the text, it was explained, is "a good one to study in school."³⁹ Although the *Aureolus* did not itself survive, Langlois suggested that the author knew it through John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, which had been translated in 1372 by Denis Foulechat for Charles V in BnF fr. 24287 – the manuscript for which our illuminator was named.⁴⁰

In the Warsaw manuscript, two images call attention to the author at significant points in a speech that the God of Love makes to his barony, right before launching the attack on the castle. The first is prompted by the rubric, "How Love said to his barony / that Master Jean de Meun would / come to complete the romance."⁴¹ The artist represented a very fashionable young man, presumably the lover, seated before the God of Love (Fig. 4.8). In his speech, which occurs about halfway through the romance (beginning at line 10495), Love includes both Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun in a long lineage of classical love poets, including Tibullus, Gallus, Catullus, and Ovid, explaining that Guillaume had passed but that Jean would be born and complete his romance.⁴² A couple of folios later, the manuscript includes a second author portrait,

³⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 8561-76; trans. Dahlberg, 157.

³⁸ For Jalous' speech, see *Roman de la rose*, lines 8467-9360; trans. Dahlberg, 157-68.

³⁹ "Qui bien fait a lire en escole." *Roman de la rose*, line 8568; trans. Dahlberg, 157.

⁴⁰ See Dahlberg, 387, note corresponding to lines 8561-832, citing *Policraticus*, VIII, xi. John of Salisbury himself knew of the text through Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*.

⁴¹ "Comment amours dist a sa gent / que maistre Jehan de meun devoit (?) / venir pour parfaire le romans."

⁴² *Roman de la rose*, lines 10495-678; trans. Dahlberg, 186-89. On the significance of this passage to the formulation of Jean de Meun's identity as an author who supplants the works of Ovid and Guillaume de Lorris, see Peter Lewis Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 81-83. On important role that this passage plays in the

without a rubric, at the moment when Love prays that Jean have a long and happy life (Fig. 4.9).⁴³ Love heaps praise upon the author and his yet-to-be-written work and foretells its lasting influence:

I shall sing to him such airs that, after he is out of his infancy, he will, indoctrinated with my knowledge, so flute our words through crossroads and through schools, in the language of France, before audiences throughout the kingdom, that those who hear these words will never die from the sweet pains of love, provided that they believe in only him. For he will read so fittingly that all those alive should call this book *The Mirror for Lovers*, so much good will they see there for them, provided that Reason, that wretched coward, be not believed.⁴⁴

It is a mark of the time that images in these two manuscripts, created about one hundred and twenty years after Jean finished his text, brought attention to passages that predict the enduring interest in his continuation.

The distribution of miniatures in the four manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique, departing from the patterns found in more conventional manuscripts, such as those illuminated by Artist L, also reveal a greater concern with Jean's text. The number of images is not much different. The Maître du Policratique included between forty and seventy illuminations, with the earliest manuscript, Morgan M.132 containing the most. But now the weight of illustration falls into more even balance. Guillaume's portion is illustrated with between twenty-one and thirty miniatures and Jean's between fifteen and forty-nine. Not surprisingly, in that the tradition was less firm, the number of miniatures in Jean's section exhibits a larger variability. He used different strategies: in

"creation myth of the book," see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 79-81.

⁴³ *Roman de la rose*, line 10626; trans. Dahlberg, 188.

⁴⁴ "E li chanterai notes teles / Qui puis qu'il sera hors d'enfance, / Endoctrinez de ma science, / Si fleüterá noz paroles / Par carrefours e par escoles, / Selonc le langage de France, / Par tout le regne, en audience, / Qui jamais cil qui les orront / Des douz maus d'amer ne morront, / Pour qu'il le creient seulement; / Car tant en lira proprement / Que trestuit cil qui ont a vivre / Devraient apeler ce livre / *Le Mirouer aus Amoureux*, / Tant i verront de bien pour eus, / Mais que Raison n'i seit creüe / La chaitive, la recreteüe." *Roman de la rose*, line 10638-54; trans. Dahlberg, 188.

two of the manuscripts – Morgan 132 and Douce 332 – the illuminator devised cycles weighted toward Jean’s section. What he did was to pull out the stories within stories, the exempla: representations of ancient history and myths as well as Christian themes. In the Museo 65 and the Warsaw manuscript, however, the illuminator took a different path and did not include any unusual exempla and the image cycles of both Jean and Guillaume’s sections concentrated primarily on visualizing the romance’s main narrative. In order to understand the innovative new methods of visualizing Jean de Meun’s continuation, it is necessary to examine the specificities of the image cycles in greater depth.

The Visual Argument of Morgan M.132

The image cycle of Morgan M.132, as the earliest and, in many ways, most impressive *Rose* manuscript illuminated by the Maître du Policratique, provides a good starting point for an analysis of how an illuminator, in this time of bibliophile collecting and heated interest in the text, satisfied the tastes of a discerning patron. Containing a highly unusual pictorial cycle with images rendered in careful grisaille, Morgan 132 is a tour de force of late medieval vernacular illumination. In the frontispiece, the manuscript’s showpiece, the artist seemed to have paid particular attention to rendering subtle modeling and shadow, a differentiation in quality that we have already seen in the Vienna manuscript. The manuscript has seventy images, more than any of the manuscripts illuminated by the Montbastons or Artist L. Indeed very few *Rose* manuscripts contained more. The manuscript is the smallest of the group, measuring only 20.2 x 13.8 cm, making the wealth of imagery all the more striking. Miniatures have gold

borders with decorative ivy leaves and many pages are covered with fanciful marginalia, one of the illuminator's trademark practices, especially early in his career.⁴⁵ The romance is written in two columns of thirty-four lines, in a very neat Gothic hand on fine parchment. While not securely dated, on stylistic grounds it was likely painted c. 1380, in the decade following Artist L's Codex 2592. The original patron is unknown.⁴⁶ The Maître du Policratique seems to have marketed ingenuity, producing image cycles that combined familiar imagery with unfamiliar, both rendered in the artist's distinctive grisaille style.

In Morgan M.132 the text and rubrics also give evidence of change. Sylvia Huot explains the two manuscripts contain the same recension of the text, a form "marked by numerous interpolations."⁴⁷ Rubrics range between two and six lines, unusually long for *Rose* manuscripts in general and singular within the corpus of manuscripts discussed in this dissertation. Most of the rubrics function like glosses or summaries of the textual passages they illustrate. What is most unusual is that they rhyme – a poem within a poem, and thus they seem purposeful and authoritative, the product of deliberate action, and almost integral to the text itself. The Rouses have argued, in general terms, that the content and placement of rubrics in mid-fourteenth century *Rose* manuscripts is inconsequential or random; here the rubrics clearly serve the essential role of highlighting

⁴⁵ Avril has explained that the illuminator was known for his marginal ornamentation; motifs that repeat across manuscripts suggest that he executed the marginalia himself. See Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 277.

⁴⁶ While the original patron was unknown, the manuscript has a distinguished provenance. An inscription on fol. 158 suggests that the manuscript ended up in the collection of Jean Desmarets (Jean Marot) (1457-1526). See Bernard Quatrion, *Catalogue of manuscripts* (London: G. Norman and Son, 1886), 3466. It was bought on 20 June 1895 by William Morris.

⁴⁷ See Huot, "Women and 'Woman' in Bodley, Douce 332 (c. 1400): A Case of Accidental Meaning?," 41-57.

less known passages and identifying somewhat obscure images that accompany them.⁴⁸ They serve the reader more than the artist, it seems, for, despite their length, they do not always include enough information to tell the artist precisely how to render the scene. Considering the relative obscurity of some of the passages visualized by the artist, we are left with the assumption that the Maître du Policratique planned the image cycle alongside an advisor who was familiar with the intricacies of the text, perhaps working from a set of instructions that is now lost. Features in the miniatures give evidence of a return to the text and a culling for visual details. Much of the novelty comes in the later part of the manuscript.

Jean's continuation was provided with a staggering forty-nine miniatures – as opposed to twenty-one in Guillaume's section, which followed convention. The Maître updated the familiar scenes in the idiom of his signature style. Like Artist L he adopted the four-part frontispiece. The iconography is largely standard: once again, the lover appears sleeping in bed, putting on his shoes, and looking into a river (Fig. 4.10). But the artist chose an unusual though not unprecedented, scene for the bottom right-hand image: rather than depicting the lover outside the Garden of Love, he represents the protagonist walking through a landscape. In an earlier version of the same scene in a mid-fourteenth century frontispiece, an illuminator similarly represented the lover walking through a landscape populated with bird-filled trees (Fig. 4.11). But here, in accordance with the text, which mentions the nightingale, parrot, and lark, the artist represents three different species of birds.⁴⁹ They fly over a landscape with a high horizon, between groves of trees whose shape resembles a mushroom or parasol, in accordance with a trend popularized

⁴⁸ See Rouse, "Keeping up Appearances," 151-157.

⁴⁹ *Roman de la rose*, lines 74-77; trans. Dahlberg, 32.

by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.⁵⁰ It is a showpiece and, as mentioned above, for it the master adopted a different style than he did for other illuminations in the manuscript. The image is grisaille, but, rather than the black outlines and thin washes of paint seen elsewhere, here he used short, dry brushstrokes of paint with more highly saturated pigment.⁵¹ The swirling gray drapery on the lover's bed and the undulating waves of the river are made more frenetic through the use of this intricate method of painting. The artist took up the familiar type of frontispiece as an opportunity introduce naturalistic elements, and employed a grisaille technique that called attention to his mastery in modeling drapery.

In the rest of Guillaume's section, the illuminator conformed to expectations and tackled standard images, recasting them in his signature grisaille: nine vices, a depiction of Oiseuse and the lover at the garden's entrance, and the Carole. Narcissus at the fountain receives only one image. Two miniatures visualize the early interactions between the God of Love and the protagonist: Love shooting the lover with his arrow and the lover paying homage to the God of Love. The following five images in Guillaume's section mark the beginning of a character's speech and introduce the reader to Raison, Ami, Franchise, Pitie, Venus, Honte, and Paor. The section ends with an image of Jealousy ordering the building of her castle. Images in Guillaume's section have the flavor of a romance narrative.

⁵⁰ Dominic Leo attributes this manuscript to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. For an alternative attribution see n. 9 in this chapter.

⁵¹ Miniatures depicting Envie (fol. 3v) and Raison (fol. 26r) are also painted in this manner. I have considered the possibility that these miniatures were painted by a different artist, but the features are so similar that it seems likely the artist simply chose to use a different technique for the frontispiece; it is possible he illustrated a few other miniatures in the same style to use up the paint, before switching to line drawing with ink washes.

As suggested above, the artist and adviser focused their attention on filling out Jean's continuation – four and a half times as long and usually far more sparsely illuminated. Inevitably, this resulted in unusual depictions of rarely included exempla. Nineteen of the forty-nine images illustrating Jean's continuation represent episodes occurring outside of the romance's main storyline.⁵² The pictorial cycle of Morgan 132 was thus based on a more detailed engagement with the allegory than those of Artist L's manuscripts, which are no more closely related to the text than those illuminated by the Montbastons. While Artist L illustrated more exempla to accompany Raison's speech, the vast majority of images were intended to heighten the narrative effect and visualize the plot. Additions in Morgan M.132 show an intent to expose the structure of Jean's portion and call attention to the content of the character's speeches. Only by walking through Jean's continuation is it possible to understand the nature and extent of illuminator's inventiveness.

The illuminator opened the section with a standard author portrait of Jean de Meun. He included only one image of Raison's speech to the lover; the Wheel of Fortune, skipping images of other exempla that tend to appear in this section of the text, such as the deaths of Seneca or Croesus, often included by Artist L and sometimes by the Montbastons. Instead, the Maître du Policratique focused on Ami's speech. As noted by Marilyn Desmond, "When Ami takes over from Raison early in Jean de Meun's section of the allegory, Ovidian rhetoric comes forward to counteract the Boethian discourse of

⁵² Certain elements of the storyline can also be considered "digressive." Here I count miniatures that are typically referred to as exempla: ones that do not depict personifications in the allegory, but represent the stories that they tell. In Jean de Meun's portion of Chantilly 665, illuminated by Richard de Montbaston, and BnF fr. 1565, illuminated by Artists E and L, about forty percent of the illuminations were also exempla.

Raison, and Amant [the lover] turns to be a better student of Ovid's than Boethius."⁵³ Some of Ami's discourses were taken directly from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.⁵⁴ Tellingly, the planner of the cycle skipped over the exempla of Raison and headed straight to a sequence of images that allowed him to bring issues of sexuality to the fore. The section is illustrated with five images: in the first, the artist depicted Raison leaving the lover as Ami approaches to begin their conversation. This is part of the plot, but then the next miniature represents the content of the speech: Ami has described the "Golden Age" and over the course of the next four images, only two of which had a history of being visualized, the miniatures represent a pictorial discourse that idealized the mythic era.

Ami explains that, while contemporary women are full of greed, in ancient times times "loves were loyal and pure."⁵⁵ The illuminator sought a way to visualize Ami's description of lovers who "would embrace and kiss each other without rapine or covetousness" in a mythical landscape, decorated with flowers by the god Zephyrus and his wife Flora (Fig. 4.12). The rubric did not give the illuminator any direction on how to compose the scene; it simply reads "About the good people of the past, how they governed themselves" ("Des bonne gens du temps passé / comment ils se gouvernoient").⁵⁶ The textual account gave the Maître an opportunity to render a natural setting. He created a high horizon line filling the green landscape with different species

⁵³ Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, 80.

⁵⁴ Marilyn Desmond has posited that there were probably five extant vernacular copies of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* in translation when Jean was writing his continuation. See *ibid.*, 75. On the relationship between the speeches by Ami and Books I and II of *Ars amatoria*, see Thérèse Bouché, "Ovide et Jean de Meun," *Le Moyen Age* 83 (1977), 71-87; Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, 79-111. In his translation, Dahlberg compiled points in Ami's speech that Langlois and Lecoy have correlated with verses in Ovid's text. See Dahlberg, 384-86.

⁵⁵ "Furent amours leiaus e fines." *Roman de la rose*, line 8359; trans. Dahlberg, 154.

⁵⁶ The artist was one of the first to visualize this episode in the text. Douce 332, also by the Maître du Policratique, includes an image of this scene. All of the other manuscripts that I am aware of that contain this scene are from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, including Douce 195 (fol. 59v); J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 7 (fol. 53v); BnF fr. 12595 (fol. 62v); and Morgan M.948 (fol. 83v).

of trees and species, along with three couples: one in the background is represented in conversation while two flirt and kiss in the foreground. The artist then represented two of Ami's tales that had a long tradition of illumination: the Death of Lucretia and the Jealous Husband beating his wife. In this manuscript, the harmony in the preceding representation of idyllic couples, however, creates a stark contrast to the violence of these miniatures, made even more striking owing to the artist's vivid manner of rendering the scenes, a subject that we will return to later in this chapter.

From here, the artist returned to representations of the Golden Age. He included an image of the "first thieves," an image that is rarely included but does not appear out of place in this sequence of violent miniatures depicting what happened when the ancient social order was disrupted (Fig. 4.13).⁵⁷ The rubric reads, "How, for the first time, the thieves attack to steal" ("Comment les larrons coururent / premierment pour embler"). Two thieves emerge from the woods, one drawing his sword on two pilgrims, one of whom has just noticed their presence. The sequence resolves with an image of the crowning of the first king. In the text, Ami explains that once society had developed the concept of property, there was a need to elect a lord to maintain justice and keep the peace. And they logically chose the strongest peasant ("vilain") among them to ensure harmony.⁵⁸ The rubric reads, "Comment le premier roy fu / premierement fait du peuple." The illuminator accordingly represented a tall, bearded, medieval king – holding a medieval scepter topped with a fleur de lys – towering over a crowd of people (Fig. 4.14).

After this cycle about origins of just government in the Golden Age – the image cycle transitions back to plot. These miniatures follow a logic established by the time of

⁵⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 9517-60; trans. Dahlberg, 171.

⁵⁸ *Roman de la rose*, line 9609; trans. Dahlberg, 172. Dahlberg translates "vilain" as "scoundrel," but it more likely means "commoner" or "peasant" in this context. See Hindley, Langley, and Levy, s.v. vilain.

the Montbastons, visualizing episodes of action and conversations between characters that had become obligatory in manuscripts where Jean de Meun's text was given illuminations. These include the sequence of images that visualize the early stages of the attack on the castle: the God of Love rallying his barony, Faux Semblant and Contreint Atenance confronting Malebouche, and Faux Semblant cutting off Malebouche's tongue.

From here, the illuminator transitioned from the narrative action back into the speech of another character, that of La Vieille. The figure offers the character of Bel Aceuil advice on how women can manipulate men, and conveys anecdotes that encouraged love outside of the bonds of matrimony. Large portions of La Vieille's speech, like that of Ami's, were taken from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.⁵⁹ In the image cycle in Morgan M.132, the focus is on exempla that display the pitfalls of monogamy. Preaching the values of unrestricted love, La Vieille explains that Nature "has made all us women for all men and all men for all women, each woman common to every man and every man common to each woman," and institutions such as marriage simply leave women dreaming of their freedoms.⁶⁰ A strong proponent of the positive aspects of marriage, Christine de Pizan would go on to protest against the values expressed in precisely this, writing "Now let us consider further the subject or manner of speech to which many would reasonably object. Good God! What disgust! What disgrace! And the exhortations which he teaches in the passage of [la Vieille]! By God! Who could possibly find anything but specious advice in them, full of insults and baseness?"⁶¹

⁵⁹ Bouché explains that much of La Vieille's speech is taken from Book III of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. See Bouché, "Ovide et Jean de Meun," 71-87.

⁶⁰ "Ainz nous a faiz, beaus fiz, n'en doutes, / Toutes pour touz e touz pour toutes, / Chascune pour chascun comune, / E chascun comun a chascune." *Roman de la rose*, lines 13885-88; trans. Dahlberg, 238.

⁶¹ "Or alons oultre en considerant la matiere ou maniere de parler, qui au bon avis de plusieurs fait a reprochier. Beau Sire Dieux! quel orribleté! quel deshonesteté et divers reprouvéz enseignemens recorde ou chapitre de la Vielle! Mais pour Dieu! qui y pourra notter fors ennortemens sophistes tous plains de

After a series of narrative scenes picturing the early interactions between La Vieille and Bel Accueil, the artist visualized several of these exempla that we have not yet encountered in the *Rose* corpus. Sylvia Huot has noted that the group of images emphasizes the text's focus on "the curtailment of the natural sex drive by cultural institutions."⁶² First comes a miniature that contains two violent scenes, perhaps encouraged by a double rubric: on the left, the Maître has represented Dido's suicide, visualized in two Montbaston manuscripts and one manuscript illuminated by Artist L, and, on the right, the suicide of Phyllis (Fig. 4.15).⁶³ In the text, La Vielle uses the two stories to illustrate the dangers of dedicating oneself to only one man, for men inevitably leave "when they are bored or irritated."⁶⁴ The next two images illustrate how married women long for autonomy. The first exemplum is taken from Boethius' *De consolacione philosophiae*, a text that Jean de Meun translated into French after he wrote his continuation of the *Rose*.⁶⁵ La Vielle draws a parallel between married women and caged birds that long to escape to their natural habitat, even if they are well-kept. Perhaps because the rubric mentions both the speaker and the exemplum she describes, the illuminator represents La Vielle pointing toward a bird housed in a round cage (Fig. 4.16).⁶⁶ In the following image, on the same folio, he represented another exemplum that

laidure et toute villaine memoire?" "Christine's Reaction to Jean de Montreuil's *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*", lines 99-104. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 122-23, trans. McWebb.

⁶² Huot, "Women and 'Woman' in Bodley, Douce 332 (c. 1400): A Case of Accidental Meaning?," 50, n. 10.

⁶³ The rubric is four lines: "Comment dydo sicoïn (?) recours / sebonta une espee on corps / et phillis par force d'amour / se pendî sanz faire demour" The tales are found in *Roman de la rose*, lines 13173-214; trans. Dahlberg, 228. Dido is represented in Smith-Lesouëf 62 (fol. 89r) and Chantilly 665 (fol. 90v), produced by the Montbastons, as well as ÖNB 2592 (fol. 91v), illuminated by Artist L.

⁶⁴ "Tuit en la fin toutes les fuient, / Quant las en sont e s'en enuient." *Roman de la rose*, lines 13171-72; trans. Dahlberg, 228.

⁶⁵ For this translation, see Ed. Dedeck-Héry, "Boethius' *De Consolacione* by Jean de Meun," 165-275.

⁶⁶ The rubric reads: "Here the Old Woman relates a nice /story that tells of a bird / who does nothing all day but seek / a place where he can be free." ("Ci raconte la vieille un bel / exemple que dit de oïsel / qui toudiz ne fait q(u1) querir / lieu par ou il puisse courir.")

illustrates the same phenomenon: a young monk who enters a religious order, only to regret his decision later. The illuminator represents a melancholic monk sitting on a bench inside a structure adorned with Gothic tracery and crosses (Fig. 4.17).⁶⁷ Here the artist's interest in representing form and volume is combined with the necessity of conveying a sense of enclosure, demanded by the subject matter of the passage.

The next rubric introduces yet another exemplum that illustrates the importance of sexual freedom: It reads, "La Vieille, who fills herself with every evil / tells Bel Accueil a tale / about the cat and the colt, / how Nature rules them."⁶⁸ La Vieille explains: just as a kitten who had never seen a mouse, or a colt who had never seen a mare, would seize upon one at first sight, so too men and women would chase one another openly if they had complete freedom.⁶⁹ Perhaps because of the rubric's lack of specificity, or the obscurity of the passage, the artist responds with a simple conversation image of Vielle and Bel Accueil. More importantly, the rubric also tells us that La Vieille is "evil," glossing Jean de Meun's attitude toward the character, perhaps justifying the presence of such arguments against the Christian institution of marriage. The rubric reminds the reader of the author's negative characterization of La Vieille at the opening of her speech, where he calls her a "senile old whore."⁷⁰ The rubrication – which places the blame on the character – prefigures some of the defenses of Jean de Meun, whose later supporters

⁶⁷ The rubric is very similar to the verses in the text, even adding a little bit of information: the text reads, "Aussi vo(s) di ie que li hom / qui se met en religion / et vient après quil sen repent / pro que de deul ne se prent." The rubric mimics the language of the text, but suggests that the monk regretted his decision because he entered the order when he was too young: "Here it tells how the young man / who enters religious orders / too young, which he then regrets, / such that it only takes a little grief/sorrow from him to hang himself." ("Ci dit co(m)ment li jeunes ho(mmes) / Qui se met en religion / trop jeune dont puis se repe(nt) / si qua poi de deul ne se pent.")

⁶⁸ "La vieille qui de tout mal se(m)ple / dit a belaccueil .i. exemple / du chat et du polain denise / coment nature les maistrise."

⁶⁹ *Roman de la rose*, lines 14039-76; trans. Dahlberg, 240-41.

⁷⁰ "La pute vieille redoutee." *Roman de la rose*, lines 12570; trans. Dahlberg, 219.

would argue that he wrote according to the nature of characters, and that their views did not necessarily represent his own.⁷¹ In response, Christine and Jean Gerson would later claim that the difference between the voices of the characters and that of Jean de Meun was not readily distinguishable, and, further, that such a defense would not excuse the immorality of many sections in the text.⁷² As has been shown by Huot, such rubrics – serving as a gloss on the passages at hand – undoubtedly affected the way that the text was read and understood.⁷³ In hindsight, we might also see them as helping to set the terms of the Querelle.

Having drawn out the celebration of the Golden Age, as described by Ami, and relayed the shocking advice of La Vieille, the author returns to representing the plot. In the following folios, the artist illuminated Bel Accueil's brief encounter with the rose and the ensuing siege on the Castle of Jealousy. The planner of the image cycle intended to paint a far fuller picture of this portion of the text than did earlier illuminators. After her long speech, La Vielle convinces Bel Accueil to receive the lover and arranges a secret tryst between the two. The artist rendered the emotional push and pull described in the

⁷¹ See the quotes by Pierre Col on p. 157 and n. 4 of this chapter. A. J. Minnis has noted that this point of contention in the Querelle engaged debates about the intricacies of writing that go back to debates about classical rhetoric. He has pointed out the “distinction between the three styles of writing (the *character scripturae*), which goes back to the fourth-century commentary by Servius on Virgil's *Bucolics*. The style of a work can be called ‘exegetic’ when the author speaks in his own person; ‘dramatic’ when he speaks in the persons of others; and ‘mixed’ when both these styles are used.” See Alastair Minnis, “Theorizing the *Rose*: Crises of Textual Authority in the *Querelle de la Rose*,” in *Magister amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7.

⁷² Gerson argued that the author did not clearly condemn the character's speeches. He also pointed out that the difference between the voices of the characters and that of Jean de Meun are not readily distinguishable – and that characters in the *Rose* do not always speak in a manner that is appropriate to their persona, noting that the figure of Nature addresses the “mysteries of our faith” (“misteres de nostre foy”). *Treatise against the Roman de la rose*, line 585. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 300-1, trans. McWebb. According to Christine, the author went beyond what was necessary for the portrayal of certain characters and that the misogyny was not limited to a specific persona: “You claim that the Jealous Husband is merely doing his duty, and I tell you that almost all of the characters are unable to stop slandering women.” (“Tu dis que ce fait le Jaloux comme son office et je te dis que auques en tous personnages ne se peut faire de vituperer les femmes”). “Christine's Response to Pierre Col”, lines 514-16. See *ibid.*, 164-65, trans. McWebb.

⁷³ Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 76-77.

narrative. First comes a miniature of La Vielle bringing the lover the good news. Their reunion, however, was short-lived: in the following two images, Dangier chases the lover away from the rose, and then drives Bel Aceuil back into prison.

The artist went on to visualize several scenes of Love's Army attacking the guards of the castle. As previously mentioned, at the height of the narrative action, the planner of the cycle included an image of Jean de Meun. The visual disruption mirrored the halt in the text's momentum that occurs when the author inserts his own voice into the tale in order to defend his writing. The image cycle then quickly returns to depicting the ultimately unsuccessful attack on the castle, laying it out in a series of three scenes of individual pairs of personifications fighting, rather than the single image preferred by the Montbastons and Artist L. The action sequence closes with the God of Love entreating Venus for her aid and a final image where Venus arrives on a chariot carried by doves, a detail mentioned in the body of the text, but not the rubric.⁷⁴

From here, the image cycle focuses on Nature's discourse and her confession to Genius, which became another opportunity to represent the content of Jean de Meun's philosophical ruminations on reproduction and the relationship between the sexes. As in Ami's speech to the lover, the manuscript includes images of the speaking characters as well as five images illustrating exempla, four of which we have not yet encountered. The first two images are familiar: a miniature of Nature at her forge and another of Nature confessing to the bishop-like figure of Genius. In the text, just as Nature is about to begin her confession, Genius interrupts with a long digression addressing the issues that arise

⁷⁴ "Beaus fu li chars, a quatre roes, / D'or e de pelles estelez. / En leu de chevaus atelez / Or aus limons sis coulombeaus, / Pris en son coulombier mont beaus." ("The chariot was beautiful; it was a four-wheeled one, starred with gold and pearls. Instead of horses, there were six doves hitched in the shafts.") *Roman de la rose*, lines 15782-86; trans. Dahlberg, 267.

when men reveal their secrets to women. An image marks Genius' retelling of the biblical story of Samson and Delilah, in which Delilah cuts the hair of her husband in order to destroy his strength (Fig. 4.18).⁷⁵ The illuminator represented Delilah using scissors to cut the long locks of the sleeping Samson, who rests his head in her lap. Christine would later single out the hypocrisy in Genius' teachings, which encouraged men to pursue women sexually, but also "strongly forbids men to confide in women, who, he claims, are so eager to know their secrets."⁷⁶

In Morgan M.132, Nature's confession – rarely given any illuminations – became the site for incorporating images that drew out both Christian themes and the sexual dimensions of the text. The character begins by offering an account of creation, continued with a description of the movement of the planetary bodies and the theories of optics, and ended with a discussion of free will. In order to explain divine prescience – God's ability to see all of time in his eternal present – Nature asks the reader to imagine that Christ holds a mirror in which he can see everything at once, and the rubric states "How the true, unchanging God / holds the eternal mirror / in which he openly sees / all of salvation and damnation."⁷⁷ The artist followed the rubric by representing a seated Christ holding a mirror that contained his own reflection (Fig. 4.19). As a means of illustrating the virtue of preparedness, even in light of predestination, the author follows with the tale of the mythological figures of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who were sage enough to build

⁷⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 16677-700; trans. Dahlberg, 281.

⁷⁶ "Et pour ce que il tant deffent dire son secret—qui du savoir est si engrant." "Christine's Reaction to Jean de Montreuil's *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*", lines 165-66. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 125-27, trans. McWebb.

⁷⁷ "Co(m)ment li vrais diex t(re)s estable / Tient le mironer p(er)durable / Ou quel il voit appertement / De tous salut ou da(m)pneme(n)t." For the description in the text, see *Roman de la rose*, lines 17466-83; trans. Dahlberg, 292. The main body of the text states God himself *is* a mirror, but this is often translated into visual terms as God *holding* a mirror. On this, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 88-89, 73-96.

ships in preparation for an impending flood that left them the last man and woman on earth.⁷⁸ Ostensibly about the prescience of the two figures, the passage selected for illumination brings attention back to themes of procreation. An image of the two figures praying to a statue is included on fol. 131v, visualizing the accompanying text, which describes how the couple prayed to the goddess and asked for help reviving their line (Fig. 4.20). The rubric, “How the good Deucalion / continued his line,” is non-specific, but the miniature matches the point in the story at which the image appears.⁷⁹ The selection of the episode and the level of textual specificity convey the artist’s and planner’s ambitious efforts to draw out common threads in the text.

