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**Imaging Dreams in the Middle
Ages: The *Roman de la Rose* and
Artistic Vision, c.1275-1540**

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Volume II: Appendix and Illustrations

**History of Art Ph.D.
The University of Edinburgh
2016**

Appendix One: Catalogue of *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts and Incunables Consulted in this Study

At the beginning of this research project, I compiled a list of known or accessible manuscripts of the *Rose* from several sources: Langlois' *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose, Description et Classement; De La Rose: Texte, Image, Fortune*; select essays on *Roses* that included classifications of some *Rose* manuscripts; and from information provided on the online research site dedicated to the *Rose* and copies of the poem, www.romandelarose.org (Hereafter referred to as RDLR). From this information, I came up with a list of over 300 manuscripts, ranging from vague references to exact shelfmarks. As this is primarily a study into the illumination of dreams in the *Rose* corpus, I was able to omit 83 manuscripts definitely lacking a visual component, and several others dating from the post-sixteenth century, and therefore outwith the parameters of this study. Manuscripts containing imagery are classified as those with at least one miniature, figural *bas-de-page*, sketched image or figurative scene that relates to the textual content of the poem – copies containing solely abstract decorative material or calligraphic flourishes unrelated to the narrative are therefore omitted.

Notations of 56 manuscripts from Langlois, the RDLR and *De la Rose* were either too unspecific to assist future research, or proved difficult to trace due to inconsistencies of referencing or lack of access to internal catalogues. Over the course of three years of study, I have been able to access the majority of images in 190 of the remaining manuscripts. A separate section includes details of the printed editions I have also accessed.

The aim of this catalogue is primarily to provide context for the visual material analysed within the thesis. However, a secondary aim is to provide an updated, accessible catalogue for those interested in further understanding the *Rose* manuscripts. While catalogues of small groups of manuscripts have been compiled, none have so far considered a number comparable to the amount that will be presented here. It also aims to correct the issues present in other catalogues. Langlois in particular was guilty of a large amount of speculation and subjective judgement, especially regarding the visual sequences in manuscripts. While his identification of different dialects of Old French were highly useful, it is clear his pronouncements on the artistic cycles were not based on a substantial understanding of the image

traditions of the period at hand. Volume I of Alison Stones' *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* also provided me with another example of cataloguing methods, yet the in-depth analysis method of that study is ill-suited to this catalogue, which merely aims to provide a starting point for further research and investigation.¹ Where provenance, date, or origin are known, these will be included; where these may be speculatively assigned, particularly in the case of manuscripts appearing to be by similar groups of artists, this will also be indicated.

While this is not an exhaustive study, as practical restrictions prevented my seeing all the known imaged *Rose* copies or chasing up all of the ambiguous references, it represents a further step towards the management and codification of this vast group of manuscripts. Manuscripts with no images as either indicated by personal research or other scholars, those known to have images but which have not been accessed, and those with imagery that is of too late a date to support the central thesis have been included, but numbered in Roman numerals to signal their lesser relevance to the thesis. The manuscripts are organised alphabetically by Country, State or Town, then Library. While a chronological approach was first attempted, it was found to cause additional problems when attempting to codify the manuscripts, and thus I have reverted to the geographical approach favoured in other catalogues and databases of general manuscripts and *Roses*.

Incunable editions of the *Rose* appear in their own section at the end of the poem, described according to the codification of Bourdillon, whose study remains the primary source of information on these editions, despite its advanced age.² Manuscripts of the *Rose* in translation have been omitted, as while a number of Dutch, Italian and Flemish editions appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, I have omitted these in order to focus better on the developments in the French artistic tradition of *Roses*. However, manuscripts of Gui de Mori's *Remainement* are included, as the 'lessons' contributed by this early editor of the poem appear in many copies with imagery that relate to contemporary unedited versions, as its specialist images also migrated into copies of the 'original' text of Guillaume and Jean.

¹ Stones, *A Survey of Manuscripts*. Unlike Stones, this catalogue aims to form a coherent list of the extant manuscripts and their interrelations to one another, aimed at providing initial points of concurrence and overlap with other copies, rather than full provenance and origin details for standalone manuscripts.

² Bourdillon, *The Early Editions*.

Where manuscripts have been consulted digitally, in person, or through other publications, this is also indicated within each entry, with either (Digital), (In Person) and/or (Scholar(s) consulted) appearing beside the date and shelfmark. The reference (RDLR) indicates that the manuscript was accessed via the online research site, the *Roman de la Rose Digital Library*. Entries for other digitally accessed copies also contain references to the online locations of these manuscripts. Principal bibliographic sources are provided alongside most manuscripts, though some copies have not previously been considered in relevant academic scholarship.

Given the propensity of manuscript methods, scripts and visual trends to overlap neat century or decade divisions, many of these copies are assigned loosely to general 25 year periods. This is to avoid the persistent but misleading assumption that stylistic changes occurred abruptly, as many manuscripts evidence the fact that developments occurred slowly and often sporadically in different regions. It also incorporates the understanding that, though certain trends appeared and developed at different times during the production of *Roses*, its iconography reflects a more complex model of transmission, editing, omission and flux, meaning that similar manuscripts may not reveal exactly which copy was produced first or last. In order to present a readable catalogue, each geographical division is organised chronologically, and relations between manuscripts are also indicated.

This element of subdivision is primarily the result of my personal understanding of the chronological development of these manuscripts, and while each decision has been justified within the catalogue entries, ultimately these chronologies reflect my own understanding of which manuscript may have come first. These assumptions are based on the direction in which visual decoration of *Roses* moved, as suggested by dated manuscripts, and how this may have most likely developed between those rare dateable examples.

I: Manuscripts in Institutional Collections

Austria

Vienna

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

An exhaustive bibliography for each of these manuscripts is available through the ÖNB Catalogue

1. Cod. 2592, c.1365-75 (Digital). 300 x 212 mm. 59 images for *Rose*, other images accompany other texts such as the *Codicile* and *Testament*, compositions often attributed to Jean de Meun in the medieval period. This manuscript shares visual characteristics with the dateable mid-century copies featuring quadripartite incipits, as well as later fourteenth-century copies such as Bodleian Douce 332 [Cat. 159] and Bodleian e. Mus. 65 [Cat. 160], specifically in terms of background decoration. While those latter examples incorporated significant amounts of grisaille imagery, Cod. 2592 evidences a tendency for pastel colouring, dulling down the bright hues of mid-century manuscripts, which could be seen as a preface to the development of grisaille decoration in *Roses*. While the script relates to earlier fourteenth-century trends, the costumes of the figures point to a late century dating, as courtly figures in tunics and hoods interact in increasingly hilly landscapes, often framed by complex architectural canopies. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 167; Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften, und Inkunabeln der Gotik und Renaissance - mit Ausnahme der niederländischen Handschriften. 2. Englische und französische Handschriften des XIV.* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1936), 76-87).

2. Cod. 2630, c.1400-10 (Digital, Black and White Image View Only). 243 x 153 mm. 1 image for *Rose*. The incipit of the manuscript and its script points to an early fifteenth-century dating. The canopied bed of the Dreamer relates to contemporary manuscripts, while the abstract patterned background relates back to styles prevalent in the fourteenth century. Increasingly elaborate bed styles appeared in turn-of-the-century *Roses*, but took different forms. Cod. 2630's bed features elongated, quasi-architectural elements, suggesting that its model was not a typical domestic one; contemporary beds such as that in BnF fr. 380's [Cat. 86] incipit are often much less ornate. The *bâtarde* angular script and spiralling ivy leaf springing from the bar-borders also relate to *Roses* of the first decade of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is signed 'Lenormant

scripsit' at the end of the manuscript. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 167; Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften*, 3. *Französische und iberische Handschriften der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1938), 26-27).

3. Cod. 2568, c.1430-40 (Digital). 335 x 270 mm. 35 images for *Rose*, other images accompanying other texts, including the *Testament, Sept Articles de la Foi and Codicille*. While Hermann dated this to the early 1420s, the increased space given to landscape elements in the miniatures, the costumes and iconographical details accord with a slightly later dating, closer to the mid-fifteenth century. The *Personification* images reproduce an irregular detail seen in the Valencia and other early fifteenth-century manuscripts, with figures mounted on the wall or inserted into niches, which later gave way to interior scenes. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 167; Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften*, 3., 118-29).

Belgium

Brussels

Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique

i. MS 11019, first half of the fourteenth century (Langlois/Bibliothèque Royale). No images.

ii. MS 11000-3, fifteenth century (Langlois/Bibliothèque Royale). No images.

4. MS 4782, c.1315-30 (Digital/Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck). 250 x 187 mm. 21 images. Several elements in this well-preserved manuscript suggest a date comfortably into the fourteenth century, such as the costumes of the female characters – featuring a contrasting sleeves and vest-tunic combination, or the stacked-Roses formation, absent in the earliest *Roses* and present in productions until the mid-century. Langlois, Gaspar and Lyna, and De Winter dated this to the early years of the fourteenth century, though while Gaspar and Lyna suggested Paris as a point of origin, De Winter proposed Arras. However, the alterations of figural forms and iconography, as well as the miniaturisation of the images depicting the vices on the garden wall – again absent in the earliest *Roses*, but more prevalent in those of later date – would suggest this was slightly later, representing a development in the visual sequences stemming from familiarity with a settled, rather than emergent *Rose* tradition. Gaspar and Lyna suggested that a model for the illustration could be Mazarine MS 870, a *Somme le Roi* of

c.1295, and indeed the figure styles (full-coloured bodies and clothes contrasted with white plain faces with features outlined in thin ink) do appear similar between the two manuscripts. However, the application of faint features contrasted against bold bodies and clothing appears in several other *Rose* manuscripts of intermediate date (e.g. BnF fr. 378 [Cat. 41]), suggesting that this method was merely the prevailing style c.1290-1320, and that this particular *Rose* may have taken its cue from any number of other manuscripts, not solely the *Somme le Roi* indicated by Gaspar and Lyna. This manuscript was in the possession of the Dukes of Burgundy by at least 1404, as it appears in their inventories alongside several other *Rose* manuscripts. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 167; Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 255-56; De Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404): Etude sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière a l'époque du « style gothique international »* (Paris: CNRS, 1985), 210-11, Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*).

5. MS 9576, c.1325-50 (Digital/Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck) 307 x 225 mm. 23 images. This well-preserved manuscript features a luxury example of the bipartite/multiscenic incipit with the *Dreamer, Danger, Roses and Idleness in the Garden* which was popular in the second and third decades of the century before developing into a quadripartite format. Its bar borders and script relate to the first half of the 1300s, as do the architectural framing elements present in some miniatures and the stacked roses form in others. The Rouses' suggestion that this was a Parisian production aligns with the luxury nature of the production (as many patrons were at this point seeking refined manuscripts here) and the convergence of iconographic and stylistic elements present in the image cycle. There is also little reason to doubt their dating c.1325-53, though this depends on their identification of the manuscript as being the work of Richard de Montbaston. The Rouses ascribed this manuscript to the documented *libraire* Richard de Montbaston, assuming that he also had a career as an illuminator, identifiable in a separate 'autograph' manuscript, a *Legenda Aurea* BnF fr. 241, wherein Richard has written on the flyleaf: 'Richart de montbaston libraire de mourant a paris en la rue neuve notre dame fist escrire ceste legend en francois lan de grace nostre nostre seigneur mil ccco. xlviiii'.³ However, their interpretation of the phrase 'caused the writing of' this Golden Legend is troubling, and seems to me to

³ Richard de Montbaston, *libraire*, living in Paris at Rue Neuve Notre Dame, caused the writing of this legend in French, in the year of our our [sic] Lord's grace 1348.

solely point to a position as *libraire*, rather than illuminator (no mention is made of its illumination in this *explicit*). Furthermore, neither of the artistic styles in BnF fr. 241 relate to the imagery of Brussels MS 9576, and while the more prominent artist of the *Golden Legend* does appear in some of the manuscripts assigned by the Rouses to the Montbastons, there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that Richard was the illuminator of this manuscript, or indeed that he was responsible for its production as *libraire*. I would argue that the differences in script, layout and general finish (i.e. linearity, facial features, confidence in the delineation and luminous colouring) does not correspond with the majority of copies that have been previously assigned to the Montbastons. This *Rose* was potentially the one indicated in a 1405 inventory of Marguerite of Flanders (De Winter), but its first secure provenance is an appearance in the 1420 inventory of the Dukes of Burgundy. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 168; De Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi*; Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

6. MS 9574-5, c.1325-50 (Digital/Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck). 302 x 215 mm. 29 images; the *Rose* text is also accompanied by *La Châtelaine de Vergi*. This copy of the poem is proximate to several others, likely produced at the same time by one group of artisans, a group I have titled the Brussels-Lyon family. Brussels 9574-5 was likely the first, as it features a less elaborate frontispiece that relates moreso to early century representational trends. Subsequent copies appear to have varied and expanded upon select scenes while omitting others, suggesting the models were reworked with each new commission. These suggests differing interpretations were sought by the planners or patrons of the manuscripts. The presence of 'base' compositions with multiple offshoots suggests an organised enterprise, and reflects the mid-century popularity of the *Rose*, as demand for copies increased. Two of the related manuscripts are Lyon BM 763 [Cat. 31] and Rennes 243 [Cat. 102]. By the late fifteenth century, it was in the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy (Inventory of 1467-9). (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 167-68; Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 166-67; Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne*).

7. MS 9577, c.1340-60 (In Person). 297 x 210 mm. 10 images. This manuscript features the quadripartite, quadrilobed incipit form present in several dated mid-century *Roses*, as well as other illustrated manuscripts. The lower *bas-de-page* illuminations seem to make a mockery of the God of Love's presentation in typical manuscripts, as a centaur with a bow and arrow takes aim at a monkey baring his bottom. Mid-century

manuscripts occasionally featured elaborate decorative marginal motifs which may or may not have been related to the image cycles they accompanied, as with the intriguing marginalia of BnF fr. 25526 [Cat. 71]. At some point in its history, MS 9577 was divided in two. The other pages of the manuscript are held in MS 11187. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 169).

8. MS 11187, c.1340-60 (In Person). 261 x 178 cm. 17 images. This manuscript contains the remaining images of MS 9577 and is therefore dateable to the same period. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 172).

9. MS 18017, c.1425-40 (In Person). 254 x 203 mm. 101 images. This manuscript contains a large image cycle incorporating a number of elements associated with early fifteenth-century copies. The trellis-like 'premonition' of the Roses outside the Dreamer's house, the bipartite bedroom and countryside combination (also present in the Stuttgart manuscript [Cat. 112]), stylised rocky hills, sketchy drawing style and part-colouration all align with manuscripts datable to this period. Not all of the manuscript was completed – the initials lack secondary details, and the first M has been left unfinished, suggesting the images too may have required further work. However, as all of the images have been inserted in some form, it is possible gaps in the secondary decoration were simply the result of an oversight during production. The end of the poem is omitted, and the last folio appears to have suffered water damage. It is thus likely it originally would have contained more images, as the poem cuts off during Genius' speech, and images are a consistent presence before this point. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 172).

10. Van Bogaert II, c.1485-1534 (In Person). Precise measurements unknown, but it is of similar size to the small-format Egerton 2022 manuscript. 87 images. An ownership note of 1534 provides the latest terminal date for the manuscript, while its proximity to the imagery of printed editions suggests the origins for its iconography. The incipit image is an almost full page rendering of the *Dreamer and Danger* in one half of an M-shaped frame, and the *Dreamer Kneeling before Idleness* with a key in the other. This relates strongly to the incipit scenes of printed *Roses* from the 1480s, such as the edition printed by Guillaume le Roy in Lyon, ca.1487 [Cat. d]. The proximity of the iconography continues throughout, with the representation of *Jealousy Building the Castle* particularly following the prototype in the le Roy edition. However, the same images of the Syber (c.1485) and Le Roy copies reappeared in later printed editions

stretching into the sixteenth century, however, so one must account for the possibility that the copy was created any time between 1485 and 1534. This manuscript also resurrects the fashion for historiated initials which, in this small copy, appears to be a play on the miniscule nature of this book. (According to Bel and Braet's *De la Rose*, a brief notice on this manuscript appears in P. Cockshaw and G. Colin, *La Donation du Baron Van Bogaert. Choix de Cent Oeuvres*, (Brussels: La Bibliothèque, 1992).).

Ghent

University Library

iii. Hs. 713, fourteenth century (RDLR/Ghent UB). Fragment; no images.

11. Hs. 548, c.1315-30 (In Person). 255 x 155 mm. 1 image. The minimal border decoration and tight script of this manuscript suggest a date in the first half of the fourteenth century, though Langlois ascribed it to the period c.1350-75. The sole miniature represents a highly stylised Dreamer, reminiscent of the Northern and Eastern French manuscripts dating around this time, although it bears no direct visual relation to any surviving from these regions. The silver colour of the framing and roses has oxidised and faded over time. Calligraphic grotesques stem from some letters at the top of columns, and multiple notes and corrections appear in the margins. Several marginal notes are in English, indicating that it passed into English hands at some stage in its history. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 172-73).

Tournai

Bibliothèque de la Ville

12. MS 101, c.1330 (Digital/Tournai). Measurements unknown. 30 images, plus many *bas-de-page* illustrations. This copy is typically dated c.1330, and while Langlois admitted he had not seen it before proposing this date, the script and image cycle attest to this dating. The imagery is a hybrid of certain fourteenth century trends in *Rose* illumination, specifically with the garden's appearance, the personifications on the garden wall, and the major scenes within the image cycle. However, the manuscript contains the text of Gui de Mori's *Remainement*, written in the 1330s, wherein the morality of the poem was made more obvious to the readers by placing an explicitly Christian message throughout. The imagery thus deviates when necessary to incorporate elements of Gui's revised text. It features a fairly extensive sub-narrative in the *bas-de-pages* of several folios where miniatures are present in the body of the text.

These often fill in important visual gaps in the narrative flow of the framed miniatures, and sometimes illustrate some of the more risqué aspects of Jean's narrative omitted from the framed images. Furthermore, the identification of both the artists and scribes as resident in and around Tournai, a hub at some distance from the Parisian and Northern French regions typically responsible for *Rose* production, also provides some reason for the divergences from common iconographies. Walters and others (notably François Avril) believe this manuscript to be the output of a collaboration between the Master of the Ghent Ceremonial and Pierart dou Tielt, and Walters in particular believes this latter figure to have also been responsible for Copenhagen GKS 2061-4°. As the Copenhagen edition appears to be of later date, it is probable that if indeed produced by Pierart, it came much later in his career. The divergences in visual iconography between these two editions further suggest that Pierart or his planners were not attempting to recreate the Tournai manuscript, as it features far less imagery both in terms of formal miniatures or marginalia. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 173; Walters, (with reference to Avril), in *De La Rose*, 207-70; Valentini, *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 78 and 151).

Denmark

Copenhagen

Det Kongelige Bibliotek

iv. NKS 63.2°, late fourteenth or fifteenth century (In Person/Langlois). Gaps only.

v. Thott 412.2°, written 1503, Brussels (In Person/Langlois). Referred to by Langlois as Fr. LVII. This copy, while unillustrated, is a useful example of the *Rose's* reception at the turn of the century, as the incipit reads: 'Et fut escript a Bruxelles en lan mil cinq teni et fcon e de la main de Didier Boisot piyes dieu xo lui'. The scribal investment in the manuscript is also evidenced by the continuous annotation that appears throughout with initials starting each new segment, line gaps, headings above columns, and script in the margins. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 178).

13. GKS 2061-4°, c.1350-70 (In Person/Langlois/Valentini). 247 x 170 mm. 1 framed miniature, marginal decoration and drolleries. Referred to by Langlois as Fr. LV. Langlois believed a number of Gui de Mori's omissions from his *Remanement* appeared in the text from line 18,943, and is included in Valentini's list of manuscripts featuring Gui's reworked text. Both the miniature and surrounding imagery on fol. 1r supports a

mid-century dating for this manuscript. The ivy leaf is thicker, while *bas-de-pages* begin to complement formalised miniatures from the second decade of the fourteenth century. The nature of some of the drolleries somewhat reflect the *Rose*: a figure writing on a long scroll in the right hand corner suggests a reference to Guillaume, as he shares his red beard with the ginger hair of the sleeping figure in the miniature. Other elements of the drolleries appear to relate to folly and danger: a man and a wild figure embracing on a galloping horse, a dwarfish character wielding a club, and a monkey doing a handstand. In this respect, they reflect a subdued but relevant tradition for using the *bas-de-page* to somehow comment upon the poem, or supplement the visual imagery. Walters related this to an artist believed to have worked on an earlier edition of Gui de Mori's *Remainement*, Pierart dou Tielt (of Tournai MS 101, Cat. 12). (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 175-77; Walters, in *De la Rose*; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

14. NKS 166.4° c.1420-50, although numerous inconsistencies in the iconography provide reason to suspect this dating (In Person). Measurements unknown. 19 images. This manuscript has lost the first section of the poem, where most images are to be found in *Rose* manuscripts. As many pages feature rubbed or faded text, or wrinkling to the surface, it appears to have suffered some water damage, which may also have been responsible for the lost opening pages. While the script appears to point to a later fourteenth or early fifteenth century dating, the imagery does not easily correlate with any copies dating from that period of time. The closest relation is to manuscripts that were left incomplete, with only sketched scenes. The iconography of many elements is unusual, for example Danger is often represented clutching a machete. Furthermore, the figures commonly cross the frames of the miniatures, and appear to have been drawn before these boundaries were outlined. Typically, rubbed or erased miniatures reveal the outlines of miniature frames to have been drawn in first, followed by the outlines of figures and architecture, not vice-versa. This is therefore dissimilar to working processes visible in manuscripts of the period in question. It is possible that this manuscript was completed by an atypical producer, with little knowledge or desire to follow traditional methods of illumination production. Or, this cycle represents the work of someone attempting to recreate a medieval image style at a later date. As a number of pages have been restored, with pastes over holes and additions to make the pages completely rectangular, it is possible the image cycle was added during a programme of restoration of the manuscript in the post-medieval period. (See N.C.L.

Abrahams, *Description des Manuscrits Francais du Moyen Age de la Bibliotheque Royale de Copenhague* (Copenhagen: Imprimerie de Thiele, 1844), 140 for a very basic description of the manuscript).

France

Albi

Bibliothèque Municipale

15. Rohegude 103, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 300 x 200 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 16 images for *Rose*. The bipartite, internally divided incipit to this manuscript relates to a number of contemporary manuscripts which incorporate the first major development from the single-scene incipits of the earliest *Roses*. The forms of the figures, script and decoration also point to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, including a multiscenic aspect in the first image. This manuscript is incomplete; a later hand, in addition to writing additional notes at the head of the original text, has copied in the missing text from line 22,345. As noted within the Brussels MS 9576 catalogue entry [Cat. 5], the supposition that Richard was an illuminator as well as a *libraire* has little evidence to support it. Given the visual contrast of Rohegude 103 to the imagery of the Montbaston *Golden Legend*, it is clear a different artist was responsible; while they may also have been contracted by the Montbastons at an early stage in their *libraire* career, there is no indication this was physically made by 'Richard de Montbaston'. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 96; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

Amiens

Bibliothèque Municipale

16. MS 437, c.1305-25 (Digital/RDLR). 281 x 203 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 2 images for *Rose*; the poem is accompanied by *Le Miserere* and *Le Roman de Charité* by the Reclus of Molliens, each with one image. Both images for the *Rose* are historiated initials, a rarer but occasional means of imaging in early fourteenth-century copies of the poem. The manner of the figures' forms, script style, and the unusual nature of the hybrid creatures in the border frames suggests it was designed and produced by a workshop unused to *Rose* production, as it does not partake of many contemporary traditions for its imagery. Langlois notes instances of Picardy dialect in the text, raising that region as a possible origin point. Its resurrection of the thirteenth-century fashion

for historiated initials, alongside the style of figures suggests a date early in the fourteenth century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 96-98).

Arras

Bibliothèque Municipale

17. MS 897, c.1370-90 (Digital/RDLR). (Measurements in Langlois unreliable). 45 images. This manuscript features the date 1369 on the first folio, although this was written in a more modern hand in an unusual position on the initial page, and therefore is not a contemporary guide to its actual date. While the first miniature has been completely filled in with paint, the secondary scenes have only been partially coloured, the majority in green, black and red, with some accents of blue or yellow. These colours all appear in the incipit image, and there is a clear correlation between the figures and landscape elements between all the images, showing that the initial design and illumination occurred at the same time as the other scenes. Once more, the text relates to the *bâtarde* script of the majority of later century *Roses*, and this along with the fact that iconographical additions appear, including the plinth or wall-mounting of the personifications, multiscenic representations of plot-points, and the upgrading of Narcissus' fountain to a more substantial walled-in structure suggest that a dating c.1369 is not wholly incorrect. Previously shelfmarked as MS 587. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 110-16).

18. MS 845, c.1375-1390 (Digital/RDLR). (Measurements in Langlois unreliable). 5 images alongside *Rose* excerpts, some accompanying other texts. This copy is something of an anomaly in the *Rose* corpus: rather than containing the full *Rose*, it instead comprises extracts, prefaced by a three-quarter-page miniature of the *Castle of Jealousy*, the *Guardians of the Rose* and the *Dreamer Lamenting his Separation from Responsiveness*. Other extracts from the poem are accompanied by smaller miniatures. This manuscript appears to point to a planner or patron interested only in select parts of the poem alongside other excerpts from different tales, though the cycle is homogenous throughout. The script is more akin to those of the early fourteenth-century, although the imagery is more hybrid. The short tunic of the Dreamer, washed-in painting style of the smaller images, and priority granted to large introductory miniatures at the head of new texts point to a date in the latter half of the century. Previously shelfmarked as MS 532. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 98-116).

Besançon

Bibliothèque Municipale

vi. Besançon 553, c.1350-1400 (Digital/RDLR). 320 x 254 mm. Incomplete images. While few clues suggest an exact dating, the script points to the latter half of the century. The text features extensions to the 'l' and 's' forms that extend much higher and lower than the central register, also incorporating a slight slant to the right that would continue in fifteenth-century French scripts. However, it still incorporates a prominent gap between the first and following letters of each line. This suggests, along with the atypical decorative scheme present in manuscripts of Northern and Eastern French origin, such as BnF fr. 1576 [Cat. 55] that it predates the fifteenth century. Langlois provided a further clue to support a later-fourteenth century dating: the manuscript, written in a homogenous script style and with gaps throughout, was clearly written at one time. Included among the texts is a Latin translation of Jean de Meun's *Codicille*, which only circulated in manuscripts of the latter half of the 1300s, restricting its dating to this period, and not earlier. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 117-20).

Chalon-sur-Saône

Bibliothèque Municipale

19. MS 33, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 308 x 223 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 1 image (historiated initial) for *Rose*, another accompanies the *Testament*. The border decoration of this manuscript points more clearly to its date, featuring denser ivy-leaf than earlier copies, but still lacking the fuller form of those from the later decades of the century. The miniature of the Dreamer in bed beside stacked Roses similarly points to a date in the first half of the 1300s, as this seems to have been a development from the earlier wide rosebush forms. The presence of a historiated initial is rather antiquated at this time, hearkening back to twelfth and thirteenth century tropes for manuscript decoration. This represents one of a handful of manuscripts that reintroduce the historiated initial format for *Rose* decoration during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 121).

Châlons-en-Champagne

Bibliothèque Municipale

20. MS 270, c.1320-40 (Digital/RDLR). 316 x 226 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 29 images, none accompanying the following texts. According to the Châlons Municipal

Library, it was undertaken by a Picard copyist called 'Pierre', active around 1320. This manuscript features an atypical incipit with an unusual wall structure in the centre, dividing the picture space into two distinct spaces. Bar borders and ivy leaf decoration more securely relate this manuscript to contemporary productions of the third and fourth decades of the century. The architectural decorations present in certain miniatures relate more so to those found dividing quadripartite incipits in manuscripts of the mid-century, suggesting a hybrid form incorporating older and newer iconographic elements and pointing to a date in the second quarter of the century. Langlois referred to this manuscript as being in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Chalons-sur-Marne. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 121-22; Cécile Ribot, "La représentation iconographique d'un roman allégorique: Le Roman de la Rose de Guillaume de Lorris et de Jean de Meun(g) dans trois manuscrits enluminés du XIVe siècle: Bodmer 79, Châlons-en-Champagne 270 et Lyon 763", (PhD diss., 2011). Unseen/Unpublished).

Chantilly

Musée Conde

vii. MS 484, fifteenth century (Chantilly). Prose edition. No images.

21. MS 483, c.1325-50 (In Person). 293 x 203 mm. 75 images. This heavily illuminated manuscript features certain elements pointing to the artisan's familiarity with MS BnF fr. 1567 [Cat. 57], particularly in the figure of Danger and the architectural framing of some miniatures. It is possible that the collaboration was an artisanal as well as a model-based one, as peculiarities of the ivy-leaf borders are present in both manuscripts. The two manuscripts thus appear to have been of similar date, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and were clearly both for affluent patrons. This manuscript, like its partner, features much heraldry and has almost as many images as BnF fr. 1567. Referred to by Langlois under its old shelfmark, MS 1480. (Duc d'Aumale, *Le Cabinet des Livres Manuscrits of the Château de Chantilly*. Introduction by Henri d'Orléans. (Paris: Plon, 1900); Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 95).

22. MS 480 c.1330-50 (In Person). 290 x 184 mm. 1 image, preparation for some *Personifications*, many gaps for uncompleted images (*Rose* text only). The single image of this manuscript is atypical, with a lightly coloured image painted directly on the vellum without a formalised frame. The over-the-wall view into the garden is unusual but not unknown; it appears in certain miniatures within Tournai 101 [Cat. 12], a copy

of Gui de Mori's *Recension*, c.1330, and BL Egerton 1069 [Cat. 151]. The iconography harkens back to earlier Apocalypse or Biblical imagery of dreams, dividing the Dreamer from the content of their Dream. This 'nostalgic' irregularity combined with the tight script suggests a dating from second quarter of the fourteenth century, originating from a workshop not yet accustomed to producing *Roses* (hence the original incipit iconography) and apparently not involved in any others, but perhaps with access to or involvement in traditional Biblical illuminated manuscripts. Referred to by Langlois under its old shelfmark, MS 686. (Duc d'Aumale, *Le Cabinet des Livres*; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 93-94).

23. MS 481, c.1345-55 (In Person). 275 x 181 mm. 31 images. Referred to by Langlois under its old shelfmark MS 664. The text includes the character of Pride, from Gui de Mori's earlier *Remainement*. This copy features the quadripartite opening miniature popular at the turn of the mid-fourteenth century. It appears to have emerged from the previous bipartite style evident in manuscripts like Lyon PA 23 [Cat. 29] and Arsenal 5226 [Cat. 69], particularly given the styling of the figure of Danger in the first section of the image, as well as its bar bordering and sparse ivy leaf marginal decoration, which relate to earlier trends. Langlois suggested that it dated c.1350-75, however the extent to which it borrows from earlier works, and its relation to productions of the second quarter of the 14th century suggests an earlier dating. The omission of the medallion decoration that typifies the majority of mid-century datable quadripartite incipit manuscripts also suggests it was created at a point where the medallions were not yet popular. This manuscript is the first of the Rouses' supposed 'Montbaston' group to actually bear resemblance in the figures to those of the *Legenda Aurea*, BnF fr. 241. This is particularly evident in hairstyles, figural forms and shapes, and general approach to colouring; therefore, I would consider this to be a work overseen by the documented *libraires* Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (though not to assume their involvement in it artistically). Nonetheless, it attests to the variety in manuscripts produced by artists affiliated with the Montbastons. (Duc d'Aumale, *Le Cabinet des Livres*; Langlois *Les Manuscrits*, 92; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

24. MS 482, c.1340-70 (In Person). 277 x 197 mm. 48 images. Referred to by Langlois under its old shelfmark MS 665. This manuscript features the common quadripartite opening incipit of the mid-century, in this instance accompanied not only by medallions in the margins, but figures holding shields, reminiscent of the scenes depicting the

battle of the personifications in *Rose* manuscripts. These seem to be an elaboration of the medallion-and-shield border decorations present in contemporary *Roses*. There also appears to be a disjunction between the incipit and the majority of the following images. While the incipit shows carefully rendered buildings, trees and backgrounds that relate to visual styles present in later fourteenth-century *Roses*, other images in the manuscript, such as that on fol. 26v, present a style more reminiscent of the early to mid-fourteenth century; in particular, the *Legenda Aurea* overseen by Richard de Montbaston, BnF fr. 241. This suggests that the frontispiece was finished later than the rest of the manuscript, and that the incipit folio was left incomplete – possibly a model relevant to others, such as BnF fr. 25526 which also features a different incipit style. The copy's general imagery relates to the prior entry, Chantilly MS 481, and may have been produced by the same artist in the employ of the Montbastons. (Duc d'Aumale, *Le Cabinet des Livres*; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 92-93; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

25. MS 479, c.1350-1400 (text), image on fol. 1r c.1480-1519 (In Person). 226 x 165 mm. 1 image, gaps for others – an unillustrated text also follows the *Rose*. Langlois refers to this copy by its old shelfmark, MS 911. This manuscript shows evidence of disjointed work over the course of two centuries. The first stage saw the completion of the text and initials in the late fourteenth century, while at a later date the gap for an incipit was filled in. This image represents the Dreamer reclining in a rose enclosure, clutching a rosebud. Rose enclosures featured in illuminations of the poem from the early fifteenth century, although the landscape and dress of the Dreamer point to a date close to the end of the 1400s, or just into the 1500s. This image may have been undertaken specially, prior to its presentation as a gift in 1519, which is described at the foot of fol. 1r: 'Antonio Papilioni donauit Nicolaus Frater Canonius Turon. Turone – Cal. Maxt. An. Do. M.D.XIX.' However, this secondary period of work was not intended to 'finish' the manuscript, as many other gaps large enough for images – each around 11 lines deep – have been left empty. Chantilly's own records make no reference to the two separate periods of work, merely designating it thirteenth century, and while Langlois ascribes the text to the early fourteenth century, he is more correct in proposing the fifteenth century for the image. The manuscript also contains an inserted passage from Gui de Mori's *Remainement* on a small folio between fols. 6-7. (Duc d'Aumale, *Le Cabinet des Livres*; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 94-95 ; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

Dijon

Bibliothèque Municipale

viii. MS 525, written c.1355-62 (Langlois/RDLR). Images removed.

26. MS 526, c.1275-1300 (Digital/RDLR). 207 x 143 mm. 1 image for *Roman de la Rose*; many others accompanying its companion texts, several of which are by the Amiens author Richard de Fournival. The script and decorative flourishes in blue and red relate to texts proposed as originating in Arras from the late thirteenth century, such as BnF fr. 350, or Yates Thomson 15, a town where manuscript production is attested to at this time. In terms of *Rose* iconography, this single image is incongruous with contemporaneous productions, such as BnF fr. 378 or Urb. Lat. 376 [Cats. 41 and 116] as it features only the Dreamer. This implies that the producer or *libraire* was unfamiliar with prevailing trends for *Rose* illumination, instead relying on the textual reference to Dreamers in the opening lines. The single image contrasts with a high number of images throughout the four Richard de Fournival texts, suggesting the producers were more familiar with the standard iconography of de Fournival manuscripts than *Roses* which had been around for some 25 years when this copy went into production. The choice of texts within this manuscript also suggest a date somewhat prior to the mid-fourteenth-century peak in *Rose* popularity: copies of de Fournival texts were less common companions to *Roses* by the mid-1300s, by which point *Roses* were also being bound as standalone texts, rather than in compilations. These factors point to a date c.1275-1300, at the outset of *Rose* manuscript production, and allude to the swift popularity of the poem after Jean finished his extension. Langlois identified the scribe's dialect as Picard, while Stones suggested an origin of the visual imagery in Arras, as the illuminator is traceable in liturgical works produced for the region. (Langlois, "Quelques œuvres de Richard de Fournival", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1904): 102-15; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 125-126, Stones, *A Survey of Manuscripts*).

Draguignan

Bibliothèque Municipale

27. MS 17, c.1330-50 (Digital/BVMM). Length 228 mm (digital view), width 174mm according to Langlois. 13 images. This manuscript bears some similarities to *Roses* of the second quarter of the century, specifically Rennes 243 [Cat. 102], one of a group I

have names the 'Brussels-Lyon' family, and which shared both artists and compositional models. While Rennes' frontispiece relates it artistically to Brussels 9574-5 [Cat. 6] and Lyon 763 [Cat. 31], the Draguignan manuscript only features similarities with the majority artists of Rennes, with their linear forms, and a predilection for tonsured Dreamers. This could suggest that the Draguignan manuscript was a further production of the Rennes group, who also had access to the Brussels-Lyon manuscript models, but not the artist(s) responsible for the Rennes, Brussels and Lyon incipits. The 'Institut de recherché et d'histoire des textes' (IRHT) describes this manuscript as dating from the first quarter of the century. Its relation to the Brussels-Lyon family pushes it further towards the mid-century, as those manuscripts bear evidence of developments beyond the early years of the 1300s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 126).

Grenoble

Bibliothèque Municipale

28. MS 864 Rés, c.1490-1509. (Measurements Unknown). 88 images. This copy of the *Rose* is a late fifteenth-century example of the rare trend for self-illustration, or at least images that did not apparently originate in an illuminator's workshop. The scenes present in this manuscript are drawn in ink, within sketchily drawn frames, typically on otherwise blank pages between sections of text. The scenes incorporate traditional motifs found in earlier *Roses*, but are drawn as ink sketches, not as preparatory outlines to be later painted over. The image cycle thus relates to a manuscript such as BnF fr. 12592 [Cat. 82], which appears to have been decorated by its scribe. The manuscript also features clues as to its date of completion, as it references the birth of a son in 1509. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 127-28).

Lyon

Bibliothèque Municipale

29. PA 23, c.1325-40 (Digital/RDLR). 258 x 192 mm (Measurements from Langlois). 16 images. This manuscript features a bipartite incipit relating to a larger group of *Roses* including manuscripts in the BnF [Cat. 58], The Hague [Cat. 121] and Edinburgh [Cat. 142]. However, it further expresses the variation in that group of copies given the divergent figure of Danger, here sporting wild grey hair. Furthermore, the figures also indicate an artist separate from the sphere of the artists responsible for the Edinburgh and BnF fr. 802 copies, suggesting that those models, or intermediary copies, circulated

widely between different artists. The artist of this Lyon example appears to have been responsible for another *Rose* featuring a different type of incipit: BnF Arsenal 5226 [Cat. 69], further revealing artisanal variety in the image cycles created by the same workers. It also relates strongly to the work overseen by Richard de Montbaston, BnF fr. 241, especially in the presence of a secondary type of figure profile, present on fol. 3r kneeling before Hate, with a squat, almost caricatured nose-shape; an exact counterpart is present on fol. 329 of the *Golden Legend* BnF fr. 241. This is one of the copies with the strongest relationship to the Montbaston 'autograph' manuscript, and while it is unlikely that Richard completed the images in both copies (as the Rouses assume), the artist may have been hired by the Montbastons. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 131; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

30. PA 24, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 292 x 206 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 4 images. This manuscript lacks its opening folios, resulting in the first image being that of *Shame and Fear Waking Danger*. This may explain the low number of images, as by this point it has bypassed most of the popularly illustrated scenes in Guillaume's section of the poem. There are visual echoes of the iconography of the Brussels-Lyon grouping in the surviving imagery, particularly with the styling of the tonsured poet on fol. 22r and the accompanying architectural arches in the framing. The visual forms echo the Rennes and Draguignan copies moreso than the Lyon and Brussels copies, suggesting that it was either another production by those artists, or by others with access to their models. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 131-32).

31. MS 763, c.1330-50 (Digital/RDLR). 291 x 205 mm (Measurement from Langlois) 22 images. This manuscript relates both to Brussels 9574-5 and the other manuscripts comprising a series I have named the Brussels-Lyon family which shared models, if not artists, during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In this copy, the incipit has been altered with the inclusion of a trellis, suggesting it was a later alteration of the standard trope present in the Brussels manuscript. Throughout, some scenes have been dropped from the Brussels version, perhaps in order to reduce overall cost. However, given the alterations in some iconographic elements the changes may also have been due to the desire to reinterpret the visual cycle. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 130).

32. MS 764, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 273 x 200 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 6 sketches in gaps left for images. This manuscript appears to date from a period around that of the *Rose's* peak popularity. Although the images were never completed, several

sketches and light applications of paint appear on its pages. These stylistically point to the first half of the fourteenth century, alongside the indications of the scriptural style. The incomplete images reflect fourteenth-century conventions for the imagery of the personifications, suggesting that they were begun contemporaneously with the script before the copy was abandoned, and not added in a later period as was the case with several other manuscripts. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 130-31).

33. PA 25, c.1490-1520 (Digital/RDLR). 272 x 193 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 74 images. The first image of this *Rose* was later removed, though the rest of the images remain. The script is an elaborate ornamental form of the late-fifteenth to early sixteenth century, while the images are almost 'sketchy' in nature, with hues of brown and grey used to form the figures, and the colour of the vellum allowed to shine through. This recollects the *grisaille* manuscripts from the end of the fourteenth century, as well as a more elaborate *camaïeu-brun* version, MS Egerton 2022 [Cat. 154]. The copy has little in common with contemporaneous manuscripts of the *Rose*. However, the details of the dress of the figures, the labelling of the images, and the selection of scenes recall other manuscripts of this period at the turn of the century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 132).

Marne

Archives Départementales de la Marne

ix. MS 3, fifteenth century (Digital/RDLR) Fragment, no images.

Marseille

Bibliothèque Municipale

x. MS 1107 (also referred to as 200 073) c.1365-1400 (Langlois/RDLR) No images.

Meaux

Bibliothèque Luxembourg

34. MS 52, c.1330-50 (In Person/Digital/BVMM). 346 x 242 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 28 images. This copy bears some relation to the Arsenal 3338 [Cat. 61] and Dusseldorf [Cat. 109] incipit scenes, however it does not appear to be the work of the same group of artists. Its visual style relates strongly to the artisans of BL Stowe 947 [Cat. 148], suggesting a similar timeline of production, if not the same group of artists. In some respects, it echoes the iconography of the variant Tournai manuscript. Similar

to contemporary manuscripts, the incipit dominates the opening folio, while the smaller scenes throughout also relate to copies made in the same period. These following images are more akin to those of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, with static figures set in frames with architectural detailing. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 133-34).

Montpellier

Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier

xi. H.438, written c.1330 (Langlois). No images.

35. H.246, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 275 x 195 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 75 images. This copy of the *Rose* is proximate to Morgan M.372 [Cat. 176] particularly in the frontispiece, although the overall imagery of both manuscripts is not an exact match between the two manuscripts. Given the larger and more polished nature of this copy, it is possible that this was utilised by the artists of the Morgan partner to fulfil another, less elaborate commission. This variation of given examples perhaps reflects the sharp rise in popularity of the *Rose* during the fourteenth century, evidenced by a large number of similar-looking manuscripts from the second quarter of the 1300s that were likely the outcome of such exemplar-based commissioning structures (i.e. the Lyon-Brussels group). Factors pointing to the aforementioned date are the somewhat traditional elements in the scene choice and styles of the figures, the frontispiece, and the simpler bar-border and sparse ivy-leaf marginalia. These elements appear closer to the *Roses* of the late-thirteenth century than the mid-fourteenth. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 135-37).

36. H.245, c.1350-70 (Digital/RDLR) 305 x 216 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 41 images. This manuscript appears to contain a development of the mid-fourteenth-century quadripartite incipit. This has been elaborated upon with architectural framing around the separate miniatures, while the scenes themselves reflect the increasingly intricate backgrounds, thinner figures, and new dress styles of the latter half of the century. These elements are retained in the images throughout the manuscript, leaving one to deduce that, unlike some other manuscripts with elaborate images on the first folio, this was completed at the one time by the same group of artists. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 134-35).

Paris

Archives nationales

xii. Archives de la Côte-d'Or A, fourteenth century (RDLR/Roques Six double folios from a *Rose*, with two miniatures: 1) Dreamer with an arrow in the eye, 2) *The House of Fortune*. Unseen.

xiii. Archives de la Côte-d'Or B, fifteenth century (RDLR/Roques). One double folio with two miniatures: 1) *Genius and Nature*, 2) *Sermon of Genius*. Unseen

xiv. Archives de la Côte-d'Or C, fifteenth century (RDLR/Roques). Two double folios, no images.

xv. Archives du Doubs D, fifteenth century (RDLR/Roques) Fragment, no images.

xvi. Manuscript of the Archives de la Haute-Loire, fourteenth to fifteenth century (RDLR/Roques). Part of a double folio, no images.

Assemblée Nationale

37. MS 1230, c.1335-50 (Digital/RDLR). 300 x 214 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 24 images. This copy of the *Rose* relates to the BL Stowe 947 [Cat. 148] and Munich manuscripts [Cat. 111], although the picture space of the incipit has been extended, potentially the result of an over-zealous scribe leaving extra room for the image. The following images are typical of the period, though additional details appear in several scenes. This manuscript thus testifies to the continuous variation in manuscripts sharing common sources and models. Langlois referred to this manuscript under its previous shelfmark, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés 1230. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 87).

Bibliothèque de l'Institut

xvii. Godefroy 209, fifteenth century (Langlois/Valentini) Incomplete images. Text features some interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*.

Bibliothèque Mazarine

xviii. MS 3681/6 (f.LV vo), 6 (f.LXXVII vo), 1544. (Langlois/Calames) Extracts of *Rose* in a philosophical and alchemical work, no reference to images.

38. MS 3874, c.1325-50 (Digital). 274 x 200 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 17 images. Although the left side of the incipit scene seems to relate to turn-of-the-century trends in iconography, the shifting of the Roses into an asymmetrical format, larger borders and extended ivy leaf decoration suggest a date further into the fourteenth century. As Langlois states, the scribe was from Picardy (which is also evident in the irregular calligraphic formation of the script, not just its dialect), and may help explain the less common bipartite pairing of the *Dreamer Asleep* and *Dreamer Walking in the Countryside* incipit. The rendering of the figures throughout also varies from the mass-produced *Roses* of the period, with exaggeratedly thin, sketchy figures. However, the dress of the figures aligns with costumes present in manuscripts of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. According to Langlois, some of the folios have been inverted during binding, meaning several scenes appear out of order in the manuscript. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 84-85)

39. MS 3873, c.1330-50 (Digital). 275 x 203 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 17 images. This manuscript's incipit features a progression from early-fourteenth-century tropes for representation, with an extended bipartite and multiscenic scene featuring full-length *Personifications*. It relates to the full-size representations of the personifications in the Tournai manuscript, though in a different configuration. The *Personifications* appear a second time in single-scene images, as in earlier manuscripts, although the shift wherein they are represented as part of the wall was one that continued well into the fifteenth century. It appears to be an early form of this change, given the angular script, figure styles and sparse border detailing. However, it is not difficult to see the natural progression towards this layout given the bipartite *Dreamer and Garden Wall* scenes from the earlier decades of the century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 83-84).

40. Mazarine 3872, c.1390-1410 (Digital). 347 x 255 mm. 18 images. The first folios of this manuscript are missing, meaning the first image is *Narcissus Beside the Fountain*. The execution of this manuscript is rather loose, with *grisaille* and colour combined with plain vellum backgrounds, and with light and sketchy forms barely containing the colours applied over them. It nonetheless retains the dresses, subject material and iconography of late-fourteenth-century *Roses*, despite the alternative production methods. Such washed-in style image cycles occurred in manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, suggesting a slightly later date for this copy than the 1390s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 83).