The running focus on images of sexuality throughout this volume continues in the final miniatures accompanying Nature’s speech, both of which represent couples in bed. The first appears directly after Nature’s second discussion of the wonders of optics, in which she relays information about magnifying lenses (which she calls “mirrors”). Nature connects the discussion of mirrors to the story of Mars and Venus, explaining that, if the lovers could have examined the bed with lenses beforehand, they would not have gotten caught in Vulcan’s trap.⁸⁰ A rubric emphasizes the scandalous nature of the scene depicted: “How Vulcan, the most jealous husband of Venus, / found Mars lying with his wife, / completely nude. For which he was greatly dishonored.”⁸¹ The artist represents the figures kissing and lying on a bed that is slightly angled toward the viewer to offer a better view, while the figure of Vulcan sets his trap (Fig. 4.21). The second image of a copulating couple occurs at the end of Nature’s speech – where she makes one final effort

⁷⁸ *Roman de la rose*, lines 17590-650; trans. Dahlberg, 294.

⁷⁹ “Coment le bon ducalion / recouura generacion.”

⁸⁰ *Roman de la rose*, lines 18061-89; trans. Dahlberg, 300.

⁸¹ “Co(m)ment le jalous pl(us) q(ue) nuls / Volcanus le mari venus / Prist mars prone avec sa fame / Tout nu. Dont il ot g(ra)nt diffame.”

to convey the importance of procreation. The illuminator uses an almost identical composition (Fig. 4.22). Michael Camille noted that our artist's rendering of coitus differs greatly from that in other similar images, because the illuminator alluded to the figures' actions under the sheets.⁸² As Camille remarked, the artist modeled the drapery in such a way that it shows the woman's hand "clearly manipulating the man's member beneath the covers."⁸³

The next series of images presented the speech of Genius who delivers a sermon to Love's followers about the importance of procreation, with respect to the continuation of one's line. The images also place the advice of the character in a Christian context, perhaps in line with other rubrics and images in this copy of the text that served to display the good intention of Jean de Meun. The first two images establish the framework for his speech: in the first, the God of Love hands Genius a mitre and, in the second, Genius begins to preach to the group.⁸⁴ Then the illuminator turns to a mythological exemplum. In the text Genius describes the cruel figure of Atropos, who cuts the threads of life spun by her two sisters.⁸⁵ The four-line rubric proposes a particular type of iconographic representation of Atropos: "How Genius proclaimed to all / in a loud voice and entreated them / each to defend themselves well / against Atropos who is death."⁸⁶ The illuminator represented Atropos as a skeleton, the personification of Death, pushing a spear into a man who has fallen on the ground (Fig. 4.23). Genius goes on to explain that

⁸² Here Camille drew a connection between this explicit image and the parallel Jean de Meun draws between the acts of writing and sex, whereby he compares the author's pen to a phallus. See Michael Camille, "Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation," in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schulz (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 58-90, p. 82-83.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸⁴ *Roman de la rose*, lines 19477-504; trans. Dahlberg, 321-22.

⁸⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 19763-839; trans. Dahlberg, 325-26.

⁸⁶ "Co(m)ment Genius a touz crie / a haute voix et leur depree / qui chascun se deffende fort / contre atropos ce est la mort."

if the listeners remember and recite his sermon, which stresses both the importance of reproduction and of confession of one's sins, they will become members of God's heavenly flock.⁸⁷

In the next two miniatures, the illuminator presented visions of the paradise that awaited those who followed the command to reproduce. The rubric accompanying the first reads, "How the very sweet Jesus Christ / is guardian and shepherd of sheep / and herds them before him / to graze in a beautiful and pretty meadow," which prompted the artist to represent a pastoral scene of Christ as a haloed lamb, holding a staff and surrounded by grazing sheep (Fig. 4.24).⁸⁸ The sequence ends with a representation of the fountain in paradise, similar to the fountain at the beginning of the romance, but here equipped with a tall spout and decorated with gothic pinnacles (Fig. 4.25). Genius in fact compares this mystical fountain, which "is so precious and health-giving, so beautiful and clear, clean and pure," to the one at the beginning of the romance, which, he explains, was "so bitter and poisonous that it killed the fair Narcissus."⁸⁹ Both images and rubrics call attention to Genius' Christian gloss on the text in a way that would have been unimaginable to the Montbastons or Artist L.

As we have seen, it was the illuminator's tendency, at the end of other characters' speeches, to provide a closing image for the section to wrap up and make a transition. On fol. 147v, a rubric announces that the barons, moved by Genius's sermon, dressed and prepared to make war. The artist represented five soldiers wearing chainmail and holding

⁸⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 19907-20000; trans. Dahlberg, 327-29.

⁸⁸ "Co(m)ment li tres doulz jesu cristus / est garde et pasteur de brebis / et les maine par devant lui / paistre en .i. pre bel joli."

⁸⁹ "Qui tant est precieuse e saine / E bele e clere e nete e pure," "Tant amere e tant venimeuse / Qu'el tua le bel Narcissus." *Roman de la rose*, lines 20388-89, 20410-11; trans. Dahlberg, 334.

battle-axes, tall spears, and shields decorated with heraldry. They are poised to fight and the narrative continues with an image of Venus aiming her fiery arrow at the Castle.

Few illuminators could resist including an image to accompany the digressive tale of Pygmalion, a sculptor whose *ymage* came to life (Fig. 4.26). Here the artist included two images of the character. First he represented Pygmalion carving his statue, emphasizing his role as an artist at work: the *ymage* lies on a workbench surrounded by tools such as a T-square and a compass.⁹⁰ The second shows Pygmalion kneeling before two deities on pedestals; his sculpture stands behind him with her arms crossed, a sign that she is not yet animated.⁹¹ This was a more conventional sequence, not one engaging with Jean de Meun's theses, and, as in many manuscripts, the illuminator did not bring the story to closure.

Morgan M.132 is a manuscript that was clearly crafted for a reader in a learned court circle, and was likely the result of a close collaboration between a figure well versed in the current readings of the text and an artist who was aware of the best way to cater to the tastes of wealthy patrons. Along with containing a very complex set of rubrics, the manuscript has a highly unusual pictorial cycle, which included twenty images that would have been unfamiliar to the Montbastons and Artist L. There was an increase in the number of narrative scenes, but most of these additions visualized exempla, allowing the artist to represent a range of new material, including attitudes toward relations between the sexes, Christian glosses on the romance, and defenses of

⁹⁰ This miniature does not have a rubric.

⁹¹ The online catalog description for this manuscript labels the female figure as Venus, while the description of the manuscript from an early catalog tentatively labels the figure as Galatea. See *Catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books from the libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and other sources: manuscripts*, 176, no. 112. I follow the latter interpretation of this figure, whose crossed hands are very similar to images of the inanimate Galatea in BL Add. 42133 (fol. 137r) and Valencia, University Library MS 877 (142r). See Stoichita, *Pygmalion Effect*, 38, fig. 18, 48, figs. 22 and 23.

Jean de Meun's intentions. Changes reflected new approaches to the now classic text, and predicted, and possibly helped set, some of the terms of discussion in the Querelle, which would take place in the near future.

Patterns and Departures in Image Cycles

The image cycle in the Morgan manuscript stands out for its thoughtfulness. Clearly the illuminator was pushed to invent, challenged to represent philosophical arguments through images. The next three *Rose* manuscripts that the Maître de Policratique illuminated, produced between c. 1390 and 1400, show no such control. The most striking aspect of the group, perhaps, is how different they are from one another – reminding us of the methods of the Montbastons, who flooded the market with a variety of cycles that catered to different tastes and budgets. In all three manuscripts, however, one finds an extension of themes established in Morgan 132 – particularly conspicuous is the focus on the role of Jean de Meun and the attention to exempla that signaled the importance of procreation.

Douce 332 is akin Morgan 132. It is another small manuscript (27.7 x 20.0 cm) with about the same number of images, as well as the same recension of the text.⁹² The artist had learned some lessons: he followed longstanding norms in illustrating Guillaume's section and focused attention on Jean's continuation, even adding representations of new exempla – exempla that are not just absent in the earlier generation of *Rose* manuscripts, but are also unique in his oeuvre. The manuscript has sixty miniatures. Guillaume's section has twenty-three images, including a two-part

⁹² On the depictions of women in this manuscript, see Huot, "Women and 'Woman' in Bodley, Douce 332 (c. 1400): A Case of Accidental Meaning?" Measurement taken from Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 155.

frontispiece, while Jean's has thirty-seven. Rubrics that identify the speaker appear throughout the manuscript, but they are not descriptive, and certainly not poetic, as we saw in Morgan 132. After fol. 58r, the miniatures do not have rubrics at all – from this point on, we can assume that the artist was working exclusively from instructions, verbal or pictorial.

When tackling the content of Jean's continuation, the illuminator maintained the same focus as in Morgan 132. Many of the new images addressed relations between the sexes as described by La Vielle and Genius. When La Vielle describes how men flee their devoted women, the Maître du Policratique provided, in addition to an image of Dido's suicide, a miniature of two other ill-fated ancient couples: Paris and Oenone, and Medea and Jason (Figs. 4.27 and 4.28). As in Morgan 132, he provided two images for La Vielle's exposition of the constraints of marriage on women. The first depicts the caged bird, here gazing longingly at free birds in a nearby tree, while the second represents another example from nature, a fish who finds himself trapped in a net (Figs. 4.29 and 4.30).⁹³ The artist also called attention to Genius' advice to Nature, including two images that display the assertion that men should not trust women with their secrets: a husband foolishly confiding to his wife in bed, and an image of Samson and Delilah.⁹⁴

The artist also rendered two rarely illustrated scenes in the narrator's description of Nature and the perpetuation of the species. The first is an image of a phoenix diving into a blazing fire, its bright red flames offering a stark contrast to the grisaille elements that predominate in the manuscript (Fig. 4.31). The text explains that the phoenix goes

⁹³ *Roman de la rose*, lines 13936-14006; trans. Dahlberg, 239.

⁹⁴ *Roman de la rose*, lines 16653-700; trans. Dahlberg, 281.

willingly into the fire so that it might rise from the ashes and be reborn.⁹⁵ Next, the artist represented an image of the mythological figure of Zeuxis, who is mentioned in passing by the narrator in a comparison between Nature and Art (Fig. 4.32).⁹⁶ Nature is so beautiful, that the narrator cannot attempt to describe her; he explains that even Zeuxis would not be able to represent her accurately, “no matter how well he could represent or color his likeness.”⁹⁷ The illuminator has chosen to represent the story told by Pliny, where the artist is said to have selected features from a range of nude models in his effort to create an image of the most beautiful woman in the world.⁹⁸ Both images represent ancient topoi of creation and art that are situated in juxtaposition to Nature’s more perfect method of reproduction.

In Douce 332 the Maître du Policratique further included eight miniatures depicting the torments of hell as described in Nature’s speech, some of the most unusual images in his oeuvre. The images appear after Nature’s long complaint that man is a creature who not only avoids her laws of reproduction, but also sins in the eyes of God. The descriptions of each torment are rather short, resulting in eight miniatures spread out over only three pages – an even higher concentration than the vices at the beginning of

⁹⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 15977-16004; trans. Dahlberg, 271. On the relationship between Jean de Meun’s description of the phoenix and earlier accounts of the mythical beast in ancient texts, see Ernest Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1891), 165-66. Daniel Heller-Roazen recently claimed that myth of the phoenix was intended to call attention to Jean’s own feat in producing a continuation that both destroys and transforms Guillaume’s original poem. Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Fortune’s Faces: The Roman de la Rose and the Poetics of Contingency* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 61-62.

⁹⁶ *Roman de la rose*, lines 16185-202; trans. Dahlberg, 274.

⁹⁷ “Zeusis, tant seüst bien pourtraire, / Ne coulourer sa pourtraiture.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 16200-1; trans. Dahlberg, 274. On the relationship between Zeuxis and another artist in the *Rose*, Pygmalion, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 316-37.

⁹⁸ Sylvia Huot has argued that the image visualizes “the role of male fantasy in constructing the lady as an ideal and unreal object of contemplation and desire.” See Huot, “Women and ‘Woman’ in Bodley, Douce 332 (c. 1400): A Case of Accidental Meaning?,” 46-48. For an interpretation of another representation of this scene in Musée Condé 590, a manuscript of Cicero’s *Rhetoric*, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 318-20.

the text (Fig. 4.33). Once again, the sequence of images reflects an increased interest in the didactic aspects of the Nature's speech.

These two manuscripts are witness to the Maître du Policratique's efforts to draw out the much discussed philosophical issues set forth in speeches of Jean de Meun. In the other two manuscripts attributed to him, e Museo 65 and Warsaw BN 3760 III, the tone is different, perhaps indicating a different type of patron. Here the image cycles consist largely of scenes from the romance's main narrative. E Museo 65 contains fifty-seven miniatures: thirty-one in Guillaume's portion of the text and twenty-seven in Jean's. Beyond four images of the God of Love's companions, not standard but already encountered in Artist L's Codex 2592, Guillaume's section does not include any images that might be considered unusual in the *Rose* corpus. Jean's section of the text only has four miniatures of exempla, all of which were already popular in the Montbaston era: the Death of Lucretia, Jalous beating his wife, Dido's suicide, and two images of Pygmalion. The Warsaw manuscript contains forty miniatures, twenty-five in Guillaume's portion of the text and fifteen in Jean's.⁹⁹ Once again, Jean's continuation includes miniatures of exempla that appeared in an earlier generation of *Rose* manuscripts: Virginius, the Wheel of Fortune, Nero, Croesus (twice), and Jalous beating his wife.

Copies of the *Rose* illuminated by the Maître du Policratique, in short, have pictorial cycles that are diverse in both number and placement of miniatures. The common thrust in all four manuscripts, however, is the new attention paid to the ruminations of Jean de Meun. In e Museo 65 and the Warsaw manuscript, the artist

⁹⁹ The manuscript only contains six miniatures of the vices. Vieillesse appears before Papelardie and Povrete, indicating that the manuscript may have been rebound later and that some of these early folios have been lost. I have not been able to examine this manuscript in person and the catalogs do not mention the unusual order of the vices.

provided substantial, but not unusually extensive cycles for his continuation. Still, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, he found opportunities to represent the author at other points in the text where he called attention to his learned readings of classical works and placed himself within an elite lineage of love poets. He responded to changes in reading habits, and to transformations in fashion as well.

Gesture, Form, and Fashion

In addition to updating images by rendering them in his particular grisaille style, the Maître du Policratique enlivened familiar scenes by infusing them with expressive action and gesture, especially in Morgan M. 132. A standard conversation image of *Ami* and the lover, for instance, becomes a theatrical presentation of the lover's departure (Fig. 4.34). *Ami* grasps the lover's hand, twisting his torso and leaning back as he walks away. In the scene where Franchise and Pitie appeal to Dangier, also frequently illustrated as a simple conversation image in Montbaston manuscripts, the artist succeeds in conveying an unusual amount of emotion. On the left, Pitie places her arm around the lover, who holds his hands together in supplication, while Franchise pleads with the antagonist (Fig. 4.35). Such images show that the artist's play with narrative occurred not just on the level of the selection of images, but in his depiction of individual scenes.

Violent images by the Maître du Policratique are particularly affecting. In depictions of Jalous beating his wife in Douce 332 and the Warsaw manuscript, the artist chose to represent images with a character that matches the brutality of the text. The narrator explains:

In anger and rage, he drags her through the whole house and vilifies her foully. His intent is so evil that he doesn't want to hear excuses on any oath. Instead he

hits her, beats her, thumps her, and knocks her about while she gives out howls and cries and sends her voice flying on the winds past windows and roofs. She reproaches him in every way she knows how, just as it comes into her mouth, in front of the neighbors who come there. The neighbors think them both crazy; with great difficulty they take her away from him while he is out of breath.¹⁰⁰

As Jeanne de Montbaston did in Morgan 503, the artist represented the public nature of the violence by including the representations of the neighbors attempting to stop the beating (Figs. 4.36, 4.37, and 4.38). Yet, while the Montbaston image has similar content, the expressive gestures of the later illuminator add to the emotion of the scene. In Douce 332, Jalous climbs over his fallen wife as he pulls her hair and attempts to strike her with his club. The neighbors try to stop him: a man grasps his raised arm while a woman desperately tugs at his tunic. Two figures in the background, observing and gossiping, but not intervening, add to the commotion. The representation in the Warsaw manuscript is equally alarming, with the female neighbor placing her hand directly in the path of the Husband's blow in an attempt to quell his rage. The illuminator's depiction, at the very least, calls attention to a passage that would be widely contested during before and during the great debate. It has been said that no other section of the text contributed more to the popularity of the *Rose*, with Christine de Pizan claiming that the Jealous Husband did nothing but defame women, and her opponents claiming that Jean de Meun just intended to create a character that served as a negative example.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ "E par tout l'ostel la traïne / Par courrouz e par ataine, / E la laidenge malement. / Ne ne veaut pour nul sairement / Recevoir excusacion, / Tant est de male entencion; / Ainz fiert e frape e roille e maille / Cele qui brait e crie e baille, / E fait sa voiz voler aus venz / Par fenestres e par auvenz, / E tout quanqu'el set li reprouche, / Si come il li vient a la bouche, / Devant les veisins qui la vienent, / Qui pour fous ambedeus les tienent, / E la li tolent a grant peine / Tant qu'il est a la grosse aleine." *Roman de la rose*, lines 9367-82; trans. Dahlberg, 168-69.

¹⁰¹ Christine mentioned the passage in her response to Pierre Col in 1402 and, in turn, Pierre Col mentioned the passage in response to Christine. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 165, 325-329.

In Morgan 132 the illuminator also represented the death of Lucretia, which found great popularity at the end of the fourteenth century, with unusual emotional force (Fig. 4.39).¹⁰² He emphasized the figure's pain by representing her furrowed brow and grimace, and provided an active audience that reacts to the gruesome scene. In this image, the grisaille coloring is also exploited for narrative purposes: Lucretia's blood is painted in a bright red paint that stands out in an otherwise neutral miniature.

Like the Montbastons before him, the Maître du Policratique worked on a range of manuscripts with overlapping content, allowing him to transfer knowledge he had gained from illustrating one type of text and apply it to the next. As when Richard adapted figures from the *Rose* for the *Pelerinage*, so the Maître du Policratique created variations on the figure of Pygmalion in manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose* and the *Ovide moralisé*, representing the ancient sculptor in a remarkably similar way (Figs. 4.26, 4.40, and 4.41). In one of the *Rose* manuscripts, Morgan 132, he tailored the image to better mirror the text's focus on the sculptor's craft (Fig. 4.26). In addition to portraying the figure hard at work on his creation, he included tools. Such efforts reveal that the artist was economical about his method of portrayal, but that he did not carelessly deploy "stock" figures. In other instances, he adopted a shared vocabulary to represent entirely different characters who exemplified analogous concepts. In one *Rose* manuscript, for example, the illuminator drew upon the tradition of representing the biblical figure of Job, illustrated in the context of a *Bible historiale*, to illustrate the vice of Povrete (Figs.

McWebb's compilation also contains passages that refer to Jalous' speech earlier in the fourteenth century. See *ibid.*, 26-33.

¹⁰² On the popularity of the story of Lucretia at the turn of the century, see Carla Bozzolo, "L'intérêt pour l'histoire romaine à l'époque de Charles VI: L'exemple de Laurent de Premierfait," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté: Études offertes à Bernard Guenée* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 114-16. For the interest in Lucretia as exhibited in manuscript copies of *Des cas de nobles hommes et femmes*, see Hedeman, *Translating the Past*, 201-2.

4.42 and 4.43). Rather than following the detailed description of the vice found in the text, he represented a figure traditionally understood to embody poverty. Like Job, Povrete wears a loose garment and has an unkempt hairstyle, bows his head, and raises one hand toward his face. Perhaps most tellingly, Povrete also sits on a mound of earth, a composition commonly associated with Job, who, in one of his most distressed moments, was said to have sat upon a dunghill. Such comparisons reveal how *Rose* iconography continued to inform, and was shaped by, the iconography of other texts.

In addition to introducing a wide range of new scenes to the corpus, the Maître du Policratique was also sure to display his awareness of changes in dress and architecture, a feat enabled by his “realistic” manner of depiction. The corpus of four *Rose* manuscripts allows us to see how his representation of fashion changed over time. In keeping with his understated manner of rendering figures in grisaille, the artist’s depiction of dress in Morgan M.132 is not particularly detailed. In the artist’s representation of the Carole in this manuscript, the fashions are not that different from those represented in Artist L’s illuminations in Vienna Cod. 2592, though the effect is perhaps less striking because of the muted colors and the less exaggerated proportions of the body (Fig. 4.44). Still, he shows himself up-to-date. The men wear narrow *pourpoints*, close fitting jackets that hit mid-thigh, with low-slung belts. Dagging at the hem of their clothing indicates their youth.¹⁰³ Women wear *cote hardies* with open necklines that fit tightly across the top of the body, with full skirts. In other images in the manuscript, the artist identified certain female characters as particularly fashionable: Oiseuse and Richesse both wear long tippets and a full cote with fabric that gathers luxuriously at the ground (Figs. 4.45 and 4.46). The artist’s representation of fashion in Morgan 132 serves an identificatory

¹⁰³ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 50.

function within the image, using terms that would have been familiar to viewers in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and showcases his knowledge of current trends.

The dating of the three later manuscripts aligns them with a historical moment when fashion began “moving again” after a period of relative stagnation in the 1380s.¹⁰⁴ It follows that they reveal the artist’s more emphatic interest in depicting fashionable clothing. In the fourteenth century, fashion not only exhibited an accelerated pace of change, but also a diversification of styles. An illumination of the Carole found in Douce 332 is witness to this phenomenon (Fig. 4.47).¹⁰⁵ In earlier visualizations of this scene, including the image in Morgan 132, artists tended to represent the characters in generic courtly garb. In Douce there is a wide range of variation in the same basic silhouettes. The lover, on the left, is dressed in a somewhat plain gown that might have been considered appropriate for a theologian or scholar.¹⁰⁶ The other men all wear fitted garments, buttoned down the front with low-slung belts, but the sleeves give each a distinctive look. To the right of the lover, a man wears full sleeves that nearly reach the ground – known as “bombard” sleeves, these became more popular in the 1390s.¹⁰⁷ The central figure, shown with a costly collar around his neck, wears a garment with dagging on both the lower hem and the sleeves; the latter became particularly popular in the 1390s as well. The fitted sleeves on the man to the right are in a style that dates as far back as the 1360s, but the dagging on his lower hem and his pointy shoes (or chausseables),

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 80.

¹⁰⁵ In the one-column miniature of the Carole on fol. 9r of the Warsaw manuscript, the illuminator represents a similar range of styles.

¹⁰⁶ In other images his clothing is adorned with buttons and a *liripipe*, often worn by theologians, hangs over his shoulder. On the connotations of the *liripipe*, see van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 300.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 86.

reaching over the frame, convey his sense of style. Musicians on the right wear variations on the same dress.

The artist also clads women in a variety of fashionable dress, showing his alertness in a way that would have pleased patrons. On the left, a figure wears a surcoat with tippets hanging from the elbows, a style that had been popular since the 1350s.¹⁰⁸ The tight-fit, full skirt, and low, inverted-heart neckline of her outfit keep it up-to-date.¹⁰⁹ A crowned figure in the center, identified as Richesse in other illuminations, wears a trendy, fitted *houppelande*: belted at the waist with a full skirt revealing the layer below, it has the bombard sleeves that were popular at the moment. Her winged hairstyle, under her pillbox hat, marks her as a young maiden.¹¹⁰ To the right, Oiseuse wears an open-sided surcoat with excess fabric gathered at the side, a style that may have been considered dated by this period. In a contemporary manuscript, the artist used the very same formal style of dress, which became popular in the 1350s, in a presentation portrait of the Duchess Valentina Visconti (Fig. 4.48).¹¹¹ While not the most of-the-moment fashion, he probably continued to represent this type of surcote because of its ability to convey the royal status of its wearer. Illuminations throughout the manuscript reveal that the artist was not a slavish follower of trends, but skillfully deployed styles, both old and new, that were appropriate for different types of characters. And by the 1390s, there were more styles in his repertoire.

From the very beginning of the tradition, copies of the *Rose* gave evidence of a great deal of pictorial variation; this allowed later artists to devise pictorial cycles that fit

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 52-53. On the inverted heart neckline, see *ibid.*, 92-93.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 72-73.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 92-93.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 56-57, fig. F.15.

the changing demands of their patrons. In the mid-fourteenth century, Artist L found it sufficient to devise pictorial cycles with a high number of illuminations, updating smaller details in composition and filling out the narrative arc. By the time of the Maître du Policratique, over one hundred years after Jean finished his continuation, the *Rose* had a different valence and the expectations for *Rose* manuscripts had evolved. The illuminator shows himself painting for those who valued *Rose* as classic, and thought deeply about the ethical and didactic content of Jean's continuation, a trend that would continue and be taken to new levels by the artist of the Getty manuscript, described in the next chapter. The artist's manner of rendering, more focused on gesture than his predecessors, allowed him to deliver content in an expressive way, perhaps better displaying the ethical stakes of passages such as that of Jalous. His participation in the "realist" trend in illumination, and signature grisaille style, also highlighted his experiments with illusionism and incorporation of minute observations about dress and accessories, a tendency that would also be further developed by *Rose* artists in the following decades.

Chapter Five

The Getty *Rose*: A Fifteenth-Century Singleton

With 101 miniatures, the manuscript Ludwig XV 7 in the J. Paul Getty Museum is one of the most lavishly illuminated copies of the *Rose* in existence. The artist remains unidentified, but the style corresponds with that of illuminators working in the “Bedford Trend,” a manner of painting that emerged in the first decade of the fifteenth century. By this time, the production of *Rose* manuscripts had slowed, but not stalled. According to Langlois’ catalog, sixty-six manuscripts were produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries combined, compared to about 150 manuscripts in the fourteenth.¹ The Getty manuscript is among those few copies of the *Rose* that were produced in the first decades of the fifteenth century, making them near contemporaries of the Querelle.² Each was painted by a different workshop, presumably at the behest of a discerning court patron.

The Getty manuscript is described in great detail in the catalog of the Ludwig collection, the style of its miniatures has been discussed by some of the foremost scholars of French illumination, and individual images have been introduced into larger topical

¹ These statistics are taken from Badel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle*, 55-56. Badel is quick to note that most copies of the *Rose* that have come to light since Langlois’ publication were produced in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. An accurate count would be slightly higher.

² Heidrun Ost named the Getty manuscript as one of six especially outstanding examples, a list also including Brussels, KBR 18017 (102 miniatures); Oxford Bodleian Library, Douce 371 (79 miniatures); Paris, BnF fr. 1570 (77 miniatures); BnF fr. 12595 (80 miniatures); and BUV 387 (161 extant miniatures). The last is the subject of her article. See Ost, “Illuminating the Roman de la rose in the Time of the Debate: The Manuscript of Valencia,” 405-35, 409 n. 14.

discussions about *Rose* illustration.³ But, unlike other fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as the contemporary Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat Valencia 387, or Bodleian Library, Douce 195, the particularities of its image cycle have not been examined with regard to artistic practice or in relation to the long tradition of *Rose* illumination.⁴

By the early fifteenth century, the *Rose de la rose* enjoyed a growing importance of humanist circles and patrons clearly valued manuscripts for the possibilities they offered planners and artists to create inventive pictorial cycles. In 1403, during a public exchange of gifts in celebration of the New Year, a ritual known as the *étrenne*, Jean, Duke of Berry was given a copy of the *Roman de la rose* by Martin Gouge, his treasurer, who would later become bishop of Chartres.⁵ In addition to a *Rose* manuscript, over the course of thirteen years, the two men exchanged manuscripts containing other secular texts that were of interest to French humanists, such as the *L'histoire de thebes et troye* and a collection of Terence's comedies, and swapped fantastic objects that were intended to delight, including elaborately carved crystal vessels, and crosses made of precious stones.⁶ The fact that a *Rose* manuscript would be included among this list of precious objects, considered appropriate for such a public ritual, should be taken as a clear sign of

³ For the lengthy and invaluable catalog description, see Anton von Euv and Joachim Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 4 (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1979-1985), 228-39, pls. 143-174. For discussions of the style of miniatures, see below. Topical discussions about this manuscript have tended to focus on the image on fol. 129v of Venus aiming her arrow at the castle, which will be examined later in this chapter. See McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic in Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*," 128; McMunn, "In Love and War," 179; Desmond and Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea*, 77.

⁴ On these two manuscripts, see ns. 5 and 110 of chapter one.

⁵ Hedeman, *Translating the Past*, 56. On the significance of the *étrennes*, see Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," 598-625. This *Rose* manuscript has been identified as BnF fr. 380, based on its entry in the duke's inventories as well as inscriptions on fols. 3r and 160r. See Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 3, 192. With such a provenance, and fifty high quality illuminations, the manuscript is deserving of its own study.