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

A selective bibliography for most of these manuscripts appears within their respective entries on the BnF Archives et Manuscrits digital site

- xix. BnF fr. 1573, late thirteenth century (Digital/RDLR). No images intended.
- xx. BnF fr. 2196, first half fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR). One image, later removed.
- xxi. Arsenal 2872, fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR). Excerpts of *Rose* included in a collection of writings; no images.
- xxii. Arsenal 2988, fourteenth century (Langlois/BnF Archives et Manuscrits). 62 images. Unseen.
- xxiii. Arsenal 3337, 1390 (Langlois/RDLR) One gap for an image on incipit folio. The manuscript is also located to Sully-sur-Loire in the dated colophon on fol. 123r.
- xxiv. BnF nouv. acq. lat. 718, fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR) No images. Three fragments used as flyleaves for a Breviary.
- xxv. BnF nouv. acq. fr. 11387, fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR) No images. Missing start of poem.
- xxvi. BnF nouv. acq. fr. 20001, fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR) No images. One leaf of a *Rose* in a collection of fragments.
- xxvii. BnF fr. 12786, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR) Gaps; images left incomplete. While no information points to a precise date for the manuscript, its proximity to contemporary completed *Roses* suggests a date approaching the mid-fourteenth-century. This is evident in the tight vertical script, two column layout and an open-bipartite image intended for the first folio. Notably, it is the sole exemplar containing only Guillaume's text, further pointing to an early dating when Jean's continuation may not have been ubiquitously present for copying purposes.
- xxviii. BnF fr. 12594, c.1335-65 (Langlois/RDLR) No images.
- xxix. BnF fr. 2194, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) One gap for an image, left incomplete.

- xxx. BnF fr. 2195, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) No images for *Rose*, two for accompanying *Roman de Fauvel* text.
- xxxi. BnF fr. 1568, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) No images, none intended.
- xxxii. BnF fr. 1571, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Images removed.
- xxxiii. BnF fr. 15109, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Images not completed.
- xxxiv. Paris BnF nouv. acq. fr. 5094, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Fragments of a *Rose* bound with other fragmentary texts of varying date. No images.
- xxxv. BnF fr. 807, late fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Images not completed.
- xxxvi. BnF nouv. acq. fr. 934, fourteenth and fifteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Two fragments of two *Rose* manuscripts (fols. 17-20) alongside other fragmentary texts in a modern binding. No images.
- xxxvii. BnF fr. 814, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) No images.
- xxxviii. BnF fr. 24436, late fourteenth or fifteenth century (Digital/RDLR). Excerpts included in a collection of texts, no images.
- xxxix. BnF fr. 12591, c.1400-50 (Langlois/RDLR). 272 x 205 mm. Images unfinished. The text largely points to a dating in the first half of the fifteenth century, including guidelines for the rubricators throughout some but not all of the folios, suggesting multiple figures at work. The first folio of the poem was replaced after 1526, as the text incorporates that of Clement Marot's *Recension*, completed in that year. This replacement page imitates the unfinished nature of the rest of the manuscript by leaving a gap for an image (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 45).
- xl. BnF fr. 25525, 1402 (Langlois/RDLR) Incomplete images.
- xli. BnF fr. 1562, fifteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) No images intended.
- xlii. BnF fr. 12590, fifteenth century (Langlois/RDLR/Valentini) No images intended. First folio replaced. Features small interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*.
- xliii. BnF fr. 19155, fifteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Images not completed.

xliv. BnF fr. 806, fifteenth century (Digital/RDLR). Manuscript missing start of poem, no images.

xlv. Arsenal 3336, c.1450-1500 (Langlois/RDLR). This manuscript was presumably intended to be a lavishly decorated prose copy of the *Rose*, but its images were never completed (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 75-76).

xlvi. BnF fr. 1462, late fifteenth century (Digital/RDLR) Prose copy. Images not completed.

xlvii. BnF fr. 3939, sixteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Several verses only, no images.

xlviii. Arsenal 2989, eighteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Copy prepared for impression from BnF fr. 12594 (Omitted on account of date).

xlix. Arsenal 6045, eighteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Copy prepared for printing with notes for Méon's edition of the poem (Omitted on account of date).

l. Arsenal 5871, eighteenth century (Langlois/BnF Archives et Manuscrits/RDLR) Collection of manuscripts with extracts from old romances, including an annotated section of a printed *Rose* (Omitted on account of date).

li. Arsenal 6818, eighteenth century (Langlois/BnF Archives et Manuscrits/RDLR) Autograph copy by Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon, comparing two *Rose* manuscripts (Omitted on account of date).

41. BnF fr. 378, c.1280-90 (Digital/RDLR). 365 x 270 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 28 images for the *Rose*, others for accompanying texts. Based on the image cycle's compositional proximity to Urb. Lat. 376 [Cat. 116] as well as stylistic analogies with late thirteenth-century Parisian illumination, this manuscript belongs to the earliest period of *Rose* production. However, while possibly originating in the same workshop as Urb. Lat. 376, the copy features variations that point to the reduced scale of the commission, as the characteristic gold of the Vatican copy is conspicuously absent from the images of this manuscript. This is combined with the sharp reduction in *Rose* images, though the poem appears alongside other decorated texts of contemporary date. Variation also occurs in the iconography of the image cycle, with different scenes included than those in Urb. Lat. 376 despite the reduced number of

images, and the use of different visual tropes for objects such as trees. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 3-5; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 146).

42. BnF fr. 1569, c.1290-1310 (Digital/RDLR). 270 x 190 mm. 25 images for *Rose*, none for the accompanying text *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*. This manuscript's sparse border decoration, elongated figures and decorated backgrounds have much in common with *Rose* manuscripts dateable to the early years of the fourteenth century. However, the iconography and visual characteristics diverge from contemporary *Roses*, unrelated to the typical styles of luxury or more sparsely illuminated vernacular copies. Both an unidentified scholar writing on the flyleaf and Langlois suggest that the copyist was negligent, most notably in their confusion of Guillaume de Lorris with the figure referenced by Jean de Meun, Guillaume de Saint-Amour. However, most of the images are sensitive to their immediate contexts, implicating the presence of a conscientious designer who created visual responses to the text but was not involved in correcting the scribe's mistakes. This copy dates to a period when iconography was established independently in several copies before the fourteenth-century market for these manuscripts led to more similar image cycles in *Roses*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 25-26; Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the Romance of the Rose", 53).

43. BnF fr. 1559, c.1290-1310 (Digital/RDLR). 285 x 205 mm. 21 illuminations for *Rose*. This manuscript bears a strong relation to Urb. Lat. 376 and BnF fr. 378 in terms of composition and iconography, however it was executed in a style different to those two manuscripts. It also relates to other manuscripts which share its less crisp visual forms; BnF fr. 12589 and BnF fr. 9345 [Cats. 44 and 45], though the number of images in those manuscripts vary immensely. Many images suggest that Urb. Lat. 376 was the primary model, or perhaps inspired an intermediate copy, as the forms of the trees relate strongly to the Vatican manuscript, and are unlike those of BnF Fr. 378. As the layout and iconography seem to derive from the fuller programme of Urb. Lat. 376, it is posited that this copy is of later date. While it refers to late thirteenth century trends, the reworking of *Danger* suggests a reformation of the early tradition, as occurred in *Roses* more securely dated to the fourteenth century. A date straddling the turn of the century is thus most likely for this manuscript, as it has not quite attained the level of visual difference that characterises copies of the 1310s-20s. The manuscript was the work of two or more artists, as the delicate facial features appear at odds with the bolder details of the figures and backgrounds, suggesting perhaps that the artist of the preceding manuscript(s) of the *Rose* was involved here, perhaps in conjunction with

artists of a different artisanal or regional background. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 16; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 185).

44. BnF fr. 12589, c.1290-1310 (Digital/RDLR). 290 x 200 mm. 13 images for *Rose*. This manuscript is proximate to BnF fr. 1559 in terms of the composition of scenes and visual characteristics. As this copy lacks the opening folios, instead beginning with *Envy*, it is also likely to have contained five additional scenes originally – four personifications and an incipit. This also makes the manuscript a comparable production to BnF fr. 1559, featuring a relatively low number of images. Comparison of the figure types and landscapes suggest that the same artists worked on both copies, most likely with the same materials, as the gold of the backgrounds in both has deteriorated and scuffed in a similar manner. This shared workmanship does not appear to extend to the scribe, as the text of fr. 1559 is thicker and shorter. This could suggest that the two were undertaken at slightly different times, and that the scribe for the first was unavailable for the second. These copies evidence that from the outset, demand for *Roses* was sufficient to support a market system wherein the same artists were utilised for work on multiple copies. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 44; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 185).

45. BnF fr. 9345, c.1300-25 (Digital/RDLR). 375 x 210 mm. 83 miniatures for *Rose*, none for the other texts. In many respects, this manuscript relates to other *Roses* of the late thirteenth century, particularly the preceding entries BnF fr. 1559 and BnF fr. 12589. However, this manuscript contains far more images, as well as decorative flourishes in the opening page borders and around each miniature that seem to belong to a slightly later period. The manner of its execution also differs, though the proximity of compositions suggest that they may have had BnF fr. 1559 or BnF fr. 12589 to refer to, or shared a model with those manuscripts. The copy appears to be the work of multiple artists, as from fol. 21r another artisan seems to project sharper outlining onto figures, with significantly different facial types, frames and alternative background styles. The form of these latter images seem to post-date those of the first artist, though not by a great period, as they share similar conceptions of the gold backgrounds and figural types. As such, the manuscript likely dates to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, with the first artist working at the start of this period, and the second working closer to the 1320s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 40; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 185; Notice on RDLR).

46. BnF nouv. acq. fr. 9252, c.1300-25 (Digital/RDLR). 388 x 262 mm. 123 images. While this manuscript contains over 100 images and once likely held more (as some pages are now lost), these have since oxidised to the extent that the images are now all but invisible. The manuscript lacks folios both at the start and end of the manuscript, and begins with a scene of the *Dreamer Discoursing with the God of Love*. Though the images are deteriorated, the rubrics near these scenes appear to concur with contemporary manuscripts from these decades in terms of content. The lack of marginal imagery further points to an early-century dating, as by the next period of *Rose* image development, ivy leaf, bar borders and external decoration were becoming more popular accompaniments to text and miniatures. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 72-73).

47. BnF fr. 1564, c.1300-25 (Digital/RDLR). 255 x 165 mm. 25 images for *Rose*. The bar borders and ivy leaves around the figures suggest an early fourteenth-century date. The images align with cycles present in contemporary *Roses*, while the frontispiece retains a strong link to traditions established in the late thirteenth century. It is possible that the commission was designed on a tight budget; the poem only occupies 90 folios, with atypically long columns of text for the size of the page, although it does not go to the extreme of incorporating three columns per folio. However, these possible space-saving measures did not preclude the insertion of images, as the manuscript features a cycle containing imagery of most major scenes from both authors' sections. Nevertheless, some irregular aspects do appear in the iconography (i.e. Danger's anthropomorphic stick), which may point to its origin in a workshop outside Paris, or by those with less experience of producing *Roses*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 22).

48. BnF fr. 19154, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 270 x 195 mm. 1 image. The single image in this manuscript looks back to late thirteenth century traditions, including a symmetrical rosebush form behind the Dreamer's bed. However, the sheets have been covered in stripes, pointing to an emergent trend in the second and third decades of the century. The single image with only minimal colouring and the slanted lines of text suggest that this was not designed to be a particularly costly commission, reflecting the growing number of these manuscripts produced in the fourteenth century which point to varying tastes as well as monetary resources. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 54).

49. BnF fr. 1558, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 300 x 205 mm. 23 illuminations for *Rose*, the only text in the manuscript. Langlois and the BnF *Archives et Manuscrits* ascribe this

manuscript to the first third of the fourteenth century. Visual developments from the earliest *Roses* are the full-page-width incipit, and more developed scenes of the *Personifications* and the Dreamer's encounters in the Garden, which point to a date after the first wave of *Rose* productions. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 16; Notice on RDLR).

50. BnF fr. 12587, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 278 x 192 mm. 70 surviving images. The imagery within this manuscript approximates the visual forms present in Northern and Eastern French manuscripts from the first decades of the fourteenth century, with a prevalence of flat areas of colour and less tight linear outlines. The relatively high number of images, as well as the inclusion of scenes that are unlike those of Central French *Rose* cycles also supports the assumption that this was made outside those areas of influence. A second artist was responsible for the image on fol. 68r; though drawn in a similar manner, the colouring and format differ from the majority of scenes in the manuscript which appear to have been undertaken by one or more artists working in a proximate style. The manuscript was later rebound out of order and select pages were lost, including the incipit folio. The copy was evidently well used; many notations appear in its margins, and at a later date a drawing of a knight was pasted onto fol. 53v. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 40-43; Notice on RDLR).

51. BnF fr. 1575, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 255 x 175 mm. 29 images. The elongated figures with long bodies and small heads approximate other image trends during the early part of the fourteenth century, although the hairstyles and dress of some female figures aligns with manuscripts from the second decade of the century. This copy also introduces the *Roses* represented in a stacked form, prevalent in *Roses* c.1315-30. The first image bears a superficial relation to the unusual composition of the incipit in Vatican Reg. Lat. 1522 [Cat. 117]. This manuscript also incorporates additional scenes not often included in *Roses* containing less than thirty images, suggesting – as does the atypical incipit and elongated figure styles – that this was not produced by a workshop typically engaged in *Rose* manuscript production, or partaking of the usual visual traditions. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 33-34).

52. BnF fr. 1561, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 270 x 180 mm. 23 images. This manuscript is a close contemporary of the Urbana Illinois [Cat. 168] and the Milan Ambrosiana [Cat. 115] exemplars, though it features a different number of images. While the frontispiece and formal properties of BnF fr. 1561's imagery relate to those copies, the script and marginal decoration differs, suggesting that the team involved in its production was

different. The image cycle suggests more resources were available for this commission than the Urbana MS, although the incipit utilises the same model. Due to its extended cycle, one can use visual elements to date it more clearly, such as the hairstyles of the female characters. The forms shown here relate to visual elements present in other manuscripts from the second quarter of the fourteenth century onwards, supporting a dating comfortably within the early decades of the 1300s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 19).

53. BnF fr. 12588, c.1325-40 (Digital/RDLR). 270 × 180 mm. 20 images. While the incipit scene reflects late thirteenth century tropes, the rest of the image cycle reflects more modern trends. Elements established in the second quarter of the century appear throughout the manuscript, particularly regarding dress and the caricaturing of several unscrupulous characters. It bears some relation to the extended Brussels-Lyon family, notably in the architectural framing devices of some miniatures, and the evocative image of the *God of Love Attacking the Dreamer* from his perch in a tree. However, the link is largely a compositional one, rather than artisanal, with many figures inexpertly copying the poses found in the other manuscripts. It is possible that this reflects the primary work of an artisan trained in the workshop responsible for the Brussels-Lyon manuscripts though not a leading practitioner, or, like Rennes and its partner copies, external artists with access to the Brussels-Lyon models. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 43-44).

54. BnF fr. 1574, written c.1325-50 with later visual additions, likely post-1600 (Digital/RDLR). 251 x 172 mm. 5 sketches. The nature of the sketches makes it clear that the different areas of decoration occurred at separate times. While the base script and initials suggest it was begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, the disparate sketches point to a later intervention in the manuscript, at a time when the designer was not constrained by, or aware of typical fourteenth-century *Rose* imagery. These sketches may date from the period when textual additions were also incorporated, written in a more modern hand, as on fol. 31v. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 32-33; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 151).

55. BnF fr. 1576, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 261 x 180 mm. 27 images surviving (28 originally). The folios of this manuscript were rebound out of order after its completion, though they include many typical subjects of illuminated *Roses* at this time. Cited misleadingly by Fleming in the 1960s, this is actually an atypical *Rose* manuscript,

likely originating in Eastern France. This is demonstrated by the textual dialect (Langlois describes this as shared across Lorraine, Burgundy or Franche-Comte regions), and the imagery which is largely flat, with a heavy emphasis on intricate background patterning and a palette uncommon for manuscripts of this date in central French regions. However, the bar bordering and calligraphic flourishes do relate to a variety of contemporary manuscripts, though its imagery is quite different to those of the period originating from Paris. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 34-36; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 79).

56. BnF fr. 25523, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 240 x 180 mm. 38 images. The first indication of date is the slanted script, as during the years prior to the mid-century, scripts increasingly lost their rigid angular forms. The images at first appear simplistic in comparison to their early fourteenth century counterparts, with flat planes of colour and minimal detailing. However, these are clearly the result of careful planning. While no rubrics appear in the body of the text, instructions appear in the margins close to each image, suggesting that the cycle was carefully and directly described for the artist. The sparse decoration further suggests an early century dating, though the imagery is too idiosyncratic and irregular to link up to any contemporary manuscript. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 62-63).

57. BnF fr. 1567, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 283 x 209 mm. 80 images. This manuscript appears to have been the result of an uneven collaboration between artists, with one irregular image by a separate artist appearing on fol. 10r. The proliferation of ivy-leaf decoration suggests a date within the second quarter of the fourteenth century, as does the extended size of the frontispiece image, as both these elements became increasingly common over the period of *Rose* production in the fourteenth century. The architectural styling of the incipit frame echoes a similarly elaborate scene in Chantilly 483 [Cat. 21], however it is not an exact copy. The figure of Danger also appears related in the two manuscripts. Similarities of ivy-leaf styling are also present in the two copies, suggesting artisanal overlap, while the copious number of images in each suggest they were both for affluent patrons. This manuscript also contains a sixteenth-century form of the arms of the Dukes of Joyeuse (in use from 1581) revealing it was owned by this family in a later period. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 24; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, multiple citations).

58. BnF fr. 802, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). 320 x 225 mm. 35 images for *Rose*. This well-preserved copy bears a relation to several manuscripts of proximate date i.e. The Hague KB 120 D 13 [Cat. 121], Edinburgh Adv. 19.1.6 [Cat. 142] and Alde-Librairie Giraud Badin Sale Folio [Cat. 190] particularly in the incipit, although this is mostly a compositional rather than an artisanal similarity. However, the conception of the figures is quite close to the Edinburgh manuscript, particularly with the *God of Love Attacking the Dreamer* image. It also evidences its production process, with small sketches relating to the image cycle present in the margins, illuminating how this and other manuscripts were planned and produced. Its bipartite incipit forms reflect the contemporary fashions of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, being a natural development from the original single incipit scenes of *Roses*. The Rouses ascribed this copy to Jeanne de Montbaston, based on their perceived supposition that Richard and Jeanne were illuminators as well as *libraires* (the latter being the only term supported by contemporary documentation). Visually, it does relate to some of the copies the Rouses suggested were by Jeanne de Montbaston rather than her husband (i.e. Baltimore Walters W.143), although this is not concrete proof that Jeanne de Montbaston was in fact responsible. Instead, all this relation suggests is that the same artist was hired to produce another *Rose*; this may have been at the behest of Jeanne de Montbaston in her capacity as *libraire*, or even her husband, who died c.1353. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 9-10; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 153; Notice on RDLR).

59. Rothschild 2800, c.1329 (Digital/RDLR). 228 x 163 mm. 72 images for *Rose*, several for other texts. As Langlois noted, the explicit gives a date for the completion of the writing, in 1329. Given the form of the images, it is likely the images were completed shortly after. The styling of some scenes, specifically the *Dreamer at the Garden Gate*, suggests a Northern or Eastern origin for the manuscript imagery, as the stylised bricks in some images recall other copies with Picardy or non-central French language in the text, e.g. BnF fr. 12587 [Cat. 50]. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 87-90)

60. BnF fr. 24391, c.1332-40 (Digital/RDLR). 270 x 195 mm. 1 image for *Rose*; none for accompanying text. Although the single bipartite image of this manuscript features an alternate depiction of Danger, it appears to borrow the model of BL Stowe 947 [Cat. 148]. However, its drastically reduced image cycle suggest less resources were available to the artisans of this manuscript, or that fewer images were required by the patrons or planners. As its script, miniature and decoration align with contemporary

productions from the second decade of the fourteenth century, it is likely the manuscript was composed not long after the completion of Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *La prise amoureuse*, (written in 1332) which is the second text in this manuscript and written in a proximate hand to the *Rose*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 60-61).

61. Arsenal 3338, c.1330-50 (Digital/RDLR). 310 x 230 mm. 36 images. This copy features an elaborate bipartite incipit image with a double-tiered format. This appears to be a development from earlier bipartite scenes, and relates to those depicting Danger and the full-length *Personifications* in other manuscripts. This suggests a date after those copies, which belong to the second quarter of the century. The first folio also incorporates small medallions with heads inside interspersed with ivy leaf decoration; this has been found in manuscripts dated to the mid-century, and suggests this copy dates between c.1330 and 1350 given its relation to both earlier and later trends for illumination. Notably however, the rest of the images relate more clearly to the exponents of the earlier manuscripts, suggesting that it is an early exponent of the medallion decorative addition. This has also been linked to the Montbaston 'workshop' by the Rouses, specifically Jeanne and the 'Maubeuge Master'. See BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58] and Brussels 9576 [Cat. 5] for more information on the supposed attribution of the Montbaston copies. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 77-78; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-260; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 140).

62. BnF fr. 24390, c.1335-50 (Digital/RDLR/Valentini). 300 x 230 mm. 16 images. The text incorporates some of the interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement* at the start of Jean's section, inserted into the margins. The incipit appears to be the most elaborate development of the incipit present in BnF fr. 24391 [Cat. 60], Assem. Nat. 1230 [Cat. 37], and BL Stowe 947 [Cat. 148], and suggests variation from what may have been stock imagery in *Rose* manuscripts produced from the same models. There is evidence of further visual elaboration at points in the manuscript, perhaps taking cues from the rubrication's prefatory tone. For example, Jealousy is shown locking up Responsiveness with the Old Woman near the end of Guillaume's poem – an early depiction of a figure only described in Jean's section. Comparison of the level of elaboration in this group could either suggest this copy came at the start or end of the contemporary sequence of manuscripts; either filtered down through subsequent copies, or elaborated anew in each new version. When compared to general trends in *Rose* illumination at the time, which most often moved from the simplest to most complex solutions for incipits and iconography, this would appear to be a later

production, made once the models had become familiar and prone to amplification by planners and artists. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 59-60; Valentini, *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*, 12)

63. BnF fr. 19156, c.1335-50 (Digital/RDLR). 287 x 213 mm. 28 images. The images within this manuscript echo the contemporary fashions for larger frontispieces, as well as adding an additional feature: multiscenic miniatures. While other images are more relevant to contemporary developments in *Rose* iconography, the novelty of this frontispiece relates it to the much later final evolution of this trend, in manuscripts of the early fifteenth century. In this, it relates to other innovative manuscripts, such as the Albi copy [Cat. 15]. In terms of evolving iconographic elements, this aspect suggests a date closer to the mid-century. As manuscript producers became more familiar with *Rose* iconography and the trends for its visual representation, there was also scope for differentiation from competitor manuscripts, which may have inspired the creation of exciting new sequences of illustration, particularly in the eye-catching incipits. See the aforementioned Brussels 9576 [Cat. 5] and BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58] entries for more information on the Rouses' proposed links to the Montbaston 'workshop'. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 55; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

64. BnF fr. 24389, c.1335-50 (Digital/RDLR). 315 x 210 mm. 21 images. As with BnF fr. 19156, this copy also features a multiscenic incipit. It further relates to both contemporary and later developments in the architectural framing of the miniatures, and the iconography of the image cycle. The manuscript was clearly in the possession of a dedicated reader in the fifteenth century, as they have added a lengthy exposition below the image of Jean de Meun at the point where Guillaume ends his section of the narrative. While the imagery features a couple of novel aspects, it is nonetheless a product of the period it was produced in. It therefore reveals that a more complex representation of the chronological narrative was explored even at an early stage in *Rose* manuscript production. The Rouses ascribed this to Richard de Montbaston, after 1332; see the Brussels catalogue entry for a discussion of their argument. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 58-59; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

65. Smith-Lesouëf 62, c.1340-50 (Digital/RDLR). 292 x 215 mm. 33 images. This manuscript incorporates a slight variation on the mid-century trend for quadripartite incipits. There is an increased amount of ivy leaf decoration on the first folio, following the increased elaboration of these opening pages in *Roses* by the mid-century. However,

both script and the majority of illuminations relate to trends present in *Roses* from the second quarter of the century. The dating of this manuscript is also complicated by a supposed relation to the work of the Montbaston grouping, but it in fact does not reflect any of the major artistic styles commonly ascribed to that workshop by the Rouses. (Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

66. Arsenal 5209, c.1340-50 (Digital/RDLR). 310 x 220 mm. 70 images. This is another exponent of the quadripartite manuscript incipit form, although the image cycle is greatly expanded from others incorporating this image type. The presence of medallions relates to those present in manuscripts dating to the 1350s, however the imagery retains a strong link to trends from the second quarter of the century. The first quadrant contains an antiquated representation of the *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, although the Dreamer is typified by his long cloak rather than the shorter tunic that appeared in manuscripts from the 1350s onwards. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 79).

67. BnF fr. 24388, c.1340-50 (Digital/RDLR). 290 × 205 mm. 44 images. The quadrilobed, quadripartite incipit of this manuscript relates to several other mid-century *Roses*, however the sparser ivy leaf, hybrid *bas-de-page* animals and general layout seems to suggest that it is one of the earlier examples featuring the quadrilobed designs. This is also supported by the forms of the figures, which have much in common with figures from the second and third decades of the fourteenth century, and the tight, rectilinear script. The following scenes further retain the backgrounds, figure styles and iconography of *Roses* from the second quarter of the 1300s. The playful scene of the Dreamer ducking into the garden also relates to the manuscript now held in the Princeton University Library, Garrett 126 [Cat. 172], among others. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 57-58; Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the Romance of the Rose").

68. BnF fr. 19157, c.1340-55 (Digital/RDLR). 265 x 175 mm. 23 images. The text incorporates the description of Pride, from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*, but only in the margins of fol. 2v. This manuscript features a quadripartite opening which relates visually to the forms of some of the earlier exponents of that trend. The Dreamer is still dressed in long tunics, not the shorter courtly dress of the latter half of the century. There are medallions featuring numerous coats of arms around the margins of the first page, suggesting this patron was keen to show off familial relations and heraldry in his *Rose*. These also relate to some of the later quadripartite-incipit manuscripts from c.1350. While *Danger* is absent from the first quadrant image, unusual for the earlier

manuscripts with this quadripartite format, the pronounced gap in the pattern of roses suggests Danger was intended to be depicted here but was omitted from the final design. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 57; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

69. BnF Arsenal 5226, c.1345-55 (Digital/RDLR). 265 × 195 mm. 24 images. This manuscript's incipit is similar to that of Chantilly Musee Conde 481 [Cat. 23], with similar compositions in each of the sections of its quadripartite formation. The bar borders and ivy leaf relate to pre-mid-century formations, as later copies with quadripartite incipits most often featured medallion decoration in the margins of the first folio. While the omission here may have been intentional, its relation to earlier forms suggests this was not yet in fashion when the manuscript was produced. As the forms of the major figures also relate to manuscripts of the second quarter of the century, specifically that of Lyon PA 23 [Cat. 29], it would appear this is an early example of the quadripartite form, likely deriving from earlier prototypes, if not the edited work of an artisan previously known for bipartite-incipit manuscripts. See the Chantilly 481 manuscript entry regarding the Rouses' theory regarding Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston as manuscript illuminators. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 80-81; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

70. BnF fr. 1560, c.1345-55 (Digital/RDLR). 285 x 195 mm. 35 images. This manuscript also appears to be an earlier exponent of the quadripartite incipit motif, indicated by the continued reliance on the *Dreamer-Roses-Danger* aspect in the first quarter of the design. So too, the long cloak of the Dreamer contrasts with the later tunic-style dress adopted in later manuscripts from the 1350s. The presence of medallions does relate more so to manuscripts of the 1350s and beyond, although these are accompanied by continued references to visual forms from the second quarter of the century in the majority of images that follow the frontispiece. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 17-19; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 26 and 38).

71. BnF fr. 25526, c.1340-60 (Digital/RDLR). 255 × 180 mm. 52 images. The quadripartite opening of this manuscript relates to others featuring such incipits created during the mid-fourteenth century. However, the first folio image is clearly by an artist who had little or no input in the following folios. While it relates to the typical scenes included in each quadrant in the other *Roses*, the nature of the flowers, canopied beds, long robes and background suggests an artist working in a later period to those

responsible for the rest of the manuscript. The following scenes relate to trends from the second quarter of the century in terms of figural styles, backgrounds, and the elaborate religious, erotic, generic and *Rose*-specific *bas-de-page* images on many folios. These *bas-de-pages* illuminations have had a great deal of scholarly attention. On the whole, they reflect not only a willingness to decorate the manuscript as much as possible, but also the variety of tropes that made up the repertoire of a mid-fourteenth-century illuminator. Nevertheless, they represent a specific and fairly isolated decorative scheme for *Roses* of the period, as such an elaborate secondary sequence of imagery is only found in one other manuscript of proximate date – the atypical manuscript of Gui de Mori's Recension, Tournai 101 [Cat. 12]. Langlois believed this manuscript was one of those noted in the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. le Duc de la Valliere*. The manuscript is at the heart of the discussion regarding the input of Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston in vernacular *Rose* illumination in the Rouses' study; see catalogue entries on the Brussels 9576 [Cat. 5] and BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58] manuscripts for further discussion of this. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 71; Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, Chapter 8; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

72. BnF fr. 12593, c.1340-60 (Digital/RDLR). 305 × 210 mm. 35 images. This copy strongly relates to the Meermanno [Cat. 124] and Princeton Garrett [Cat. 172] copies of the *Rose*, with a quadripartite quadrilobed incipit. The increasingly intricate backgrounds suggest a movement towards the styles prevalent in late-century *Roses*, as does the representation of the Dreamer in a tunic-style garment rather than the long robe typical in earlier *Roses*. These developments however coincide with the traditional styles of second quarter and mid-century manuscripts, resulting in a copy that is a hybrid of earlier and later developments. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 46).

73. BnF fr. 799, c.1340-60 (Digital/RDLR). 320 × 235 mm. 1 image, others cut out. The single quadrilobed miniature accords with styles present in *Rose* miniatures, particularly incipits, around the mid-century. While the dress of the Dreamer shows hints of moving towards the more fashionable forms of the mid-century, with longer draping sleeves, this scene retains the stiff figural types and background patterns of manuscripts from the first half of the century. Previously shelfmarked as MS 7194. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 7).

74. BnF Arsenal 5210, c.1340-60 (Digital/RDLR). 276 × 185 cm. 31 images. This manuscript combines several mid-century strands in its illumination and script. While

the script points to a slightly later dating, a form only common for *Roses* in the second half of the century, its images incorporate stylistic forms and tropes popular in the first quarter of the 1300s, such as the stylised 'stacked roses' forms and long cloaks rather than short tunics for the male characters. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 79-80).

75. BnF fr. 1566, 1351 (Digital/RDLR). 290 x 210 mm. 3 images, many gaps for others. Both the iconography and formal properties of the miniatures align with a dating around the mid-century. Langlois first noted the specific date present in this manuscript, which does also accord with the evidence of its style. The relatively low number of images makes greater stylistic visual analysis impossible, though the surviving examples appear to recollect Northern and Eastern French tropes, with a heavy emphasis on linearity in the miniatures. The scarcity of imagery was not originally intended, as many gaps appear throughout the rest of the manuscript for other images. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 23; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 26).

76. BnF fr. 1565, 1352 (Digital/RDLR). 305 x 225 mm. 44 images. This manuscript, dated in a short *explicit* in contemporaneous handwriting at the end of the poem, is the surest means of dating the numerous manuscripts with similar quadripartite, quadrilobed incipits. A modern note on the first folio declares that the arms in the central lower medallion belong to Poitiers. This specific attribution reminds us that the heraldic devices present in the medallion miniatures of such manuscripts were undoubtedly made in reference to specific families and owners. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 22-23; Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript of the Romance of the Rose"; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, multiple citations).

77. BnF Rothschild 2801, 1354 (DIGITAL/RDLR). 318 x 238 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 14 images. A note at the end of the testament survives saying 'ville achate le xxv jour de jan...M.CCC.LIIII, cousta...pour le temps quinze sols paris. Il est vrai qu'il l a tx xx feulliez tous escriz et xxxci chapistres tous figures de fins ymages.' While Langlois would have dated the manuscript later than 1354 were the note not present, I see no reason to doubt either the place of origin or year of purchase (which provides a final date for its completion). The quadripartite incipit and medallion forms were indeed prolific in the mid-century, and thus it is not surprising such manuscripts were available for purchase without a specific commission (as the written note implies) in 1354. Several folios are missing after the first folio. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 90-92).

78. BnF nouv. acq. fr. 28047, c.1350-75 (Digital/RDLR). 280 x 200 mm. 1 image. This manuscript features bar borders and initial embellishments more commonly found in the first half of the fourteenth century, with those of the second half typically exploiting the properties of ivy leaf or drolleries. However, the canopied addition to the bed in the incipit relates to a type common in the latter half of the 1300s, suggesting a date that sits between the typical range of early and late fourteenth-century developments. This manuscript was previously known as Maihingen, Bibl. Ottingen-Wallerstein I.4.fol.2. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 164-166; Valentini. *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

79. BnF fr. 800, c.1360-80 (Digital/RDLR). 340 x 250 mm. 1 image for *Rose*. The single image of this manuscript bears some relation to the individual segments of mid-century quadripartite, quadrilobed incipits and general figural types of the same period, however in terms of page placement it is wholly different. Though it is a large incipit like most mid-century manuscripts, it is placed off-centre in comparison to the text and bordering on the page, suggesting it was either a substitution for the planned imagery, or undertaken without reference to contemporaneous *Rose* designs. The lengthier stretches of ivy leaf and the clear *bâtarde* script point to a dating comfortably within the latter half of the century, although the conjunction of image, decoration and script suggest an atypical production process. Also shelfmarked as MS 7195. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 7-8).

80. BnF fr. 803, c.1360-85 (Digital/RDLR). 310 x 220 mm. 1 image. While the sparse ivy leaf and script style differ from what one might expect in manuscripts of the latter half of the century, the single image attests to a date in the third quarter of the century. The fully canopied bed was a motif more common in the fifteenth century, a feature this seems to preface, and the combination of *grisaille* bedclothes and fully coloured background, bed and roses also was more common closer to the turn of the 1400s. Also shelfmarked as MS 7198. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 10-11; Notice on RDLR).

81. BnF fr. 1572, c.1370-90 (Digital/RDLR). 1 image, with elaborate *bas-de-page* additions on fol. 1r. 285 x 200 mm. The bar borders and composition of the incipit reflect early fourteenth-century trends, however the thicker ivy leaf decoration, more elaborate *bas-de-page* scene succinctly summarising the *Rose* narrative, and the looser, more embellished script (more common in *Roses* from the 1350s and beyond) point to a date in the second half of the century. In some respects, this presents a similar visual

programme to that of the mid-to-late century Copenhagen MS GKS 2061-4° [Cat. 13]. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 28-29; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 16 and 81).

82. BnF fr. 12592, c.1375-1420 (Digital/RDLR). 305 x 240 mm. 1 image, many other marginal embellishments. This manuscript is rather atypical as the depictions are almost exclusively situated in the margins, not in enclosed framed miniatures. While many are calligraphic, for example at the top or end of the letter forms, other figurative elements appear from fol. 16v in the margins, often relating directly to the text. The limited colours of these scenes are dark brown (similar to the ink of the script), red, green and blue, largely related to the colours used throughout for the decorated initials. Combined with the fact that the text is in three columns not two (as if the writer were trying to save vellum) this suggests that this copy was a private version, embellished by the hand of the scribe who appears to have frequently let his pen wander into the margins while transcribing. Perhaps most interestingly, this scribal artist was mostly interested in scenes of violence, depicting the deaths of Lucretia, Dido, Nero, and the attack of the Jealous Husband on his wife, although other scenes like that of *Zeuxis* or *Nature and Genius* also appear. The sole framed 'miniature' represents the author at the bottom of a column on fol. 45r, beneath a textual reference to those 'qui fist ce livre' – possibly a knowing reference to the fact that the scribe was also responsible for the imagery in this manuscript, and indeed 'made it'. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 45; Huot, "Sacred and Erotic Love", 280-85).

83. BnF fr. 1665, c.1390-1410 (Digital/RDLR). 270 x 210 mm. 3 miniatures for the *Rose*. The *bâtarde* script and ivy-leaf bar bordering point to the late fourteenth century, although the quadripartite incipit scene seems to offer a retrospective glance back to mid-fourteenth-century trends. There is an attempt to render a detailed landscape, with variation in the colours of the leaves and plants. Perspective is introduced through the elements forming the Dreamer's bedroom, again in line with trends developing in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The image cycle was interrupted before completion, with numerous gaps present after the three finished images, and the marginal decoration was also left unfinished. The copy therefore attests to the simultaneous processes of manuscript production in the later fourteenth century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 36-37).

84. BnF fr. 797, c.1400-10 (Digital/RDLR). 320 x 245 mm. 1 historiated initial for *Rose*. Features some interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*. Like BL Royal 19 B XII

[Cat. 152], this manuscript only features one small miniature within an initial M at the head of the poem. The script recalls later fourteenth and early fifteenth-century *Roses*, and while the ivy leaf is quite sparse, on the basis of the image it appears to date from the early years of the 1400s. Despite the minor resurgence of a handful of *Rose* manuscripts with historiated initials at the turn of the century, this trend was not substantially popular during the fifteenth century, with the vast majority opting for rectangular miniatures. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 6; Valentini, *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

85. BnF fr. 22551, c.1400-10 (Digital/RDLR). 365 x 300 mm. 1 image for *Rose*. This manuscript features *bâtarde* script in a more irregular three-column presentation. The image shows an early-fifteenth century rendering of the *Dreamer in Bed* in a typical rectangular miniature. The bed also features an extended canopy with hangings and a semi-circular chair, two common elements of bedroom depictions in *Roses* from the late fourteenth century onwards. This manuscript is in two volumes, with the second dated 1428. However, the form of the image with patterned background and irregular perspectival elements point to a date a decade or so before this date, whereby the date may only provide a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript's second volume. It also features a partially effaced heraldic device in the lower margin, and is in the less common format of three columns to a page, suggesting it was a less expensive commission, but nevertheless purchased by an owner keen to leave their mark on it. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 56-57).

86. BnF fr. 380, c.1400-16 (Digital/RDLR). 375 x 275 mm. 47 images. This copy dates to the first decades of the fifteenth century, as a note in a hand of the 1400s on the flyleaf states it was owned by Jean de Berry, who died in 1416. The illuminations align with an early fifteenth-century dating through the architectural forms, figure styles and backgrounds. The prevalence of patterned, flat areas in the backgrounds point to the earlier years of the century, as by the second decade some artists were experimenting with more landscape elements. Beatrice Radden Keefe on the *romandelarose.org* states that the text was *bâtarde* and the artist was possibly that of BnF fr. 12595 [Cat. 90]. However, many elements are treated differently between the two manuscripts; namely compositional features, backgrounds, the build of the figures, dress and iconography. The facial features of the characters are strongly dissimilar: several appear to have almost blank features, on account of their being softly delineated in a narrow range of hues, unlike the stronger outlines of BnF fr. 12595. On the whole, there appear to be too

many distinguishing features to suggest that the manuscripts were wholly undertaken by the same artist, although they were likely created at a similar time. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 5-6; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, multiple citations; Notice by Radden Keefe on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Francais380>, accessed 27 Aug 2016).

87. BnF fr. 805, c.1400-20 (Digital/RDLR). 350 x 265 mm. 19 images. This manuscript, like others from the turn of the century, contrasts a full-colour incipit with *grisaille* and lightly coloured miniatures. Dense ivy leaf and bar borders appear in the margins of the first folio. The imagery of the manuscript inherits traditional iconography, with the bipartite incipit incorporating the typical forms of the first two quadrants of quadripartite scenes from the mid fourteenth century. Further images repeat the blank vellum backgrounds and *grisaille* architectural and figural elements of late fourteenth century manuscripts, while the antiquated high-necked robes seem to relate to the later trend for representing courtly figures in the second decade of the fifteenth century, which coexisted with the fashion for short tunics at the same time. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 12; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 29; Notice on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Francais805>, accessed 27 Aug 2016).

88. BnF fr. 812, c.1400-20 (Digital/RDLR). 300 x 255 mm. 1 image for *Rose*, images accompany other texts. This manuscript only contains one scene at the head of the poem, though it incorporates a degree of visual play present in a select number of manuscripts dating from the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The architectural overlay and bedroom furniture within this scene accord with contemporary fifteenth-century imagery of the *Dreamer in Bed*, while the text and marginal decoration also align with productions of a similar date. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 13-15).

89. BnF fr. 1563, c.1402-40 (Digital/RDLR). 265 x 185 mm. 117 images. The miniatures within this manuscript differ greatly from the majority produced in the first half of the fifteenth century, although the flat planes of colour and thick-lined styles reflect other more 'regional' copies. Similarities between the outlines of the figures and script, as well as between the colours of the miniature frames and larger coloured letters in the text, suggest that the images and script were undertaken by the same person. In this respect, it relates to the manuscript BnF fr. 12592 [Cat. 82]. While indications of date are difficult with such manuscripts, which feature visual characteristics unlike those of

illuminators' workshops, this copy was definitely made after 1402, as it contains documents from the *Querelle de la Rose* dating from that year. Given the proximity to early fifteenth-century *Roses* featuring sketch-like imagery, as well as the late-fourteenth century fr. 12592, it would seem to date from the first half of the century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 20-22; Hicks, *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, regarding Redaction C).

90. BnF fr. 12595, c.1410-20 (Digital/RDLR). 325 x 230 mm. 80 images for *Rose*, other texts with images. This manuscript features a novel multiscenic incipit similar to a form found in only one other *Rose* incipit, BnF Arsenal 3339 [Cat. 95] and some scenes in the Valencia copy [Cat. 130]. The dense ivy leaf borders, *bâtarde* script, architectural structures and dress of the characters point to a date in the second or third decades of the century. Both Langlois and Beatrice Radden Keefe speculated that the manuscript belonged to Jean de Berry, who was known to have collected several *Roses*. Keefe also suggested that the same artist worked on BnF fr. 380 [Cat. 86] - see that entry for more information on this link. If indeed owned, and possibly commissioned by Jean de Berry, who had a keen interest in manuscripts, there is nevertheless no reason to speculate that the same artists were involved each time, as this patron was demonstrably interested in the work of multiple illuminators for his commissions. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 48-49; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, multiple citations; Notice by Timothy L. Stinson on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Francais12595>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

91. BnF fr. 12596, c.1410-30 (Digital/RDLR). 280 x 220 mm. 55 images for *Rose*, another for other text. This manuscript repeats the fashion for *grisaille* miniatures in the early fifteenth century. The dense ivy leaf borders and *bâtarde* script combine with elements of the iconography to suggest a date in the first half of the century, though it merges elements from both earlier and later decades. The representation of the *Personifications* on plinths on the garden wall relates to mid-fifteenth-century imagery of those figures. The artist(s) responsible appear to have had a limited repertoire of figural styles, as male and female figures are repeated throughout the manuscript. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 49).

92. BnF fr. 24392, c.1410-40 (incipit), c.1460-80 (subsequent *Rose* images). (Digital/RDLR). 330 x 245 mm. 117 images for *Rose*, other texts with images. The image cycle within this manuscript straddles two separate eras of the fifteenth century. Likely

begun in the second decade of the century, as script, marginalia and the incipit attest to, it was seemingly left unfinished, then later completed in the second half of the century. The incipit features a quadripartite miniature, updated with multiscenic elements in two quadrants. The short tunics, multicoloured leggings and bedding also point to the early fifteenth century. However, from fol. 3r there is an abrupt change in style, with detailed characters standing in receding spaces in costumes that contrast with those of the incipit figures. The figures have been articulated in deep colour and with cross-hatched strokes incorporating golden-yellow highlights, more common in the 1460s. The landscapes and architecture appear against blue skies, not patterned backdrops, with a more successful approximation of illusionistic perspective, unlike the incipit, and as such align with *Rose* imagery dating c.1460-80. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 61-62).

93. BnF fr. 1570, c.1410-40 (Digital/RDLR). 285 x 210 mm. 79 images. This manuscript returns to the popular formula of fully-coloured incipit combined with partially-coloured or *grisaille* majority miniatures. While executed with thicker lines, flatter planes of colour, and with less emphasis on minute detail than contemporaneous manuscripts, the marginalia and text point to an early to mid-century dating, as does the *grisaille*-and-colour rendering of most scenes. Furthermore, as is common with manuscripts like this originating outside central French regions of manuscript production, it features iconographical elements that rely on the text, or imaginative novelty, rather than tradition. The elaborate gown of the God of Love, and the mirror-like vision of the Roses on fol. 16r are two examples of this originality. At a later date, an elaborate frontispiece was added to the manuscript to declare its ownership, stating in a scroll beneath two figures and a coat of arms: 'Ce Romans est a Messire Guillaume Choul Bailly des Montaignes du Daulphine' and an accompanying motto: 'Souvenir et Taire'. The accompanying imagery on this folio points to a date in the sixteenth century, which fits with the life and career of Guillaume Choul, a personage with keen antiquarian interests, born c.1496. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 26-27; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 128-29).

94. BnF fr. 801, c.1410-40 (Digital/RDLR). 350 x 245 mm. 31 images. This manuscript's decoration approximates the alternative form of the *grisaille*-and-colour combination present in the aforementioned BnF fr. 1570 [Cat. 93]. While the incipit image of the Dreamer is not in full colour, the thicker lines, lesser detail, flat planes of colour and occasional atypical iconography approximate that of the regional copy mentioned above. Heraldry also appears in its margins, suggesting the owner was keen to identify

their ownership. Evidence of a fifteenth-century dating appears in the form of the text, and the fashions of the primary figures. The additional aspect of titling within the body of the miniatures, as with the *Personifications*, also appeared in *Roses* only during the fifteenth century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 8-9; Notice on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Francais801>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

95. Arsenal 3339, c.1420-40 (Digital/RDLR). 330 x 262 mm. 1 image for *Rose*, single images accompany other texts. This manuscript's multiscenic incipit featuring hilly sections, deep blue skylines and several narrative events relate to the form of the incipit in BnF fr. 12595 [Cat. 90] and the multi-event images of the Valencia *Rose*. While featuring less fanciful architectural and scenic elements than BnF fr. 12595, the principle of continuous circular movement of the Dreamer around a rectangular space has been retained, suggesting a similar conception of the image. That it came later than that manuscript is suggested by the alternative dress style of the Dreamer (the full length robe appears to have gone out of fashion by this point) and the more elaborate marginalia in the borders, as well as the slightly more coherent indication of space in the Arsenal copy, which altered in favour of more naturalistic perspective in manuscripts of the second and third decades of the fifteenth century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 78; Coilly and Tesnière, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 24).

96. BnF fr. 798, c.1440-60 (Digital/RDLR). 340 x 240 mm. 49 images. Most of the images in this manuscript follow a specific methodology, wherein the figures depicted float among the textual architecture of the page. However, the incipit folio has been singled out for more intense treatment, with heavy colour that has later smudged. The marginalia of this page points to later-fifteenth century forms of decoration, such as triangle-block segments with acanthus, floral and animal ornament. The conjunction adds complexity to the issue of dating, although the evidence of other manuscripts with contrasting 'display' incipit folios and less polished secondary imagery suggests it could still date from the one period. The script and initials, the most standard element of the manuscript, point to a date from the fifteenth century, while the red titles of particular figures, as seen in BnF fr. 801 [Cat. 94], push it into the second half, as these were most popular at that time. While there are no exact counterparts for its unanchored form of imagery, it does relate to the semi-*grisaille*, almost transparent sketch-like styles of other *Roses*, as well as perhaps prefacing the linearity of the late-sixteenth-century Egerton 2022 [Cat. 154], which approximates fourteenth-century *grisaille* styles through the use of *camaïeu-brun*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 6-7).