⁶ Hedeman, *Translating the Past*, 56-57. On the gifts exchanged between Martin and the duke, see *ibid.*, 234-38, App. 4.

the text's status and the potential it offered patrons to create a visually impressive codex that displayed their wealth and also their learning.

The Getty *Rose* conforms to the tradition established by manuscripts such as Morgan M.132, the Parisian manuscript discussed in the last chapter, which not only offered images that were impressively rendered, but provided new readings of a text that had become an important cultural touchstone. Like the Morgan manuscript the visual program of the Getty *Rose* has such subtle nuances and is so coherent that the presence of some sort of learned advisor is implied. But the image cycles of the two manuscripts reveal their very different approaches. Copies of the *Rose* illuminated by the Maître de Policratique defend the author, even representing Jean de Meun on several occasions, once defending himself. The planner of the Getty manuscript had a different emphasis: he did not illustrate any of Jean's authorial interventions (taking no notice of his apology) and, instead, focused more explicitly on his methods of argumentation. Like Morgan M. 132, the Getty manuscript contains a great number of images illustrating the characters' speeches, seeming again to highlight passages that inspired disagreements regarding Jean's inclusion of characters who spoke in misogynistic or harmful way. In this exceptional commission, however, the illuminator was given even more opportunity to illuminate the content of the speeches, and the outcome was a cycle rich in new images of Jean's exempla, drawn from history, ancient mythology, and anecdotal tales from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.

Yet the substantial increase in the number of images simply called further attention to the ambiguities of the text: the images gave visual form to many didactic portions of the allegory, but did not offer a straightforward moralizing gloss. For

instance, despite the image cycle's constant reminders that sexual activity was a means of obeying God's rule, the planner and illuminator also went out of their way to include explicit images whose renderings go beyond any purpose they might serve as negative exempla, especially the salacious miniatures that end the speeches of Ami and La Vieille. The set of images appear as a sort of visual equivalent to Jean's own approach to writing the text, encouraging the reader to construct meaning through the juxtaposition of "contraires choses."⁷ At the end of the romance, before the lover takes the rose, Jean de Meun explains his method:

Thus things go by contraries; one is the gloss of the other. If one wants to define one of the pair, he must remember the other, or he will never, by any intention, assign a definition for it; for he who has no understanding of the two will never understand the difference between them, and without this difference no definition that one may make can come to anything.⁸

As Nancy Freeman Regalado has pointed out, the passage referenced Aristotelian methods of definition, which explained that things are only understood in relation to their contrary.⁹ This could be taken to mean that in order to grasp the meaning of the text, one should attempt to understand the whole – which was full of conflicting opinions and advice – rather than its individual parts. Detractors of the *Rose* would express frustration with Jean's approach. Christine de Pizan wrote, "Do you know how it goes with such a reading? It is like the books of the alchemists: There are those who read and understand

⁷ This approach to understanding images created during the Querelle as a reflection of Jean de Meun's method of writing, rather than a reflection on the attitudes of any particular side of the debate, can also be found in Ost's article on the contemporary Valencia *Rose* manuscript. See Ost, "Illuminating the Roman de la rose in the Time of the Debate: The Manuscript of Valencia," 409-10.

⁸ "Ainsinc va des contraires choses: / Les unes sont des autres gloses; / E qui l'une en veaut defenir, / De l'autre li deit souvenir, / Ou ja, par nule entencion, / N'i metra diffinicion; / Car qui des deus n'a quenoissance / Ja n'i quenoistra diference, / Senz quei ne peut venir en place / Diffinicion que l'en face." *Roman de la rose*, lines 21573-82; trans. Dahlberg, 351.

⁹ Nancy Freeman Regalado, "'Des Contraires choses': La fonction poétique de la citation et des *exempla* dans le 'Roman de la Rose' de Jean de Meun," *Littérature* 41 (1981), 72.

them in one way, and others who read them and understand them in the completely opposite way, and everyone thinks he understands them well.”¹⁰ Rather than offering any type of strict visual argument, the image cycle seems designed to encourage high-level debate and discussion. This is further supported by the fact that there are representations of philosophers in prominent locations throughout the romance – something we have not yet encountered in earlier copies of the text.

As in Morgan M. 132, images in the Getty manuscript highlight the ethical dilemmas posed by the text, especially with regard to the relations between the sexes. But here this theme is even more pointed. As Marilyn Desmond has remarked, “The *Rose* is saturated with commodity fetishism, evident in the relentless details regarding exotic fabrics, jewels, minerals, and ornaments, all of which enhance and enable desire within the allegory.”¹¹ Episodes selected for illustration emphasize the role of material goods in the art of seduction and societal power. Because of this new emphasis on portions of the text that discussed clothing and material wealth, the manuscript is a prime witness to changes to visual culture and new trends in fashion at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the previous chapter, we saw how the artist’s rendition of animated gestures and facial expression helped convey the ethical urgency of certain scenes. Here it is the artist’s incorporation of his observations of the fashionable commodities around him that encouraged the reader to consider the moral stakes of the romance.

¹⁰ “Scez comme il va de celle lecture? Ainsie comme des livres des arguemistes: les uns les lisent et entendent d’une maniere, les autres qui les lisent les entendent tout au rebours; et chacun cuide trop bien entendre.” “Christine’s Response to Pierre Col” (October 2, 1402), lines 325-28. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 154-57, trans. McWebb.

¹¹ Desmond, *Ovid’s Art and the Wife of Bath*, 73.

The “Bedford Trend” (c. 1405-15)

The single illuminator of the Getty *Rose* worked in the style associated with the Parisian illuminator known as the “Bedford Master” (active c. 1405-65). There is no consensus regarding the shape of this master’s oeuvre, or the number of artistic personalities who aligned themselves stylistically and are today seen as belonging to the “Bedford Trend.” The uncertainties are especially great with respect to the early period of his career, between c. 1405 and c. 1415, when the Getty manuscript was illuminated. A brief account of the attributions to this prolific illuminator and his associates, especially those pertaining to the earlier period of his career, helps to define the general character of an artist who applied this style to a deluxe copy of the *Rose*.

The historiography is complex. In 1914, Friedrich Winkler first assigned the name “Bedford Master” to the artist who illuminated three manuscripts for John, Duke of Bedford, the English regent in France between 1423 and 1435: an impressive Book of Hours (BL Add 18850), the Salisbury Breviary (BnF lat. 17294), and an unfinished Benedictional that is no longer extant.¹² Art historians soon began extending attributions beyond this core group to include manuscripts dating to before and after the regent’s

¹² According to Catherine Reynolds, critics in the 1860s already noted the similarities between illuminations found in the three manuscripts. Interestingly, from the very beginning, they did not refer to a singular artist, but “wrote, rather, of the duke’s painters in the plural, a realistic response to the sheer number of miniatures as well as to their variations in quality and technique.” See Catherine Reynolds, “The Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford: Definitions and Identities,” in *Patrons, Authors, and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 439. Reynolds notes that the name “Master of the Duke of Bedford” was first proposed by Winkler, who intended to refer to this particular stage in the illuminator’s career, though it was clearly later applied to a number of works. See F. Winkler, “Zur Pariser Miniaturalerei im dritten und vierten Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Beiträge zur Forschung, Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal* (Munich: 1915). The Benedictional was destroyed in an 1871 fire at the Hôtel de Ville. See Catherine Reynolds’ entry “Bedford Master” in the Grove Dictionary of Art, accessed from www.oxfordartonline.com on August 4, 2014. Eleanor Spencer has conducted in-depth studies of the two surviving manuscripts. See Eleanor Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours,” *The Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965), 495-502; Eleanor Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary,” *The Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966), 607-12.

patronage. There has been little agreement, however, as to whether or not these additions to the corpus should be assigned to the master himself, a close associate, or other artists who were not associated with the workshop. In 1904, Paul Durrieu noted that the style already appeared in several deluxe manuscripts known to have been illuminated between c. 1407 and 1415: BnF fr. 616 (*Livre de la chasse*), created c. 1407; BnF lat. 919 (*Grandes heures*), completed in 1409; Arsenal 664 (*Térence des Ducs*), housed in the library of Louis, Duke of Guyenne in 1415; and KBR 9024-5, a Bible that belonged to John the Fearless in 1415.¹³ Writing before Winkler had coined the name “Bedford Master,” Durrieu proposed that the early works were by a different artist than the one responsible for the core group.¹⁴ Bringing the focus back to the three ducal manuscripts for which the artist was named, Eleanor Spencer later argued that the Bedford Master was not active until c. 1415-30.¹⁵ Millard Meiss, on the other hand, suggested that the Bedford Master was already active in the first quarter of the fifteenth century as one among many illuminators who collaborated on projects. Meiss proposed that he later “emerged as a better illuminator,” who possibly defined the style as it appears in the manuscripts

¹³ Paul Durrieu, *La Peinture à l'exposition des primitifs français* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art ancien et moderne, 1904), 72-73. Durrieu suggested that the illuminations of Bedford's manuscripts be attributed to particular illuminators. See the following footnote.

¹⁴ Durrieu attributed the group of early manuscripts to Haincelin de Hagenau, active in Paris c. 1403-1415. He also attributed several illuminations in two later manuscripts – a Missal of the Bishops of Paris (Arsenal 621) and the Hours of Jean, count of Dunois (BL Yates Thompson 3) – to the hand of Jean Haincelin, active in Paris between 1448 and 1449. Durrieu suggested that the two illuminators were close associates, but did not propose a specific relationship between them. See *ibid.* See also Reynolds, “Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford,” 439.

¹⁵ In her account of the Bedford Master, Spencer focused on the two later groups of manuscripts traditionally associated with this workshop: the name-giving manuscripts of which Bedford was the patron, illuminated by the master and others in his workshop, and a group of manuscripts illuminated later by his “Chief Associate” who ran the workshop until the 1460s. See Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours,” 495-502; Spencer, “The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary,” 607-12; Reynolds, “Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford,” 440-43.

produced for the Duke of Bedford.¹⁶ He thus referred to the earlier group as the “Trend to Bedford” (or “Bedford Trend”), while also assigning names to some of the artists of manuscripts previously associated with the Bedford Master.¹⁷ The Getty manuscript enters the literature as one of four semi-grisaille works added by François Avril to Meiss’ Bedford Trend group, along with BnF fr. 100-101 (*Roman de Tristan*), BnF fr. 290 (*Valère-Maxime*), and BnF lat. 7789 (Cicero’s *De senectute*).¹⁸

Considering the complexities of the attributions and the collaborative nature of late medieval manuscript production, Catherine Reynolds suggests that we leave aside the question of artistic personalities aside altogether. She writes, “Instead of looking for a Bedford Master, it is perhaps more realistic to refer simply to a Bedford Style, which originated with the artist or artists who led the illumination of the ducal manuscripts and which changed with time and with personnel, without drawing conclusions about that personnel.”¹⁹ Her proposal to set aside disagreements regarding individual identities, in favor of focusing on a collective style, is attractive and perhaps also applicable to the earlier group of manuscripts. The difficulty in determining individual hands in the

¹⁶ Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (New York: G. Braziller, 1974), 363.

¹⁷ Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London: Phaidon, 1968), 36. Meiss returned more fully to the subject of the Bedford Master in his later publication *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1972), 24-26. J. J. G. Alexander resisted this multiplication of artistic personalities, instead understanding changes in style as part of a natural evolution over the course of a long career. He wrote, “It is dangerous, because too simple to split up an *oeuvre* into different personalities rather than accept that any artist, and particularly a gifted one, may be expected to have a stylistic evolution... Is the continuous development in style and the inventive variation of iconography in these manuscripts to be convincingly explained in terms of a chain of different artists, rather than of one directing head of what was certainly a large and very successful enterprise?” Jonathan J. G. Alexander, “Masters and their methods. Review of Meiss, *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop*,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 September 1976, 1220.

¹⁸ The Getty manuscript is referred to as “un *Roman de la Rose* conservé dans une collection particulière parisienne.” Avril also noted that BnF fr. 616, classified by Meiss as a manuscript in the Bedford Trend group, has much in common with the works of the illuminator Meiss has named “Master of Berry’s Cleres Femmes.” François Avril, “La peinture française autour de 1400,” *Revue de l’art* 28 (1975), 48-49.

¹⁹ Reynolds, “Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford,” 449.

Bedford Trend group is present in Meiss' own changing attributions. In the last book in his series *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, Meiss explained that he attributed one particular miniature on fol. 96r of BnF fr. 616 to the Bedford Master in 1966, and then rethought, assigning it with less certainty then to the Master or his shop in 1967, and finally placing it with "the Trend" in 1968.²⁰ We might be better off staying with what is implied in Meiss' decision to use the term "Trend" – that it references a fashionable style of painting employed by a number of artists. Rather than seeking out the individual hand that illuminated the Getty manuscript, it suffices to say that he was probably one of many who painted in the Bedford Trend style, collaborating with other artists in the neighborhood to fulfill commissions as they arose.

Illuminations in the Getty manuscript have many of the characteristics of miniatures that were popular at the turn of the century, as well as elements that are more specifically associated with the Bedford Trend. Though miniaturists continued to utilize diapered backgrounds well into the fifteenth century, here the artist followed a new tendency to set scenes within a landscape: occupying about one-third of most of the miniatures, the ground is warm yellow-brown that darkens toward the horizon line; the sky is vivid blue that softens to a crisp white (Fig. 5.1).²¹ Though not associated with the Bedford Trend, the artist of BUV 387, a deluxe manuscript that was likely commissioned by Philip the Bold, shared this same interest in depicting the landscape, indicating that it may have been understood as a common way of making new copies of the *Rose* feel

²⁰ Meiss, *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 365.

²¹ Meiss remarked that in the later works of the Boucicaut Master, such as BL Add. 16997 (c. 1425), "Scintillating diapered grounds, for instance, have yielded completely to graduated skies, often starry." Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master*, 24. Andrews also noted that this element is common in the works of the Boucicaut Master. Andrews, "The Boucicaut Masters," 32. A similar technique was also used in any number of contemporary manuscripts including BnF fr. 166, a copy of the *Bible moralisée*.

contemporary.²² Meiss' observations about the visual qualities of the works remain indispensable. On the overall appearance of images by the Bedford Trend artists, he astutely observed, "Curving mounds of flamboyant crags rise behind complex buildings and nimble, restless figures."²³ Throughout the manuscript the illuminator represented these fanciful rocky crags in the background, even when the subject matter did not call for such a dramatic landscape (Fig. 5.2).²⁴ The illuminator depicted trees with canopies that pointed in several directions, rather than the umbrella-like treetops seen in Morgan 132 that were so popular just a couple of decades earlier.

Illuminators working in the manner of the Bedford Trend created visual interest by representing complex spatial configurations. Scenes taking place within or outside of the Castle of Jealousy afforded the artist of the Getty manuscript plenty of opportunities to create elaborate architectural structures. On fol. 95r, the artist rendered a conflict between Bel Accueil (Fair Welcoming) and the lover's antagonists with a view that emphasizes the boundaries of the castle while also displaying the narrative activity within its walls (Fig. 5.3). Sometimes the artist depicted structures of even more dazzling complexity. When representing the siege on the castle, for instance, he presented the building from multiple perspectives. The lines of the exterior walls indicate that we are approaching from the left, while the recess of the doorway makes it seem as if we are approaching from the right (Fig. 5.4). A blue roof is rendered from above, while the top of a turret is represented from below. This technique allowed the artist to crowd the structure with seven spires. He represented architectural elements that would have been

²² On this manuscript, see n. 5 of chapter one.

²³ Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master*, 36.

²⁴ Other artists, such as Jacquemart de Hesdin and the Limbourg brothers, had their own versions of these rocky crags, though each represented them in their own particular way. See *ibid.*, figs. 476 and 477.

familiar to the contemporary viewer, but recombined them in fanciful ways that encouraged the eye to wander through the structure and appreciate his particular execution of the episode.

In order to define the style of figures in illuminations by the Bedford Trend group, Meiss compares their work to that of a collaborator, the Boucicaut Master (active c. 1390-1430). He suggested that they lack “the poise, moderation, and propriety” that miniatures painted by the latter are known for, instead depicting “an intense though generalized vitality and expressiveness.”²⁵ This is perhaps most evident in the representation of the figures’ stances. While the Boucicaut Master tended to show figures’ feet firmly planted on the ground, the illuminator of the Getty manuscript, like other Bedford trend artists, represents the feet as if the figure were kicking or shuffling along: the toes of the front foot often point toward the sky, while the ball of the back foot points toward the bottom of the miniature.²⁶ In some cases the figures appear as if they are floating above the ground (Fig. 5.5). The artist rarely gave his female figures a rigid, upright stance; instead they elegantly lean back, shifting their weight to their hips. It has been noted that the male figures are generally shorter and squatter, a characteristic that is perhaps emphasized by their loose clothing and low-slung belts (Fig. 5.6).²⁷ The figures gently tilt their heads forward or lift their chins; their faces have rounded features, with “bulbous” noses.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid., 63.

²⁶ De Hamel evocatively described them as “restless almost dancing feet.” See Cat. Sotheby, London 13 July 1977, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, no. 48, 46-54, p. 49.

²⁷ See Catherine Reynolds’ entry “Bedford Master” in the Grove Dictionary of Art, accessed from www.oxfordartonline.com on August 4, 2014.

²⁸ For Meiss, many of the distinctive features of the Bedford figures were appropriated from traditions that originated outside of France, including “stocky, bulbous-nosed figures derived from the Netherlandish tradition with the elegant, sinuously draped figures of Simone Martini.” Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master*, 35.

The illuminator of the Getty manuscript avoided harsh contrasts when he rendered the drapery, preferring to introduce subtle gradations and to define the figures through sketchy outlines. His semi-grisaille technique lends a sense of three-dimensionality to the plentiful folds of the drapery, a trait of manuscripts in this style that Meiss compared with “elegant, sinuously draped figures of Simone Martini” (Fig. 5.6).²⁹ As in other works by the Bedford artist and the Bedford Trend group, the illuminator left the brushstrokes visible, lending the clothing an even more frenetic quality.

In sum, The Bedford Trend style – adopted by many artists c. 1500-15, including our Getty illuminator – was defined by experiments with fantastic landscape elements, energetic figures, and imaginative architecture. By adopting the characteristic features of this fashionable style of illumination, the artist was able to illustrate an image cycle for a patron who desired a copy that would stand apart from the many earlier manuscripts in circulation and, perhaps, other contemporary *Rose* manuscripts that were created for the contemporary elite.

General Characteristics and Shape of Image Cycle

J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 7 measures 37.2 x 25.8 cm and contains 136 folios.³⁰ It is larger than any of the manuscripts discussed in the previous three chapters, though closest in size to the later manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique. The manuscript contains 101 miniatures, placing it among the most well illuminated *Rose*

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ On this manuscript, see von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 228-39. Langlois included a brief description of the manuscript, which he knew of through a sales catalogue. He noted that the manuscript deserves “une mention spéciale” because it includes an unusual explicit. See Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 211-12. A translation of this explicit is included Appendix J of this dissertation. Additionally, see the manuscript description by Timothy Stinson in the Roman de la Rose digital library, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;LudwigXV7>, last accessed August 12, 2014.

manuscripts of any period. The manuscript contains only the *Roman de la rose*, leaving out other works by Jean de Meun that were often included alongside the text. Based on the interpolations, the first section of the text belongs Group II, and, more specifically, family K of Langlois' classification.³¹ Jean's continuation belongs to Langlois' Group II.³² The Ludwig catalog notes that lines 12287-460 on fol. 88v are wrongly inserted after verse 13856, but that the text proceeds as normal after verse 14031.³³

The scribe of the Getty manuscript used a formal textualis formata script, appropriate for a deluxe volume, rather than the cursive hand more commonly used in romances of the time. Changes in speaker or topic are marked by one or two-line initials or short red rubrics. Illuminations are rarely accompanied by descriptive rubrics—breaking with tradition—and are instead followed immediately by three-line red or blue block initials. The few rubrics that do appear with images are very simple, only containing the name of the speaking character, or the figure being described by the author.³⁴ It may be that the artist was relying on a form of instruction that offered more specificity, perhaps from a planner, making the rubrics less necessary. And further, it may have been intended that the manuscript be read aloud, which could imply that an advisor was to help readers navigate its pages. What is certain is that, with an absence of explanatory rubrics, the images do much of the interpretive work. The iconography is

³¹ For a more detailed breakdown of the textual variations of in this manuscript, including the specific verses that help to categorize the text according to Langlois' classification, see von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 234.

³² Jean's portion of the text is broadly classified as belonging to Langlois' Group II, though, as Huot has shown, this includes a wide variety of interpolations. Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*.

³³ Because of this mistake in the text, the images also appear slightly out of order: those of Faux Semblant appear on fols. 87v and 89r, in the middle of La Vieille's speech. von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 232.

³⁴ The "carole," one of the only scenes with a codified name, is also labeled by a rubric. See fols. 6r and 10r.

inventive, including details that are specific to the text, and go beyond details given by the authors, in order to highlight a set of themes.

In addition to stylistic affinities, other evidence connects the *Getty Rose* to manuscripts by the Bedford Trend artists or manuscripts that have better documentation. Christopher de Hamel discovered that the hand of the scribe of the *Getty* manuscript is the same as BnF fr. 12201 (*Fleurs des histoires de la terre d'Orient*), a manuscript that Philip the Bold bought from the merchant Jacques Raponde and gifted to Jean de Berry.³⁵ KBR 11140 (*Le Tresor amoureux*) and BnF fr. 100-101 (*Roman de Tristan*) both have baguette borders that are identical to those of the *Getty Rose*; the latter was classified as a Bedford Trend manuscript by Avril.³⁶ While we do not know the patron or dealer involved in the creation of this manuscript, these connections – and the number and quality of the illuminations – suggest that it was most likely made for a powerful member of the court.

Guillaume's section of the romance is provided with forty-two images while Jean's continuation contains an astonishing fifty-nine, more than any other manuscript treated in this dissertation and surpassed by few. In Guillaume's section we get a greater sense of the cast of characters in the romance with a large number of conversation images that signal speech, a strategy we already saw in play in the last chapter. While the majority of scenes are fairly standard in content, the images establish some of the themes that would appear more strongly in Jean's section, including contrasts between wealth

³⁵ Sotheby catalogue, 48. Meiss attributed this manuscript to an assistant of the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin. It is recorded in Jean de Berry's inventory in 1413. See Meiss, *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 345 and 383; von Euv and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 235.

³⁶ Sotheby catalogue, 48; von Euv and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 235. As mentioned earlier, Avril also attributed the illuminations of BnF fr. 100-101 to an artist in the Bedford Trend group. Avril, "La peinture française autour de 1400," 49.

and poverty, and plays with allegorical architectural barriers. Additionally the artist's attention to detail in Guillaume's section, and the sheer number of miniatures, add to the manuscript's overall display of opulence. As in Morgan M.132, updates to the cycle in Jean de Meun's continuation are more drastic. Here the artist, presumably working with a planner, not only represented a large number of conversation images, calling attention to the numerous personae in the tale, but also represented the content of these speeches with a specific focus on philosophical discourses and characters' discussions of property and the relationship between the sexes. We are now a far cry from the image cycles of the Montbastons, who sometimes attempted to grant the text narrative clarity but did not attempt to give any thematic cohesion to Jean's continuation.

In addition to revealing a great interest in Jean's portion of the text, the distribution of images in the Getty manuscript shows a concerted effort to avoid having large sections without illuminations. The greatest number of consecutive pages without illumination is three. This is not the norm in the tradition. Morgan 132, closest to our present manuscript in the number of miniatures, has up to thirteen pages without images. The artist achieves this more even spread across the manuscript not only by visualizing scenes that are not pictured in earlier manuscripts, especially in Ami's speech, but also by repeating certain types of imagery: the Carole is represented three times; the God of Love shoots his arrow at the lover twice. A large number of action scenes depicting the siege on the castle emphasize the violent narrative and ensured a high concentration of images. This indicates that the patron desired to have an engagingly illustrated copy of the *Rose* in which every section of the text was richly illuminated.

By walking through select portions in the manuscript, it is possible to gauge the qualities of the passages selected for illustration and to appreciate the illuminator's innovative renderings. The finely nuanced image cycle seems clearly to be the product of a collaboration between a learned advisor and an illuminator. The focus here will be on the way the illuminator executed the images, traditional and unprecedented, so as to produce thematic coherence.

Guillaume's Section: Setting the Scene

The mise-en-page of the opening folio emphasizes Guillaume's staging of the romance as an allegorical dream vision (Fig. 5.7). It commences not with a frontispiece but with an uninhabited initial "M" that is six lines tall, calling the reader's attention to the dramatic opening lines of the text:

Many men say that there is nothing in dreams but fables and lies, but one may have dreams which are not deceitful, whose import becomes quite clear afterward. We may take as witness an author named Macrobius, who did not take dreams as trifles, for he wrote of the vision of King Scipio. Whoever thinks or says that to believe in a dream's coming true is folly and stupidity may, if he wishes, think me a fool; but, for my part, I am convinced that a dream signifies the good and evil that come to men, for most men at night dream many things in a hidden way which may afterward be seen openly.³⁷

This "prologue," which vouches for the authority of the author and his vision, is followed by a pair of miniatures that is highly unusual, if not unique, in the *Rose* corpus. The first

³⁷ "Maintes genz dient que en songes / N'a se fables non e mençonges; / Mais l'en peut teus songes songier / Qui ne sont mie mençongier, / Ainz sont après bien aparant; / Si en puis bien traire a garant / Un auctor qui ot non Macrobes, / Qui ne tint pas songes a lobes, / Ançois escrist l'avision / Qui avint au roi Scipion. / Quiconques cuide ne qui die / Que soit floor e musardie / De croire que songes aveigne, / Qui ce voudra, por fol m'en teigne; / Car endroit moi ai je fiance / Que songes est senefiance / Des biens as genz e des enuiz; / Car li plusor songent de nuiz / Maintes choses covertement / Que l'en voit plus apertement." *Roman de la rose*, lines 1-20; trans. Dahlberg, 31.

represents the crowned King Scipio, lying asleep in a canopied bed placed within a Gothic interior (Fig. 5.8). Above the structure, floating in a starry sky, are four philosophers, who gesture toward one another as if in deep discussion. As suggested by Suzanne Lewis, they likely signify the truths that are hidden in the content of his dream.³⁸ The second image is more conventional. The protagonist appears in a bed dreaming, positioned so as to echo the pose of Scipio (Fig. 5.9). The bed is placed within crenellated walls that enclose lush trees and several species of bird, thus pointing forward to the lover's journey in the garden. There was a tradition of representing two scenes in a frontispiece, but, even then, both images represented the protagonist – as an author writing and the lover dreaming; or the lover dreaming and walking through the dream landscape.³⁹ The images served to visualize Guillaume's implicit suggestion that his dream should be considered analogous to that of King Scipio: it was an allegory that did not express things plainly and was thus subject to serious interpretation. Rather than establishing narrative momentum early on in the tale, the opening miniatures encourage thoughtful rumination. We might imagine that, like the philosophers pictured in the first scene, the viewers of this manuscript were to have had animated discussions inspired by the well-known text, given new accents through an exceptional image cycle.

Not one to miss an opportunity for illustration, the illuminator of the Getty *Rose* included all ten personifications described by the author, breaking with the convention of providing only one image for pairs of similar personifications such as Avarice (Avarice) and Convoitise (Covetousness), or Felonie (Felony) and Vilenie (Villainy). These are

³⁸ Lewis, "Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure in the Roman de la Rose," 216.

³⁹ For examples, see Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 48-50. For a more thorough discussion of two-part frontispieces, using manuscripts in the National Library of Wales as examples, see Blamires and Holian, *Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 37-39.

some of the only miniatures with rubrics – each gives the name of the vice and its number in sequence (e.g.: “Haine.i.”). The rubrics thus call attention to the serial nature of the figures, a feature that the author of the text had emphasized through the repetition of the words “après” and “autre” as he moved through individual descriptions.⁴⁰ While in several other luxury manuscripts at the turn of the century began to represent the vices as column-statues, the illuminator of the Getty manuscript continued the long tradition of representing the *ymages* in the same manner as he did other figures in the romance.⁴¹ Placed in the center of the colored landscape with trees on either side, all except Convoitise stand; most earlier artists represented the vices sitting on benches. Many have familiar visual attributes – Convoitise counts pieces of gold on a table, Viellesse leans on a crutch, and Papelardie holds a psalter – but, in general, the number of attributes are pared down, compared to earlier cycles, and the gestures of the figures are more restrained. For instance, Felonie and Vilanie, most frequently depicted as women viciously kicking an attendant, are both depicted in contrapposto stances, gently gesturing and wearing loose garments and simple cloth headdresses (Fig. 5.1). In most fourteenth-century Parisian examples, Tristesse violently pulls out her hair or rips off her tattered garments, but here she simply frowns, furrows her brows, and raises her open hands into the air (Fig. 5.10). The artist tames the violent gestures, perhaps to maintain the delicate aesthetic favored throughout this manuscript.

The manuscript includes a sizeable number of images illustrating the lover’s entrance into the garden and his first impressions of the characters who represent courtly values. Many of these images are part of the long tradition, but unusual episodes also

⁴⁰ For descriptions of the vices, see *Roman de la rose*, lines 129-462; trans. Dahlberg, 32-37.