97. BnF fr. 804, c.1430-40 (Digital/RDLR). 1 image for *Rose*, another was intended to accompany the *Codicille* on fol. 153r but was not completed. The elaborate bordering with increased foliage among the ivy leaves suggest a date further into the fifteenth century, as such flora was introduced in greater measures from the 1420s. A shield inserted in the lower margin relates to mid-to-late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century trends for associating owners with their *Rose* copies. The single image depicts the Dreamer in bed viewed through two frames: the first of the miniature, the second an archway, behind which the canopied bed is viewed isometrically. The image's simplicity reflects a persistent if rare trend for images featuring only the Dreamer at the start of *Roses*, rather than reference to the storyline. This copy was previously shelfmarked as 7199. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 11-12).

98. BnF fr. 19137, c.1440-60 (Digital/RDLR). 333 x 225 mm. 1 image for *Rose*, other texts also accompanied by single images. The sole image in this *Rose* departs from typical introductory images. The scene is set within an arched frame, in common with the other images in this manuscript. The combination of ivy leaf and acanthus in the borders point to a mid-century dating, as by the end of the 1400s ivy leaf was almost entirely engulfed by acanthus and floral ornament. The dress of the principal figures, notably the pointed shoes and top-heavy tunics of the male characters also point to c.1440-60, when such costumes were popular and represented in miniatures, such as in the datable manuscripts for King René of Anjou by an anonymous artist, possibly Barthèlemey d'Eyck. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 53).

99. BnF fr. 19153, c.1460-70 (Digital/RDLR). 342 x 253 mm. 32 images. This copy of the *Rose* is related in its imagery to a manuscript of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* (BnF fr. 809) by the so-called Master of Boethius fr. 809, dated to the 1460s, and clearly illuminated by the same group. Acanthus leaf and ivy decoration appears alongside larger floral ornament in the borders, common in marginalia of the late fifteenth century, although the fact that the flora does not overcome the ivy suggests a date closer to the mid-century. The following images recall a number of *Rose* aspects that developed from the 1450s, such as the garden wall personifications depicted in interiors, increased depth of space, and costume fashions. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 53-54).

Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

lii. MS 1127, fifteenth century (Langlois) Incomplete images.

100. MS 1126, c.1345-55 (Digital/BVMM). 300 × 218 mm. 107 images. This manuscript relates to mid-century manuscripts featuring a quadripartite frontispiece for the *Rose*, but like the BnF Smith-Lesouëf [Cat. 65] and Bodleian Selden Supra [Cat. 158] manuscripts it features gaps between the quadrants of the incipit image. It also incorporates an atypical tower-like structure containing the personifications on the wall down the right-hand margin of the first folio. Once more, the fashion throughout relates to slightly later trends, with the Dreamer depicted wearing a shorter tunic with occasional hood or shoulder cover. At the time of its making, it appears to have been the most extensively illustrated quadripartite-incipit *Rose*, with many more images than others of contemporary date. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 85).

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101. Mas. 81, c.1385-1410 with incipit completed post-1500 (Digital/RDLR/Cat'zArts) (Measurements unknown). 13 images. The script and bulk of the miniatures feature late-fourteenth to early fifteenth-century dress, and are painted in *grisaille* with minimal colour accents on backgrounds or objects akin to the Bodleian manuscripts of the late 1300s [Cats. 159-160]. While the incipit retains this colouration, the forms of the figures are bulkier, with a stronger sensation of light and dark produced through the shading. The subject of the bipartite incipit is atypical for the period, and relates to imagery of a *Rose* printed by Antoine Vérard, c.1493, suggesting that the first folio was completed long after the rest of the manuscript. (The Cat'zArts Digital Record contains some basic information on this manuscript).

Poitiers

Bibliothèque Municipale

liii. MS 215, late fifteenth century (Langlois). Fragments only, no reference to images.

Reims

Bibliothèque Municipale

liv. MS 543, late thirteenth century (Digital/BVMM) No images.

Rennes

Bibliothèque Municipale

102. MS 243, c.1330-50 (Digital/BVMM). 290 x 203 mm (Measurement from Langlois, although the digital image suggests the height is closer to 287 mm). 24 images for *Rose*, one more for additional text. This was a collaborative effort by an artist active in both the Brussels and Lyon manuscripts of this family (MS 9574-5 [Cat. 6] and MS 763 [Cat. 31] respectively) alongside another group of workers unaccustomed to their style. The incipit is by an established artist of the Brussels and Lyon copies, which shows a development of both their incipits through an additional section, suggesting the manuscript is of later date. However, the majority of images are undertaken in a style pointing to a more regional, Northern French visual tradition, though they share many iconographical elements with both the Brussels and Lyon manuscripts. Several factors suggest that the producers of this manuscript requested the intervention of established artisans for the incipit and models, but were unable or unwilling to afford the work of the primary artists for the majority of the manuscript imagery, instead hiring locally trained artists. This manuscript was previously referenced under the shelfmark 15963. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 139).

Rouen

Bibliothèque Municipale

103. Rouen 1056, c.1410-30 (Digital/RDLR). 305 x 220 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 1 image for *Rose*. The single miniature of this manuscript bears a strong resemblance to that of Madrid Vitr. 24-11 [Cat. 129] which likely dates before the Rouen copy given the alternative hairstyles and costumes in that manuscript. While it may have been based on that manuscript's incipit, the reduction in images points to a smaller commission. The siting of the Dreamer in a more perspectively illusionistic space chimes with other *Rose* imagery of the early fifteenth century, and also accords with the examples of spatial awareness present in manuscripts by the so-called Boucicaut Master, and his workshop. It is for this reason – and the fact that it has not developed this aspect fuller as found in later manuscripts – that it is here dated from the second to fourth decades of the 1400s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 139).

Versailles

Bibliothèque Municipale

104. MS 153, c.1315-30 (Digital/RDLR). 240 x 170 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 1 image and heraldry on fol. 2r. Langlois did not view this manuscript, which may explain his erroneous ascription to the fifteenth century, and means his measurement must only be second hand. Both script and the single miniature point to a date in the first half of the century, further narrowed by its proximity to the iconography and visual style of the first miniature in BnF fr. 1558 [Cat. 49]. The curvilinear rose branch extending from the foot of the bed to fill the background, calligraphic red and blue decoration around the edges of the text instead of fuller bar borders and script form point to contemporaneous manuscripts of the date proposed. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 140).

Germany

Brief descriptions and bibliographies for several of these manuscripts appear on the German manuscript-mediaevalia website.

Augsburg

Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg

lv. MS Augsburg I.4.2.4, fourteenth century (RDLR). Fragment; no images. Previously known as I.4. fol. 4 Maihingen Bibliothek Ottingen-Wallerstein.

105. MS Augsburg I.4.2.3, c.1330-50 (Digital/RDLR) (Measurements unknown) 5 images. Some pages in this manuscript are missing, while others feature gaps, suggesting this copy originally contained more images. The imagery relates closely to that of Brussels 9574-5 [Cat. 6] and the artistic style of Lyon 763 [Cat. 31], though the Augsburg scenes are slightly deteriorated. Due to its incomplete state, it is unclear where it fits in the chronological development of these linked manuscripts. Given its artistic similarities to the Lyon copy, it appears to have been undertaken either contemporaneously with or just after the Lyon version. There are a series of unusual and incorrect rubrics, pointing to a hasty reworking of another edition, although the images are all relevant to the poem. This suggests the scribe responsible for the aberrations was still working with the group, before he was removed – or corrected his mistakes – in the Lyon copy. Langlois possibly referred to this manuscript as one of those from the Maihingen Bibliothek Ottingen-Wallerstein. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 163-66).

Berlin

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

106. Ham. 577, c.1310-30 (Digital/RDLR). 215 x 155 mm. 13 surviving images accompany the *Rose*, diagrams appear alongside the subsequent *Image du Monde* by Gautier de Metz from fol. 174r. This manuscript features border decoration, script and figure styles that point to the first few decades of the fourteenth century. The illuminations deviate slightly from more typical schemes of the time, with additional iconographic material that is not found in other manuscripts, such as the *Dreamer on Horseback* of fol. 1r. The manuscript originally contained two more images that were cut out at a later date. (Hamilton, *Catalogue Of the Magnificent Collection of Manuscripts from Hamilton Palace* (Sales Catalogue, 1882), 97 (#577); Stutzmann and Tylus, *Les manuscrits médiévaux*, 222-27).

107. Cod. Gall. Qu. 80, c.1325-40 (Digital/RDLR) (Measurements unknown) 47 images. While the script appears to relax the rigid forms of early fourteenth century exemplars, the iconographic details are more antiquated. By looking back to historiated initials, this copy of the *Rose* redevelops the image cycle in a rare but occasional mode of representation. The bar bordering and details further suggest the early years of the fourteenth century. However, the manuscript seems to have been the work of multiple artists. The first, responsible for the likes of *Idleness and the Lover* on fol. 6r, coloured his figures in stronger pigments, drawing in the major details of faces and hands with a soft black line. The second, shown in *Idleness and the Lover* on fol. 5v, produced squatter figures, but added details with a thinner brush, producing a lighter effect for the characters. Other elements suggest development from earlier trends, such as the taller boxed-in structure of Narcissus' fountain, which reflects a later movement towards a large walled edifice in the latter half of the century. While several aspects appear to point to different periods of development, it is probable that the decision to apply historiated initials throughout was a means of differentiating this *Rose* from contemporaneous productions. As the earliest *Roses* did not contain imagery of this type, and only a handful of others from the fourteenth end fifteenth centuries do, it is possible the antiquarian aesthetic was specifically recreated at a time when past *Roses* could be compared, worked upon and edited, suggesting the second quarter of the 1300s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 162-63; Stutzmann and Tylus, *Les manuscrits médiévaux*, 102-6).

Cologne

Fondation Martin Bodmer

108. Cod. Bodmer 79, 1308 (Digital/RDLR). (Measurements unknown). c.260-65 x c.175-180 mm. 22 images accompany the *Rose*. The date of 1308 comes from a rubric on fol. 1r, which states 'Ci commence li rommans de la Rose ou lart damours est toute enclose lan. IIIc. et. viii.' The format of the incipit derives from the first *Rose* manuscripts, though the manner of its representation does not. This suggests that while the artist knew of the typical elements for *Rose* frontispieces, these were mediated through personal or regionalised artistic mannerisms. Whether this suggests an artist primarily trained outside Paris or Northern France and working in these central regions, or the exporting of a manuscript to another region for completion by local artists is unclear. The visual elements adhere to the date provided in the rubric, and while the images were likely undertaken after the scribe wrote the rubric, its proximity to turn-of-the-century iconographies suggests the artist completed his work not long after. This manuscript visually relates to a privately held copy, the 'Cox Macro Rose' [Cat. 188]. (Vieillard, *Manuscrits Français du Moyen Âge*, 153-56; Notice on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Bodmer79>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

Dusseldorf

Staatlichen Kunstakademie

109. MS A.B. 142, c.1330-40 (Digital/RDLR). (Measurements Unknown) 29 images. This manuscript relates to the manuscript BnF Arsenal 3338 [Cat. 61]. The relation is strongest in the incipit image, featuring a bipartite division in the main image along the vertical axis, as well as medallions interspersed with ivy leaf bordering. The large size of this opening miniature relates to trends for ever-larger incipit scenes in manuscripts approaching the mid-century. While less deteriorated than the Arsenal manuscript, the imagery shows a strong relation to it throughout, with linear figures in front of diapered backgrounds sharing many characteristics with Arsenal 3338, as well as a number of other manuscripts produced in the second quarter of the century. The Rouses ascribed this copy to Jeanne de Montbaston (see the BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58] entry for a refutation of this assumption). (Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60; Weyer "The *Roman de la Rose* manuscript in Duesseldorf", in *De la Rose*, eds. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet, 117-140).

Frankfurt

Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg

110. Ms. lat. qu. 65, c.1300-20 (Digital/RDLR). 245 x 165-170 mm. 14 miniatures, no other texts in the manuscript. This manuscript appears to relate strongly to BnF fr. 9345 [Cat. 45]. The forms of the *Dreamer, Danger and Roses* are retained, although figural styles, facial expressions and body types suggest a different artist. Furthermore, while that copy features three columns of script, this manuscript contains only two columns per page. This suggests that the two copies may have shared similar models, but were subject to different planning constraints – resulting in the low number of images in the Frankfurt version. In terms of date, it is likely contemporaneous with the work of the first artist in BnF fr. 9345. (Bredehorn and Powitz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, 61; Weyer, “The Roman de la Rose in Frankfurt, Lat. Qu. 65”, in *Contez me tout: mélanges de langue et littérature médiévales offerts à Herman Braet*, eds. Catherine Bel, Pascale Dumont and Frank Willaert, 687-705).

Munich

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

111. Cod. Gall. 17, c.1335-50 (Digital/RDLR). 287 x 203 mm. 17 miniatures. This manuscript’s incipit represents a further development from the forms present in BnF fr. 24391 [Cat. 60] and BL Stowe 947 [Cat. 148]. It retains several aspects of those copies, suggesting it developed either one of those manuscripts or shared a model with them. Notably, it directly lifts the scenes of *Narcissus* and the highly unusual scene of *Guillaume and Jean Writing* from the BL Stowe version. It also relates to a further two copies, Assemblée Nationale 1230 [Cat. 37] and BnF fr. 24390 [Cat. 62]. Langlois believed this manuscript was one of those noted in the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. le Duc de la Valliere*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 163; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 380).

Stuttgart

Württembergische Landesbibliothek

112. Cod. Poet. Et. Phil. 2^o6, c.1410-30 (Digital/RDLR). 335 x 240 mm. 29 images for *Rose*, some for other texts. The incipit of this manuscript resurrects the bipartite formation of earlier fourteenth-century manuscripts, although it has been executed in a different manner. The rest of the images recall the *grisaille* and colour formulas of

certain earlier *Roses*, although the colours are more pastel here. Other aspects of early fifteenth-century landscapes have been included, such as large jagged hills, while some backgrounds revisit the patterned flat walls of later-fourteenth-century manuscripts. This is however interspersed with scenes before blue skies, although the striations they are painted in almost hint at the patterned, blocked-in or detailed backgrounds they replace. Attributed to the Master of the Berry Apocalypse by Millard Meiss, in *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (New York: George Braziller, 1974).

Italy

Florence

Riccardiana Library

113. Ricc. 2755, c.1290-1310 (Digital/Riccardiana Library). 257 x 183 mm. 1 image for *Rose*. Stylistically, the lone image relates to imagery of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, although this has been updated by the inclusion of birds and striped bedclothes that featured in those of the second quarter of the 1300s. The ivy leaf protrusions in the margins also suggest trends from the first half of the fourteenth century. Scholarly assumptions of date range from the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 187-88; Lazzi and Gabriele, *Alambicchi di parole. Il Ricettario fiorentino e humaniste* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2009), 165-66; Personal Correspondence with Silvia Castelli of the Riccardiana Library, May 2013).

Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana

lvi. Ashburnham 120, fifteenth century (In Person) No images.

114. Acquisti e Doni 153, c.1300-20 (Microfilm) 77 x 242 mm. 89 miniatures. The irregular narrow format of this copy, iconography and extended visual cycle appears to isolate this manuscript from its contemporary productions. However, Langlois' identification of Norman-Picard irregularities in the language may suggest that the imagery was also completed in a northern or non-Parisian region, or by an artist trained in these regions. Many manuscripts related to locales outside Paris developed alternative iconographies, and indeed the omission of Danger aligns with contemporaneous traditions for omitting this figure in some frontispieces with non-Parisian origins in the early fourteenth century. Throughout, the images bear a close relation to the text, often imaging scenes that had not yet been assimilated into the

typical cycles of other *Roses*, suggesting the presence of an invested *libraire* or planner. In terms of date, the figures show similarities with those of the early fourteenth century French illuminations, with Simonetta Peruzzi suggesting it was produced in the first two decades of the 1300s. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 184-87; Peruzzi, *Il Codice Laurenziano Acquisti e Doni 153*).

Milan

Ambrosiana Library

115. MS I 78 Sup, c.1310-25 (Digital/Ambrosiana). 280 x 190 mm. 24 images. The images in this copy of the *Rose* have been in some instances quite badly damaged, making it hard to draw conclusions regarding its date. The script and marginal decoration relate to early fourteenth-century manuscripts, while its visual forms complement those of the second decade of the 1300s. Compositionally, the squat nature of several images in the cycle also relate to those of early fourteenth-century *Roses*, while the figures relate to those seen in more regional centres, showing similarities with the figural styles in manuscripts like BnF fr. 1558 [Cat. 49]. The presence of companion texts by the likes of Richard de Fournival also suggests an early fourteenth century production, as in later years this pairing of *Rose* and de Fournival was less common in manuscript commissions and productions. (Luisa Sacchi, *Codex: I tesori della biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000), 98).

Rome

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

lvii. Ottob. Lat. 1212, late fourteenth to fifteenth century (In Person/König) Gaps for rubrics and images, not completed. However, a number of faint ink doodles appear in the spaces for images, as well as rubrics or small notations in the margins of characters that would be expected in some of the scenes. In light of the style of these faint images, they do not appear to be preparatory drafts, but instead the work of a later owner of the manuscript filling in the gaps. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 183; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose*).

116. Urb. Lat. 376, also known as the *Roman de la Rose of Berthaud d'Achy*, c.1280-90 (Facsimile, National Library of Scotland/König). 325 x 235 mm. 94 illuminations. This *Rose* features an extensive image cycle considering its early date in the history of the poem's manuscript production. Through the images, it relates to a number of late-

thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript productions, such as BnF fr. 696, which comprises a collection of *Vies des saints* and a *Chronique* that ends in the year 1278, as well as other vernacular productions such as BnF fr. 339 which features narratives from the *Lancelot* cycle. It is proximate to other *Roses*, especially BnF fr. 378 [Cat. 41] and given its early dating may have been the basis for other productions in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. König stylistically dated this manuscript against the Berlin *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of 1283, identifying similarities in the artistic forms and suggesting the same artisan was responsible for both. Outwith this specific comparative analysis, however, its proximity to other Parisian productions in the late thirteenth century does support König's assertions. The manuscript is also notable for the inclusion of a scribal signature in the explicit: 'Bertant dachi escrit cest livre/ Ce diex de tout mal se delivre', and the survival of preparatory information for the artists in the form of marginal sketches and notes. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 183; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose*).

117. Reg. Lat. 1522, c.1310-40. (Digital/BAV). 295 x 210 mm. 22 images accompany *Rose*, 11 others for other texts. König also locates this manuscript to Paris. The imagery reuses elements common in manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century, while the incorporation of visual elements found in Northern French manuscripts, as well as some early *Roses*, also supports König's suggestion of Paris. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 181; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose*).

118. Reg. Lat. 1858, c. 1370-80, written 2 April 1371 (In Person/König) 240 x 186 mm. 145 images. This manuscript features a large number of images, some of which conform to tradition, and others which do not. The incipit is particularly unusual, featuring the Dreamer before a cross-shaped flower bush in the background. The rest of the images in this manuscript differ, being in a sketchier style, akin to the *grisaille* or washed-in miniatures of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The scribal *explicit* provides justification for a late-fourteenth-century dating, stating: 'Lan mil tois cenx onze + sextate, ou temps q li quasendre cause, Fut cist romans fars et ecris, Le secout jour dou more dauvi, et le fit escrire lonnys, Toute lestoire quauerz or, Proies pour celui qui lescrit.' This refers to the date 1371, and a request to pray for the writer, which, while less common in *Roses* than in other manuscript *explicit*s, is perhaps linked to the cross-shaped tree of the first image, and the idea that there was a religious element to be found in the narrative of the *Rose*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 181-83; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose*).

119. Reg. Lat. 1492, c.1470 (In Person/König). 331 x 260 mm. 36 images. This copy of the *Rose* dates clearly from the later fifteenth century, and shows evidence of a Netherlandish influence in the style of the imagery. The first scene is an elaborate multiscenic representation of the first moments of the poem, reproducing a common fifteenth-century trope. Alongside the fifteenth-century script and bordering detail, many scenes feature small scroll elements that name the figures represented, which may relate to the captions that appeared inside some miniatures during the 1400s. The imagery of the manuscript is incomplete, but unusually so. Some opening scenes were completed, but these break off at fol. 4v, before returning sporadically throughout, as with *Narcissus* on fol. 11v, and the *Wheel of Fortune* on fol. 35r. Without further examining the codex, it is difficult to ascertain whether these images correspond to particular bifolios, however their recurrence throughout the start, middle and end of the manuscript suggest they do not. Typically, *Roses* with both gaps and images were only completed on the first few pages, not sporadically through the text, suggesting that the manner of distributing sheets for the illumination of this manuscript differed from the usual methods. König assigned this manuscript to the 1470s, and as being by the Boethius Master of the Jouvenel-Kreis. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 181; König, *Die Liebe im Zeichen der Rose*).

Biblioteca Dell'Accademia dei Lincei Corsini

120. Corsini 1275, c.1340-50 (Digital/Biblioteca Corsini) 299 x 212 mm. Previously known as Coll. 55, K.4. 29 images. This manuscript features the quadripartite, quadrilobed incipit common to a number of mid-century copies. The border of the first folio also incorporates medallions and hybrid animals, again related to contemporary manuscripts of this period. The following images are traditional in nature, with scenes reminiscent of those dating from the second and third decades of the fourteenth century. Other elements in common with contemporary manuscripts are the presence of a stacked roses formation, and the additional lines at the end of the poem ending '*est pure et fine verite*', a variation commonly found in manuscripts with quadripartite incipits, as in Grey's Inn 10 [Cat. 143]. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 184).

Japan

Tokyo

Senshu University

lx. Senshu University MS 2, fourteenth century (Digital/RDLR). No images. Also known as Philipps 4185 and London, British Library, Loan MS. 55/16.

lix. Senshu University MS 3, fifteenth century (Digital/RDLR). No images. Also known as Philipps 2838 and London, British Library, Loan MS. 55/10.

Jersey

St Helier

Jersey Public Library

lx. One manuscript. Images; Unseen (Stolen 1955). (McMunn, "Reconstructing a Missing Manuscript", 31-62).

The Netherlands

Leiden

Universiteitsbibliotheek

lxi. BPL 2552.3, fifteenth century (Leiden). Image not completed.

The Hague

Koninklijke Bibliotheek

A full bibliography for each of these manuscripts is available through the entries on the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Catalogue website.

121. MS 120 D 13, c.1310-25 (Digital/KB). 9 images. (Measurements unknown). This manuscript contains an early incarnation of the bipartite, internally divided form of frontispiece. As the general trend in *Rose* illumination was towards an increase in size and scale of decoration, these larger incipits likely came after those with smaller incipits, as shown in BnF fr. 1558 [Cat. 49]. The visual forms in the rest of the images remain close to late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century styles, placing this manuscript between the first and second stages of *Rose* illumination development, during the second to third decades of the 1300s. Previously known as BR AA61

(Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 174-5; Brayer and Korteweg, *Catalogue of French-Language Medieval Manuscripts*, 34).

122. MS 120 D 12, fourteenth century (script), c.1430-60 (image). (Digital/KB). 280 x 186 mm. 1 image for *Rose*. The canopied bed of this single miniature viewed through an archway is a trope present in other *Rose* incipits from the fifteenth century, while the increased depth of the interior scene leading back to a window reflects developments in perspective from the mid-1400s. While the image has been damaged, its relation to the fourth and fifth decades of French manuscript productions remains clear. However, the text relates more to the trends of fourteenth-century scripts, with upright lettering and little additional adornment. The fact that the first image also sits partially outside the justification of the text's top edge also suggests this scene was added to a manuscript containing a gap for an image or title at a date long after the text was completed. The textual element may be what caused Langlois to refer to it as a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript. Previously known as BR AA60. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 173; Brayer and Korteweg, *Catalogue of French-Language Medieval Manuscripts*, 34).

123. MS 128 C 5, c.1500. (Measurements Unknown). 1 image. This copy of the poem preserves the prose moralisation of Jean Molinet (1433-1507), although the Royal Library notes that the scribe was Augustin Molinet, writing for Philip of Cleves, attested to in the dedication on fol. 1r. This may help to explain the unusual incipit miniature that overlooks the typical Dreamer motif in favour of a presentation miniature. The dress, naturalistic depth of the scene and landscape, and more accurate relation of figures to setting, all place this clearly in the sixteenth century, as classical influences pervaded the art of the European courts. The illuminations have been ascribed to the Master of Antoine Rolin. (Brayer and Korteweg, *Catalogue of French-Language Medieval Manuscripts*, 35).

Museum Meermanno

124. MS 10 B 29, c.1340-50 (Digital). (Measurements unknown) 28 images. This manuscript's first folio relates to those of BnF fr. 24388 [Cat. 67] and Princeton Garrett 126 [Cat. 172] with its quadrilobed, quadripartite incipit, medallions and depiction of the Dreamer 'diving' into the garden in the last quadrant. While the incipit scene represents the Dreamer in a long robe more common in manuscripts of the early

fourteenth century, the rest of the images update his dress to a shorter tunic, more reflective of the aristocratic or noble protagonists represented in manuscripts from the 1350s onwards. The images have been ascribed to the Parisian 'Master of the Breviary of Senlis at Montpellier', c.1350-60. (Meuwese, "Roses, Ruse and Romance", fig. 6; Brayer and Korteweg, *Catalogue of French-Language Medieval Manuscripts*, 60).

Poland

Krakow

Universytet Biblioteka Jagiellonska

lxii. Gall. Fol. 178, fifteenth century (Stutzmann and Tylus) Fragment of Jean's section, no references made to images. Previously owned by Berlin Dt. Staatsbibliothek.

lxiii. Gall. Fol. 209 thirteenth and fifteenth century (Stutzmann and Tylus) No reference to images. Previously owned by Berlin Dt. Staatsbibliothek.

Biblioteka Ksiązki Czartoryskich

[Unnumbered] Czartoryskich 2920 IV Rkps, fifteenth century (Digital/Polona). Having come across this manuscript at a very late stage in the thesis, it was impractical to incorporate this into the present research in detail, though I felt it was necessary to add a catalogue reference for it. If little else, it stands as further testament to the fluidity (and incompleteness) of present cataloguing of illuminated *Roses*. The visual nature of the many illuminations are akin to those of the slightly *ad-hoc* BnF fr. 1564, enclosed in heavy borders and completed in a rather sketchy, blocky hand. The text points to a date comfortably within the fifteenth century, though the habit of indenting after the incipit letter of each line of text has not been dropped, as it would be later in the century. The manuscript also further evidences an involved readership, as a portrait of a demonic figure on folio 98 (following the modern pagination) has been scratched off the page, a further image cut out completely on folios 291/92, around the speech of Genius, and the obliteration of half a page at the end of the narrative, which features the interpolated lines featured in the Gray's Inn copy, among others. Additional interpolations, in a different hand from that of the scribe, appear both throughout the text – adding in omissions – and on the endpapers after the poem. These alterations suggest a reader with a particular approach to the poem and its imagery, experiencing a visceral response to both text and visual scenes they deemed demonic or perhaps, as

Genius' speech borders on the risqué, outright blasphemous. The copy is also unusual given its distinct lack of an incipit image, despite the presence of images elsewhere.

Warsaw

Biblioteka Narodowa

125. Rps. 3760 III, c.1385-1400 (Digital/Biblioteka Narodowa). 40 images. This manuscript has several visual aspects datable to the late fourteenth century, such as the mixture of *grisaille* and full-coloured illustrations, recessive perspective in the miniatures, internal labelling of some miniatures and a script indicative of the turn of the fifteenth century. It bears some visual relation to the Bodleian Douce 332 [Cat. 159] and Douce 364 [Cat. 162] manuscripts.

South Africa

Capetown

National Library of South Africa

126. MS G.4.c.12 (Capetown Library/Steyn). 17 images; 4 seen, rest unseen. Some folios missing. List of miniatures as follows: 1r, *Dreamer, Roses, Danger; Dreamer at Garden Wall*, bipartite incipit with bar bordering, medallions and ivy leaf decoration in the margins of the folio. 3r, *Envy*. 3v, *Sorrow*. 3v, *Viellece*. 4r, *Religious Hypocrisy*. 4v, *Poverty*. 6r, *Carole*. 9r, *Narcissus*. 10r *Author at the Fountain of Narcissus*. 10v *God of Love Attacking the Dreamer*. 11v *God of Love and the Dreamer*. 17v *Lover and female (Responsiveness?)*. 21v *Shame and Fear Waking Danger*. 24r *Jean de Meun*. 43r *Reason Leaving the Dreamer*. 62v *Dreamer and the God of Love*. 65r, *Attack on the Castle of Jealousy*. 66v, *God of Love and Fraud*. 133r *pen and ink sketch of Dreamer taking the Rose*. (Steyn, *The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 97-102).

Spain

Madrid

Biblioteca Nacional de España

lxiv. Rés. 41, fourteenth century with additions post-1600 – outwith parameters of this study (BNE/Digital/Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). 4 images. This manuscript was much mutilated at some point in its history, with all major images cut out. At a later date, the copy was restored with a full set of opening folios and some patches to cover other

losses. The original script and decorative styles point to a date in the mid to late fourteenth century, with initial letters still separated from the rest of the line, and simple bordering with ivy leaf. The later restorer has attempted to reconstruct both the text of the poem – complete with an imitation of the format of the fourteenth-century script – and several images. At times these relate to fourteenth-century image traditions, but others are completely atypical, and all of the images incorporate classicising dress for the figures, quite unlike the era they imitate. This suggests the replacement pages were not copied from deteriorated originals, but compiled and designed based on another source. The 1770 *Catalogue Raisonne* of M. Joseph-Louis Dominique de Cambis, Marquis of Velleron, makes no reference to his having undertaken these alterations, and describes the images now found in the manuscript, making it clear the new scenes were added prior to his acquiring the copy. Previously catalogued as R 3, Ee 77. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 179-80).

lxv. MS. 10319, (Langlois/Catálogo BNE), fourteenth century. No images.

127. MS 10032, c.1330-40 (Digital/ Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). 37 images. (Measurements unknown). While the incipit and iconography relates to late thirteenth and early fourteenth century forms, the addition of medallions around the edges of the first folio, as well as the figural style throughout suggests that it was created nearer to the mid-century. Medallions in particular appear in dated manuscripts of the 1350, although here they are smaller and less pronounced, suggesting an early instance of the trope. Here, they contain shields or coats of arms, a variation on the heads more commonly found in these medallions in other *Roses*. This suggests that heraldry and identification was important to the owner. The iconography does contain some novelties and atypical scenes for this period, including the *Old Woman Giving the Chaplet to Responsiveness*, which would only become more common in later decades. Furthermore, someone has apparently objected to the image of the dreamer paying homage to the God of Love, likely with a kiss, as this has been erased. Some relation to the Rouses' hypothetical works of Jeanne de Montbaston are found in the iconography and images - the *Personifications*, for example, relate to those of the Dusseldorf and Baltimore Walters copies (see those manuscripts for a refutation of that assumption). (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits* – this is possibly one of the several copies described on 178-79; Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 293; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

128. MS Vit. 23-11, c.1340-50 (Digital/Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). (Measurements unknown). 28 images. This copy relates to manuscripts featuring quadripartite incipits from the mid-fourteenth century. This exemplar features both the traditional *Dreamer-Roses-Danger* formation in the first quarter alongside decorative medallions with heads in the marginal decoration. It features minimal elaboration in some of the internal miniatures, and several repetitive figure types in the secondary images of the cycle, such as those of *Covetousness* and *Avarice* on fol. 2v. Elements of the imagery do not relate to other copies, suggesting that it was a regional or alternative workshop copy based on the model of another manuscript. This manuscript was previously known by the shelfmark Rés. 5a-19, Osuna. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 179; Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 409; McMunn, "Reconstructing a Missing Manuscript")

129. MS Vit. 24-11, c.1380-1410 (Digital/ Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). 340 x 250 mm. 31 images. The first scene of this manuscript is proximate to Rouen 1056, and was perhaps based on Vit. 24-11, though the Rouen copy only features one image. The secondary scenes of this manuscript recall late-fourteenth-century tropes, with *grisaille* figures in front of coloured backgrounds, akin to the Bodleian manuscripts of contemporary date [Cats. 159-160]. At times, the figures incorporate dress or hairstyles more common in the early fifteenth century. This manuscript was previously known by the shelfmark Rés. 4a-14, Osuna. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 178-79; Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 416).

Valencia

Universitat de València Biblioteca Històrica

A fuller bibliography for this manuscript can be found under the catalogue entry for Valencia 387 on 'Trobos', the homepage of the Valencia University Library.

130. BH Ms. 387, c.1400-10 (Digital/RDLR). 390 x 285 mm. 160 images. This manuscript is the single most densely illustrated *Rose* surviving today, featuring a number of multiscenic images that relate to contemporary manuscripts now held in the BnF, including BnF fr. 12595 [Cat. 90] and Arsenal 3339 [Cat. 95]. The multiscenic episodes are depicted in a linear fashion in the incipit, although in later scenes it takes a more circular form. MS 387 incorporates *grisaille*-and-colour miniatures, a form popular in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. However, there is a disjunction between the initial scenes and those from fol. 13v, with increased bold colours and gold shading only appearing at the start of the manuscript. As this trend

was only popular in the second half of the century, it seems that additions were made in the later fifteenth century, but only to the first few folios. Many commentators reference the nature of the imagery in this manuscript, particularly its focus on Classical Antiquity, and the recourse to sources outside the text, although given the numerous examples in *Rose* iconography of 'alternative' iconographical sequences, it is not too much of an anomaly compared to the wider corpus, though its Classical focus is almost unique. Overall, the sequence suggests the manuscript was designed for a particular patron who would appreciate the wealth of Classical references. Its incorporation of fifteenth-century *bâtarde* script, illuminations and decorative elements all point to the early decades of the century. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 180-81; Ost, "The 'Mythographical Images'", 141-81; Ost, "Illuminating the *Roman de la Rose*", 405-35).

Sweden

Stockholm

Kungliga Bibliothek

131. MS Vu 39, c.1480-1520 (In Person). 350 x 277 mm. 82 images, other texts with images. This manuscript repeats the M-frame incipit of a number of fifteenth-century copies of the *Rose*, though the marginalia, featuring small putti, hybrid figures and two shields places it somewhat later than the majority of copies featuring this element. It also features an incongruous aspect in the *Personification* scenes, blending the pedestal form with interior and exterior backgrounds. While the dress of the principal figures aligns with the late fifteenth century, several elements of the iconography are unprecedented, such as the Dreamer taking a roll-call of the barons. Divergences from typical iconography were common in the later fifteenth century, perhaps attributable to the large temporal gap between the era of the poem's completion and its reception by audiences some 200 years later.

Switzerland

Bern

Burgerbibliothek

lxvi. MS 230, mid fourteenth century (Langlois/Bern Burgerbibliothek) No images.

lxvii. MS 364, c.1350-1400 (Langlois). Contains images. Unseen. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 194-195).

Geneva

Bibliothèque cantonale

132. MS 178, 1353 (Digital). 290 x 213 mm (Measurement from Langlois). 41 images. This manuscript, featuring a dated *explicit* after the accompanying *Testament*, provides further evidence for the dating of *Rose* manuscripts containing a quadripartite incipit and medallion decoration on the first folio. While the imagery of the majority of the manuscript and the quadripartite and medallion elements point to common trends in Parisian and central French based manuscripts, the visual style of the frontispiece differs from the rest of the imagery in the copy. Some interventions also suggest a different, potentially later hand at work, evident from examples like the two depictions of *Fortune's Wheel*. While the second depiction is clearly of the fourteenth century, the first is rendered in a style more common to the fifteenth century, and contrasts sharply with its later companion. The manuscript has been ascribed to the Parisian atelier responsible for BnF fr. 1565 [Cat. 76], a *Bible Historiale* dated 1355, and BnF fr. 167, a *Bible Moralisée* for Jean le Bon. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 195; Avril, "Un chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon: la Bible Moralisée, manuscrit français 167 de la Bibliothèque nationale", *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (1972): 91-125; Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*, Band II: Text (Dietikon-Zürich: U. Graf, 1983), #434; Notice of P. H. Dubuis, Geneva Library, 2010 on e-codices.unifr.ch, accessed 14 May 2014).

Lausanne

Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne

133. M.454, c.1325-50 (Digital/Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland). (Measurements unknown). 7 images. Both the short rounded script and exaggeratedly thin figural styles throughout point to an origin outside central France, although the iconography and compositions suggest a dating in the second quarter of the century. The colour palette is also unusual, bearing some relation to manuscripts of an Eastern origin which also occasionally featured a similarly reduced colour range. These factors may explain the atypical incipit scene depicting a lone Dreamer in a two-column

miniature accompanied only by architectural features. The manuscript also features two images in the wrong position. While this might point to an inattentive or even illiterate artist, the rubrics appear to have been inserted haphazardly after the script and imagery was completed, and may point instead to a disorganised production process. Both script and miniatures appear in-line suggesting their relation to now erased guidelines, however the rubrics for Danger and Fortune appear either in the margins, or tucked into the space at the end of a line of script. This makes the artistic mistake easier to understand if they were faced only with a line of script nearby, and not a descriptive rubric. Langlois; *Les Manuscrits*, 195-96; Notice by Timothy Stinson, 2010, on *e-codices.unifr.ch*, accessed 14 May 2013).

United Kingdom

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

lxviii. MS 5012E, fifteenth century (Blamires and Holian). Gaps for miniatures left incomplete. Some interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement* appear in the text.

lxix. MS 5015D, fifteenth century (Blamires and Holian). Gaps for miniatures left incomplete.

134. MS 5017D, c.1325-40 (Blamires and Holian). 290 x 210 cm. 11 images. The frontispiece of this manuscript appears to confuse a number of simultaneous trends in *Rose* illumination. The stylised Rose bush and striped bedcover relate to contemporary trends from the first and second quarters of the century, as does the sparse ivy leaf and bar-borders. The extended incipit does however suggest a date in the second quarter of the 1300s, with a much larger scene than was commonly found in the first group of *Roses* that simply featured a single image over one column of text. As one general trend in *Roses* was towards larger-scale imagery, it is likely this adheres to the date c.1325-40, as it features few indications of mid-century trends in iconography, decoration or script. (Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*).

135. MS 5016D, c.1340-60. (Blamires and Holian). 282 x 202 mm. 24 images. Several elements in this manuscript point to a date in the mid-fourteenth century. The angular, thick script shows no sign of moving towards the relaxed, almost italicised script popular in the second half of the century and the figures are also formulaic, set in

miniatures framed by quasi-architectural detailing, a factor prevalent in several first and second-quarter-century *Roses* but less common after the 1350s. However, the dress of the Dreamer has moved towards the tunic-style imagery prevalent in the second half of the 1300s, suggesting this artisan was working in a transitional period around the mid-century. While its first folio was replaced sometime after the mid-1350s, the surviving images point to a date a little earlier than the 1360s-70s suggested by Blamires and Holian. (Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*).

136. MS 5013D, c.1380-1400. (Blamires and Holian). 283 x 257 mm. 11 images. The *grisaille*-and-colour tones of this manuscript's miniatures, alongside the denser lines of ivy leaf on the first folio and *bâtarde* script, point to a dating in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. A number of miniatures feature delicate scroll or leaf gilded patterns over coloured backgrounds, similar to others of this period. The portraits of the *Personifications*, the only other imagery in this manuscript after the Dreamer incipit, are traditional. As Blamires and Holian give no indication that gaps were left for further images, it seems that this is an unusual image cycle, as most series with a similar number of images spread the scenes out to reference other events from later in the poem, even if only in Guillaume's section. Blamires and Holian also draw a link between this and the Morgan MS M.132 [Cat. 182] stating that compositional elements of the 'vice' scenes correlate between the two manuscripts. However, as they also correctly note, this is not necessarily an artistic connection, as the figures are squatter in the Morgan manuscript, and though they do not state it explicitly, it appears similar models were available to the artists of both copies. (Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*).

137. MS 5011E, c.1410-20 (Blamires and Holian). 335 x 250 mm. 1 image. The incipit format borrows from early fourteenth-century trends for bipartite miniatures, though the scenes are divided by a prominent gap, almost suggesting they are two separate scenes. The manner of its execution relates to later-fourteenth-century trends for part-*grisaille*, part-colour schemes. Blamires and Holian push the dating a decade later than I would propose, as given the extent to which this incipit borrows from earlier motifs, the lack of development in the perspective of the bed and fountain, and the dress of the Dreamer, I would place it closer to the turn of the century. The retrograde application of the open bipartite form suggests the planners were either consciously reusing earlier motifs, or copying from an older manuscript. (Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*).

138. MS 5014D, c. 1460-80 (Blamires and Holian/Valentini). 315 x 225 mm. 1 image. The text incorporates a number of Gui de Mori's interpolations from his *Remainement*. This manuscript features the M-style incipit common to manuscripts just after the mid fifteenth century, although it shows a particular affiliation with Yale Beinecke MS 418 [Cat. 166] in the content, if not the framing of the image. Several manuscripts with the M-format show this same scene of Dreamer asleep and washing his hands in an interior, though the Beinecke manuscript appears to incorporate a very similar isometric view of the figures. Blamires and Holian dated this to the closing years of the century, however the irregularity in perspective, the proximity to earlier manuscripts in layout and content, and the script all suggest a date prior to 1480. The framing in particular is reminiscent of that found in the work of Jean Fouquet, who worked in the mid-century. (Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

Cambridge

St John's College

139. MS G. 5, c.1300-25 (Digital/St John's College). 240 x 172 mm. 1 miniature for *Rose*, other texts in manuscript. This copy relates to *Roses* of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, although it has relocated the sole miniature into a historiated initial. This trend recurred throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but never gained sustained popularity. Historiated initials were more popular in French manuscripts of the thirteenth century, though the visual form of the *Dreamer and Roses* within the initial points to other *Rose* manuscripts from the early years of the fourteenth century. This suggests a date in the first quarter of the fourteenth, even though the issue is complicated by it partaking of both newer traditions (in *Roses*) and older ones (of historiated initials). The scribe has written his name in the manuscript: Jehen du Clos. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 151).

Cambridge University Library

lxx. Additional 2993, 1354 (Langlois). No images.

140. Gg. 4. 6, c.1325-50 (Binski [et al] Catalogue, Incipit Only). 320 x 228 mm. 27 images. While I have only viewed the first folio of this manuscript, it clearly relates to manuscripts of the second quarter of the century in terms of its visual characteristics and subject matter. The Cambridge University Catalogue entry also notes that the

'artist' was identified as Richard de Montbaston, a documented *libraire* active in the period this manuscript was completed (see Brussels 9576 [Cat. 5] and other entries for my refutation of the Rouse's assumptions regarding the Montbastons). Its proximity to contemporaneous manuscripts with similar internally bipartite and multiscenic incipits was one reason resources were not expended on viewing the manuscript in full; for example, the copy particularly relates to the Albi Rohegude 103 and BnF fr. 19156 copies in terms of its frontispiece, perhaps indicating some form of crossover in terms of artist or model. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 148; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60; Binski, Zutshi and Panayotova, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts*, 301-2).

Fitzwilliam Museum

141. MS 169, c.1390-1410 (Digital/Cambridge/Part View Only). 329 x 233 mm. (Number of images unknown). Like BnF fr. 1665 [Cat. 83], this manuscript also features a retrograde quadripartite opening miniature, although the internal details clearly point to the late fourteenth century. The borders feature copious ivy leaf, and the addition of a rounded chair and peaked landscapes suggest trends from the late 1300s to early 1400s. The dress of the protagonists after the first folio are up-to-date with contemporary trends, while elsewhere the attempts to introduce more sophisticated architectural elements again point to the conjunction of traditional modes with modern innovations and fashions. The Cambridge Fitzwilliam Library narrowed the date to c.1398 for unknown reasons. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 150-51).

Glasgow

lxxi. Hunterian MS 52, fifteenth century (Langlois). No images. Also referenced as T.2.10/P.2.1.

Edinburgh

National Library of Scotland

Detailed descriptions of these two manuscripts were provided by David-Jonathan Benrubi for the National Library of Scotland in 2005

lxxii. Adv. 19.1.7, late fourteenth to fifteenth century (In Person/Benrubi). Images left incomplete. First folio lost.

142. Adv. 19.1.6, c.1325-50 (In Person/Benrubi). 252 x 183 mm. 8 images. This manuscript's frontispiece matches closely that of BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58], The Hague MS KB 120 D 13 [Cat. 121] and the Alde-Librairie single leaf [Cat. 190]. However, it also varies the composition, and the imagery points to different workers than those of the related manuscripts. Though the incipit has been damaged, the other scenes in the cycle point to a simpler conception of miniatures and figures to The Hague manuscript. The decoration is somewhat simpler, with partial bar-borders and ivy leaf in place of the medallions in the Alde-Librairie folio. Despite this, its decoration points to a development from the model proposed by Hague KB 120 D 13 which relies far more on visual tropes present in late-thirteenth-century *Roses*. This interrelated group of manuscripts suggests the circulation and popularity of a bipartite incipit model in the second quarter of the fourteenth century which later appears to have been supplanted by a quadripartite version in the mid years of the 1300s. According to Benrubi, multiple scribes worked on the manuscript, while dating evidence is provided by reference to the fair of Lendit on the final folio, which was instigated in the early fourteenth century, and the format of the incipit, which was popular only in the first half of the 1300s. While I disagree with Benrubi's identification of the figure on the right-hand side of the incipit as 'Fair Welcome' (Responsiveness), as related manuscript incipits provide this figure with attributes specific to Idleness, I concur with the larger part of his findings.

London

Gray's Inn

143. MS 10, c.1360 (IN PERSON). (Measurements unknown). 33 images (originally at least 34). While the first folio of this manuscript has been lost, the original design has imprinted onto the flyleaf, revealing that it once contained a quadripartite frontispiece, internal quadrilobed frames. This, combined with the surviving images in the rest of the manuscript, attest to a mid-century dating. While the imagery is traditional, tunic styles of the main protagonists and other details suggest it was produced somewhat later than the majority of quadripartite, quadrilobed incipit manuscripts. The laminated leaf supplied with the manuscript when I viewed it described the copy as a fourteenth-century manuscript with 34 miniatures. (Horwood, A.J. 1869, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts belonging to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1869), 9; N.R. Ker, ed., *Medieval manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 59).

The British Library

An up-to-date bibliography for many of these manuscripts is available through the online Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts and 'Explore Archives and Manuscripts' sections on the British Library website

lxxiii. Additional MS 16169, c.1400 (Ward/In Person). Fragments used in rebinding, no images.

lxxiv. Royal 19 A XVIII, early fifteenth century (Ward/In Person). No images.

lxxv. Royal 20 D VII, fifteenth century (Ward/In Person/Langlois) No images.

144. Royal 19 B XIII, c.1320-40 (Digital/BL). 310 x 210 mm. 24 images. This manuscript is a highly polished example of an early fourteenth-century *Rose*, featuring unprecedented atypical extensions to an otherwise traditional image cycle. Alongside a typical frontispiece at the head of the poem, an elaborate double-page, quadripartite image of the *God of Love* with processional figures suggests more substantial resources were available to the planners than those of typical fourteenth century manuscripts, as well as an extended idea of the function of visual decoration in this copy. Aside from this aspect, much of the rest of the imagery is similar to manuscripts of the third and fourth decades of the 1300s. This manuscript also contains information on its early provenance, containing inscriptions referring to Sir Richard Stury (d.1395), privy counsellor to Edward III and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (d.1397). (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 874-79; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 141-42; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 190).

145. Royal 20 A XVII, c.1325-40 (Ward/In Person/BL). 230 x 170 mm. 43 miniatures for *Rose*, one more accompanying 'Battle of Annezin' text. This manuscript appears to originate from a Northern region of France due to the linear, flatter forms of its imagery. The figures are also unlike the elongated forms in Parisian imagery of this period, though the iconography is common to contemporary productions of the time in other manuscript centres. While the stylised forms suggest an earlier date, this likely stems from the place of production, as such elements persisted longer in these areas and are not an accurate indication of date. The script, on the other hand, relates to the rigid angular forms of the early 1300s, suggesting this manuscript was completed before the second third of the fourteenth century. In this instance, I accept the British Library's attribution of a date c.1340 and from Northern France (Artois or Picardy).

(Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 880-84; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 142; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose" 1989, 190).