⁴¹ Some examples of manuscripts that represent the vices as column statues include BUV 387, BnF fr. 24392, and the later codex, Douce 195.

allowed the artist to satisfy the patrons' demands for both a more subtle reading of the text and occasions to marvel at complex imagery. After providing a typical image of Oiseuse greeting the lover, he illustrated the passage where Guillaume first describes the garden. Rendered from a viewpoint that is slightly above a low, crenellated wall, the illuminator depicted courtly men and women gathered around a fountain, presumably that of Narcissus, as the lover enters the garden from a passageway on the right (Fig. 5.11). The cycle then included an image of the Carole, before including several portraits of the God of Love and his companions, a series of that we have already encountered in other manuscripts where Guillaume's section is highly illuminated (e.g. ÖNB Codex and e Museo 65). Unusual is the inclusion of a portrait of the God of Love, wherein the artist visualizes Guillaume's ekphrastic description of the character's costume, a rare occurrence.⁴² In the text, the author explains that the deity was clad in a marvelous gown, made "not of silk but of tiny flowers," and "covered in every part with images of losenges, little shields, birds, lion cubs, leopards, and other animals;" later in the description we discover that it was also, "covered with birds, parrots, nightingales, calendar-larks, and titmice."⁴³ In the image, the illuminator covered Love's robe with intricate, interlacing green vines and a variety of animals that reflects the diversity of animals mentioned in the text, including rabbits, birds, donkeys, and other creatures (Fig. 5.12). In his attempt to match the wonder of Guillaume's ekphrasis, the artist gave the

⁴² I know of only one other manuscript where the illuminator attempts to represent the God of Love's tunic: Bodleian Library, Douce 364, dated to c. 1460-70. On fol. 8r Love's tunic is covered with heraldry, birds, and roses.

⁴³ "Qu'il n'avoit pas robe de soie, / Ainz avoit robe de floretes", "A losenges, a escuciaus, / A oiselez, a lionciaus, / E a bestes e a leparz / Fu la robe de toutes parz / Portraite...", "Qu'il estoit toz coverz d'oiseaus, / De papegauz, de rossigniaus, / De calandres e de mesenges." *Roman de la rose*, lines 878-9, 881-5, 899-901; trans. Dahlberg, 42-3.

patron a chance to appreciate his incorporation of novel detail, a strategy that continued in his representation of clothing throughout the manuscript.

Images of Franchise (Openness), Cortoisie (Courtesy), and Jeunesse (Youth) accompany their respective descriptions; as with the images of the vices, certain details of the portraits rely closely on the text, while others are inventions, independent of it. Guillaume explains that Cortoisie is “a gleaming brunette, with a clear and shining face” who grasps the hand of a young knight.⁴⁴ The illuminator rendered the young woman holding the hand of a suitor but instead represented her with the same blonde hair seen on other characters in the manuscript (Fig. 5.13), like Franchise.⁴⁵ But, more interestingly, the representation of Franchise also included a second personification: Povrete, a character who represents her opposing quality but is not mentioned in the accompanying verses (Fig. 5.14).⁴⁶ In the image, a solemn Franchise casts her eyes downward at the reclining figure. The miniature points ahead to a running theme – a contrast between the haves and the have-nots – that would become even more pronounced in Jean’s continuation.

To fill out the early portion of Guillaume’s section, the artist drew on earlier imagery, but added to it. He depicted the Carole at three separate places: first, in its traditional position, when the narrator begins his description of the dance; next, at the point in the text where the author describes the personification of Biautez (Beauty), one of the dancers; and, finally, at the close of the descriptions of all the dancers. Three separate miniatures also depict variations on another motif: women standing at a doorway

⁴⁴ “Ele fu une clere brune; / Le vis avoit cler e luisant.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 1240-1; trans. Dahlberg, 46.

⁴⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 1191-223; trans. Dahlberg, 46-7.

⁴⁶ The character is identified as Povrete in the Ludwig catalog. See von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 229.

and leading a male figure through a gate. The first image is commonly encountered: Oiseuse (Idleness), holding two keys, grants the lover entrance to the garden (Fig. 5.2). Later in the section, two unusual images depict a variation on the same action: at the point in the text when Cortoisie asks the lover to join the Carole, the illuminator represented the new personification in much the same manner as Oiseuse (Fig. 5.5). Holding a set of keys, she guides the lover through a doorway, despite the fact that the text makes no mention of the visual attribute or gesture. He adopted the same form in his portrait of Jeunesse (Fig. 5.15). There he represented the figure holding a lamb, placing a key into the lock of a wooden door, and granting passage to her “sweetheart.”⁴⁷ The artist made sure that each miniature was distinctive, in both architectural form and the placement of the figures.⁴⁸ In addition to showing his versatility when called to represent variations on the same theme, the artist may have been using these representations of architectural thresholds to point forward to the end of the story, which culminates in the lover’s gaining access to a castle where the rose is held. The artist visualizes what Suzanne Lewis has called “a long sequence of penetrations.”⁴⁹

After representations of these encounters with courtly figures, the image cycle returns to plot. A succession of episodes representing the God of Love’s pursuit of the protagonist follows: Love aiming his arrow at the lover, Narcissus at his fountain, a second image of the Love aiming his arrow, the lover paying homage to Love, and Love explaining his commandments. Next come images of the lover’s encounter with the rose

⁴⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 1259-78; trans. Dahlberg, 47-8.

⁴⁸ In the first representation, the illuminator represented Oiseuse greeting the lover from across the threshold of the wooden doorway of a crenellated stone structure; in the second, Cortoisie and the lover are on the same side of a similar crenellated barrier; and in the third, Jeunesse places her key into a freestanding wooden structure with a red roof.

⁴⁹ Lewis, “Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure in the *Roman de la Rose*,” 218.

and Bel Acueil: in one scene Bel Acueil welcomes the lover, with Dangier and his companions alongside waiting to interrupt; in the next Dangier warns Bel Acueil away from the lover. These scenes take place within a rose garden, unusually encircled by a wicker fence; the artist's simulation of depth thus serves a narrative function, signifying the lover's access to a restricted space (Fig. 5.16).⁵⁰

The illuminator brought Guillaume's section to a close with three images of Jalousie's castle, usually given only one miniature, and in this way seems to have highlighted the allegorical architectural barriers. First, he represented the building of the castle: three men in the foreground carry or cut stones, while two others use trowels to build a crenellated wall (Fig. 5.17). In the next image, the most atypical of the group, the artist represented the four guards of the castle, each stationed at a different gate: Dangier, Honte, Paor, and Malebouche (Fig. 5.18). The last image depicts the lover standing outside the tower where Bel Acueil is imprisoned (Fig. 5.19). We see that the protagonist's course is set: he will have to devise a plan to defeat the guards and obtain his beloved. The final image of Jalousie's castle occupies the space that seems to have been intended for the portrait of Jean de Meun, at the opening of his continuation; the space where Jalousie's castle was to have gone remains blank.⁵¹ Finding the lack of an author portrait to be somewhat troubling, someone wrote in the margins, "Cy commence maître jean de Mehun," the standard rubric for Jean's author portrait in most manuscripts. From this point, the image cycle becomes even more exceptional.

⁵⁰ Similar fences in these scenes can be found in BnF fr. 12595, another fifteenth-century copy of the *Rose*. See, for instance, *ibid.*, 229, fig. 26.

⁵¹ The catalog notes the blank space left for a miniature, but does not mention this as a possible reason. See von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 230.

Illustrating Jean's Section for a Critical Audience: An Overview

Jean de Meun's continuation is densely illuminated and remarkable in scope, making it useful to give a brief overview of its contents here. Narrative images appear throughout, especially at the end of the romance, during the storming of the castle, but the distinguishing feature of this image cycle is the attention paid to philosophical discourse. Certain characters' speeches are given an outstanding number of miniatures, the artist rendering images of both the speaker – to signal the beginning or end of their dialogue – and also the numerous exempla contained in the speeches themselves. Raison's discourse is given nine images; Ami, eleven; La Vieille's six; and the Confession of Nature is supplied with seven. Nine images accompany the actions and speech of the deceptive Faux Semblant; two of these visualize the contents of his speech, a very unusual decision on the part of the planner and artist.⁵² Genius' speech, a Christian gloss on the romance that is given much attention in the image cycle of Morgan M.132, is the one lengthy digression that is not given much focus – only one image visualizes his sermon to Love's army. While the cycle does highlight sections of the text that focus on Christian justification for sexual activity, the patron of the manuscript was evidently not as interested in highlighting the portions of the sermon offering a Christian moralizations. Instead, the manuscript presents the account as a series of moral and ethical issues, encouraging the reader to think about, perhaps to discuss, the different facets of the text.⁵³

⁵² The first image appears at the point in the text when Faux Semblant describes how he amasses wealth through trickery. The second appears when the character mentions the *Evangelium Aeternum* (Eternal Gospel), a millenarian tract written c. 1350 by the Dominican Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. For more on representations of Faux Semblant, see Timothy Stinson, "Illumination and Interpretation: The Depiction and Reception of Faus Semblant in *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts," *Speculum* 87 (2012), 469-98. In contrast, the contemporary Valencia *Rose*, which has 161 extant miniatures, does not include any visualization of the contents of Faux Semblant's speech.

⁵³ Anne Harris has suggested that the artist Robinet Testard (d. 1531) took a similar approach in his illumination of Douce 195, a late fifteenth-century copy intended for Louise de Savoie. See Harris,

Taking a lead from the participants of the Querelle, as well as the manuscript itself, I will discuss select portions of the image cycle according to the speaker and the respective themes contained within. I will end with a reflection on the illumination of another portion of the text that received a great deal of attention during the debate – the storming of the castle at the end of the tale.

Raison and her Discourse on Fortune

Images accompanying the speech of Raison, the first character with a lengthy dialogue in Jean's continuation, set the tone for the rest of the pictorial cycle in this volume, both in its focus on rational discourse and its emphasis on the themes of property. The section is given an unusually high number of miniatures, nine in all, eight of which illustrate exempla, and the clear thrust is a diatribe against greed and corruption. The first exemplum represented is a scene we have not yet encountered. Raison criticizes misers who work to acquire an abundance of riches, only to be haunted by the fear that they might lose their fortunes; accordingly, the illuminator represented a group of three men staring at a table or altar full of golden vessels and piles of coins (Fig. 5.20).⁵⁴ The next image, more commonly encountered, is intended to point out the fallibility of the human institution of Justice, which is often placed in the hands of corrupt judges and officials. Raison uses the tale of Appius, Virginius, and his daughter Virginia as an example: in order to save his daughter from being wrongfully enslaved in the household

"Pygmalion Reconfigures Narcissus," 340. As suggested by Harris, Peter Allen's discussion of texts about courtly love poetry is useful with regard to the planning of the image cycles in some of these later *Rose* manuscripts. Allen criticized both medieval and modern readers who attempted to impose a single point of view onto texts such as *De amore* and the *Roman de la rose*, instead suggesting that moral oppositions found in these works encouraged readers to avoid identifying with any one particular character and to consider how the writing functioned as a whole. See Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose*, 9-11.

⁵⁴ *Roman de la rose*, lines 5119-54; trans. Dahlberg, 106-7.

of Appius, Virginius cut off her head and presented it to the judge—and it is this ghoulish moment that the illuminator chooses to depict (Fig. 5.21).⁵⁵

In the next two images, unusual in their level of detail, the artist represented the figure of Fortune. In this portion of her speech, Raison attempts to convince the lover that following the God of Love makes it difficult to weather the highs and lows that fate bestows. In the first image, the artist depicted the blindfolded Fortune turning her wheel, and, in the background, the seated figures of Heraclitus and Diogenes, who are mentioned in passing as examples of men who faced “poverty and distress” without suffering (Fig. 5.22).⁵⁶ The highly unusual inclusion of these two great thinkers echoes the representation of the four philosophers in the opening image of the manuscript. The planner and illuminator of the Getty *Rose* clearly sought out places to highlight the intellectual discourse embedded within the allegory, and this passage, largely taken from Boethius, provided such an opportunity. In the next miniature, the artist illustrated the residence of Fortune, calling particular attention to the landscape described in the text: “There is a rock placed in the depths of the sea, in its center, projecting on high above it, against which the sea growls and argues. The waves, continually struggling with it, beat against it, worry it, and many times dash against it so strongly that it is entirely engulfed.”⁵⁷ The artist accordingly represented Fortune and her wheel once again; this time she is placed on the craggy rocks of an island surrounded by crashing waves; the figure on the bottom rung of her wheel hangs from his knees, ready to fall into the treacherous waters (Fig. 5.23).

⁵⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 5589-658; trans. Dahlberg, 114.

⁵⁶ *Roman de la rose*, lines 5869-72; trans. Dahlberg, 117-18.

⁵⁷ “Une roche est en mer seianz, / Bien parfont, ou mileu laienz, / Qui seur la mer en haut se lance, / Contre cui la mer grouce e tence. / Li flot la hurtent e debatent, / Qui toujourz a li se combatant, / E maintes feiz tant i cotissent / Qui toute en mer l’ensevelissent.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 5921-8; trans. Dahlberg, 118.

The illuminator followed by giving visual form to several exempla that illustrated Fortune's ability to destroy the powerful. First, following tradition, the artist showed two tales drawn from antiquity: the stoic philosopher Seneca dying at the hand of Nero, and the wealthy Croesus. As in earlier manuscripts, Seneca is depicted seated in a bathtub, and the evil Nero looks on. In the next miniature, the artist represented the figure of Croesus, but, instead of representing his death, the artist depicted the first episode described by the author, where Croesus escapes a fiery pyre – a short reprieve (Fig. 5.24).⁵⁸ The artist also included a medieval example: Charles defeating Duke Manfred, representing the figures with historically specific regalia (Fig. 5.25).⁵⁹ The end of the speech is marked with an illustration of Fortune's arbitrary distribution of wealth, drawing on Greek myth (Fig. 5.26). In the text, the author explains how Jupiter assigned Fortune the role of distributing wine, as she wished, from casks he kept full "at the threshold of his house."⁶⁰ The artist shows Jupiter, crowned and holding a scepter, standing next to a castle, its door flanked by two casks, as specified by the text. On the right, emphasizing the arbitrariness, the blindfolded Fortune is seen presenting gold cups to two small men who stand at her feet.⁶¹ Despite Raison's best efforts to convince the lover that following the God of Love grants too much control to Fortune – who, as the

⁵⁸ *Roman de la rose*, lines 6343-630; trans. Dahlberg, 124-8. Manuscripts illuminated by the Montbastons that represent the death of Croesus include BnF fr. 802 (fol. 45r), BnF fr 25526 (fol. 51r), and BNE 10032 (fol. 42r).

⁵⁹ On the left, the crowned Manfred, King of Sicily is accompanied by knights carrying the banner of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; on the right, Charles is accompanied by knights carrying the banner of Anjou. See von Euw and Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 230.

⁶⁰ "...suer le sueil de sa maison." *Roman de la rose*, line 6814; trans. Dahlberg, 131.

⁶¹ Illuminations of this scene were extremely rare until the fifteenth century, when we find several impressive examples, such as those in Valencia BUV 387, BnF fr. 380, BnF fr. 12595, and the late sixteenth-century manuscript Morgan Library M. 948. For more on the tradition of illustrating this portion of the text, see Ost, "The 'Mythographical Images' in the *Roman de la rose* of Valencia (Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat, MS. 387)," 156-68.

image cycle emphasizes, freely gives and takes away wealth and power – the protagonist decides that he will continue on in his pursuit of the rose.

Ami and Jalous: Property and the Relation Between the Sexes

The speech of Ami, who offers the lover lessons in the art of seduction, is given eleven images, making this one of the most densely illuminated sections of the manuscript. Once again, the planner of the Getty *Rose* seems to have picked up a theme emphasized throughout and focused on the issue of greed and the damaging part it plays in relations between the sexes. The images touch on many of the themes we saw introduced in Morgan M.132, including Ami's discussion of the transition from Golden Age – which was characterized by free love and the common good – to an era obsessed with property, where people sought ownership of both things and one another.

After opening Ami's speech with a conversation image, the illuminator included a miniature at the point in the text when Ami explains how to use small gifts to trick the guards of the castle, which is an unsubtle code for seduction. In the image, Ami holds a chaplet and two purses, items that he specifically mentions when describing what might lure young girls and give lovers an opportunity to swear their faith and fidelity (Fig. 5.27).⁶² In the following two images, he visualized Ami's warnings against giving too many gifts, the character tempering his earlier advice. The lover has posed the question whether it is possible to get to the castle more easily, without deception, and this leads Ami to admit that there is one other way: a path called *Trop Donner* (Gives-Too-Much), created by *Fole Largesse* (Foolish Generosity), which leads directly to the castle – but it

⁶² *Roman de la rose*, lines 7434-41; trans. Dahlberg, 141.

is unavailable to the poor, and reduces those who are not poor to poverty.⁶³ Ami goes on to say that the tower crumbles as soon as a person starts on this path and thus the castle gates may easily be opened. In the first image in the sequence, the illuminator depicted a tumbling tower and before it three men lying on a path (Fig. 5.28), which may be a strange visualization of a short aside to the effect that the castle falls regardless of whether or not “all the people had been dead.”⁶⁴ The artist reinforced the point with a similar image on the facing page showing another broken tower, this time with Povrete in the foreground; it is her fourth appearance in the pictorial cycle (Fig. 5.29).

The artist followed with one image of the Golden Age, and in doing so continued to highlight parts of the speech concerning the concept of property. Men and women gather fruit off the ground in an open field, two of the figures holding pieces up to their mouths as if they are about to have a taste (Fig. 5.30). Rather than emphasizing the state of free love – as we saw in Morgan M. 132 – the image champions the self-regulating economy whereby men and women lived simply, picking foods from an earth that was “not plowed at all then.”⁶⁵ When Ami returns to the subject of the ancients who “maintained their friendship with one another without bonds of servitude” at the end of his speech, another image was deemed necessary.⁶⁶ This time, it focused on how ideal rule came to an end and the world fell into its current disarray – vices such as Baraz (Fraud), Peches (Sin), and Mal Aventure (Misfortune) led to the arrival of Povrete.⁶⁷ Povrete is shown guiding her son Larrecin (Larceny), who often steals on her behalf,

⁶³ *Roman de la rose*, lines 7885-8004; trans. Dahlberg, 147-49.

⁶⁴ “Pour neient fussent les genz mortes.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 7912; trans. Dahlberg, 148.

⁶⁵ “N’iert point la terre lors aree.” *Roman de la rose*, line 8381; trans. Dahlberg, 155.

⁶⁶ “Senz servitude e senz lien / ... / S’enreportaient compaignie.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 9494-96; trans. Dahlberg, 170.

⁶⁷ *Roman de la rose*, lines 9517-40; trans. Dahlberg, 171.

toward the gallows; on the right, he is seen hanging, several gold objects suspended from his neck (Fig. 5.31). As Paul Milan has shown, Jean de Meun was borrowing from Ovid, but the theme of the Golden Age – which juxtaposed the natural state with the governed state – was one that carried on from Cicero to St. Ambrose to thirteenth-century canon lawyers.⁶⁸ The inclusion of these images can only have furthered the reader’s rumination on questions around property.

The speech of Jalous (Jealous Husband), recounted by Ami and written in the voice of a vice, serve as a contrast to the ideal of personal liberty that Ami had just described as a characteristic of the Golden Age. The author does not provide much information about this character, other than the fact that he was a merchant, which certainly ties into the larger themes of this image cycle.⁶⁹ A series of three images, rather than the single image found in almost all other *Rose* manuscripts, lays out the content. Following tradition, the artist first represented an image of Jalous beating his wife at the opening of the speech. In the third image, Jalous berates her for making him buy gifts that only draw the attention of other men: Jalous is shown pointing his finger, speaking to his wife, who sits before him submissively, her hands crossed (Fig. 5.32).⁷⁰ The second image is more unusual, as it illustrates the exemplum of Abelard and Heloise, which Jalous turns into a story about an exceptional woman who did not want to be married because “she knew better how to overcome and subdue her nature, with its feminine

⁶⁸ Paul Milan, “The Golden Age and the Political Theory of Jean de Meun: A Myth in “Rose” Scholarship,” *Symposium* 23 (1969), 137-49. In his article, Milan sought to debunk scholarship that argued that Jean de Meun’s frequent references to this myth indicated the author’s radical political stance.

⁶⁹ *Roman de la rose*, lines 8455-9360; trans. Dahlberg, 156-68. Blumenfeld-Kosinski has noted that the Jalous “represents a type – as his very name indicates – from the vernacular genres of the fabliau and lyric.” Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth*, 73.

⁷⁰ On a discussion of what this portion of the text reveals about the gendered aspects of fashion, see Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 108-112; Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 47-49.

ways.”⁷¹ The image, however, does not reflect this negative attitude toward marriage or the troubles that would await the couple: Abelard kisses Heloise, who wears a nun’s habit; and, on the right, the two get married, the officiating monk placing a ring on her finger (Fig. 5.33). Instead, the happy image provides a contrast the unequal relationship between Jalous and his wife. The exchange of rings also aligns with other symbolic material exchanges pictured throughout the cycle.

The two final scenes illustrating Ami’s speech transition back to his commentary on the relations between the sexes. Two images – which do not appear to have any precedent in earlier *Rose* manuscripts – are placed at the point in the text where Ami provides recommendations about the treatment of women, a passage that finds parallels in Book II of Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*. The first image appears immediately after Ami explains that one should not brag about his conquests: “Love wants to hide his treasures, except from loyal companions who also want to keep them quiet and hide them.”⁷² The text does not provide a specific action to depict, so the artist executed a scandalous vignette that matches the tenor of the text: a woman standing at the threshold of a door, spies a young man, his stockings gathered indecorously at his knees, who kisses and fondles a young woman in bed (Fig. 5.34). The text provided a more specific narrative for the second story. Ami suggests that when a lady falls sick, the lover “should stay near her, watching, kiss her with tears in his eyes, and, if he is wise, vow many distant pilgrimages – as long as she hears any vows.”⁷³ The artist accordingly represents a man

⁷¹ “... la nature / Que des meurs femenins avait / Vaincre e donter meuz en savait.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 8828-30; trans. Dahlberg, 161.

⁷² “Amours veaut celer ses joiaus, / Se n’est a compaignons loiaus / Qui les veuillent taire e celer.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 9865-7; trans. Dahlberg, 176.

⁷³ “Les li le veie demourant, / E la deit baisier en plourant, / E se deit voer, s’il est sages, / En mainz lointiens pelerinages, / Mais que cele les veuz entende.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 9875-9; trans. Dahlberg, 176.

tending to a sick woman lying in bed (Fig. 5.35). The second image reveals the dishonesty involved in the art of seduction, while the first, a heated scene of passion, makes clear the end goal.

La Vieille's Warnings to Bel Accueil

Six images represent La Vieille (Old Woman) in conversation with Bel Accueil, a character who signified the rose's responses to the lover's sexual advances. In the text, La Vieille, a woman who speaks from experience about how to best deceive members of the opposite sex, serves as a sort of counterpart to Ami, who offered the perspective of a youthful male. The image cycle itself mirrors this parallel by including a large number of miniatures that represented both negative exempla provided by the character as well as representations of bawdy sexual encounters.

As in M. Morgan 132, the image cycle begins with tragic examples of ancient women who were destroyed by passions focused on a single man. The stories of Dido, Phyllis, and Medea each gave him the opportunity to represent dramatic events: Dido dies on a sword; Phyllis, who loved Demophon, hangs from a tree; Medea, abandoned by Jason, kills her children in an especially grisly scene. These are narrative accounts, but in the first the artist seized the opportunity to underscore La Vieille's point that Dido not only gave her heart, but also "her city, her body, her possessions" (Fig. 5.36).⁷⁴ He represents her in the center of a city that appears to be a complex fantasy of contemporary elements: crenellated walls, red tiled roofs, and pointed spires fill the space of the miniature.

⁷⁴ "Sa cité, son cors, son aveir." *Roman de la rose*, line 13186; trans. Dahlberg, 228.

Unlike earlier cycles, which, in this section, tend to focus solely on La Vieille's warnings about passionate devotion to a single beloved, this cycle contains two additional images, one drawing out a theme from ancient myth, briefly mentioned in the text, the other depicting yet another sexual encounter in explicit terms. The first comes at the point when La Vieille gives advice on appearance and manners (Fig. 5.37). She warns that women should not fall asleep while dining at the table, lest they fall and injure themselves, and, remarkably, invokes the story of Palinurus, the helmsman of Aeneas's ship who fell asleep and tumbled overboard.⁷⁵ The next image accompanies a passage at the end of La Vieille's speech where the experienced seductress suggests ways in which women can deceive their jealous husbands in order to meet with their paramours. She recommends making him drunk on wine or tricking him into eating special herbs that send him into a deep sleep.⁷⁶ The artist chooses to extend the narrative by representing a woman and her lover at the moment of a secret tryst, while her drunken or drugged husband lies fast asleep (Fig. 5.38). This is not the tame embrace we have seen in earlier *Rose* illustrations – the focal point of the image is the lover's hand in the act of reaching up the woman's dress. In both content and composition, the image echoes that equally explicit image found at the end of Ami's speech (Fig. 5.34). Once again, the illuminator did not just suggest an erotic encounter, but portrayed it in strikingly lewd terms. In both images, both scenes takes place within an interior space that lacks a wall, allowing us to peer in. We have seen this type of architectural structure before, but here the content of the image seems to place the viewer more firmly in the position of voyeur. Though certainly intended to be provocative, the images did not necessarily imply or confirm that

⁷⁵ *Roman de la rose*, lines 13457-74; trans. Dahlberg, 232.

⁷⁶ *Roman de la rose*, lines 14337-50; trans. Dahlberg, 245.

the text was immoral: rather, they seem to have opened the possibility of a licentious reading of these speeches, espoused by characters with different points of view, whose morals were dubious.

Nature's Confession and the Sermon of Genius

Nature and Genius, the two figures who deliver the last long speeches before the attack on the castle, focus on the procreative functions of copulation. As we saw in the manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique, by the last quarter of the fourteenth century, artists and planners began to experiment more with creating images to accompany this section of the text. In the Getty *Rose*, Nature's speech is given an unprecedented seven images: three represented exempla from her speech, three were inventive portraits of the character, and two were narrative scenes. Genius, whose exempla were visualized in great number in Morgan M.132, is given two narrative images, and one depicting the content of his speech, ending the series on a moralizing tone.

Representations of Nature at her forge were common. But, unlike earlier illuminators, who depicted Nature hammering at a shapeless form, the Getty illuminator went beyond the details of the text, by depicting identifiable species of animals. In the first, she hammers the shape of an equine head, while two finished products – a deer and a donkey – stand behind her (Fig. 5.39). In the second representation, she is surrounded by an arsenal of tools, including anvil, hammers, and a set of pliers, as she fashions the form of a bird in the presence of a peacock and an eagle (Fig. 5.40). In both images, a nude man, the one creation who does not follow her commandment to reproduce, stands

before her. The variety in the species depicted by the illuminator is not matched in the author's descriptions of Nature's abilities; instead, it most closely resembles his account of the feeble attempts that Ars (Art) makes in her effort to imitate Nature. The narrator there explains that Ars "paints, dyes, forges, or shapes" any number of subjects, including different types of animals such as "beautiful birds in green groves; or the fishes of all the waters; all the wild beasts that feed in their woods" as well as "tame birds and domestic animals."⁷⁷ He concludes that Nature, who fashions animated creatures that can reproduce, is far more impressive than Ars.⁷⁸ But, in listing the broad scope of subject matter that Ars is capable of portraying, the author in fact praises her ability to successfully imitate the world of appearances, especially plants and animals.⁷⁹ The illuminator displayed Nature's capacities by creating visual differentiation on the level of both type and species of animal – a bird looks different than a mammal, for instance, and a peacock looks different than a hawk. This theme is carried over in an image where the artist clothes Nature in a fanciful houppelande, similar to the one worn by the God of Love; purely an invention of the artist, it is covered with a diverse array animals, including a squirrel, fox, rabbit, and bird (Fig. 5.41). In the process of conveying Nature's fecundity, he called attention to his skills in imitation, using terms similar to those suggested by the author.

⁷⁷ "Peigne, teigne, forge ou entaille," "Beaus oisillons en verz boissons, / De toutes eves les poisons, / trestoutes les bestes sauvages / Qui pasturent par leur boschages," "Oiseaus privez, bestes domesches." *Roman de la rose*, lines 16039, 16045-8, 16053; trans. Dahlberg, 272.

⁷⁸ Jean de Meun explains that "Art, for all her representations and skillful touches will never make them go by themselves, love, move, feel, and talk." ("Ja pour figures ne pour traiz / Ne les fera par aus aler, / Vivre, mouveir, sentir, paler.") *Roman de la rose*, lines 16062-4; trans. Dahlberg, 272.

⁷⁹ After listing the subject matter of Art, Jean de Meun describes Art's representations as "well portrayed and well represented." ("Bien figurez e bien pourtraiz.") *Roman de la rose*, line 16061; trans. Dahlberg, 272.

Nature's confession also provided an opportunity to include images that encourage a reflection on ancient myth and philosophy, this time with respect to procreation. The first accompanies Nature's discussion of how men who have imbalanced humors or practice extreme behaviors devalue her work by refusing to procreate. The miniature tells the stories of Empedocles and Origen (Fig. 5.42). Nature says that, in order to prove that he did not fear death, the ancient philosopher Empedocles threw himself into the volcano, Mount Etna, where he was burned alive. In the image, the figure is surrounded by flames. In the image, the figure is shown surrounded by flames, while on the right, the artist provided a graphic representation of Origen at the moment that he cut off his testicles, blatantly ignoring Nature's call to reproduction. While these two stories serve as negative examples, the following image of Deucalion and Pyrrha depicts a positive example of figures who understood the importance of continuing their line (Fig. 5.43). The figures are mirror images of one another; they each cast a rock over their shoulder to the earth below, from which a man and woman emerge.

The images that close Nature's confession and Genius' sermon have a more moralizing tone – we are provided with an account of the Christian motives behind the encouragement of sex and procreation, though not as forcefully as in manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique. As is the case in Douce 332, the Getty *Rose* contains representations of the punishments that await men who do not respect Nature's law of procreation or harbor vices that are displeasing to God.⁸⁰ In the foreground Tantalus, hungry and dying of thirst, reaches in vain toward an apple that hangs above his nose; in the background, two devils taunt Ixion, attached to a tortuous wheel (Fig. 5.44). The entire scene is contained within a hell mouth that follows the lower border of the

⁸⁰ *Roman de la rose*, lines 19225-322; trans. Dahlberg, 317-8.

miniature. The only exemplum represented in Genius' Sermon is a third representation of Nature at her forge, which makes it clear that the character served a higher power (Fig. 5.45). As in the earlier representations, Nature hammers as she forges one of her creations, a head of a rabbit, and is surrounded by a variety of creatures. This time, however, she looks above to God in the heavens, supporting the text's reassertion just a few lines above that "It is he who governs and rules her, and my lady has no other rule."⁸¹ The images, as in the text, could be taken as a religious justification for sex, but, as noted in the last chapter, opponents of the *Rose* found Raison and Genius to be particularly problematic – Jean Gerson, for instance, would argue that the characters urged people to copulate, but did not emphasize the institution of marriage.⁸² In the fifteenth century, it appears that the passage continued to be a point of contention and that images offered another place where readers might consider the ethical stakes of the tale.

“Shameful” Allegory

In both the *Querelle*, and in modern scholarship, comments about Jean de Meun's vulgarity centered on a passage in Raison's speech.⁸³ In the romance, the lover criticizes Raison's use of crass language, and the character defends herself by explaining that words are not the things in themselves, nor do they resemble their referent in any way. But her choice of words to demonstrate the point surprised medieval commentators. She writes:

⁸¹ "Cil la gouverne, cil la regle; / Ma dame n'a point d'autre regle." *Roman de la rose*, lines 19903-4; trans. Dahlberg, 327.

⁸² For Gerson's argument, see his *Treatise against the Roman de la Rose*, (May 18, 1402). See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 295, trans. McWebb.

⁸³ For modern commentary, see n. 99 of the introduction to this dissertation.

When, in addition, you object that the words are ugly and base, I say to you before God who hears me: if, when I put names to things that you dare to criticize thus and blame, I had called testicles relics and had declared relics to be testicles, then you, who here criticize me and goad me on account of them, would reply that ‘relics’ was an ugly and base word. ‘Testicles’ is a good name and I like it, and so, in faith are ‘testes’ and ‘penis.’ I have hardly seen any more beautiful.⁸⁴

This passage received a great deal of attention in the debate. Christine, for instance, vehemently argued against the use of such “shameful” language because it was “not the word which causes the disgrace of the thing, but the thing which renders the word disgraceful.”⁸⁵ But artists themselves did not pay much attention to the passage, doubtless because the theory of representation was so clearly about the specific nature of the verbal, rather than the visual. As Michael Camille explained with regard to lack of images for Raison’s example, “the visual is always much more explicit than the verbal because words bear no iconic resemblance to the things they signify.”⁸⁶

Instead, some fifteenth-century illuminators, including the artist responsible for like that of the Getty *Rose*, visualized Jean’s movement between the sacred and the erotic at the end of the tale, where the author used architectural terms to allude to female genitalia. Here the author uses the latter to create a mental image that does, in fact, resemble its explicit referent. The passage occurs at the moment when Venus aims her arrow at the castle of Jealousy. The narrator explains:

⁸⁴ “E quant tu, d’autre part, obices / Que lait e vilain sont li mot, / Je te di, devant Deu qui m’ot: / Se je, quant mis les nons aus choses / Que si reprendre e blasmer oses, / Coilles reliques apelasse / E reliques coilles clamasse, / Tu, qui si m’en morz e depiques, / Me redeïsses de reliques / Que ce fust laiz moz e vilains. / Coilles est beaus nons e si l’ains; / Si sont, par fei, coillon e vit; / Onc nus plus beaus guieres ne vit.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 7106-18; trans. Dahlberg, 135.

⁸⁵ “le nom ne fait la chose deshonneste de la chose, mais la chose fait le nom deshonneste.” “Christine’s Reaction to Jean de Montreuil’s *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*,” (June/July 1401), lines 81-83. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 121-22, trans. McWebb.

⁸⁶ Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 323.

She drew her bow and engaged the brand, and, when she had well nocked it, brought the bow, no longer than a fathom, up to her ear and aimed, like a good archer, at a narrow aperture which she saw hidden in the tower. This opening was not at the side, but in front, where Nature, by her great cunning had placed it between two pillars. These pillars were of fine silver and supported, in place of a shrine, an image neither too tall nor too short, neither too fat nor too thin in any respect, but constructed, in measure, of arms, shoulders and hands that erred in neither excess nor defect. The other parts were also very fine. But within there was a sanctuary, more fragrant than pomander, covered by a priceless cloth, the finest and richest between here and Constantinople.⁸⁷

While Jean alludes to female genitalia through metaphor, the illuminator of the Getty manuscript provided a literal interpretation of the allegory. The artist represents the “narrow aperture” between “two pillars” as the lower half of a female body: a vagina between two legs (Fig. 5.46).⁸⁸

Scholars have struggled with what to make of this image: it has been suggested that “the object of desire is so clumsy and exaggerated that it is hard to believe that humor was not intended.”⁸⁹ But the artist and planner may have had a more pointed purpose. The episode was taken as an opportunity to create an image that made clear in visual terms what was already clear in the text: that the attack on the castle was a metaphor for sex. There are several variations of this image in the fifteenth century, but

⁸⁷ “L’arc tent e le brandon encoche, / E quant el l’ot bien mis en coche, / Jusqu’a l’oreille l’arc enteise, / Qui n’iert pas plus lons d’une teise, / Puis avise, com bone archiere, / Par une petitete archiere / Qu’ele vit en la tour reposte, / Par devant, non pas par en coste, / Que Nature ot par grant maistrise / Entre deus pilerez assise. / Cil pileret d’argent estaient, / Mout gent, e d’argent soutenaient / Une image en leu de chaasse, / Qui n’iert trop haute ne trop basse, / Trop grosse ou trop graille; non pas, / Mais toute tailliee a compas / De braz, d’espaules e de mains / Qu’il n’i failloit ne plus ne mains. / Mout ierent gent li autre membre; / Mais plus olant que pome d’ambre / Avait dedenz un saintuaire, / Couvert d’un precieus suaire, / Le plus gentill e le plus noble / Qui fust jusqu’en Constantinoble.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 20787-810; trans. Dahlberg, 340.

⁸⁸ Michael Camille has pointed out that the author’s text alludes to the allegorical language of the Song of Songs, where legs are compared to “pillars of marble.” As Camille explains, in the biblical text, the erotic metaphor refers to the sacred union of Christ and the soul; in the *Rose*, however, the metaphor moves from the sacred to the erotic. Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 321.

⁸⁹ McMunn, “Representations of the Erotic in Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*,” 128. Other aspects of this image are briefly discussed in Lewis, “Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure in the Roman de la Rose,” 239; Desmond and Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality*, 77.

the image in the Getty *Rose* is the only one that offers an anatomical image. In BL Egerton 1069, dated to c. 1400, Venus aims the arrow between two freestanding pillars, which, as Suzanne Lewis has pointed out, forcefully calls to mind sexual penetration, but in less explicit terms (Fig. 5.47).⁹⁰ In the contemporary Valencia manuscript a different illuminator imagined the “rose” as a hybrid, erotic form: he attached a classicizing nude, female torso to the two pillars and narrow opening (Fig. 5.48).⁹¹ The Getty illuminator, on the other hand, more forcefully concentrated on the sexual organ, the site of reproduction. In this way, the unusual miniature is closely aligned with the immediately preceding images from Nature’s Confession and Genius’ Sermon: the point of this siege on the castle, the female body, is procreation.

By overtly visualizing the end goal of Jean de Meun’s continuation, the images, once again, demanded that readers consider the values expressed in the text in ways that would have resonated with those familiar with the Querelle. Christine addressed the end of the tale several times, in one instance claiming that it had no purpose – “Is it not known how men and women customarily copulate?” – and in another refusing to even mention the author’s “definition of sanctuaries.”⁹² Perhaps more relevant to the image cycle of the Getty *Rose* is Jean Gerson’s critique of Jean de Meun’s textual strategies, which appear to refer specifically to Raison’s speech, but may have also been applicable to the romance as a whole. He complained that Jean de Meun not only used sacred words to refer to “shameful” body parts, but that “has them written down and embellished as much as possible in a luring and lavish manner in order to attract everyone to see, hear,

⁹⁰ Lewis, “Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure in the Roman de la Rose,” 239.

⁹¹ On this image, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 322-23, fig. 173.

⁹² “Ne scet on comment les homes habitant aux femmes naturellement?”; “que...appella santuaires.” “Christine’s Reaction to Jean de Montreuil’s *Treatise on the Roman de la rose*,” (June/July 1401), lines 253-44, 171-72. See McWebb, ed., *Debating the Roman de la rose*, 130-31, 146-47, trans. McWebb.

and accept them.”⁹³ He continued by explaining that “in order to deceive more skillfully, he mixes honey with venom, sugar with poison; there are venomous serpents hidden in the green grass of piety.”⁹⁴ We are reminded of the push and pull of the lavish and impressive image cycle, which placed salacious images in the same volume as terrifying images of hell – what was the viewer supposed to make of this?

The planner and illuminator of the Getty *Rose* do not seem to have provided a gloss that gives any easy answers. Instead the images seem to have kept pace with this high level of debate surrounding the romance. The image cycle was coherent in that it brought attention to several key themes – as relations between the sexes, the concept of property, the importance of procreation – but it did not offer any easy answers for the moral dilemmas posed by the speeches of various characters. In earlier scholarship, much has been made of illuminators’ inability to represent the subtleties of Jean’s poetic strategies. But here, the overall program, like the text itself, divides the content into various subcycles that refer to one another – asking the viewer to consider and reflect upon questions posed by the moral content of the text.

Fashion and Morality

All along, we have seen that *Rose* illuminators played up their representations of fashion as a means to please discerning patrons and to show that they were up-to-date and aware of current trends. This is also true in the Getty *Rose*, but, after the *Querelle*, which brought so much attention to the morality of the allegory, representations of clothing and

⁹³ “il... les a fait escrire et paindre a son pouoir... pour atraire plus toute persone a les veoir, ouyr et recevoir.” *Treatise against the Roman de la rose*, lines 95-97. See *ibid.*, 276-77, trans. McWebb.

⁹⁴ “afin que plus subivement il deceust, il a mesley miel avec venin, succe avec poison, serpens venimeux cachiés soubz herbe vert de devocion.” *Ibid.*, lines 98-100. See *ibid.*

material goods took on a new moral valence. In the miniature depicting the figure of Richesse, for instance, the illuminator has highlighted the expensive materials used to create her clothing and accessories (Fig. 5.49). Seated, she wears a gown that has an excessive amount of what we imagine to be expensive cloth: the hem extends past her feet and cascades onto her throne, itself covered in fabric. The artist played up Richesse's wealth by means of an intricate gold necklace that covers much of her upper body and a belt with a large buckle. But he also pointed to the material excesses in the image. While the text mentions only one attendant, the artist represented two who bring Richesse yet more gold and fabric: the figure on the left brings gold coins, while the one on the right offers fabric with a scalloped hem that might indicate that it has already been fashioned into a garment. A similar chest of gold coins is seen represented in an unusual image accompanying the speech of the deceptive character Faux Semblant (False Seeming) (Fig. 5.50). By convincing others of his good moral standing by wearing a monk's robe, he explains, he is able to amass riches in "in heaps and mounds"⁹⁵ In the images, the illuminator has put forward the possibility that luxurious clothing worn by Richesse is deserving of critique.

Like *Rose* illuminators before him, the Getty illuminator did not just convey the expensive nature of the materials, but also showed awareness of changes in fashion. Gone are the fitted tunics, tight sleeves, and long, pointy shoes that appeared in Artist L's mid-fourteenth century illuminations and continued to appear in many of the illuminations of the Maître du Policratique. Instead the illuminator depicted most of the characters in voluminous outer garments called houppelandes that were the trend at the turn of the

⁹⁵ "en tas e en masse." *Roman de la rose*, lines 11553; trans. Dahlberg, 202.

century.⁹⁶ Of particular note are the large sleeves: bombard sleeves extend from the wrist, nearly touching the ground (Fig. 5.6), and billowing “poke” sleeves extend out at the elbow, coming together at the wrist (Fig. 5.51).⁹⁷ These sleeves had made an appearance in earlier manuscripts, but, by this time, the styles were so popular that even those outside the court had adopted the look. These particular fashions were subject to contemporary commentary. In her *Livre des trois vertus*, dated to 1405, at about the time that this manuscript was made, Christine de Pisan wrote:

And isn't it a great outrage, even a silly thing, that which a gown tailor in Paris told the other day, that he had made for an ordinary lady living in the Gâtinois a cote hardy into which he put five Paris ells of large-measured Brussels cloth, which trails a good three quarters (of an ell) on the ground, and into its bombard sleeves, which hang all the way to the feet?⁹⁸

Christine complains about the amount of imported cloth needed to create the exaggerated proportions of the sleeve – for “une simple dame,” no less. A monastic chronicler, writing c. 1403, similarly complained about the long sleeves, with even more vitriol:

At the beginning of the reign of this king (Henry IV), there erupted an extreme insolence of garments and, most of all, in gowns with deep and wide sleeves, commonly called pokes, shaped like bagpipes, to such a degree that they were used by servants as their masters. Which could indeed be rightly called demons receptacles because whatever might be filched was immediately concealed therein. Other sleeves were so wide and lavish, moreover, that they hung, full of dagging and demonic things, all the way down to the feet or in folds to the knees. Furthermore, when the servants had to serve their masters potage, sauce, or any

⁹⁶ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 307.

⁹⁷ On the “bombard” sleeve and contemporary reactions to them, see *ibid.*, 295. On the poke sleeve, see *ibid.*, 314.

⁹⁸ “Est n'est ce pas grant outrage voirement et chose superflue ce que comptoit l'autre jour un taillandier de robes de Paris, que il avoit fait pour une simple dame qui demeure en Gastinois une cote hardie ou il a mis v aulnes de drap à l'aune de Paris de drap de Bruisselles de la grant moison, et traine bien par terre trois quartiers, et aux manches à bombardes qui vont jusques aux piéz.” See Christine de Pisan, *Le livres des trois vertues*, ed. Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: H. Champion, 1989), 159. Translated in van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 295.

kind of liquor, the sleeves were soon dipped into the liquid, the servants thus tasting it before the masters.⁹⁹

Similarly to Christine, he found it distressing that people of different classes followed the trend, even those who had merely a manual occupation. He added a moral dimension: those of a lesser class could use the styles deceptively. These complaints point to the fashion's ubiquity. Bombard and poke sleeves appear in all types of manuscripts from this period, including histories and religious works, and any illuminator would have been remiss had he neglected to mirror such a popular trend when depicting the fashionable characters in the *Rose*.

As in earlier manuscripts, representations of the Carole served as an opportunity to display the latest styles, allowing us to explore some of the more characteristic aspects of the illuminator's depiction of fashionable dress (Fig. 5.52). On the left, the God of Love is shown wearing an intricately decorated houppelande covered with a pattern of foliage and animals, as described in the text; the shape of the garment has changed but, as Margaret Scott notes, Guillaume's thirteenth-century description corresponded to patterns that can be found on expensive, contemporary silks.¹⁰⁰ Another artist in the Bedford Trend group depicts the same type of allover-patterning, including the same bird, in a

⁹⁹ "In primordio huius regis excrescebat nimis insolencia indumentorum in regno, et maxime togarum cum profundis et latis manicis, vocatis vulgariter pokys, ad modum unius bagpipe formatis, adeo ut eis tam a servis, quam a dominis indifferenter utebatur. Que quidem receptacula demoniorum recte dici poterant, quia quicquid furtive apprehendi posset, mox in eis recondebatur. Alie autem earum adeo late et large fuerunt, ut usque at pedes, vel saltem ad genua, plene scissuris et demoniis, dependerent. Cum autem ad mensam servi dominis eorum de potagio, de salsiamento, vel huiusmodi liquore, servire deberent, statim in eis demergebantur, de huiusmodi liquore prius gustantes quam domini." George B. Jr. Stow, ed., *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi Secundi* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977). Translated in van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 314.

¹⁰⁰ Margaret Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum), 52, fig. 33.

stylish portrait of count Gaston Phébus in BnF fr. 616 (*Livre de la chasse*).¹⁰¹ In the image, the Getty illuminator thus draws upon a vocabulary commonly used to depict expensive clothing in a number of contexts.

The illuminator clad other figures in Love's entourage in a variety of dress to express the fact they each represented a different quality – but he did not aim for an exact correspondence with the author's descriptions.¹⁰² The figure to the right of the God of Love is most likely Biautez (Beauty), who is described later on the page. She wears a fitted cote hardie with a deep, square neckline that had come into vogue in the mid-1480s.¹⁰³ It receives an updated touch with early fifteenth-century details: an extra panel of fabric hangs over the top of her sleeves, which are tightly fitted and fan out into a bell shape at the wrist.¹⁰⁴ The two figures on the right perhaps refer to characters such as Richesse and Largesse, whose material wealth prompted the illuminator to give them clothing that was befitting of a woman of a higher station. Each wears a houppelande with a high fur-lined collar and full skirts that are nipped at the waist with an ornamented belt.

Clothing still served an identifying function and the illuminator clad other characters in specific, sometimes non-courtly, garb. As noted by Scott, the antagonistic figures of Honte and Paor, wear “plain cotes hardies and the tailed, open-fronted hoods of

¹⁰¹ Avril notes that the artist of BnF fr. 616 has much in common with the Bedford Trend group. See Avril, “La peinture française au temps de Jean de Berry,” 48. In the Getty manuscript, the intricate patterning on Love's houppelande might be compared to that on Nature's costume in a miniature on fol. 121r.

¹⁰² Margaret Scott aptly made the point that contemporary viewers did not seem to mind that the incongruities between text and image. But Scott still suggested that the depictions of these figures had more specific references to the author's description – that, for instance, the purple belt on Largesse is a “token reference” to the text's description that she wears purple. It seems to me that they are more general, instead referring to a common “type” of figure. Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages*, 50-54.

¹⁰³ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 242.

¹⁰⁴ On these long panels of cloth, see *ibid.*, 100.

non-aristocratic women” (Fig. 5.3).¹⁰⁵ Several of the vices, perhaps also considered to be “outside fashion,” wear this same type of hood. The bearded Dangier also has this outsider status: he wears a baggy, hooded tunic that is remarkably similar to his dress as seen in earlier manuscripts by the Montbastons. Pygmalion too wears clothing that is plain in appearance: a shorter, hooded tunic with an ornamented belt, perhaps pointing to his occupation as a manual laborer (Fig. 5.53).

The artist’s semi-grisaille technique calls particular attention to accessories and details in the garments, which are often rendered in bright colors. On fol. 4v, for instance, the lover’s sleeves are covered with large dags that are bright red (Fig. 5.2).¹⁰⁶ In another representation of the Carole, a variety of headgear is represented in saturated colors (Fig. 5.54). One man wears a black hat with a large brim while the two others wear purple or gray “wrapped” chaperons.¹⁰⁷ Two women wear reddish purple burlets that rise on the sides in order to accommodate their stylish “horned” hairstyles. The other wears a dramatic veil that is perched upon two points that extends the headdress, known as a *howve*, to the width of her shoulders.¹⁰⁸

This presentation of accessories also highlighted a major theme in the pictorial cycle of the Getty manuscript: the role that objects play in constructing desire. Jalous, for instance, complains about the number of accessories he had purchased for his wife. The sheer excess of the description makes it worth quoting at length. He complains:

What are these worth to me, these head ornaments, these coifs with golden bands, these decorated head-laces, the ivory mirrors, these well-formed circlets of gold with precious enameling, and these crowns of fine gold, all these things that give

¹⁰⁵ Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages*, 53.

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Scott has suggested that the detail might refer to the author’s description that the protagonist sewed on his sleeves before setting out on his journey. See *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁰⁷ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 100.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 308.

you such a bawdy appearance? These crowns are so fine, so well-polished, with so many beautiful gems, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds, that I cannot cease raging. These golden buckles with fine stones, at your sides and on your bosom, these precious materials, and these belts whose mountings are so expensive, as much for gold as for seed pearls—what are such baubles worth to me?¹⁰⁹

A few lines later, he threatens to make her wear unfit clothing, including a belt “made of plain leather without a buckle.”¹¹⁰ In the accompanying miniature, the artist has accentuated the accessories, which are covered in a shimmering gold leaf: Jalous wears a golden belt and sword, and his wife wears a red belt, studded with gold. In the Getty manuscript, the artist’s depiction of fashion and material culture contributed to the overall program of the image cycle, where the artist, in collaboration with a planner, so effectively created a work that was intended to function not only as a showpiece, but as a spur to conversation in a time of high level debate.

¹⁰⁹ “Que me revalent ces galandes, / Ces coifes a dorees bandes, / E cil dioré treçoer, / E cil ivorin miroer, / Cil cercle d’or bien entaillie, / Precieusement esmaillié, / E ces courones de fin or, / Don enragier ne me fin or, / Tant sont beles e bien polies, / Ou tant a beles perreries, / Safirs, rubiz e esmeraudes, / Qui si vous font les chieres baudes? / Cil fermail d’or a pierres fines / A voz cos e a voz peitrines, / E cil tessu e ces ceintures, / Don tant coustent les ferreüres, / Que l’or que les pelles menues: / Que me valent teus fanfelues?” *Roman de la rose*, lines 9271-88; trans. Dahlberg, 167.

¹¹⁰ “D’un cuir tout blanc senz ferreüre.” *Roman de la rose*, lines 9304; trans. Dahlberg, 168.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have attempted to provide a careful analysis of *Rose* miniatures in select manuscripts, discussing their position in larger image cycles, in their relation to other copies of the text produced by the same workshops, and their place in the long tradition of illumination. This method has revealed changing expectations among clients over time in accord with evolving attitudes towards the text and growing expectations for deluxe manuscripts. Artists experimented with the content of the image cycles, and, in keeping with the fast pace of visual change, rendered common scenes in novel ways in order to surprise and delight their viewers. It is striking that cycles in many cases became more ambitious over time, both artistically and intellectually.

Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston, acting as both illuminators and libraires, specialized in the illustration of the *Rose*, a fact which has enabled us to see how their workshop developed strategies to cater to a clientele hungry for manuscripts of this popular text. Variations in the episodes illustrated, and the types of compositions used to illustrate these episodes, show how they managed to fulfill commissions from patrons with varying budgets. In order to develop image cycles that were remarkably different in both the number and placement of miniatures, the husband-and-wife team developed sophisticated methods of adaptation: the use of rubrics as cues, and the establishment of figural and compositional types that were successfully employed in different contexts. They created an energetic signature style – featuring bold outlines and bright colors – that

was well-suited to their selection of images, which frequently highlighted action scenes in the text, and, less often, called attention to exempla of interest to their customers. Responsible for at least seventeen extant *Rose* manuscripts, the Montbastons set a precedent for experimentation and solidified an image cycle that would hold for much of the history of the text's illumination: an impressive frontispiece, an attempt to provide narrative clarity to the often digressive text, and a much higher concentration of images in Guillaume's section.

Three *Rose* manuscripts attributed to Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good reveal the efforts of an artist who sought to differentiate his work from the many illuminated copies of the text already in circulation at the time. He increased the number of miniatures, especially in Jean de Meun's section, and experimented with enhancing the narrative arc of the romance. He played down digressive aspects of the text in order to create an image cycle with sharper narrative logic. In most cases, he was able to create a sense of novelty by rendering by-then established scenes in an of-the-moment signature style. Keen to show his awareness of trends in fashion, he depicted characters in the latest silhouettes; he also played with novel methods of modeling, and achieved greater narrative clarity through the representation of animated gestures.

The Maître du Policratique de Charles V participated in the illumination of four *Rose* manuscripts that display wholesale change. Produced on the eve of the brewing Querelle, the artist crafted image cycles that presented striking new readings of the text. The miniatures and rubrics of the exceptional manuscript Morgan M.132 suggest that the artist worked with a knowledgeable collaborator to create a cycle that highlighted Jean de Meun's textual authority and defended the morality of his text. Episodes selected for

illustration focused attention on the didactic nature of characters' calls for procreation and on sections of the text that addressed relations between the sexes. In addition to updating image cycles, the illuminator represented familiar scenes in entirely new ways, keeping pace with current trends in fashion and he executing scenes in a signature grisaille style that allowed experimentation with perspective and form. He infused emotion into scenes by carefully articulating the figures' gestures and facial expressions, further highlighting the ethical stakes of several passages singled out for scrutiny in the *Querelle*.

I end with an examination of the Getty *Rose*, a luxury copy created during the time of the *Querelle* and painted by an artist participating in a style known as the "Bedford Trend." The manuscript was the product of a close collaboration between the illuminator and an advisor at the request of a wealthy client. The image cycle presents the text as a series of philosophical ruminations in which the digressive speeches of various characters – which were the subject of much debate during the *Querelle* – were given an especially large number of miniatures. The manuscript serves as evidence that artists and clients believed the images could match the high level of discussion about the text in court circles. In both the selection and rendering of scenes, which often went beyond textual details, the artist highlighted ethical ambiguities in the romance, especially with regard to property and relations between the sexes. The artist's representation of material goods and current fashions gained a new valence during this period, when the text's morality was so passionately debated.