146. Egerton 881, c.1350-75 (Digital/In Person). 205 x 140 mm. 65 images. This manuscript features an irregular image cycle for manuscripts of its time period. While the British Library and Camille suggested a date c.1380, figural styles, background details, marginal decoration, script and iconography all point to a slightly earlier dating. The costumes do show a shift towards the shorter tunics more prevalent from the mid-century, however the rendering of many of the figures, particularly in facial details, relates quite strongly to imagery of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, such as those of BnF fr. 802 [Cat. 58]. It is therefore possible that this was produced by artists who worked on *Roses* in an earlier period during their training or earlier career, adapting some aspects (i.e. costumes) to updated fashions, but retaining their mid-century style and training. Matters are further complicated by the presence of at least three artistic hands in the manuscript; while the majority were produced by the artist who visually relates to the early 1300s, some scenes including the incipit, *Venus Vulcan and Mars*, and *Venus Torching the Castle as Danger Exits* show different facial styles and approaches to architectural or furniture detailing that point to a later fourteenth century dating. Given the antiquated nature of the script - rigidly formed letters that would not be out of place in the thirteenth century - it is possible too that this copy was worked on over a long period, with artists hired to finish off the work of previous workers. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 879-80; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 143; Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 148).

147. Additional 31840, c.1330-50 (Ward/In Person). 265 x 184 mm. 43 images. This manuscript features a bipartite incipit related to those of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In a study on Chaucer, Kolve dated this manuscript c.1330, which aligns with the presence of elements such as stacked roses, and more detailed depictions of the figures on the garden wall in wide-angle views of this from a distance. However, it also contains a precocious prefiguring of a much later technique, with wildly variable perspectives in certain scenes of a kind more common in *Roses* of the early fifteenth century. Although the reasons for this departure from the norms of spatial depiction in manuscript miniatures remain unclear, it is possible that this is a very early example of 'exaggerated' perspective for the purpose of expressivity in *Rose* imagery. Notably, this manuscript was subject to artistic intervention in the nineteenth century when its owner, William Burgess, hired a Horatio W. Lonsdale to touch up the

images. A detailed list of the alterations to the images is included on the first folio, though this appears to have been limited to restoring colour and facial features in the majority of the manuscript. While Lonsdale's testimony suggests his intention to retain the original iconography and visual style, it is necessary to bear in mind that the imagery is not wholly of the fourteenth century – and that his statements may not constitute the whole truth of his interventions. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 884-85; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 146).

148. Stowe 947, c.1330-50 (Digital/BL/In Person). 300 x 215 mm. 23 images. This manuscript coincides with the trend for bipartite incipits during the second and third decades of the fourteenth century. Both the ivy leaf decoration in the borders and script style point to a period contemporaneous with bipartite incipits featuring variant scenes. The majority of the rest of the imagery is distinctly traditional, hearkening back to the earliest *Roses* and indeed often simplifying the depictions to basic configurations of figures. Although undertaken by different artists, this copy possibly shared its model or served as a model for BnF fr. 24391 [Cat. 60], which may be dated after 1332 on account of its containing *La prise amoureuse*. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 146; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 213).

149. Additional 42133, c.1350-75, with later additions outside the scope of this study (In Person). 294 x 208 mm. 39 images. The first eight folios of this manuscript were added at a later date, evident in the stylistic mannerisms of the accompanying images which set each scene in strict perspective, incorporate different iconography, and fashions that date beyond the sixteenth century. From fol. 9, fourteenth-century pages reappear, with the first original miniature found on fol. 9v. These elements reflect a dating in the mid-late 1300s, with the backgrounds specifically relating to others of this period. It is unclear whether the replacement pages were in fact additions based on knowledge of the original images, or made up in conjunction with a general understanding of typical *Rose* iconography. No attempt has been made to recreate the medieval stylistic forms in the replacement folios. According to A.W. Byvanck (1924) and the British Library, the *Trinity* miniature later in the manuscript shares marked similarities with the copy in The Hague, Meermannano MS 10 B 29 [Cat. 124]. (A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermannano-Westreenianum à La Haye*. (Paris: Pour les membres de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1924).).

150. Yates Thompson 21, c.1375-1400 (In Person/Digital). 318 x 227 mm. 25 images. Featuring elaborate backgrounds, *grisaille* figures with coloured elements and *bâtarde* script, this copy firmly sits in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. However, it appears to derive from alternative models to those that typify the period in Central France. The ivy leaf and bordering is sparser, while the individual leaves on the first folio are more spiked than is usual. The waif-like marginal figure in the right hand corner of the first leaf bears some relation to the marginalia of Copenhagen GKS 2061-4° [Cat. 13], and while most of the rest of the figures have more in common with the *grisaille* figures of the late 1300s, those of the *Personifications* appear almost as if by another hand, squatter and thicker than the figures from fol. 6v onwards. These figures are seated before a wall, prefacing their typical form in the mid fifteenth century, and yet are unlike the representations of the vices in the text that follows the *Rose*, on fol. 165r, which the *Personifications* normally had much in common with. These elements appear to suggest an artisanal change during the course of manuscript production, perhaps with the secondary artist only gaining access to the limited number of leaves as a training exercise, or to speed up production. (Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts: The British Library*. London: The Library, 1979).

151. Egerton 1069, c.1390-1410 (Ward/In Person/Digital). 150 x 204 mm. 87 images. The decoration of this manuscript incorporates a number of trends from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The late-fourteenth century *bâtarde* script combines with the elaboration of the Dreamer's bedchamber with projecting canopy (in manuscripts from c.1380-1420), oblique or three-quarter architectural constructions (early fifteenth), and a multiscenic incipit with various stages of the action in the Garden (mid-to-late fourteenth century). The conjunction of fully and partially painted miniatures recalls a form present in *Roses* since the Arras 897 [Cat. 17] copy, suggesting that the technique was consistently popular. Furthermore, the disjunction between the incipit figures and the forms of the garden elements (i.e. trees, fountain, flora, wall), suggest that akin to some other *Roses*, the first miniature was the work of a different artist than the rest of the images. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 890; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 143-44; Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 73-74).

152. Royal 19 B XII, c.1390-1410 (Ward/In Person/Digital). 310 x 235 mm. 1 historiated initial for *Rose*. The script of the manuscript is *bâtarde*, similar to contemporary *Roses* though more upright than some forms at the time. The single

image is a historiated initial, a rare but occasional decoration used in *Roses* instead of, or in conjunction with framed rectangular miniatures. The internal scene is akin to other late-fourteenth century incipits with the same subject. The marginal decoration features dense ivy leaf springing in circular formation from the bar borders, though the hybrid animal forms suggest, as does the historiated initial, an awareness of earlier trends for decoration. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 888-89; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 140-41; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 190).

153. Additional 12042, c.1400-30 (Ward/In Person). 328 x 260 mm. 41 images. The incipit of this manuscript features the Dreamer in bed among typical bedroom furniture, in line with contemporary *Rose* incipits. The tonality of this miniature is unusual, in jarring greens and reds, while the following scenes are represented, unframed, in gaps left in the text. It also contains several interesting marginal elements. On fol. 14v, someone appears to have copied the God of Love into the margin likely after the production of the manuscript, not as a visual guide for the artist. Furthermore, a late reader has inserted many Latin notes in the margins, although on fol. 138r the writer has copied in a poem in English on the benefits of deferring one's passions. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 887-88; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 145).

154. Egerton 2022, c.1480-1520s (Ward/In Person). 196 x 126 mm. 42 images. This small-format manuscript bears some relation to the contemporary copy Lyon PA 25 [Cat. 33], though it was clearly executed by different artists using an alternative technique. Here in *camaïeu-brun*, on highly polished pages, the imagery incorporates a different approach to that of other *Roses* with a more summative effect, adding multiple scenes to one image. While other *Roses* included multiscenic imagery, this was not the basis of many scenes, merely an additional element included either in the incipit or some other vignettes, as in Valencia 387. The script is rounded and clear, with gaps at the ends of lines filled in with decorations, akin to much earlier thirteenth-century manuscripts. Though it bears little resemblance to other *Roses*, the figure types, costumes, settings and architecture fit with late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century manuscripts. (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 891-92; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 144).

155. Harley 4425, c.1490-1500, Bruges, Master of the Prayer Books Around 1500. (Ward/Digital). 395 x 290 mm. 92 images. This elaborately decorated copy of the *Rose* reveals a number of Netherlandish traits mingling with typical *Rose* decorative schemes from France. It was made for Engelbert II, count of Nassau and Vianden (d.1504);

Nassau and Vianden's arms, partly overpainted, appear in the manuscript on fol. 7. The text appears to have been copied from the Lyon printed edition of c.1487. The bold floral borders are one of the clearest indications of its origin, but the form of the major figures, as well as the emphasis on an abundance of natural detail in its large scenes, reflects principal interests in that region. Each miniature vignette is packed with details, shading, and attempts at naturalistic rendering of backgrounds and figures. This is quite different to contemporary and even later French *Roses*, which tended to retain aspects from French *Rose* traditions, such as historiated initials (in the Stockholm copy [Cat. 131]), or reveal classicising influences (as with Morgan M.948 [Cat. 185] or the Ferrell Rose [Cat. 189]). (Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 892-94; Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 144-45; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose" 183-91; Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*: 80-81 and 91-92; Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), multiple citations).

Manchester

John Rylands University

156. French 66, c.1300-20 (Digital/RDLR). 280 x 201 mm. 4 images accompany *Rose*. Unknown to Langlois, this copy features many red rubrics and notations in the margins, while its imagery differs from the more popular Parisian or Northern French styles of the time. The scenes feature a more limited palette and flatter images, as well as an antiquated historiated initial, more popular in the early thirteenth century. While its origin in an area less known for *Rose* production could account for its stylistic differences at a later point in history, the script and limited bordering still point to an early period in *Rose* illumination, and it aligns with others produced around this time, such as Amiens MS 437 [Cat. 16]. (Moses, "Hand-List of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 14 (1930): 586.

Oxford

Bodleian Library

lxxvi. Rawlinson MS A.446, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century (Langlois/Bodleian). Excerpts of *Rose* included in a collection of writings; no images.

lxxvii. Rawlinson MS C.537, c.1325-50 (Langlois/Bodleian). Images not completed.

lxxviii. Rawlinson D.913, fourteenth century (Langlois/Bodleian). Fragments, no images.

lxxix. Douce 188, c.1350-1400, overpainted at a date outwith the parameters of this study (In Person). 310 x 280 mm. 61 images. This manuscript was originally produced in the second half of the fourteenth century judging by its script, which still features a pronounced gap between the first and following letters of each line, but has developed into the slightly italicised and more flourished *bâtarde* style. The images were later edited, probably over the original designs, given that the iconography of these later paintings is close to that found in fourteenth-century compositions. The fact that they were painted over in oils which have smudged across facing folios suggests the book was already bound when re-painted. The visual mistakes in the later artistic production make it clear the later artist did not have a full grasp of the design implications of their fourteenth-century predecessor. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 154-55; Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953), Vol. 4, #21762, 548).

157. Add. I. A. 22, c.1300-25 (In Person). 232 x 168 mm. 20 images for *Rose*; the poem is accompanied by a calendar and the *Testament* attributed to Jean de Meun, both of later date and unillustrated, and 20 short verses in French. On the basis of the textual layout and decoration, this appears to date from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, given the sparse bordering on fol. 9r which points to late-thirteenth and early fourteenth-century decorative tropes. The imagery further alludes to an early date as the incipit relates to the early forms of *Dreamer and Roses* miniatures. Unusually, the manuscript also incorporates a significant number of historiated initials alongside square miniatures, suggesting some relation to the now increasingly antiquated form of decoration from the thirteenth century, though these do contain images current in *Rose* iconography from contemporary manuscripts. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 161; Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 5, #28470, 458; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 190).

158. Selden Supra 57, c.1348 (In Person/Digital). 240 x 180 mm. 53 images for *Rose*. This copy features a quadripartite incipit, relating it to a large number of mid-century manuscripts. However, like the Smith-Lesouëf manuscript in the BnF [Cat. 65], it features a gap between the first and second columns of imagery, which does not appear in other manuscripts. A date of 1348 has been suggested for this manuscript based on a now-illegible date once written in the copy. The form of the characters seems to show

some development towards trends popular in the latter half of the century, and thus align with the proposed date. Major visual elements pointing to a mid-century dating are the increasingly elaborate background decorations, including leaf-frond gold detailing in some images, and changes in the dress style of the Dreamer, shown in a courtly tunic rather than the long robed garment of earlier manuscripts. (Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 2, Part 1, #3445, 636-37; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 191).

159. Douce 332, c.1375-1400 (In Person/Digital/RDLR). 278 x 200 mm. 60 images. This manuscript reflects a number of trends incorporated into French manuscript painting at the end of the fourteenth century. The ivy leaf in the bordering is denser, the text is *bâtarde*, and an increased depth has been introduced into the incipit image by the canopied bed and three-quarter view of the garden, although the golden background of this relates to mid-fourteenth-century styles. The figures are in *grisaille*, a trend popularised in manuscripts, including *Roses*, in the last half of the century and retained into the mid fifteenth. (Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 4, #21906, 597).

160. e mus. 65, c.1375-1400 (In Person). 309 x 231 mm. 57 images. Much like its close contemporary in the Bodleian, MS Douce 332, this manuscript incorporates several late-fourteenth century trends in miniature painting. The bar borders accompanied by ivy leaf are less dense than Douce 332 [Cat. 159], but still show a movement towards the increased marginal embellishment that characterised early fifteenth century manuscripts. The *bâtarde* script is also combined with a more 3D articulation of space in the incipit. The other miniatures feature many elaborately designed backgrounds with scroll and leaf motifs in gold overlaid on coloured planes which, combined with the *grisaille* figures, again point to a date in the late 1300s. Interestingly, this manuscript features a number of family notices in English from the seventeenth century. Many of these refer to marriages, or the birth of children in the Courteney family c.1510-1622, suggesting that the *Rose* was viewed as an acceptable alternative to a book of family records, and that its subject was in some way aligned to the preservation of birth, death and marriage notices. (Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 2, Part 2, #3680, 728; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 191-92; Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, multiple citations).

161. Douce 371, c.1400-20 (In Person). 399 x 302 mm. 79 images. Once again, a full colour incipit has been paired with semi-coloured *grisaille* miniatures. These coexist on the first folio, with a secondary scene present a little lower on the page in the second

column. The dense ivy leaf and bar borders of the margins and neat *bâtarde* script recall contemporaneous manuscripts, though some of the compositions seem to straddle the first and second decades of the century. The presence of irregular perspective in some but not all of the miniatures is an atypical but occasional conjunction present in other manuscripts of contemporary date. (Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 4, #21946, 610).

162. Douce 364, c.1460-70 (In Person). 305 x 240 mm. 49 images. This manuscript incorporates the contemporary trend for full borders, packed with naturalistic observations of flowers most commonly found in Netherlandish manuscripts. However, this is combined with the older-style acanthus and thin ivy decorative motifs, suggesting a period before the floral borders took over. The opening miniature recycles and updates the M-style historiated initial form of older *Rose* incipits, with an arched, compartmentalised double-column incipit showing the first actions of the Dreamer. This mode was popular for a short period after the mid-century, and appears in several other manuscripts of similar date. Titles appear on the surface of some miniatures, a development from the red rubrics appearing outside miniatures in older manuscripts. While the perspectival elements in several miniatures are often naturalistically 'accurate', other aspects – such as the striated blue skies with bold golden stars – show an artisanal attachment to mid-century compositions and colourings. Langlois believed this manuscript was one of those noted in the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. le Duc de la Valliere*. (Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue*, Vol. 4, #21939, 606).

163. Douce 195, c.1480-1500 (Digital/RDLR). 345 mm x 235 mm. 127 images. One of the more famous *Rose* manuscripts, this copy was created by an artist of Netherlandish training, as the elaborate floral ornament in the borders and general imagery suggest. A coat of arms appears in the first initial, while the text relates to the late-century thin *bâtarde* that continued to be used into the sixteenth century. The images reproduce some fashions of the mid-century, and is one of the more elaborately designed and illuminated manuscripts. (Hunt et al, 1897, Vol. 4, #21769, p.550; Deborah McGrady, "Reinventing the *Roman de la Rose* for a Woman Reader: The Case of MS Douce 195", *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*, 4, (2001): 202-27).

Merton College Library

lxxx. Merton College E.4.6/A and B. Two fragments of two separate *Roses*, no images.

USA

California

San Marino

Huntington Library

lxxxii. MS Hm 902, fourteenth century (UCB Berkeley). Images left incomplete.

Berkeley

University of California, Bancroft Library

lxxxii. MS 144, c.1450-75 (OskiCat, the UCB Library Catalogue) No images.

Los Angeles

J. Paul Getty Museum

164. Ludwig XV 7, c.1400-10 (Digital/RDLR). 370 x 260 mm. 101 images. Visually, this manuscript appears to approximate the Valencia manuscript [Cat. 130], as it features the similar striated blue skylines, coloured earth, and *grisaille* figures. However, the forms of the figures are not entirely alike, suggesting a different date for the two manuscripts, though still both in the first half of the fifteenth century. While the Getty manuscript shows less desire to focus on the classical references in the text (with the exception of the incorporation of a large image of King Scipio in the incipit), it is possible they were guided by a similar interpretive aim. Other factors pointing to the early fifteenth-century dating are the attempts to approximate visual perspective, the antiquated script that attempts fourteenth-century forms, the somewhat blank washed-in backgrounds with *grisaille* figures, and the antiquated forms of the *Personifications*. (Notice by Timothy L. Stinson on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;LudwigXV7>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

Connecticut

New Haven

Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

lxxxiii. Beinecke MS 33 (Z.111.015), fourteenth century (Beinecke/Hawkins). No images. Some leaves missing.

165. Beinecke MS 592, written 1462, Rouen. (Digital/Part View Only/Beinecke) 39 images; 3 viewed. On the evidence of the three miniatures I viewed in this manuscript, it would appear that the imagery relates to the period around that mentioned by the scribe in the explicit, a Durand Abraham, who wrote it at Rouen in 1462. The male figures incorporate the heavy-torso and thin leg format of contemporaneous manuscripts, while the iconography of the three scenes viewed (*Narcissus at the Fountain*, the *Forge of Nature*, and *Pygmalion*) remains traditional in nature to prior and contemporaneous *Roses*. As the Beinecke records state, the manuscript was annotated with references to royal births and betrothals, as well as a reference to the birth of Pierre Abraham, son of the scribe of the manuscript. This suggests a personal motivation may have been at stake for the scribe of this copy, who may also have gone on to own it and commission the images. (Albert Derolez' description viewed through *Orbis*, the Yale University Library Catalogue, 7 July 2015).

166. Beinecke MS 418, c.1460-80 (Digital). 318 x 210 mm. 66 images. This copy combines a number of later fifteenth-century tropes in *Rose* decoration. Acanthus and floral ornament appears throughout the margins, labels appear inside some miniatures, and the men wear both short tunics and longer robes, all common in the late 1400s. More than one artist appears to have worked on this manuscript, as in the first few images the Dreamer and floral ornament is styled subtly differently from that in the second group of images: most notably, the Dreamer's shoulders broaden. He then undergoes another dress-change from folio 50r. Several of the costume changes coincide with script changes on the same folios, suggesting that a large team was employed to work on this manuscript. With only one column of text per page, and much space allotted to marginalia and the rectangular miniatures, it is unsurprising that a group of artisans was employed, as the *Rose* in this manuscript stretches to a grand

total of 315 folios – one of the highest for a *Rose* of any period. According to an *explicit* on fol. 315r, the scribe was working for a ‘Master Pierre Louvel’. (Barbara Shailor et al., *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, Vol. 2 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984-1992).).

Illinois

Chicago

University of Chicago Library

167. University of Chicago, MS 1380, c.1350-75 (Digital/RDLR). 265 x 180 mm. 41 images. This manuscript features atypical iconography, principally in the incipit. The more elaborate backgrounds, and elegant, courtly dress of the Dreamer and many of his companions point to a dating in the latter half of the century, though it is unclear where the iconography of the incipit came from; it is likely that this was an original edit made either by the artist, or at the request of a patron. Previously known as Kew, Coll. Sydney Cockerell. (Langlois, *Les Manuscrits*, 152-54, referred to under the heading ‘*Cambridge, Bibliotheque de M. Sydney C Cockerell*’; Notice by Timothy L. Stinson on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;UC1380>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

Urbana

University of Illinois

168. Pre-1650 MS 0081, previously shelfmarked MS x841R661 Or13, c.1310-30 (Digital/University of Illinois) 241 x 171 mm. 2 images. Both script and visual forms indicate a dating in the first half of the fourteenth century. The incipit relates clearly to another copy of the poem, BnF fr. 1561 [Cat. 52] which was evidently based on the same model and evidences a dating to the first third of the fourteenth century. However, as the number of images varies greatly between the two manuscripts, it is probable that the two were made to different specifications. The Illinois copy also features some spaces where rubrics were not completed, however the space on fol. 129v would have been large enough for an image of *Franchise Battling Danger*, suggesting that the images were also left unfinished. Manuscript also referred to as ‘Lothian’. (W.H. Bond and C.U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1962), No. 81, 171).

Indiana

Notre Dame

University of Notre Dame

175. MS 34, c.1460-80 (Digital/RDLR). 300 x 222 mm. 1 image for *Rose*, a historiated initial. This manuscript's incipit resurrects a trope most common in fourteenth century *Roses*, though subtly updates it. Instead of a typical opening scene with the Dreamer, here a seated figure – perhaps the poet – is accompanied by two men in an interior. Acanthus leaf ornament is lightly painted around the margins of the initial, while the central bar of the M has been indicated only at top and bottom, a useful trick to avoid blocking the view of the interior scene. While an unusual image, aspects of the interior, figures and decoration coincide with the script to suggest a date in the second half of the century, but prior to the closing decades, as the perspective is still somewhat unnaturalistic. According to Corbett, the arms on the first folio are that of the Fraidel family, suggesting again a patron's desire to be associated with a copy of the *Rose*. (James A. Corbett, *Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame*. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1978).).

Maryland

Baltimore

The Walters Art Museum

169. MS W.143, c.1340-50 (Digital/RDLR). 289 x 205 mm. 42 miniatures. This copy of the *Rose* features the quadripartite incipit popular in those of the mid-century alongside elements of earlier manuscripts of the 1300s. The Randall catalogue describes this copy as being completed in Paris, under Northern French influence c.1340-50, which is evidenced by the majority of elements in the visual and script styles, and saw similarities between it and the manuscript now held in Capetown [Cat. 126]. This manuscript relates to other manuscripts, particularly Morgan M.503 [Cat. 178], although it appears the patrons of this manuscript either requested, or were simply able to pay for, more elaborate miniatures. The shields of the armies on fol. 101v, for example, feature careful patterns suggesting heraldry, while those of the related Morgan manuscript were left blank. The Rouses believed this was by Jeanne de Montbaston, and while it does relate to imagery linked to this group of manuscripts, as noted in the catalogue entry for BnF fr. 802 and other copies, this is inadequate proof

that either Jeanne or her husband were in fact illuminators. (Lilian Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Vol. 1, France, 875-1420* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1989), 173-76 and 330; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60; Notice by Timothy L. Stinson on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;Walters143>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

Massachusetts

Cambridge

Harvard University, Houghton Library

lxxxiv. MS Fr. 14, c.1470 (Houghton Library/Hawkins) No images.

lxxxv. Fr. 39, fourteenth century with later century repainting (Digital/Harvard/Hawkins). 230 x 160 mm. 1 image, overpainted in a period outwith the parameters of this study. The single image in this manuscript may or may not be based on an original sketch, but the heavy painting has completely obscured any original image beneath. The script is the main indication of its original date, with the first letter standing out from the rest of each line and the upright text suggesting a pre-1350 dating. It is likely that the borders and other decoration on fol. 1r was altered at the same time the image was retouched, as the decorative floral and stem arrangement has little in common with fourteenth-century marginal ornamentation. Also referred to as MS Fr. 14.5. (Hawkins, "The Manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose", 3-17; McMunn, "Programs of Illustration", 746).