Figures



Figure 1.1. The protagonist dreaming, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1420. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 804, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 1.2. Marginalia depicting a bagpipe dance, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526, fol. 43r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

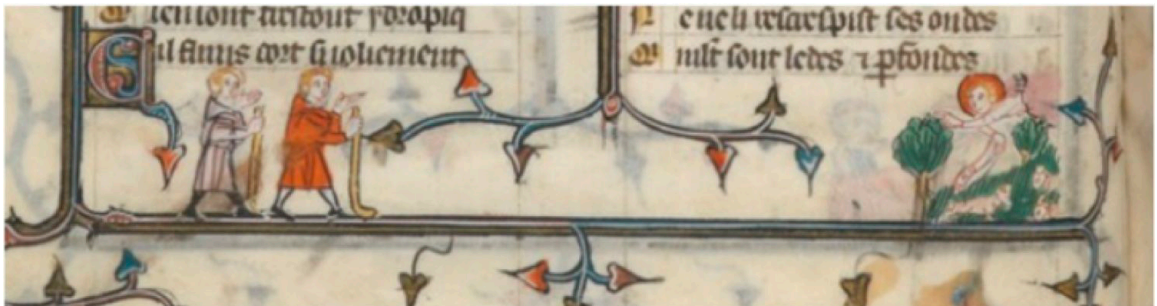


Figure 1.3. Marginalia depicting the Annunciation to the Shepherds, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526, fol. 46v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 1.4. The Annunciation, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, c. 1324-28. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, fol. 16r. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 1.5. Joshua and the Fall of Jericho, *Psalter of St. Louis*, c. 1253-70. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10525, fol. 42r. (Photo: artstor.org)

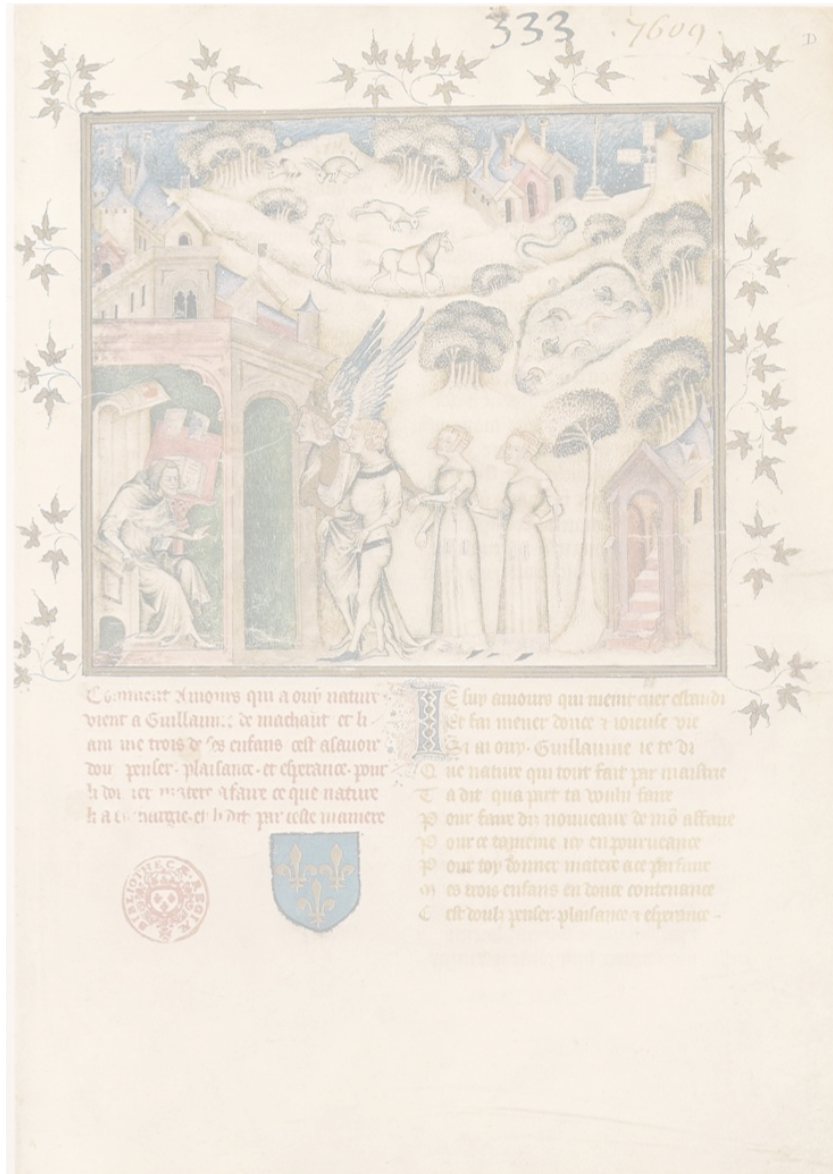


Figure 1.6. Machaut receives the children of Love, *Collected Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, c. 1350. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1586, fol. D. (Photo: Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, pl. 30)



Figure 1.7. The Life of St. Agnes, Royal Gold Cup, c. 1370-80. British Museum. (Photo: britishmuseum.org)



Figure 1.8. Detail of a man in fashionable dress, *Luttrell Psalter*, c. 1340. London, British Library, Ms. Add. 42130, fol. 186v. (Photo: Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, fig. 4)

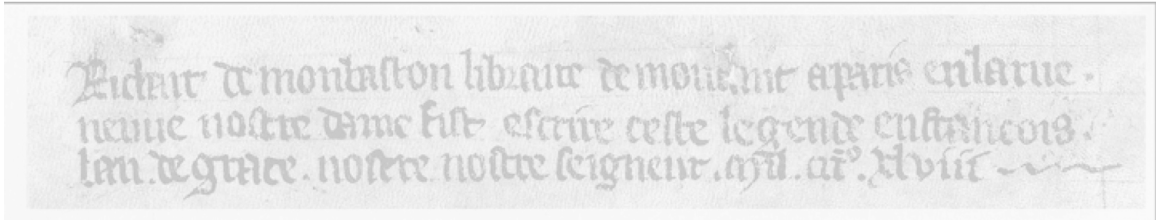


Figure 2.1. Advertisement for Richard de Montbaston, *Légende dorée*, dated 1348. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 241, rear pastedown. (Photo: Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, fig. 24)



Figure 2.2. Detail, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 88r. (Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, ill. 142)



Figure 2.3. Detail, *Sept sages de Rome*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 17000, fol. 233r. (Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, ill. 143)



Figure 2.4. Oiseuse and the lover enter the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226, fol. 6v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.5. Kings of Macedonia, *Histoire ancienne*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 251, fol. 118v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.6. Bel Acueil and the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 20v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.7. La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 100v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

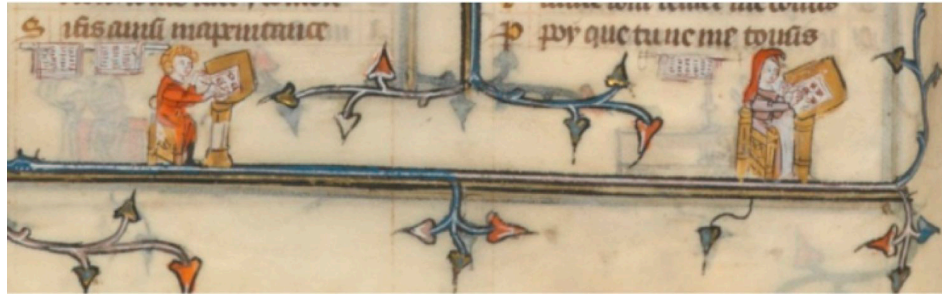


Figure 2.8. Marginalia depicting two illuminators at work, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526, fol. 77v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.9. Layout of page with three text columns, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1300. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 378, fol. 13r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

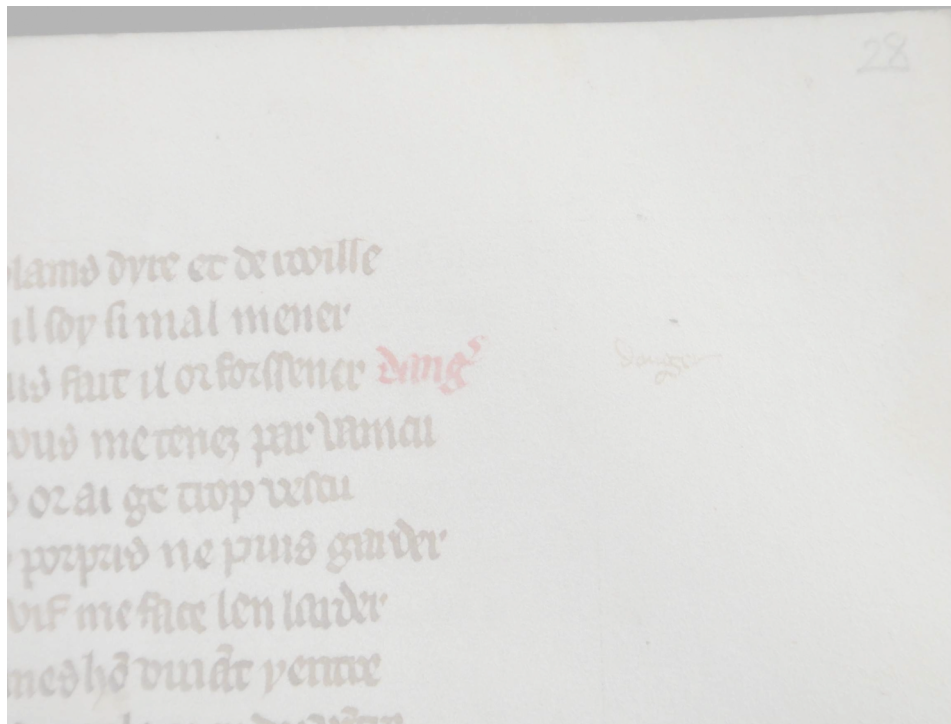


Figure 2.10. Note for rubrication, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53.
Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6, fol. 28r. (Photo: Author)



Figure 2.11. The lover pays homage to the God of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 14v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

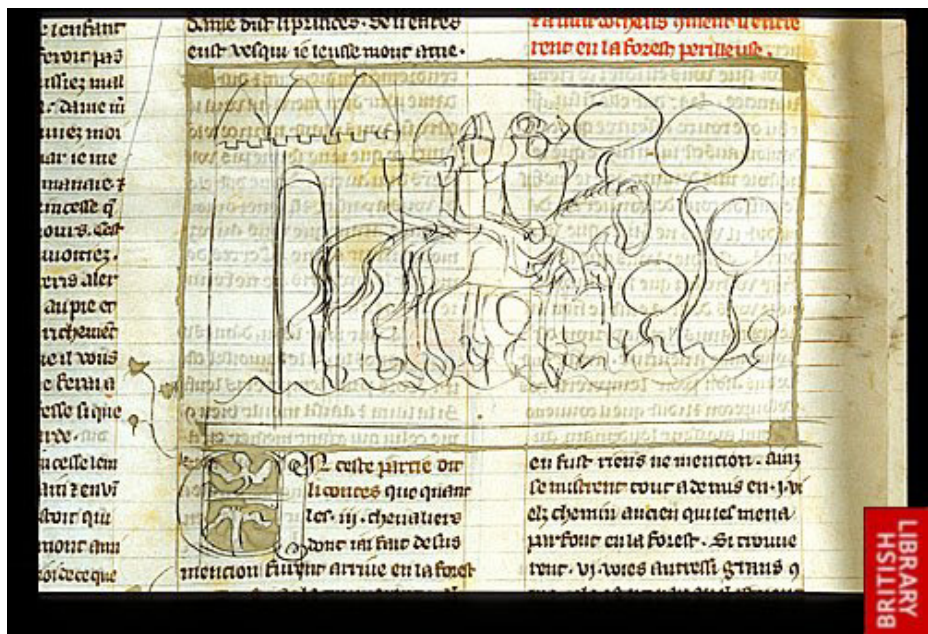


Figure 2.12. Unfinished composition depicting Jasphus, Josias, and Mardocheus, *Sept sages de Rome*, c. 1338-53. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4903, fol. 180v. (Photo: www.bl.uk)



Figure 2.13. The lover pays homage to the God of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 15r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.14. The protagonist dreams, puts on his shoes, walks through nature, and encounters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 1r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.15. Haine, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 2r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.16. Vilenie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 2r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.17. Convoitise, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 2v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.18. Envie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 3r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.19. Tristesse, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 3v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.20. Vieillesse, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 3v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.21. Papelardie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 4r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.22. Povrete, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 4v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.23. Oiseuse and the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 5v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.24. The Carole, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 6v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.25. Narcissus, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 11v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.26. God of Love shoots an arrow at the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 12v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.27. Lover pays homage to the God of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 14v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.28. Bel Acueil and the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 20v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.29. Bel Acueil in Jalousie's castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 27r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.30. Author portrait of Jean de Meun, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 28v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.31. Reason and the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 29v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.32. Wheel of Fortune, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 34r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.33. Ami and the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 49v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.34. Death of Lucretia, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 58v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.35. Jalous beats his wife, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 63r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.36. Contreinte Atenance leads Faus Semblant to the God of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 70v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.37. Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 83v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.38. Battle against the guards of the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 101v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.39. Nature at her forge, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 106r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.40. Genius's, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 129r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.41. Pygmalion carves his statue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 137v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.42. Venus sets fire to the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 140v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 2.43. Jean de Meun defends himself against future detractors, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526, fol. 114v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

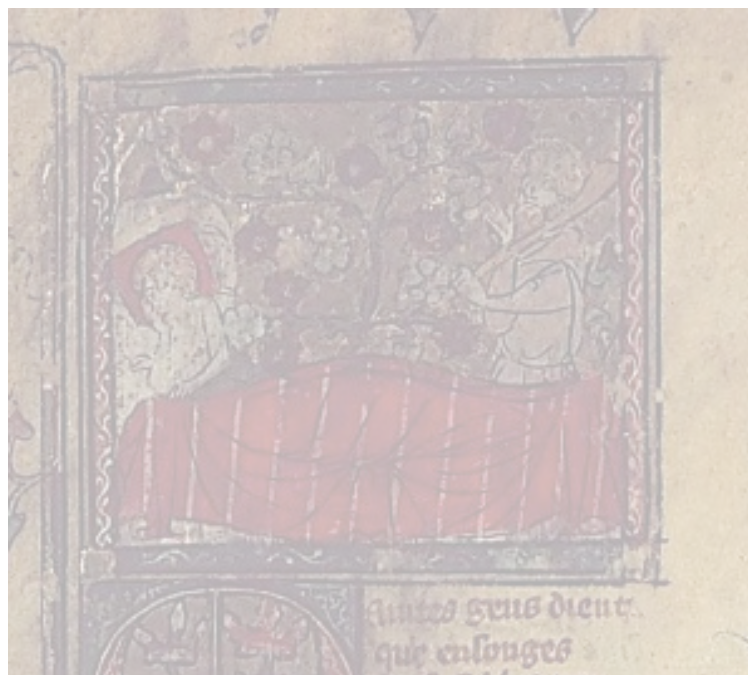


Figure 2.44. The protagonist dreams in bed, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032, fol. 1r. (Photo: bdh-rd.bne.es)



Figure 2.45. The protagonist dreams in bed, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1300. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 378, fol. 13r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.46. The protagonist dreams in bed, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1275-1300. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1559, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.47. The protagonist dreams in bed and Oiseuse in the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1300-30. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24391, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.48. The protagonist dreams in bed and Oiseuse in the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.49. The protagonist dreams in bed and Dangier looks at the vices outside the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.50. The protagonist dreams in bed and encounters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6, fol. 3r. (Photo: Author)



Figure 2.51. The protagonist dreams in bed and encounters the Garden of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23, fol. 2r.
(Photo: romandelarose.org)



Figure 2.52. Enuie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Attributed to Richard de Montbaston. Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rochegude 103, fol. 3r. (Photo: romandelarose.org)



Figure 2.53. Envie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156, fol. 2v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.54. Envie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226, fol. 3r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.55. Envie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 3r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.56. Envie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526, fol. 3r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.57. Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 83r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.58. God of Love locks the lover's heart, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665, fol. 15r. (Photo: IRHT)



Figure 2.59. The Sea of the World, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Attributed to Richard de Montbaston. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 88r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.60. The protagonist dreams in bed, puts on his shoes, writes at his desk, and presents his work, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

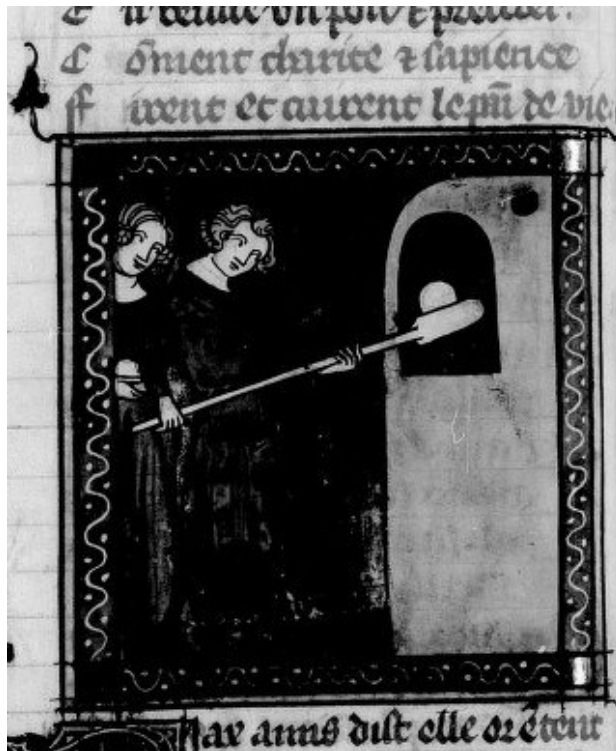


Figure 2.61. Charite and Sapience bake bread, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 21v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.62. Paresse ties up the pilgrim, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 56v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.63. The pilgrim meets Huisseuse and Labour, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 50v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.64. Detail of Oiseuse in the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)

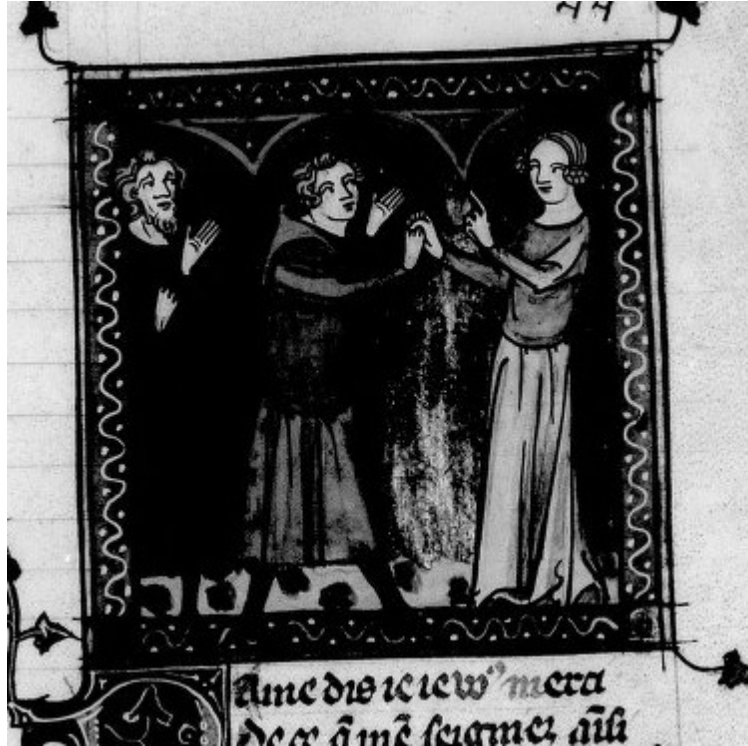


Figure 2.65. Reason and the author, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 44r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.66. The pilgrim and Envy, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 63v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.67. Avarice, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462, fol. 69v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 2.68. The pilgrim and Avarice, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1331-44. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12465, fol. 57v. (Photo: Camille, “The Illustrated Manuscripts,” fig. 31)



Figure 2.69. The God of Love leaves the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389, fol. 19v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.1. A page from the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good, 1349-52. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 167, fol. 76v. (Source: Lowden, *The making of the Bibles moralisées*, vol. 1, fig. 98)



Figure 3.2. God of Love shoots an arrow at the lover, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 12v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.3. The lover wakes, dresses, walks through nature, and enters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 1r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.4. The lover dreams in bed, dresses, walks through nature, and enters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 1r. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.5. The lover dreams in bed, dresses, walks through nature, and encounters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 1r. (Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. I)



Figure 3.6. The Trinity, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 143v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.7. Differences in the height of miniatures, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 14v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.8. Venus aims her arrow at the castle, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 152v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.9. The dream of Pygmalion, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 136r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.10. Pygmalion finds his sculpture alive, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 155v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.11. The lover and Bel Accueil, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 156v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.12. Hayne, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 2r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.13. Hayne, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 2r. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.14. Convoitise, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 2v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.15. Avarice, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 2v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.16. Convoitise, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 2v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.17. Narcissus at the fountain, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 12v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)

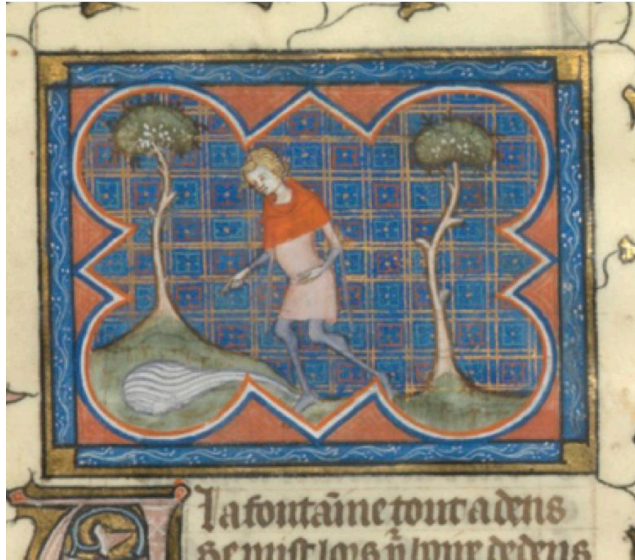


Figure 3.18. Narcissus at the fountain, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr. 1565, fol. 11v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.19. Honte and Paor approach Dangier, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665, fol. 26v. (Photo: IRHT)



Figure 3.20. Honte and Paor approach Dangier, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 28v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.21. Richesse and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, 1352. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565, fol. 66r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.22. Richesse and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, 1353. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178, fol. 75v. (Photo: www.e-codices.unifr.ch)



Figure 3.23. Franchise and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 9v. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. IV)



Figure 3.24. Lover approaches the fountain, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 11v. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. IV)



Figure 3.25. Narcissus gazes into the fountain, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 12r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. V)



Figure 3.26. The lover looks at the fountain, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 13r.
(Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. V)



Figure 3.27. Jalousie oversees the building of her castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 28v.
(Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. VIII)



Figure 3.28. The lover standing before the tower, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 29r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. VIII)



Figure 3.29. Venus sets fire to the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 139v. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. XI)



Figure 3.30. Pygmalion and his statue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 140r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. XI)

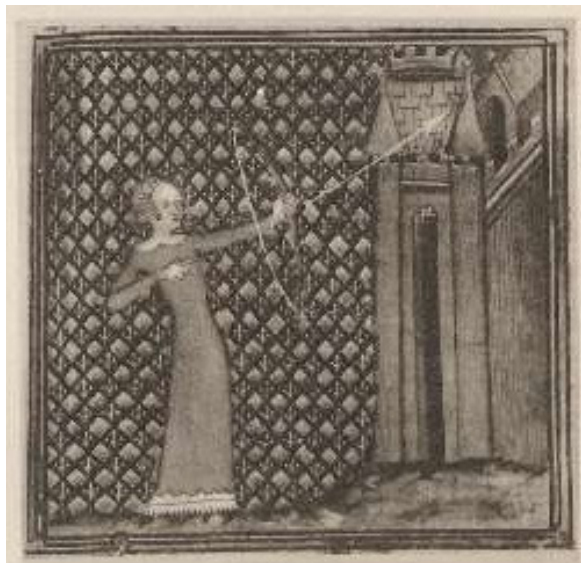


Figure 3.31. Venus sets fire to the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 143r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. XI)



Figure 3.32. The lover dressed as a pilgrim, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 145r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. XI)



Figure 3.33. The lover plucks a rose, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 146r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. IX)



Figure 3.34. God of Love captures the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156, fol. 13v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 3.35. God of Love captures the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 15r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. V)



Figure 3.36. God of Love aims his arrow at the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 13v. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. V)



Figure 3.37. Image of the Trinity and an initial with kneeling donor figure, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 148r. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Fig. 1)



Figure 3.38. God of love shoots lover with an arrow, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350-60. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Ms. 245, fol. 10v. (Photo: romandelarose.org)



Figure 3.39. Richesse, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1355-65. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592, fol. 8v. (Photo: Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," Taf. III)



Figure 4.1. Detail, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 6v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.2. Author portrait of Jean de Meun, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 41v. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.3. The protagonist dreams and washes his hands, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III, fol. 1r. (Photo: polona.pl)



Figure 4.4. Cortoise and Largesse knock at castle gate, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 90v. (corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.5. The author apologizes, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 112r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.6. Jean de Meun defends himself against future detractors, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1338-53. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 102v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 4.7. Jean de Meun lectures on marriage, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65, fol. 66r. (Photo: bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet)



Figure 4.8. The God of Love tells his people about Jean de Meun, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III, fol. 100v. (Photo: polona.pl)



Figure 4.9. Author portrait of Jean de Meun, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III, fol. 101r. (Photo: polona.pl)



Figure 4.10. The protagonist sleeps, dresses, washes his face, and walks through nature, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 1r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)

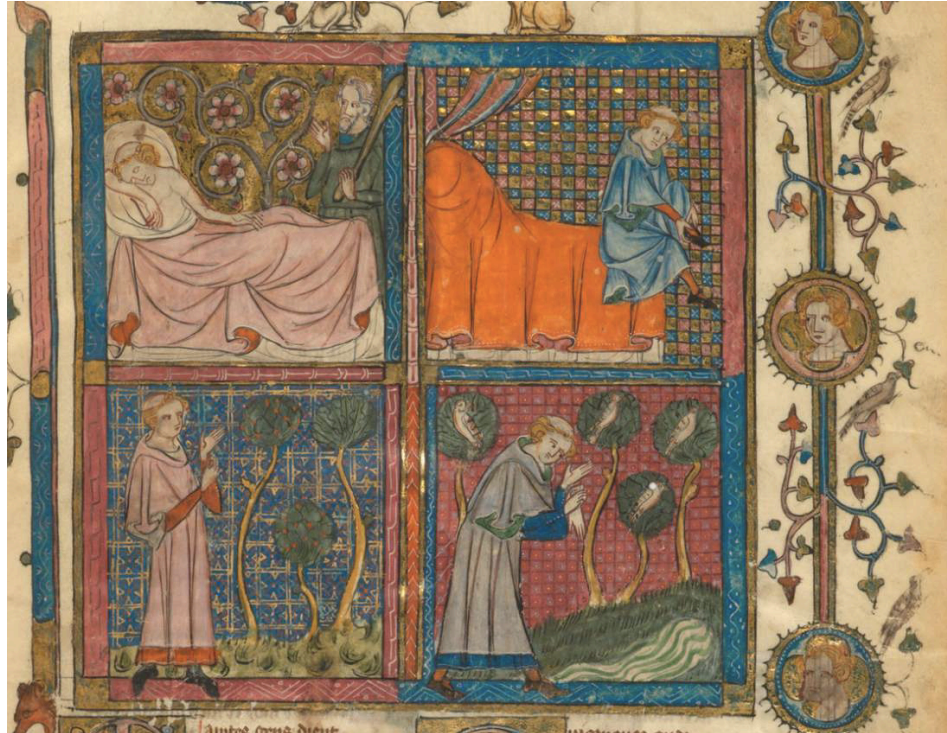


Figure 4.11. The protagonist sleeps, dresses, walks through nature, and peers into the river, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1325-75. Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1560, fol. 3r. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 4.12. The Golden Age, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 59r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.13. The first thieves, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 67v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.14. Coronation of the first king, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 68r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.15. Suicides of Dido and Phyllis, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 97r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.16. La Vieille and the caged bird, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 102v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.17. A monk repenting his vows, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 102v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.18. Samson and Delilah, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 124v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.19. God and his mirror, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 130v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.20. Deucalion and Pyrrha praying to Themis, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 131v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.21. Vulcan captures Mars and Venus in bed, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 135r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.22. Nature's capacity to reproduce through procreation, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 137v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.23. Atropos, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 140v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.24. Christ and his flock, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 142r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.25. Fountain of Paradise, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 145r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.26. Pygmalion carves his statue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 149r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.27. Paris leaves Oenone, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 124v. (Photo: romandelarose.org)



Figure 4.28. Medea saves Jason from the fire breathing oxen, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 124v. (Photo: romandelarose.org)



Figure 4.29. The caged bird, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 130v. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.30. The fish in the net, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 131r. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.31. The phoenix rises, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 147r. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.32. Zeuxis draws the virgins, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 148v. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.33. The tortures of hell, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 174v. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.34. The lover and Ami, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 71r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.35. Honte and Paor plead with Dangier, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 28r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.36. Jalous beats his wife, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1350. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503, fol. 63r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Fig. 4.37. Jalous beats his wife, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65, fol. 72v. (Photo: Author)



Figure 4.38. Jalous beats his wife, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III, fol. 89v. (Photo: polona.pl)



Fig. 4.39. Death of Lucretia, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 60v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.40. Pygmalion carves his statue, *Moralized Ovid*, c. 1380-95. Lyon, Bibliotheque municipale, Ms. 742, fol. 169r. (Photo: bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr)



Figure 4.41. Pygmalion carves his statue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III, fol. 190v. (Photo: polona.pl)



Figure 4.42. *Bible historiale*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 971, fol. 178v. (Photo: artstor.org)



Figure 4.43. *Povrete, Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 5r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.44. Oiseuse and the lover at the gate, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 6r. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.45. The lover approaches Richesse and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380. New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132, fol. 71v. (Photo: corsair.themorgan.org)



Figure 4.46. The Carole, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1380-95. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 9v. (Photo: artstor.org)

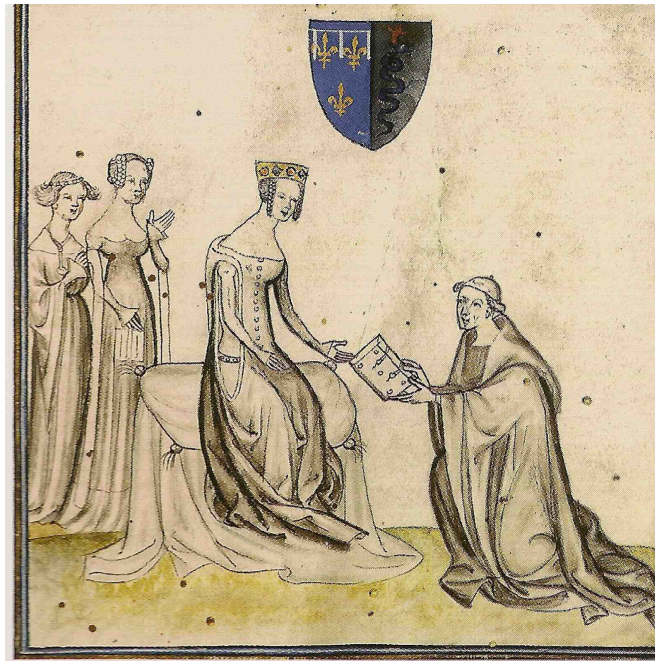


Fig. 4.47. The author presents the book to Valentina Visconti, *L'Apparition de Maître Jean de Meun*, c. 1398. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 811, fol. 1v. (Photo: gallica.bnf.fr)



Figure 5.1. Hayne, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 2r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.2. Oiseuse and the lover at the garden gate, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 4v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.3. Honte, Paor, and Dangier attack Bel Acueil, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 95r.
 (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.4. Venus arriving in her chariot and Love's army attacking the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 100r.
 (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.5. Cortoisie asks the lover to dance, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 6v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.6. The Carole, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 10r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.7. Opening folio, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 1r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.8. The Dream of Scipio, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 1r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.9. The protagonist in bed dreaming, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 1r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.10. Tristesse, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 3r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.11. The lover enters the garden, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 5v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.12. Love wearing his mantle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 7r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.13. Cortoisie and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 9v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.14. Franchise and Povrete, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 9r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.15. Jeunesse and her companion, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 9v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.16. Bel Acueil talks to the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 19r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.17. Building of the Castle of Jalousie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 26r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.18. Guards of the Castle of Jalousie, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 26v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.19. The lover looking at Bel Accueil imprisoned in the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 27v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.20. Misers before a table covered with gold plates and coins, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 34r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.21. Virginius carrying daughter's head before King Appius, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 36v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.22. Heraclitus, Diogenes, and the Wheel of Fortune, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 38v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.23. Men falling from the Wheel of Fortune and into the stormy sea, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 39r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.24. Croesus on the fiery pyre, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 42r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.25. Defeat of Duke Manfred, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 43v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.26. Fortune serves wine from the barrels of Jupiter, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 44r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.27. Ami hands the lover a chaplet and purse, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 48r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.28. The collapse of the castle on the path of Trop Donner, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 50v.
(Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.29. Poverty and the collapse of the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 51r.
(Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.30. The Golden Age, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 53v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.31. Poverte shows her son the scaffold, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 60v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.32. Jalous scolds his wife, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 49r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.33. Abelard and Heloise, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 56r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.34. Two lovers having a secret affair, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 62v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.35. A man tends to his sick lady, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 62v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.36. Dido's suicide, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 84v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.37. Palinus falls from the helm of Aeneas's ship, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 86r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.38. A woman meets with her lover while her husband sleeps, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 91v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.39. Nature at her forge, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 101r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.40. Nature at her forge, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 121v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.41. Nature hands Genius a message for the God of Love, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 121r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.42. Empedocles commits suicide and Origen castrates himself, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 107v.
(Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.43. Deucalion and Pyrrha restore their line, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 111r.
(Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.44. Torments of hell, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 120v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.45. God speaks to Nature at her forge, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 124v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.46. Venus aims her arrow at the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 129v.
(Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)

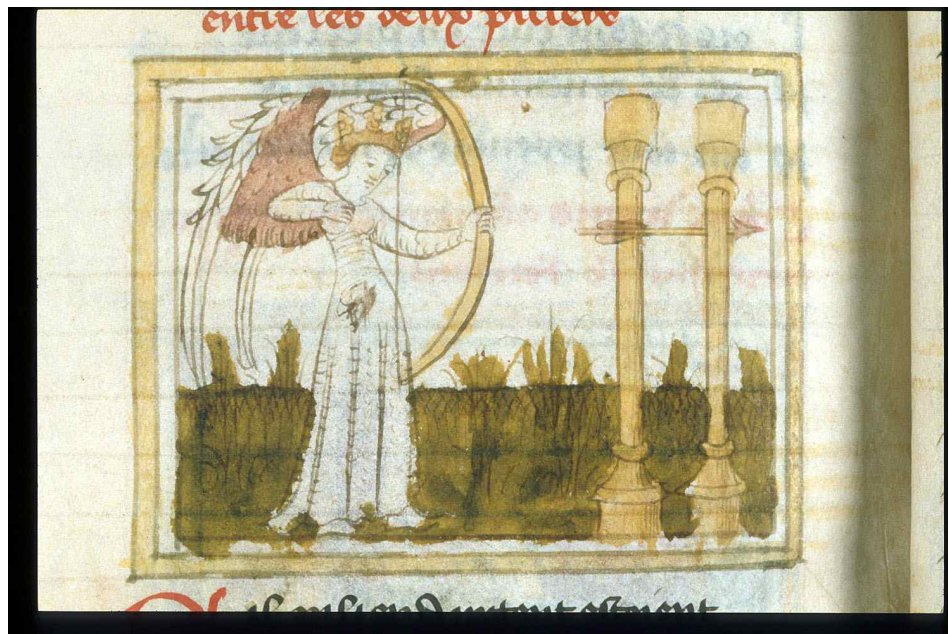


Figure 5.47. Venus shoots her arrow between two pillars, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1400. London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 1069, fol. 104v. (Photo: www.bl.uk)



Figure 5.48. The attack on the castle, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1400-10. Valencia, Biblioteca Histórica de la Universitat, Ms. 387, fol. 145r. (Photo: www.europeanaregia.eu)



Figure 5.49. Richesse receiving gold coins and cloth, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 64r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.50. Faux Semblant amassing his riches, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 74v. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.51. God of Love aims his arrow at the lover, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 10r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.52. The God of Love dances with his companions, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 8r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.53. Pygmalion kisses his statue, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 130r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)



Figure 5.54. The Carole, *Roman de la rose*, c. 1405. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 6r. (Photo: getty.edu/art/collection/objects)

Appendix A

Checklist of Manuscripts Attributed to Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston

Below is a list of manuscripts attributed to Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston in Rouse and Rouse (2000), Appendix 9A, 202-06.

Roman de la rose manuscripts

Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rohegude 103. Richard.
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143. Jeanne.
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576. Richard.
Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6. Richard.
Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481). Richard.
Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482). One unnamed artist and Richard.
Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142. Jeanne.
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 23. Richard.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032. Jeanne.
New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503. Jeanne.
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3338. Jeanne and Maubeuge Master.
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226. Richard and Jeanne.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802. Jeanne.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156. Richard.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389. Richard.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526. Richard and Jeanne.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62. Two unnamed artists, Richard, and Jeanne.

Other manuscripts

Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophico-Hermetica 116. *Sidrac*.
Autun, Bibliothèque municipal Séminaire, Ms. 110 (cat. 90). *Extravagantes*.
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.145a,b. *Bible historiale*.
Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 403. *Artus de Bretagne*.
Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 74. *Postilla super Evangelina dominicalia*.
Enschede, Rijksmuseum, Ms. Inv. 2. *Psalter*.
London, British Library, Ms. Add. 16888. *Voeux du paon, restor du paon*.
London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4903. *Sept sages de Rome*.
London, British Library, Ms. Royal 19 C.II. *Somme le roi, Complainte de Note Dame*.

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 19 D.I. *Roman d'Alexandre, Vengeance d'Alexandre, Merveilles de la terre d'Outremer, Directoire, Chronique, Bible historique.*

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 B.I. *De la chose de la chevalerie.*

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV.5. *Roman de Tristan.*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm 10177. *Vita S. Mauri, Legenda aurea.*

New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 322-323. *Bible historique.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 165. *Voeux du paon, Restor du paon, Parfait du Paon.*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 2677. *Livre du trésor.*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3481. *Lancelot.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 60. *Roman de Thèbes, Roman de Troie, Roman d'Enée.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 185. *Vie des saints.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 241. *Légende dorée.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 251. *Histoire ancienne, Faits des Romains.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2170. *Roman de Brun de la Montagne.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 12462. *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 15213. *Aesop's fables in verse, Bestiare d'Amours.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 15391. *Bible historique.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 17000. *Sept sages de Rome.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22495. *Histoire d'Outremer.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24209. *Histoire d'Outremer.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24386. *Voeux du paon, Restor du paon.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25521. *Voeux du paon, Restor du paon.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. latin 3254. *Summa Astesani.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Mss. 20-21. *Bible historique.*

Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 863. *Somme le roi.*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Rossi 457. *Livre du gouvernement des rois et des princes, De la chose de la chevalerie.*

Appendix B
Placement of Miniatures in *Rose* Manuscripts
Attributed to Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston

In this section I chart the episodes selected for illumination in *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston. My criteria for naming the images is based on both the iconography of the miniatures as well as their rubrics, when present. Manuscripts are arranged as columns in order of increasing number of total illuminations. I include the frontispiece in the total number of illuminations.

Part 1

	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rochegude 103	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226	Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156	Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503
Total illuminations	16	16	21	23	24	26	28	29	29
Kuhn's classification	V	III	V	III	VI	V	V	III ¹	VI
Guillaume de Lorris									
Frontispiece	1r	1r	1r	1r	1r	3r	1r	1r	1r
Haine	2r	3r	2r	2r	2r	4r	2r	2r	2r
Felonie			2r ²					2v	
Vilenie	2r		2r	2r	2r	4r	2r		2r
Convoitise	2r	3v	2r	2v	2v	4r	2r	2v	2v
Avarice	2v	3v	2v	2v	2v	4v	2v	2v	
Envie	3r	4r	3r	3r	3r	5r	2v	3r	3r
Tristesse	3r	4v	3r	3v	3v	5r	3r	3v	3v
Viellesse	3v	4v	3v	4r	4r	5v	3v	4r	3v
Papelardie	4r	5r	4r	4v	4v	6r	4r	4v	4r
Povrete	4v	5v	4v	4v	4v	6v	4r	5r	4v
Lover at gate, looking at two lovers within					5r				

	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rohegude 103	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226	Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156	Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503
Oiseuse and lover		6v	5v	5r	5v		5r	5v	5v
Oiseuse and lover; lover entering garden					6v	7v			
Man playing instrument			6r			9r			
Carole	6v	7v	6v	6v	7r		6r	6v	6v
Lover describing God of Love's companions					9r				
Two ladies dancing							6v		
Deduiz							6v		
Richesse								8v	
God of Love and lover							7v		
Narcissus at fountain	10v	12v	11r	11r	12r	13r	10v	11r ³	11v
Second representation of Narcissus	11r								
Lover at fountain					13v	14r	12r		
Lover sees rose				12r					
God of Love shoots arrow at lover			12v	12v	14r	14v	12v	13r	12v
God of Love captures lover						16r	13v		
God of Love takes lover's hand			13v						
Lover pays homage to God of Love	14r	16r	14r	13v	15v	16v	14r	14v	14v

	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rohegude 103	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 5226	Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156	Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503
God of Love locks lover's heart				14r				15r	
God of Love explains commandments					17r				
God of Love leaves lover			19v						
Bel Acueil and lover									20v
Malebouche and Dangier before rose garden [sic]				19v					
Dangier confronts Bel Acueil		22r			22r				20v
Raison and lover				20v		23r	20v		
Dangier warns lover					24v	24r			21v
Raison speaks to lover									21v
Franchise and Pitie appeal to Dangier						25r			
Honte and Paor approach Dangier sleeping			22v	25r	28r	27v	25r		
Honte and Paor talk to Dangier									23v
Jalousie's castle			26r						25v 27r
Total illuminations in Guillaume's section	14	14	20	20	23	21	22	22	16
Jean de Meun									
Author portrait of Jean de Meun	27v	30r	27v	27v	31r	30r	27v		28v

Second author portrait of Jean de Meun	68v			
Raison leaves tower			28v	29v
Raison and lover	35r		41r	
Wheel of Fortune				34r
Nero's death		42v		
Ami and lover			49v	50r 49v
Death of Lucretia				58v
Jalous beats wife			61r	63r
Lover asks Richesse to show him the way				68r
God of Love and his army			69v	81v
Contreinte Atenance leads Faux Semblant to God of Love				70v
Contreinte Atenance and Faux Semblant speak to Malebouche			80v	
Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue				83v
Franchise fights Dangier			100r	
Battle against the guards of the castle				102v 101v

Albi, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. Rohegude 103

Lyon, Bibliothèque
municipale, Ms. PA 23

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Ms. fr. 24389

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale
de Belgique, Ms. 9576

Paris, Bibliothèque de
l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226

Cambridge, University
Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Ms. fr. 19156

Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der
Staatlichen Kunstakademie,
A.B. 142

New York, Morgan Library,
Ms. M.503

	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rohegude 103								
	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23								
	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389								
	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576								
	Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 5226								
	Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6								
	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156								
	Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142								
	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503								
Nature at her forge								107r	106r
Genius’ sermon								129r	129r
Pygmalion carves ymage								134r	137v
Pygmalion sings to ymage								135r	
Pygmalion speaks to ymage								136r	
Pygmalion finds ymage alive									136r
Venus sets fire to castle									140v
Total illuminations in Jean’s section	2	2	1	3	1	5	6	7	13

¹ Variant of Kuhn’s Group III.

² This image is not labeled, but appears between two lines describing Vilenie; undoubtedly, it was intended to stand in for the related vice of Felonie as well.

³ This is an unusual representation of a bearded figure at the fountain; the accompanying rubric is damaged and illegible. I categorize it as an image of Narcissus because it appears directly before the narrator tells his story.

Part 2

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Total illuminations	31	35	36	36	36	42	49	51
Kuhn's classification	VI	III	III ¹	VI	I	VI	VI	VI
Guillaume de Lorris								
Frontispiece	1r	1r	1r	1r ²	1r	1r	1r	1r
Haine	2r	2r	2r	2r	1v	2r	2r	2r
Felonie			2v		2r			2v ³
Vilenie	2r			2r	2r	2r	2r	(2v) ³
Convoitise	2v	2r	2v	2v	2r	2v	2v	2v
Avarice	2v	2v	2v	2v	2v	2v	2v	3r
Envie		3r	3r	3r	2v	3r	3r	3r
Tristesse	3v	3r	3v	3v	3r	3v	3v	3v
La Vieille	3v	3v	4r	4r	3v	3v	3v	4r
Papelardie	4r	4r	4v	4v	4r	4r	4r	4v
Povrete	4v	4v	5r	4v	4r	4v	4v	5r
Oiseuse and lover	5v	5v	5v	5v	4v	5v	5v	6r
Carole	6v	6v	7r	6v	6r	6v	6v	7r
Second Carole			8r					

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Richesse						8r	8v	
Largesse							9r	
Narcissus at fountain	10v	11r	11v	11r ⁴			11v	12r
Lover at fountain		12r			11r			13r
God of Love shoots arrow at lover	12r	12v	13r	13r	11v		13r	14r
God of Love takes lover's hand				14r				
Lover pays homage to God of Love	14r	14v	15r	14v	13r		14v	16r
God of Love locks lover's heart	14r		15v	15r			15r	
God of Love explains commandments							15v	17r
Bel Accueil and lover			20v		17r	19v		22r
Malebouche spreads rumors about Bel Accueil			21r					
Bel Accueil offers rose to lover						20r	20v	
Dangier confronts Bel Accueil		20v				20v		
Raison and lover		21v				21r		
Ami counsels lover						21v		
Dangier warns lover			21v		18r		22v	23r
Lover apologizes to Dangier				22v		22r		
Raison speaks to lover			22r		18v			23v

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Ami comforts lover		22r	23r		19v			24v
Franchise and Pitie appeal to Dangier			24r			22v	23v	
Franchise and Bel Acueil converse						23r		
Bel Acueil addresses lover			25r			23v	24r	
Bel Acueil and lover at gate				24r				
Venus speaks to Bel Acueil						24r	24v	
Lover kisses Bel Acueil			25v					
Jalousie argues with Bel Acueil			26r		22r	24v		27v
Honte and Paor approach Dangier sleeping	24r				23r	25v	26v	
Honte and Paor talk to Dangier								29r
Jalousie's castle		27r	28r	27r	24r	26v	27r	30r
Total illuminations in Guillaume's section	16	19	27	20	23	26	26	24
Jean de Meun								
Author portrait of Jean de Meun	26v	28v	29v	29r	25v		29r	31v
Raison leaves tower			30v	29v		29r	30r	
Wheel of Fortune	32v	42r		34v	39v	34r	35r	48r
Virginius with daughter's head in hands or, as often, Virginius cutting off his daughter's head	37v					39r	40r	
Seneca's death	41v				39v			

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Nero's death	42v				41r			50r
Croesus asks daughter to interpret dream	43v						46r	50v
Croesus hanged		45r			42r			51r
Ami and lover			51r		46r	49r		55v
Death of Lucretia	56v						59v	
Heloise and Abelard							60v	
Jalous beats his wife	61v	62v	64r		58v	62v	64v	71r
Lover asks Richesse to tell him the way	65v	67r	68v	67v	63r		68v	
Lover and God of Love								78r
Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance		80v						
Faux Semblant and companions								79r
Contreinte Atenance leads Faux Semblant to God of Love	66v			70r			71v	
Contreinte Atenance and Faux Semblant before God of Love						69v		
Faux Semblant makes speech to barony					69r			
God of Love makes Faux Semblant leader of his followers						72v	74v	87r

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Contreinte Atenance and Faux Semblant speak to Malebouche		81v						92r
Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance speak to Malebouche						81v	83v	
Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue	81r	83r		83r	78v		85r	94r
Faux Semblant, Contreinte Atenance, La Vieille							86v	94v
Faux Semblant, Contreinte Atenance, and Cortoisie speak to La Vieille		83v						
La Vieille gives Bel Acueil chaplet				84v				
Dido's suicide				89r			90v	
La Vieille comes to the lover and tells him to speak to Bel Acueil			99v	98r			100r	97r
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil		85v	100v		80v			99r
Bel Acueil and lover						98r		111v
La Vieille and lover					93r			
Dangier warns lover					94r			
Jean de Meun defends himself			102v					114v
Franchise fights Dangier			104r					

	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3338	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143	Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526
Battle against guards of castle	100r			102r		101v	104r	115v
Nature at her forge	104r	105v		106r		105v	108r	120r
Author teaching (Jean de Meun)								125r
Nature's confession		111r				110v	113r	126r
Genius absolves Nature							130r	145r
Genius' sermon		129r				128r	130v	146r
Genius and lover								152r
Venus sets fire to castle		137r		136v				155v
Pygmalion carves ymage		137v				136v		156r
Pygmalion finds ymage alive	137r	139v		137v		139r	141v	158v
Venus sets fire to castle	137v					139v	142r	
Total illuminations in Jean's section	14	16	9	13	13	16	23	27

¹ Variant of Kuhn's Group III.

² In this manuscript I count the frontispiece as four images because the four scenes are represented as separate miniatures.

³ The rubric accompanying this image suggests that the image represents both vices: "Ci devise de felonie et vilenie."

⁴ This image represents Narcissus dying at the fountain.

Appendix C

Descriptions of *Rose* Manuscripts Attributed to Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston

Here I provide brief descriptions of *Rose* manuscripts attributed to the Montbastons, as well as select bibliographies. I borrow freely from Langlois' catalog (1910), but many manuscripts are not included in his study, and, when possible, I refer to updated descriptions in more recent publications.

Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Rochegude 103

Paris, c. 1338-53

30.0 x 20.0 cm, 139 folios

16 miniatures, Group V frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-139r. *Roman de la rose*. (fols. 134-139 contain corrections and additions by Rochegude, following three BnF mss.)

Bibliography

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Tome XL. 99-100.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 96.

Rouse, "Keeping up appearances," 152, n. 5.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389, n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 127, n. 36, 132, fig. 23.

Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.143

Paris, c. 1338-53

30.0 x 21.6 cm, 143 folios

42 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-143r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

de Ricci, *Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts*, Vol. 1, 847, no. 509.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 167 n. 5, 178 n. 28.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 87.

McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic," 127.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 81, 201.

Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 173-176, no. 65.

Randall, *Images in the Margins*, 38, 94, fig. 166.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 124 n. 22.

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9576

Paris, c. 1338-53

30.7 x 22.3 cm, 139 folios

23 miniatures, Group III frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-139r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 55 n. 88.

Dogaer and Debae, eds., *La librairie de Philippe le Bon*, 68-69.

Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la "librairie" de Philippe le Bon*, 121 no. 181.

Doutrepont, *La littérature française*, 281.

Gaspar and Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits*, 212-213 no. 91, pl. XLIVa.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 26, 50 n. 3, 59 n. 3.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 168.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 87.

McMunn, "Was Christine Poisoned by an Illustrated Rose?" 146-47.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*. vol. 1, p. 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.IV.6

Paris, c. 1338-53

32.0 x 22.5 cm, 139 folios

26 miniatures, Group V frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 3r-138v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Binski and Panayatova, eds., *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 123.

Binski and Zutshi, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts*, 301-2, no. 328.

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 36 n. 37, 42 n. 47, 49 n. 70, 63 n. 119, 64 n. 123, 69 n. 139, 70 n. 143, 73 n. 150, 74 n. 152, 78 n. 168, 88 n. 198, 90 n. 201.

Bogen, *Träumen und Erzählen*, 319-322, fig. 107.

Fleming, *Roman de la Rose*, 40, 95.

Hardwick and Luard, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts*, vol III, 145.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 33-36, fig. 22.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 148.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 167 n. 5.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 87.

Meyer, *Les manuscrits français*, vol. 2, 352.

Rouse, "Keeping up Appearances," 151-57.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 354 n. 54, 391 n. 105, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Saxl and Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer*, vol. 3, 418.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 131 n. 40, 132.

Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 664 (481)

Paris, c. 1338-53

27.3 x 18.3 cm, 141 folios

31 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-141r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Aumale, *Chantilly*, 68-69.

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris, 104.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43, fig. 26.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 92.

McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic," 127.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 202.

Rouse, "Keeping up Appearances," 152, 153.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose *Lancelot*," 284-285 n. 25.

Vergne and Salet, *La Bibliothèque du prince*, 255, 272, 273.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 125 n. 28.

Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 665 (482)

Paris, c. 1338-53

27.6 x 20.2 cm, 173 folios

49 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Quires 1 (frontispiece) and 22 attributed to unnamed artist; quires 1 (except frontispiece), 2-6, 8-15, and 17-19 attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1-145. *Roman de la rose*.

2. fols. 147r-173r. *Testament*.

Bibliography

Aumale, *Chantilly*, 69-70.

Braet, "Aux sources du Roman de la rose," 111 n. 6, figs. 26-30.

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris, 104.

Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen âge*, fig. 160-161.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 46, 50 n. 2.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 92.

Les plus beaux manuscrits, no. 20.

Meurgey, *Les principaux manuscrits*, 42-44, no. 21, pl. XXX.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 203.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Rouse, "Keeping up Appearances," 152, 153, 156.

Vergne and Salet, *La Bibliothèque du prince*, 157, 212.

Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B. 142

Paris, c. 1338-53

29.4 x 21.0 cm, 143 folios

29 miniatures, Group III (variant) frontispiece

Quires 1 and 4-18 attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston; quires 2-3 attributed to an unnamed artist.¹

1. fols. 1r-143v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

de Ricci, *Les Manuscrits de la collection Henry Yates Thompson*, 23, no. 76.

James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts*, 183, no. 76.

Gattermann, ed., *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, vol. 1, 274, no. 418.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 204.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose *Lancelot*," 284-285.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 117-140, figs. 17-20, 26, 30-32, pl. II.

¹ This division of hands as determined by Gregor Weyer in "The Roman de la Rose manuscript in Düsseldorf."

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 23

Paris, c. 1338-53

29.2 x 20.6 cm, 147 folios

16 miniatures, Group III frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 2r-146r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Bogen, *Träumen und Erzählen*, 320.

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Tome XXXI, 8.

Cotton, "Les manuscrits à peintures," 285 no. 47.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 33, 59 n. 4.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 131.

Manuscrits médiévaux de l'usage au trésor, 10-11, 63 no. 42.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," fig. 1.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose *Lancelot*," 284-285 n. 25.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 125 n. 28, 132, fig. 24.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 10032

Paris, c. 1338-53

23.8 x 19.0 cm, 137 folios

36 miniatures, Group I frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-137v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Dominguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, vol. 1, 293, no. 689.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 88.

Octavio de Toledo, *Catálogo de la Librería del Cabildo Toledano*, 122, no. CCXLIX.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.503

Paris, c. 1350

30.0 x 21.0 cm, 144 folios

29 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-144r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Braet, "Aux sources du Roman de la rose," 111 ns. 6, 7.

Braet, "Der Roman der Rose, Raum im Blick," 191 n. 12.

Braet, "L'illustration de l'illustration," 504 no. 42.

Braet, "Narcisse et Pygmalion," 239 n. 5.

de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 1462.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 195, 216 no. 30, fig. 105.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 153, ill. 114.

Rouse, "Keeping up Appearances," 152 n. 5, 153.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, 391 n. 105, 392 n. 135, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect*, fig. 7.

Stones, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context," 263 n. 152.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3338

Paris, c. 1338-53

31.0 x 23.0 cm, 146 folios

36 miniatures, Group III (variant) frontispiece

Quires 1-4 attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston; Quires 7-9 and 13 attributed to the Maubeuge Master.

1. fols. 1r-146r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Braet, "Der Roman der Rose, Raum im Blick," 190 n. 4, 191 n. 5.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 27, 59 n. 4.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 77-78.

Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. 3, 337.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Missing Manuscript," 31-62.

Richards, "Reflections on Oiseuse's Mirror," 303, pl. 6.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 153, 185, ill. 111.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 185, 372 n. 90, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 7A, 9F.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 135, 138, fig. 29.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5226

Paris, c. 1338-53

26.5 x 19.7 cm, 154 folios

24 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Quires 1-2 and 4 attributed to Richard de Montbaston; quire 3 attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-154v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 80-81.

Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. 5, 167.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 184.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 802

Paris, c. 1338-53

32.0 x 22.5 cm, 144 folios

35 miniatures, Group III frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-143v. *Roman de la rose*.

2. fols. 144r-144v. Definition of love in the form of a litany and 24 apocryphal verses.

Bibliography

Braet, "Der Roman der Rose, Raum im Blick," 187.

Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, fig. 25.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 26, 54 n. 2, 54 n. 4, 55 n. 3, 62.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 9-10.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Fragment," 296 n. 42, 297 n. 45.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 103, 130, 223, figs. 32, 97.

Paris, *Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du roi*, vol. 6, 234.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 153, 186, ill. 112.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose *Lancelot*," 284-285 n. 25.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 125 n. 28, 132-133, fig. 25.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 19156

Paris, c. 1338-53

28.7 x 21.3 cm, 140 folios

28 miniatures, Group V frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-140r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 36 n. 37.

Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, fig. 21.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 52, 54 n. 4, 54 n. 6, 55 n. 2, 56 n. 9, 59 n. 9, fig. 24.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 55.

Pomel, "Songes d'incubation et incubation de l'œuvre," 122 n. 43.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 68-69, 73, 187, ill. 51, 55.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose *Lancelot*," 284-285 n. 25.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose Manuscript in Düsseldorf," 125 n. 28, 132 n. 41.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24389

Paris, c. 1338-53

31.5 x 21.0 cm, 140 folios

21 miniatures, Group V frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Richard de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-140v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 36, 43, 54 n. 9, 55 n. 2, 56 n. 9, 57 n. 1, fig. 23.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 58.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 2, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 25526

Paris, c. 1338-53

25.5 x 18.0 cm, 163 folios

51 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Quire 1 (miniatures only) attributed to Richard de Montbaston; quires 1 (bas-de-pages only) and 2-21 attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-163v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 12 n. 25, 20 n. 47, 64 n. 122, 66 n. 128.

Braet, "Entre folie et raison," 53 n. 42.

Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 147-148.

Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, 286-322, figs. 12-21.

Koldeweij, "A barefaced Roman de la Rose," 503.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 46, 52 n. 2, 54 n. 5, 54 n. 9, 56 n. 9, 58 n. 5.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 71.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 172, 175.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Fragment," 296 n. 42, 297 n. 45.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 88.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 82, 83, 117, 130, 231, figs. 95, 96.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 153-55, ill. 113, 115, 116, 117.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 239, 388 n. 31, 388 n. 47, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Stones, "The Stylistic Context of the Roman De Fauvel," 544-545 n. 57.

Weyer, "The Roman de la Rose manuscript in Düsseldorf," 126, fig. 21.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 62

Paris, c. 1338-53

29.2 x 21.5 cm, 140 folios

36 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Quires 1-2 attributed to unnamed artist 1; quires 3-8 attributed to Richard de Montbaston; quires 9-11 attributed to unnamed artist 2; quires 12-18 attributed to Jeanne de Montbaston.

1. fols. 1r-140v. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, 187.

Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, 389 n. 54, vol. 2, App. 9A.

Appendix D
Checklist of Manuscripts Attributed to
Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good

Below is a list of manuscripts attributed to Artist L in Avril, “Un chef-d’oeuvre” (1972), 91-12. More detailed descriptions and bibliography for non-*Rose* manuscripts can be found in Waugh, “Style-Consciousness” (2000), Appendix J, 394-403. Patron is noted when known.

***Roman de la rose* manuscripts**

Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178. Artist L.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565. Artists E and L.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592. Artist L.

Other manuscripts

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9634-5. *Bible historiale*. Artist L. Was in the library of Philip the Good in 1420.

London, British Library, Ms. add. 24678, fol. 7-15. Miniatures cut from a *Bible historiale*. Artist L.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 167. *Bible moralisée*. Artist L, fols. 113r, 175v, 184, 213, 218, 226-229. Also painted isolated scenes on 2v, 7r, 36r, 41r, 48r, 49r, 49v, 56v, 64v, 175r, 175v, 184, 213, 218, 226-29, 279v, 290r.
Commissioned by John the Good.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 520. Concordances of the Bible. Artist L. Belonged to Johannes de Spinallo, an Augustinian monk at Metz.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 2119. *Milleloquium sancti Augustini*. Artist L. Dedication to Clement VI; scribe Matheus Bouis dyocecis Leonensis (of Saint Pol-de-Léon, Finistère) specifies that he book for an Augustinian monk; later belonged to Cardinal Guillaume d’Aigrefeuille.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 14326. Commentary of the Decretals, vol. II. Artist L. Belonged to Abbey of St. Victor.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16791. Commentary of the *Book of Wisdom*. Artist L. Belonged to Walfrem of Penderf, master at the university of Paris.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 887. Illuminations removed from breviary. Artists J and L.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2060. Cartulary of the University of Paris. Artist L.

St. Petersburg, Public Library/Hermitage, Ms. fr. F. v. 1, vols. 1 and 2. *Bible historiale*. Artist L (in part).

Valencia, Cathedral, Ms. 2-25. Glossed Latin bible. Artists E and L.

Appendix E
Placement of Miniatures in *Rose* Manuscripts
Attributed to Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good

This table charts the episodes selected for illumination in *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by Artist L. My criteria for naming the images is based on both the iconography of the miniatures as well as their rubrics, when present. Manuscripts are arranged as columns in order of increasing number of total illuminations. I include the frontispiece in the total number of illuminations.

	Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592
Total illuminations	40	44	61
Kuhn's classification	VI	VI	VI
Guillaume de Lorris			
Frontispiece	1r	1r	1r
Haine	2r	2r	2r
Vilenie	2v	2v	2r
Convoitise	2v	2v	2v
Avarice	3r	2v	2v
Envie	3r	3r	3r
Tristesse	3v	3v	3v
Vieillesse	4r	3v	3v
Papelardie	4v	4r	4r
Povrete	5r	4v	4v
Oiseuse and lover		5v	5v
Carol	7r	6v	6v

	Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592
Richesse			8v
Largesse			9r
Franchise			9v
Cortoisie			10r
Oiseuse			10v
Jeunesse			10v
Lover approaches the fountain			11v
Narcissus gazes into the fountain	12v	11v	12r
Lover looks into the fountain			13r
God of Love shoots arrow at lover	14r	12v	13v
God of Love hunts down lover			15r
Lover pays homage to God of Love	16r	14v	15v
God of Love locks lover's heart	16v	14v	15v
God of Love explains commandments			16r
Bel Accueil and lover			21r
Bel Accueil hands rose to lover		20v	21v
Dangier blocks rose bush from Bel Accueil and lover			22r
Raison and lover			22v
Ami counsels lover			23v
Lover begs Dangier for mercy			23v
Dangier with lover	23r		
Franchise and Pitie appeal to Dangier			24v
Franchise and Bel Accueil converse			25r
Bel Accueil leads lover to rose bush			25r
Venus speaks to Bel Accueil	27r	24r	26r
Jalousie argues with Bel Accueil			26v
Jalousie speaking to Honte			27r
Honte and Paor approach Dangier sleeping in the garden	28v	25v	27v
Jalousie's castle	29v	26v	28v
Lover standing before tower			29r

	Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592
<i>Total illuminations in Guillaume's section</i>	19	20	41
Jean de Meun			
Author portrait	31v	28r	30v
Raison and lover; sometimes Raison leaves tower to instruct lover			31v
Wheel of Fortune	38r	34r	36r
Virginius with daughter's head in hands or, as often, Virginius cutting off his daughter's head	44r	39r	41v
Second representation of Wheel of Fortune	47v	42v	
Seneca's death	48r	43r	
Croesus asks daughter to interpret dream	50v	44v	
Defeat of Duke Manfred	51v	45v	48r
Death of Lucretia	65v	57r	60v
Jalous beats wife	70v	62r	
Lover asks Richesse and her friend to tell him the way	75v	66r	
Lover and God of Love			71v
The lover begs God of Love			71v
God of Love and his army			73r
God of Love crowns Faux Semblant leader of his barony	82r	72r	75v
Faux Semblant and Contreinte Ateneance come to Malebouche			84v
Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue	93r	82r	86r
La Vieille brings crown to Bel Accueil			87v
Dido's suicide			91v
La Vieille comes to lover and gives chaplet	94v	83r	
La Vieille speaks to Bel Accueil		87r	
La Vieille comes to lover and tells him to speak to Bel Accueil	110v	96v	
Bel Accueil, Venus, and lover		97r	
Battle against the guards of the castle	114r	100v	

	Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592
Nature at her forge	118v	104v	131r
Nature's confession		109v	
Genius absolves Nature	143r	126v	
Genius' sermon	143v	127r	
Venus sets fire to castle	152v	135v	139v
Pygmalion as dreamer		136r	140r
Pygmalion finds ymage alive	155v	138r	
Venus shooting arrow at castle			143r
Lover brings Bel Accueil out of castle	156v		
Lover dressed as pilgrim			145r
Lover plucks rose			146r
<i>Total illuminations in Jean's section</i>	21	24	20

Appendix F
Descriptions of *Rose* Manuscripts Attributed to
Artist L of the *Bible moralisée* of John the Good

Here I provide brief descriptions of *Rose* manuscripts attributed to Artist L, as well as select bibliographies. I borrow freely from Langlois' catalog (1910), but many manuscripts are not included in his study, and, when possible, I refer to updated descriptions in more recent publications.

Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 178

Paris, 1353

29.0 x 21.3 cm, 190 folios

41 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to Artist L.

1. fols. 1r-160v. *Roman de la rose*.

2. fols. 161r-190v. *Testament*.

Bibliography

Aubert, "Les Principaux manuscrits," 59-61, pl. 30, 31c.

Aubert, *Notices sur les manuscrits Petau*, 145-150.

Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre," p. 110 n. 2.

Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 3, 168.

Gagnebin, ed., *L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François 1er*, 72-75.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 43, fig. 28.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 195.

Martin, *La miniature française*, p. 92, fig. 49.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 174 n. 21.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Fragment," 292 n. 35, 295 n. 40, 296, 296 n. 42, 297 n. 43, 297 n. 47, fig. 5.

McMunn, "The Iconography of Dangier," 87.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 107, 117, 206, figs. 48, 90.

Monnier, "Trois manuscrits," 125-137, fig. 1-2.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1565

Paris, 1352

30.2 x 22.6 cm, 169 folios

44 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Fols. 1-8, 34r, 39r, 96v attributed to Artist E; remaining folios attributed to Artist L.

1. fols. 1r-142r. *Roman de la rose*.

2. fols. 143r-169v. *Testament*.

Bibliography

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 36 n. 37, 55 n. 89, 92 ns. 206, 208.

Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre," 104 n. 3, 110 n. 2, fig. 19-20.

Bibliothèque nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, vol. 1, 255.

Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, fig. 22.

Fleming, *Roman de la Rose*, fig. 2, 36.

Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, 31-32, pl. 2-3.

Josserand and Bruno, "Les Estampilles," pl XXIII-XXIV.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 52, fig. 33.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 22-23.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Fragment," 291 n. 29, 292 n. 32, 296 n. 42, 297 n. 45.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 81, 105, 117, 120, 157, 225, figs. 38, 92, 142.

Pomel, "Songes d'incubation et incubation de l'oeuvre," 122 n. 43.

Le Roman de la rose: L'art d'aimer au Moyen Âge, ill. 13, 15, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 49, 75, 103, 104.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2592

Paris, c. 1355-1365

30.0 x 21.1 cm, 175 folios

61 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

Avril attributed all miniatures to Artist L; Kuhn suggested that the frontispiece is by a different artist.

1. fols. 1r-146v. *Roman de la rose*.
2. fols. 147r-147v. *Codicile*.
3. fols. 148r-175v. *Testament*.

Bibliography

Avril, "Un chef-d'oeuvre," 110-112 n. 2.

Beer, *Les principaux manuscrits*, 18-19, pl. 1.

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, xxv, xxxiv-xxxv, 24 n. 62, 49 n. 70, 53 n. 82, 54 n. 84, 55 n. 90, 58 n. 100, 60 n. 108, 61 n. 111, 62 n. 117, 75 n. 156, 76 n. 159, 78 n. 168, 79 ns. 173, 175, 96 ns. 217-218, 220, 99 n. 228.

Hermann, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften*, 76-87, pl. 22-25.

Komada, "Les illustrations de la *Bible historique*," 560-61.

Kuhn, "Die Illustration des Rosenromans," 3-16, 46, 52 n. 2, 54 n. 10, 56 n. 9, 58 n. 5, 60, 64, fig. 1, pl. 1-11.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits*, 167.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 176 n. 26.

McMunn, "Reconstructing a Fragment," 295 n. 35.

McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic," 125, 127.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 75, 77, 242.

Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pl. XLIII, no. 73.

Unterkircher, *Abendländische Buchmalerei*, 188-189, pl. 42.

Appendix G

Checklist of Manuscripts Attributed to the Maître du Policratique de Charles V

Below is a list of manuscripts attributed to the Maître du Policratique de Charles V in Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire" (2001), 265-82. Patron is noted when known.

Roman de la rose manuscripts

New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III

Other manuscripts

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 83. *Légende dorée*.
Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano, Ms. 207. Prayer book of Cardinal Pierre de Luxembourg.
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.139. *Grandes Chroniques de France*.
Bayeux, Bibliothèque capitulaire, Ms. 61, kept at Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados. Pontifical of Étienne Loyseau, Bishop of Luçon.
Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 677. *Chronique en vers*.
Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 127. *In IV libros Sententiarum*.
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 11042. *Enseignements ou ordonnances pour un seigneur qui a guerres* of Théodore Paléologue.
France, private collection. Book of hours for use in Rouen.
Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 'Comites latentes' (Coll. Segre Amar). *L'arbre des batailles* of Honoré Bouvet; *Le seul parler* of Saint Augustine. Written by Jean Cachelart.
Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 57. *Légende dorée*.
London, Guildhall, Ms. 220. *Grandes Chroniques de France*.
London, British Library, Ms. Add. 23145. Book of hours with the arms of the Andrault family of Langeron.
London, British Library, Ms. Lansdowne 1175. Bible in French. Translation by Raoul de Presles; belonged to John, Duke of Berry.
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 742. *Ovide moralisée*.
Melbourne, National Gallery, Ms. Felton 411/4. *Tite-Live*. French translation by Pierre Bersuire.

- New York, Morgan Library, Ms. Glazier 3. Antiphonal sheet for use in a Franciscan convent.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 971. *Bible historiale* of Guyart des Moulins.
- Paris, Archives nationales, Ms. A E II 385. Foundation charter of chaplaincies in honor of Charles V.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 2002. *Rational des divins offices*. Translation by Jean Golein.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Ms. 3141. *Vie de Du Guesclin* of Cuvelier. Portion of manuscript attributed to the artist.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1290. *Décret* of Gratien de Jean de Crépon.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 210. *Problems* of Arisotle. Translation by Évrard de Conty.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. 811. *L'Apparition de Maître Jean de Meun* of Honoré Bouvet. Made for Valentine Visconti.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 957. *De la vileté de la condition humaine* of Lothaire.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1175. *Livre du Sacrement de mariage* of Philippe de Mézières.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1213. *Livre de l'information des princes* of Guillaume Peyrault. With the arms of Louis d'Orléans.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1532. *Histoire des trois Maries* of Jean de Venette.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1544. *Vies des pères*. Written by Jean Cachelart.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1647. *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* of Guillaume de Diguilleville, etc. Written by Jean Cachelart.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 1728. *Consolation de philosophie* of Boethius.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2148. *Jeu des échecs moralisés* of Jacques de Cessoles. Written by Raoul Tainguy.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2182. *Vie de Saint Jean-Baptiste*.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2456. *De l'Agneau qui pour nous fut rôti*. Painted for a lady of the Blaisy family.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 6271. *La Cité de Dieu*. Belonged to John, Duke of Berry.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9221. *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*. Made for John, Duke of Berry.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9749. Valère Maxime. Made for Charles V; French translation by Simon de Hesdin.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9760. *Vie de saint François d'Assise*.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 10135. *Grandes Chroniques de France*.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 24287. *Policratique* of John Salisbury. Made for Charles V; French translation by Denis Foulechat.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 14279. Breviary-book of hours of Saint Victor. Copied in 1392 for Jean Pastourel by Yvon Lhomme.

- Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 34-36. *Postillae in libros Bibliae* of Nicolas de Lyre. With the arms of the Lorfèvre family.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 369. Register of the Sainte-Geneviève abbey.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 1028. *Livre des propriétés des choses* of Barthélemy l'Anglais. Belonged to Charles d'Orléans.
- Paris, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs français, kept at the department of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Made for John, Duke of Berry.
- Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 266. *Légende dorée*.
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, Ms. E 5. Office of saint Mary Magdalene.
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Reg. lat. 1477. *De montibus, silvis*, etc. of Boccaccio.
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. lat. 50-51. Latin Bible. Given to Clement VII by John, Duke of Berry.
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2564. *Grandes Chroniques de France*. With the arms of the Jean de Montaigu.

Appendix H
Placement of Miniatures in *Rose* Manuscripts
Attributed to the Maître du Policratique de Charles V

This table charts the episodes selected for illumination in *Rose* manuscripts illuminated by the Maître du Policratique. My criteria for naming the images is based on both the iconography of the miniatures as well as their rubrics, when present. Manuscripts are arranged as columns in order of increasing number of total illuminations. I include the frontispiece in the total number of illuminations.

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Total illuminations	40	57	60	70
Kuhn's classification	N/A	N/A	III	VI
Guillaume de Lorris				
Frontispiece	1r	1r	1r	1r
Haine	2v	2r	2v	2r
Felonie		2v		
Vilenie			2v	2v
Convoitise	2v	2v	3r	2v
Avarice		2v	3v	3r
Envie	3v	6r	4r	3v
Tristesse		6v	4v	4r
Vieillesse	5v	8r	5r	4r
Papelardie	4r	8v	5v	5r
Povrete	4v	9r	6r	5r
Lover at gate			7r	
Oiseuse and lover at gate	7r		7r	6r
Oiseuse and lover		7r	8r	

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Carole	9r	3r	9v	7v
Franchise		10r		
Cortoisie		10v		
Oiseuse		11r		
Jeunesse		11r		
Narcissus at fountain	15r	12v	17r	13v
Lover at fountain	16r	13v		
Lover sees rose	16v			
God of Love shoots arrow at lover	17r	5v	19v	15v
God of Love hunts down fleeing lover	19r			
God of Love takes lover by hand	19v		21v	
Lover pays homage to God of Love (kneeling)	20r	15r		17r
Lover and God of Love kiss		15v	22r	
God of Love locks lover's heart	20v	16r		
Lover speaks to God of Love	20v			
Bel Acueil, lover, Dangier	27v			
Dangier, Malebouche, and female figure		22v		
Bel Acueil hands rose to Lover		22r		
Dangier blocks rose bush from Bel Acueil and lover	28v			
Raison and lover	29r	23v		
Lover begs Dangier for mercy	30v			
Raison comes from her tower			32r	26r
Ami comforts lover		25r	33v	27r
Honte and Paor plead their case with Dangier			35r	28r
Venus				30r
Lover kisses Bel Acueil			37r	
Jalousie argues with Bel Acueil	34r	26r		
Paor and Honte		27r		
Honte and Paor approach Dangier sleeping in garden	35v	27v	39r	31v
Jalousie's castle	37r	28v		32v

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
<i>Total illuminations in Guillaume's section</i>	25	30	23	21
Jean de Meun				
Author portrait	39r	30v	41v	34v
Raison and lover; sometimes Raison leaves tower to instruct lover	46v	32r		
Wheel of Fortune			58r	48r
Virginius with daughter's head in hands or, as often, Virginius cutting off daughter's head	53v			
Second representation of Wheel of Fortune	58r			
Nero's death	60v			
Croesus asks daughter to interpret dream	61r			
Croesus hanging	62r			
Raison, lover, Ami		56r		50r
Ami and lover	71r			
The golden age			80r	59r
Jean de Meun lectures on marriage		66r		
Death of Lucretia		66v	81v	60v
Heloise and Abelard				
Jalous beats wife	89v	72v		66r
The first thieves				67v
Coronation of first king				68r
Lover and Ami				71r
Lover asks Richesse and her friend to tell him the way		77v	94r	71v
Lover and God of Love	98v	79v		73v
God of Love tells his people about Jean de Meun	100v			
Author portrait of Jean de Meun	101r			
God of Love and his army		81r		74v
God of Love and his army, II		82v		
Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance			114r	
God of Love and Faux Semblant				78r
God of Love and his army				87v

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance come to Malebouche	116r	95r	114v	88r
Faux Semblant cuts off Malebouche's tongue		97r		90r
Cortoisie and Largesse knock at castle gate				90v
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil		98v	118v	91v
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil, II		99v	120r	95r
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil, who now wears chaplet		100r		
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil, III		102r		
Dido's suicide		103v	124r	97r
Paris leaves Oenone			124v	
Medea saves Jason from fire-breathing oxen			124v	
La Vieille comes to lover and tells him to speak to Bel Acueil		115r		
The caged bird			130v	102v
Monk repenting his vows				102v
The fish in the net			131r	
La Vieille speaks to Bel Acueil				103v
La Vieille speaks to lover				108r
Dangier raises club at lover		116r		109v
Bel Acueil thrown back in prison				110v
Love's army				111v
Author apologizes				112r
Franchise, Pitie and Dangier				113v
Franchise fights Dangier			141v	
Pitie fights Dangier			142r	114r
Franchise and Pitie fight Dangier		120r		
Dangier calls for help			143r	
Honte fights Pitie and Deliz			143r	115r
Bien Celer fights Honte			143v	
Hardement Fights Paor			143v	
Venus agrees to help lover			144v	
God of Love sends message to Venus				116v

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Venus comes in her chariot			145r	117v
Phoenix			147r	
Zeuxis draws virgins			148v	
Nature at her forge	149v	124v		118v
Contreinte Atenance, Faux Semblant, and Bel Acueil				
Nature calls on Genius to hear her confession		127v	149v	121v
Husband foolishly confides in wife			150v	
Samson and Delilah			153r	124v
Nature's confession			153v	
Nature explains movement of the planets		131r		
Christ with mirror				130v
Deucalion and Pyrrha praying to statue of Themis				131v
Venus and Mars in bed				135r
Couple in bed				137v
Torments of hell: hanged man			174r	
Torments of hell: burning			174v	
Torments of hell: boiling water			174v	
Torments of hell: grill			174v	
Torments of hell: Ixion			174v	
Torments of hell: Tantalus			174v	
Torments of hell: rolling stone			175r	
Torments of hell: serpents			175r	
God of Love gives Genius a crosier				138r
Genius' sermon		152r		138v
Atropos				140v
Christ as lamb				142r
Fountain of paradise				145r
Knights attack castle of Jalousie				147v
Venus sets fire to castle				148v
Pygmalion carves ymage	190v	162v		149r
Pygmalion prays to statue of Venus				151r

	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332	New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132
Pygmalion kneels before statue			187r	
Pygmalion embraces statue		165r		
Venus shooting arrow at castle		166r		
<i>Total illuminations in Jean's section</i>	15	27	37	49

Appendix I
Descriptions of *Rose* Manuscripts Attributed to
the Maître du Policratique de Charles V

Here I provide brief descriptions of *Rose* manuscripts attributed to Artist L, as well as select bibliographies. I borrow freely from Langlois' catalog (1910), but many manuscripts are not included in his study, and, when possible, I refer to updated descriptions in more recent publications.

New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.132

Paris, c. 1380

20.2 x 13.8 cm, 189 folios

71 miniatures, Group VI frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to the Maître du Policratique.

1. fols. 1r-156v. *Roman de la rose*.
2. fols. 158r-189v. *Testament*.
3. fols. 189v. Address to the Virgin.

Bibliography

Alexander et al., eds., *The Splendor of the Word*, 396 n. 14.

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 12 n. 25, 29 n. 14, 29-30, 35 n. 33, 44 n. 57, 46 n. 63, 48 n. 68, 49 n. 70, 53 n. 82, 58 n. 103, 60 n. 108, 62 n. 118, 64 n. 122, 72 n. 145, 78 n. 168, 86 n. 192, 90 n. 202, 92 ns. 206 and 208, 96 n. 218, 99 n. 229, figs. 4, 10, 12, 16.

Braet, "Aux sources du Roman de la rose," 111 n. 6.

Braet, "Der Roman der Rose, Raum im Blick," 191 n. 12.

Braet, "L'illustration de l'illustration," 498 n. 49, 500 no. 11, 501 nos. 12, 15, 16, 503 no. 37, 504 no. 42.

Camille, "Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation," 83, fig. 4.13.

Desmond, *Ovid's Art and the Wife of Bath*, 95, figs. 23, 24.

Die Parler und der Schöne Stil, 222, no. 80.

Huot, "Women and 'Woman'," 43, 50 n. 10.

James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 112.

Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 97, fig. 3.4.

Leo, "The Pucellian School and the Rise of Naturalism," 168.

Lewis, "Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure," 241, fig. 50.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 173 n. 19, 174 n. 20.
McMunn, "Representations of the Erotic," 129.
Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 119, 132, 214, figs. 49, 110, 111, 180.
Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire," 152-55, 156, figs. 3, 4.
Nichols, "On the Sociology of Medieval Manuscript Annotation," figs. 1, 3-8.
Peters, *Das Ich im Bild*, 120 n. 8, 122 n. 15, 126 n. 33, 134 n. 57, 135 n. 64.
Quatrich, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 3466, no. 35709.
de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* Vol. 2, 1391.
Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures," 724, 724 n. 66, fig. 22.

Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. 3760 III

Paris, c. 1380-95

30.0 x 26.0 cm, 253 folios

40 miniatures, Two-part frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to the Maître du Policratique.

1. fols. 1r-198v. *Roman de la rose*.

2. fols. 199r-214r. *Trésor*.

3. fols. 215r-251v. *Testament*.

Bibliography

Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 282.

Bertrand, *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, 175.

de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures*, 49-50, pl. XXIV-XXV.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 173 n. 18.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 241, fig. 143.

Sawicka, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque nationale de Varsovie*, 66-81.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332

Paris, c. 1380-95

27.7 x 20.0 cm, 195 folios

59 miniatures, Group III frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to the Maître du Policratique.

1. fols. 1r-159r. *Roman de la rose*.

Bibliography

Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 281.

Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, 12 n. 25, 29 n. 14, 46 n. 63, 50 n. 75, 53 ns. 80-82, 54 n. 84, 59 n. 104, 60 n. 108, 64 n. 122, 89 n. 199.

Huot, "Women and 'Woman'," 41-57, figs. 1-5.

Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, 155-156.

Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 4, 597, no. 21906.

McMunn, "In Love and War," 166 n. 4, 173 n. 19.

Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter*, 220.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Museo 65

Paris, c. 1380-95

29.5 x 22.5 cm, 170 folios

57 miniatures, two-part frontispiece

All miniatures attributed to the Maître du Policratique.

1. fols. 1r-170r. *Roman de la rose*.

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Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire," 277 n. 24, 281.

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Appendix J
Description of J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7

J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7

Paris. c. 1405

37.0 x 26.0 cm, 136 folios

101 miniatures attributed to an artist working the style of the “Bedford Trend.”

1. fols. 1r-135v. *Roman de la rose*

2. fol. 135v. Colophon

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| fol. 1r. | Dream of Scipio |
| fol. 1r. | The Lover Dreaming in Bed |
| fol. 2r. | Haine |
| fol. 2r. | Felonie |
| fol. 2r. | Vilenie |
| fol. 2r. | Convoitise |
| fol. 2v. | Avarice |
| fol. 2v. | Envie |
| fol. 3r. | Tristesse |
| fol. 3v. | Vielliesse |
| fol. 4r. | Papelardie |
| fol. 4r. | Povrete |
| fol. 4v. | Oiseuse and the Lover at the gate |
| fol. 5v. | The Lover outside the garden's walls; Love's companions around the fountain of Narcissus |
| fol. 6r. | The Carole |
| fol. 6v. | Cortoisie asks the lover to dance |
| fol. 7r. | Love and his followers |
| fol. 7r. | Love wearing his mantle |
| fol. 8r. | Second Carole |
| fol. 9r. | Franchise and Povrete |
| fol. 9v. | Cortoisie and her companion |
| fol. 9v. | Jeunesse and her companion |
| fol. 10r. | Third Carole |
| fol. 10r. | God of Love shoots his arrow at the lover |
| fol. 11r. | Narcissus at the Fountain |

- fol. 12v. God of Love shoots his arrow at the lover
 fol. 14r. Lover pays homage to God of Love
 fol. 15r. God of Love explains his commandments
 fol. 19r. Bel Accueil talks to lover; Dangier, Malebouche and Chastete
 fol. 20r. Dangier warns off the lover and Bel Accueil
 fol. 20v. Raison and the lover
 fol. 21r. Ami and the lover
 fol. 21v. Lover and Dangier
 fol. 22r. Lover, Franchise, and Dangier
 fol. 22v. Franchise and Pitie plead with Dangier
 fol. 23v. Venus and the lover
 fol. 24r. Malebouche and the lover
 fol. 24v. Honte speaks to Jalousie
 fol. 25r. Honte and Paor speak to Dangier
 fol. 26r. Building of the castle of Jalousie
 fol. 26v. Guards of the castle of Jalousie
 [*blank space left for miniature*]
 fol. 27v. Bel Accueil imprisoned in the castle of Jalousie
Total miniatures in Guillaume's section: 42
 fol. 29v. Raison and the lover
 fol. 34r. Misers before a table covered with gold plates and coins
 fol. 36v. Virginius carrying daughter's head before King Appius
 fol. 38v. Heraclitus and Diogenes seated; Fortune turning her wheel.
 fol. 39r. Figures falling from Fortune's wheel into the sea
 fol. 40v. Seneca kills himself
 fol. 42r. Croesus on the fiery pyre
 fol. 43v. Defeat of Duke Manfred
 fol. 44r. Fortune serves wine from the barrels of Jupiter
 fol. 46v. Ami the lover
 fol. 48r. Ami hands the lover a chaplet and purse
 fol. 50v. The collapse of the castle on the path of Trop Donner
 fol. 51r. Povrete and the collapse of the castle on the path of Trop Donner
 fol. 53v. The Golden Age
 fol. 54r. Jalous beating his wife
 fol. 56r. Abelard and Heloise
 fol. 59r. Jalous scolds his wife
 fol. 60v. Povrete shows her son the scaffold, where a man hangs
 fol. 62v. Two lovers engaged in an illicit affair
 fol. 62v. A lover tends to his sick lady
 fol. 64r. Richesse receiving gifts of gold and cloth
 fol. 64v. Fain
 fol. 66v. Contreinte Atenance and Faux Semblant speak to the God of Love
 fol. 70r. Faux Semblant talks to the God of Love
 fol. 74v. Faux Semblant amasses riches
 fol. 76r. A devil holding the "*Evangelium eternum*" before a group of clerics on the left, and monks of different orders on the right

- fol. 76v. Love, Faux Semblant, and Contreinte Atenance
 fol. 78r. Contreinte Atenance (dressed as a pilgrim) and Faux Semblant
 fol. 78v. Contreinte Atenance and Faux Semblant approach Malebouche
 fol. 80v. Vieille and Bel Acueil in the Castle
 fol. 81v. Vieille gives Bel Acueil a chaplet of flowers
 fol. 84v. Dido's suicide
 fol. 85r. Phyllis's suicide; Medea killing her children
 fol. 86r. Palinus falls asleep at the helm of Aeneas's ship and tumbles overboard
 fol. 87v. Faux Semblant and Contreinte Atenance before Dangier
 fol. 89r. Faux Semblant cuts Malebouche's tongue
 fol. 91v. A wife meets with her lover while her husband sleeps
 fol. 93v. The lover within the castle walls, surrounded by rosebushes.
 fol. 95r. Honte, Paor, and Dangier chase Bel Acueil back into the tower
 fol. 95r. Honte, Paor, and Dangier attack Bel Acueil
 fol. 96r. Honte, Paor, and Dangier attack the lover as Bel Acueil watches from the tower
 fol. 97r. Franchise and Pitie fight Dangier
 fol. 99v. Love's messengers bring letter to Venus, who sits next to Adonis
 fol. 100r. Venus arriving in her chariot; Love's army attacking the castle
 fol. 100v. Venus and the God of Love
 fol. 101r. Nature at her forge
 fol. 103r. Nature's confession
 fol. 107v. Empedocles committing suicide; Origen castrating himself
 fol. 111r. Deucalion and Pyrrha
 fol. 120v. Torments of Hell: Tantalus in the water; Ixion on the wheel
 fol. 121r. Nature hands Genius a message for the God of Love
 fol. 121v. Nature at her forge
 fol. 122r. The God of Love gives Genius a mitre and crozier
 fol. 122r. Genius's sermon
 fol. 124v. God speaks to Nature at her forge
 fol. 129r. Honte and Paor speak to Venus
 fol. 129v. Venus aims her arrow at the castle
 fol. 130r. Pygmalion kisses his statue, who is seated and dressed
 fol. 132v. Venus sets fire to the castle; the guards of the castle escape
- Total miniatures in Jean de Meun's Continuation: 59**

Transcription and translation of colophon on fol. 135v¹

Cy gist le Romant de la Rose,
Ou tout l'Art d'Amours se repose,
La fleur des beaulx bien dire l'ose,
Qui bien y entend texte et glose.
Aucun blasment qu'il n'est en prose,
Mais le moyne Castel s'oppose
Qu'autrement soit pour nulle chose,
Car tout grant clerc qui se dispose
D'entendre la substance enclose
Dedens, et les vers pointe et pose,
Savoure et gouste en longue pose
Tout ainsi que l'auteur propose
En ryme et sens et se compose.
Est bien digne qu'on le despose
Et que silence on luy impose
Qui rien y contredit ou glose

Here ends the Romance of the Rose,
where the entirety of the Art of Love resides.
It can speak of the flower of beautiful things
to him who understands well its text and gloss.
[Let there be] no reproach that it is not in prose,
but the monk Castel is opposed to
its being otherwise for any reason,
for every great cleric who undertakes
to comprehend the material contained
within, and sounds out the verses,
takes his time to savor and ruminates upon
everything, just as the author proposes
in rhyme and meaning and composition.
It is proper to denounce
and impose silence on him
who disputes or glosses anything here.

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¹ Transcription in Langlois, *Les manuscrits*, 211-12. Translation assistance provided by Thomas Maranda.

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