Missouri

Columbia

University of Missouri, Ellis Library

170. Fragmenta 156, c.1350-70 (Digital/University of Missouri). 248 x 186 cm. 3 images on a single leaf. This manuscript fragment only contains images of the *Carole* in the Garden of Delight. These have been executed in a linear style with minimal colouring washed over the figures and frames. The Dreamer wears a long robe with a hood reminiscent of fourteenth-century dress styles, while the hair of several of the female characters relates to a form prevalent in the mid-century. While the execution is unusual, similar images do feature in *Roses* of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth

century, and the figures and script relate to copies of this poem from the second half of the fourteenth century, although no extant fragments match the visual style of Fragmenta 156. (Milton Gatch, "Fragmenta Manuscripta and Varia at Missouri and Cambridge", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1990): 434-75 concerns the historical compilation 'Fragmenta Manuscripta' to which it once belonged).

New Hampshire

Hanover

Dartmouth College Library

171. Rauner Codex 3206, c.1325-50 (Digital/RDLR). (Measurements unknown). 11 images and a marginalia hunt scene on fol. 1r. Unknown to Langlois, this manuscript features some unusual elements making a stylistic dating more difficult. While the illuminations and marginal decoration generally appear to be from the first quarter of the century, the looser script forms and irregularities in the visual cycle suggest that it has evolved from prior trends, and was produced closer to the mid-century. It is possible that this confusion of motifs is the result of tampering; the malformed head of the Dreamer on fol. 1r is incongruous with the rest of the facial features in the manuscript and appears to have been redrawn. One notable aspect is the recurrent presence of the Dreamer figure in scenes typically focusing on other characters, such as the Personifications. This device produces the effect that the Dreamer is accompanying the viewer as they visualise subsequent episodes, and is a novel technique for *Rose* illustration. This atypical iconography relates to similar methods used in later fourteenth and fifteenth century *Roses*, and was likely a planned element of the illumination sequence. It has been linked to the artistic circle of the Master of Thomas of Maubeuge, and is also referred to as the Chevrier Rose, as under ultraviolet light the inscriptions 'Ce livre est a Pierre Chevrier, seigneur de Ville[neuve]' and 'C'est a P. Chevrier, seigneur de Javanrennes' are visible. (Notation reproduced in the digital catalogue entry for the manuscript, available at: <http://libcat.dartmouth.edu/record=b4740527~S8>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

New Jersey

Princeton, Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections

lxxxvi. Princeton MS 132.43, (McMunn). A much-mutilated fragment of a *Rose*, no images.

172. Garrett 126, c.1340-60 (Digital/Princeton). 210 x 160 mm. 35 images. This manuscript represents something of a development from the *Roses* of the mid-century featuring a quadripartite incipit. The incipit features quadrilobed sections, common in those dateable to the 1350s, and some playful features such as the Dreamer 'diving' into the garden in the fourth quadrant. Lori Walters described this manuscript as a typical mid-fourteenth-century copy, and stated that François Avril dated it to c.1330-50, while Alison Stones independently dated it to the same period. Walters also noted that the medallions in the borders were especially characteristic of Parisian productions of the period, a fact held up by the prevalence of such details in other *Roses*. (See Walters, 'A Parisian Manuscript' for a detailed study of this manuscript, compared against BnF fr. 1565, BnF fr. 24388 and Morgan M.324).

New York

New York

Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library

lxxxvii. Plimpton MS 285 (UCB Library, Berkeley). Fourteenth century; no images. Fragment used to bind an account book.

173. Plimpton MS 284, c.1325-50 (Digital) 315 x 223 mm. 11 images. This is a fragment containing 6 folios, commencing after the start of the poem and ending with a final image of the *Carole*. The absent first folio was speculatively identified as the leaf sold by the Alde-Librairie Giraud Badin in 2012 [Cat. 190], however the ivy leaves in particular seem to be formed differently, with the multi-lobed forms of the Alde-Librairie leaf differing from the simpler forms of the Plimpton MS. As many manuscripts lack their incipit folios – or indeed survive only in one or two leaves – the Alde-Librairie leaf may have belonged to another incomplete or lost manuscript. The primary link between this and the single leaf is that this manuscript was apparently in the possession of Tammaro

De Marinis, from a manuscript in the collection of Antoine Moriau, and the Alde-Libraire leaf contains an ex-libris of Moriau. However, it would not be uncommon for bibliophiles to own more than one copy of a manuscript and thus this does not secure the link between the two fragments. UCB Berkeley's Digital Scriptorium record describes this manuscript as dating from the last years of the century (likely an error, given the posited link to the Alde-Librairie leaf which dates c.1330-40). The format of these images, the figural characteristics such as hairstyles, and architectural elements point instead to a date in the first half of the fourteenth century. (Seymour de Ricci, ed., *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1935-40), 1805).

New York Public Library

174. Spencer 78, c.1390-1410 (Digital, Partial View Only). 314 x 258 mm. 76 images. While I was unable to view the majority of this manuscript, the images viewed point to a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century dating. The *bâtarde* script, *grisaille* and colour tones and denser ivy leaf decoration on the first folio all suggest the turn of the century. In the miniatures in the body of the text, the vellum has been left blank in the backgrounds, a trend prevalent in several *Roses* at this time, and presumably a development of the *grisaille* work of the preceding two decades, as with Morgan M.132 [Cat. 182]. (J.J.G. Alexander, James H. Marrow and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval Renaissance Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, (New York: New York Public Library, 2005), Entry 92).

Pierpont Morgan Library

Detailed Bibliographies and Curatorial Records for all Rose manuscripts are available through Corsair

lxxxvii. M.181, c.1400 (Corsair). Images not completed. Listed in Langlois as No. 113

176. M.372, c.1320-30 (Digital/Corsair) 300 x 210 mm. 13 images. The similarity in this manuscript's frontispiece to the Montpellier H.246 [Cat. 35] copy suggests an initial point of contact, however the differing script, truncated image cycle and formal properties of the figures suggest it was a less luxury, and perhaps hastier production. The figures are sketchier in style, pointing to different artists or the same group working under less exacting circumstances, and the lower number of images means this copy required far less gold, suggesting less money was available for the

commission. The traditional image cycle shares elements with the Montpellier manuscript, and this in conjunction with the strict script and sparse borders imply a date in the third decade of the fourteenth century. (Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 190).

177. M.120, c.1330-60 (Digital/Corsair). 270 x 200 mm. 1 image. This tripartite incipit appears to be completely unique, as there are no other extant manuscripts containing the same configuration of scenes in the frontispiece. The iconography also varies from that of contemporary manuscripts. The hoods and tunics of the figures suggest a date in the second third of the century. However, as the script remains tight and rectilinear, and on the basis of the figural and decorative styles, it appears to date from a period somewhat earlier than the Morgan's assumption of c.1370.

178. M.503, c.1340-50 (Digital/Corsair). 300 x 210 mm. 29 miniatures. This copy strongly relates to the Baltimore manuscript [Cat. 169] in layout, composition and stylistic completion of the miniatures. Despite the discrepancy in the number of images - a common feature of manuscripts undertaken by the same workshop - the two manuscripts are clearly by a group working from very similar models. Divergences in the width of the miniatures may be down to the layout left by the scribes and manuscript planners prior to artistic involvement in the miniatures. Curatorial remarks from the Morgan Library refer to the circumstantial assumption of the Rouses concerning the involvement of the Montbastons - see the BnF fr. 802 entry regarding this and other manuscripts' presumed relation to the 'works' of Jeanne de Montbaston. (Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 191; Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et Uxorati*, 253-60).

179. M.185, c.1345-60 (Digital/Corsair). 255 x 180 mm. 35 images. This copy features a quadripartite incipit relating to those from the middle of the century. It incorporates some compositional elements akin to others in the four quadrants of the incipit, though it has dropped the figure of Danger from the first section. This aligns with later-fourteenth-century incipit styles that commonly omitted this figure. The following images retain traditional iconography, although the presence of medallions with heads inside them on the first folio means the imagery also strongly relates to mid-century depictions. One important development is the updating of the Dreamer's dress style, which is now a tunic and long sleeves, referencing more modern male dress styles that would continue throughout the second half of the century. This manuscript was referenced by Langlois under its previous shelfmark, No. 111. (Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm and Desire", 149, 153, 155-56).

180. M.48, c.1340-60 (Digital/Corsair). 274 x 195 mm. 33 images. This manuscript features the quadrilobed, quadripartite incipit common to manuscripts of the mid-century, however the medallions around the margins are less prominent than in contemporary copies with these elements. Furthermore, the composition of the final quadrant does not share its form with other copies, perhaps due to the use of a different model. The figures also stand before antiquated backgrounds, with diapered and chequered patterns rather than the more elaborate floral motifs used more commonly in the second half of the century. (Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 191; McMunn, "Programs of Illustration", Figures 4 and 7).

181. M.324, c.1350-60 (Digital/Corsair). 300 x 225 mm. 51 images. This manuscript also features the quadrilobed and quadripartite incipit style of the mid-century, but also incorporates the 'diving Dreamer' found in several copies, suggesting a relation to this including the copy held in the Princeton library [Cat. 172]. Once more, figures appear in medallions around the edges, although some of the forms of backgrounds in other scenes through the manuscript relate to styles more common in the latter half of the century. (Walters, "A Parisian Manuscript", 36, 38-42; Braet, "Der Roman der Rose", 191; Lewis, "Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure", 216; Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, multiple citations).

182. MS M.132, c.1375-80 (Digital/Corsair). 202 x 138 mm. 71 images. This manuscript features iconographical additions tying it to the irregular MS BnF nouv. acq, 28047 [Cat. 78], but also a *grisaille*, washed-in colouration shared with several other manuscripts of the late fourteenth century. The bar-borders, script and ivy leaf appear somewhat regressive, yet the *grisaille*, sharper landscapes and canopied bed situate it firmly in the later century. While the Morgan limits the dating to ca.1380, it is a good idea to leave some margin for error, as such *grisaille* elements, and canopied beds were, as with NAF 28047, present somewhat earlier. This manuscript is referred to by Langlois by the shelfmark Morgan 112, which he dated correctly to the last third of the fourteenth century. (Lewis, "Images of Opening, Penetration and Closure", 241; McMunn, "Notes on Representations of the Erotic", 129; Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, multiple citations; Huot, "Women and 'Woman' in Bodley, Douce 332", 43, 50).

183. Glazier 32, c.1380-1400 and additions outwith the parameters of this study (Digital/Corsair/Valentini). 287 x 210 mm. 79 images. The text contains some

interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*. The first two folios of this manuscript are more modern replacements, featuring miniatures that approximate a fifteenth-century mode of representation in the incipit and 5 of the *Personification* scenes. The model appears to have been either the *Ferrell Rose* or one very like it, at least for the incipit, which features the same composition. The replacement incipit incorporates an M-shaped frame, with a multiscenic representation inside, as well as elaborate floral and acanthus bordering elsewhere on the folio. The rendering is however from a date beyond the fifteenth century, although it incorporates details common in those of the 1460s. The rest of the images from fol. 3 onwards are late fourteenth century, with patterned backgrounds, figures located in approximations of 3D space, and new additions to the iconography and developments of contemporaneous elements. Differences between scenes point to multiple workers, perhaps the result of an apprentice-teacher relationship as some images are more fully rendered. Repeated scenes such as those found here would offer good opportunities for practice as the student could simply 'copy' what they saw in the original. The Morgan Library and other sources believe this originated in Belgium, possibly Tournai. (Ost, "Illuminating the *Roman de la Rose*", 410; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

184. M.245, c.1405-15 (Digital). 285 x 210 mm. 36 miniatures, one of which is a historiated initial. While the Morgan Library ascribed the copy to Paris, ca.1405, the forms articulated in the design of the miniatures and the styles and shapes of the principal figures appear to suggest this artist was trained outside the capital. Though this does not exclude the possibility of its production in Paris, as the typical *bâtarde* script and marginalia suggest, it does suggest a more complex production cycle than that of other *Roses*. The form of the incipit is unlike anything present in *Rose* manuscripts of this period, and this visual difference extends to the rest of the images, featuring flora quite unlike typical central-French forms for the Garden decoration, as well as carefully articulated and shaded facial features that seem to belong to a much later period of illustration in France. The accumulation of these aspects, at times combined with typical French background and decorative motifs, suggests that the artist was trained elsewhere, but worked with French-trained artists on the production of this *Rose*. Such collaboration was not unknown in the Parisian capital. On the basis of the visual evidence, it would appear the artist was trained in Italy, as in Italian manuscripts a similar approach to facial rendering, landscape and architecture is found, as in the Italian Antiphoner, BL Add. 60630, c.1410-30. (Lewis, "Images of Opening,

Penetration and Closure”, 226, 233; McMunn, “Programs of Illustration”, 744; Blamires and Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated*, multiple citations; Meuwese, “Roses, Ruse and Romance”, 103, 116).

185. Morgan M.948, c. 1519-47. Rouen (DIGITAL) 262 x 186 mm. 107 images. Copied from a printed edition by Michel Le Noir, Paris, 1519. This copy, undertaken for François I of France by the scribe Girard Acarie, uses several folios near the front to glorify the king of France with his heraldry, emblems, and a presentation portrait. The classicising influence is striking with columned rooms, courtly halls, lavish dress and decoration continued throughout each page of the manuscript. Large images appear throughout, meaning the copy stretches to 207 folios, with each scene featuring far more dramatic poses and sequences than any previous copy of the *Rose*. It is also the last illuminated *Rose* to survive from the medieval period. While it holds a prestigious place in the history of *Rose* illumination, it also represents a moment when the *Rose*'s popularity in the medieval era finally came to an end. (Braet, “Der Roman der Rose”, 191; McMunn, “Notes on Representations of the Erotic”, 129).

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Philip S. Collins Collection

186. MS Collins 1945-65-3, c.1450-60. (Digital/RDLR/Valentini). 339 x 236 mm. 75 images for *Rose*, one accompanying another text. The *Rose* text contains some interpolations from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*. This manuscript features a number of elements typical in *Roses* of the mid-century, with a large opening miniature, representations of the wall personifications isolated in interiors (unlike the exteriors of earlier imagery) and tunic and legging costumes with long pointed boots for male figures. The acanthus and ivy leaf decoration on the majority of pages points to a similar dating to BnF fr. 19137 [Cat. 98]. However, the first folio marginalia, as well as the deep perspective applied to the opening miniature, appears to date a little later. Whether the result of later loss and reconstruction, or completed by another artisan with a better understanding of perspective, this scene is incongruous with the majority of images in the manuscript, pointing once more to an unusual production cycle. (Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the*

University of Pennsylvania to 1800, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 54 (as MS French 1); Valentini. *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

University of Pennsylvania Library

lxxxviii. Codex 906, c.1470-1500. (Digital/RDLR). Gaps for images only.

Virginia

Charlottesville

University of Virginia, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library

187. MS 6765, c.1300-25 (Digital/University of Virginia). 275 x 220 mm. 9 images. This fragment of the *Rose* contains few miniatures, and though the leaves are in a poor state, they are in fact more legible than the oxidised BnF nouv. acq. fr. 9252 [Cat. 46]. While the record supplied with the digital scan suggests only 'fourteenth century french', and Langlois' study provides no account of the manuscript, the minimal marginal decoration, script style and formal characteristics of the images point to an early fourteenth century dating. (Personal correspondence with Anne Causey at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library; basic curatorial information included with scan).

2: Private Collections and Sales Catalogues

Manuscript Sold in Christie's Sale 17 Jun 2003, previously owned by Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica.

Manuscript in Christie's Sale *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, London, 9 Jul 2001. (RDLR) Gui de Mori version of text. No further information found. (Valentini, "Le Remanement de Gui de Mori", fn. 21, 303; Valentini, *Le remanement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

Manuscript (Phillipps 129?) in Sotheby's Sale, 17 Jun 1997. (RDLR). No further information found.

Drouot, Paris Sale 16 Dec 1994, 'Brochart' MS. (RDLR). No further information found.

Manuscript in Ader Picard Tajan Sale, Paris 16 Sept 1988, previously known as the 'Richmond' manuscript. (RDLR) Gui de Mori elements in Guillaume's section only. No

further information found. (Valentini, "Le Remainement de Gui de Mori", fn. 21, 303; Valentini, *Le remainement du Roman de la Rose*, 12).

1 leaf fragment, Sold Christie's Sale 30 May 1984, no. 100 (RDLR). No further information found.

188. Cox Macro Rose, c.1305-10 (Digital/RDLR). 295 x 220 mm. 1 image accompanies the *Rose*; another for *La Châtelaine de Vergi*. While the description of Timothy L. Stinson suggests other images may have been intended for the copy, these spaces – relative to the incipit – appear too small to have been intended for pictures, and were more likely designed for rubrics. In terms of date, the proximity of the incipit to that of Bodmer 79 [Cat. 108] suggests that similar artists or models were shared between these manuscripts. In terms of which came first, the tonsured dreamer of the Cox Macro Rose suggests a closer relation to the late-thirteenth-century sequences of 'original' *Rose* decoration and may therefore suggest an earlier dating. Particular differences in the formulation of some figures and decoration, such as the duvet and colouring, could perhaps be the result of two different artists working in close proximity, sharing their iconographical and compositional model, but differing in their application of pigment, which could also suggest the manuscripts were produced simultaneously. (Description by Stinson on RDLR, <http://romandelarose.org/#book;CoxMacro>, accessed 4 Sept 2016).

189. Ferrell Rose, c.1480-90 (Digital/RDLR). 285 x 210 mm. 38 images. This manuscript appears to be the last representation of the M-style incipit with multiscentic elements, which is here combined with elaborate acanthus, floral and figured margins, and a thin, late-century *bâtarde* script. The following images also reflect classicising elements, akin to those of François I's copy [Cat. 185]), while quasi-Roman capital script is used for the labels around and inside the images. Many of the characters retain their traditional attributes, though the figures are dressed in white clothes, lending them an almost ethereal form. This could perhaps be an approximation of fourteenth-century *Rose* imagery which achieved striking effects with the contrast of *grisaille* and colour figures, and found a resurgence at the end of the century with pen-and-ink shaded figures such as those in Egerton 2022 [Cat. 154]. The manuscript was previously shelfmarked as Phillipps 4357, Baron Hatvany. Evidently this manuscript was in the hands of the owner of Morgan G.32, as the first folio replacement image in that copy relates very strongly to the incipit of the *Ferrell* manuscript.

190. Alde-Librairie Giraud-Badin, 8 June 2012, fol. 1., c.1325-50. Believed speculatively to be fol. 1r of the quire that is now Columbia University Plimpton MS 284 [Cat. 173]. The single miniature of this incipit leaf depicts a bipartite scene with medallions featured in the page border alongside ivy leaf decoration. It contains an ex-libris, '*Ex bibl. Ant. Moriau proc. et. adv. Regis*' which is the primary reason for its having been linked to the Plimpton MS. The image relates this leaf to manuscripts of the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century with a similar incipit, such as The Hague KB 120 D 13, or Edinburgh Adv. 19.1.6 [Cats. 121 and 142]. The medallion border motif was also popular in mid-century manuscripts, some of which are dated, meaning this may have been an early exponent of this feature. The sales catalogue dates the manuscript to c.1330-40 and originating from Paris. (Sales Description of auction on 8 June 2012; reference to Plimpton MS from RDLR database materials).

3: Unverified References to Manuscripts

From Langlois

- Manuscript of Clémence de Hongrie, sold 1328, to Jean Billouart
- Manuscript of Jean de Saffres (d.1349) left a *Rose* to the Cathedral
- A *Rose* referenced in a fourteenth-century note in MS 75 (BL in-fol. 39) of the Library of Sainte-Genevieve
- 4 *Roses* in the inventories of Charles V and VI, appearing in inventories from 1373-1424
- 1396 payment by Louis d'Orléans to Jacques Johan for 2 volumes, one opening with a *Rose*
- Manuscript of Jean de Champigny (d.1399) left a *Rose* to nephew Jean de Raale
- Reference to *Rose* in inventory of Josselin Castle, on death of commander Clisson, 1407
- 4 *Roses* in the inventories of Jean de Berry, two likely identified as BnF MSS fr. 380 and fr. 12595
- Receipt for *Rose* in accounts of Charles VIII
- Sale of *Rose* on death of Count of Namur, 1429
- Reference to *Rose* sent by Etienne le Gris to Jean Lebegue, 1444
- Letter by Petrarch mentioning intent to send a manuscript, possibly a *Rose*
- *Rose* of Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy
- *Rose* mentioned in inventory of Jean d'Orléans, Count of Angoulême
- Inventory produced at Châteaudun, 1468, of books of Jean, the 'bastard of Orléans' notes a *Rose* containing a *Consolation* of Boethius
- Inventory of Arles, 1468 by Guillaume Raymundi on books of Jean Quiqueran de Beaujeu noting a *Rose* with a *Consolation* of Boethius
- Inventory of books of Este household, noting a *Rose*
- *Rose* in a 17th century inventory of a Picard magistrate
- Reference to *Rose* by Madame de Saint-Surin, in *L'Hotel de Cluny au moyen-age* (1853) containing also the *Testament*, *Les Contenances de table*, groups of 46, 27 and 18 moral or other quatrains, and 'Teachings'
- M. Rouart notice on *Rose* in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1860, on paper, 15th century, including a religious interpolation between Guillaume and Jean borrowed from Gui de Mori's *Remainement*

- J.-L. Bourdillon of Geneva, owning a *Rose* sold 1847, also with *Testament*
- *Rose* mentioned by M. Leopold Delisle as being sold in 1878, containing *Rose* and *Testament*
- Delisle notation of a *Rose* present in an 1865 exhibition
- *Rose* sold in London, 1865, apparently to a private American buyer
- *Rose* manuscript in sales catalogue of Hamilton collection from 1889, London, with grisaille miniatures
- Illuminated *Rose* mentioned in a catalogue from Library of B. Quaritch (pub. 1893) sold in 1878, containing miniatures – possibly that containing 74 scenes, created c.1475, and sold by Perkins (England)
- Fragment of M. [Hermann] Suchier. Late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Langlois makes no reference to images; no further information found
- MS Fr. LVI in Copenhagen Royal Library - description does not correspond with any of the current holdings of *Roses* I viewed on my visit during January 2014

From RDLR

- MS in the Antiquariat Bibernmühle, Ramsen, apparently related to the Voynich manuscript noted by Langlois (p.147)
- Boston, Nathan Appleton Collection of Medieval Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society
- MS in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich
- Hs. 94 in Stiftsbibliothek, Engelburg
- Czartoryskich 2920 in Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich
- MS 238, Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
- MS in Biblioteca Estense, Modena
- MS in Asti, Archivio Comunale
- Astor A.12. Stolen from private collection, formerly of Astor collection
- Mons, Fragments 1-3 in the Bibliotheque de l'Universite de Mons-Hainaut
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1598, related by RDLR to the Bibliotheque de la Minerve B.III.18 mentioned by Langlois
- Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit Fragment 573 (RDLR). Fragment of five parts, mostly illegible

From Multiple Sources

- Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre 740/Caen, Archives Départementales, fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR)
- Falaise, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 37, dated 1432 (Langlois/Arlima)
- Wormsley Manor, Getty Collection (De la Rose/RDLR). Coucy Rose, private collection. The author referencing this manuscript draws attention to its miniatures discussed in a paper by Meradith McMunn; no further information found. There appear to be several other dispersals from this collection, details may be found in *De la Rose*, indexed on p.544
- MS 164 in Bibliothèque Municipale, Narbonne (Langlois/RDLR)
- Chartres, Librairie Sourget No. 1 (De La Rose/RDLR/Rouse and Rouse)
- Fitzwilliam Museum MS 168
- The Hague KB KA XXIV (*De la Rose*) RDLR suggests this could be in reference to one of the several verified manuscripts in The Hague libraries
- Bruges, Rijksarchief te Brugge 3944

Italy, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria

- MS L.V. 20 (also referred to as L.V.26), mid fourteenth century (Langlois/RDLR) Unknown image status
- MS L.II.22 (Langlois). Late thirteenth century. Miniatures
- MS L.III.28 (Langlois). Early fourteenth century. Miniatures
- MS L.V.35 (also referred to as L.I.13), (Langlois/RDLR) Unknown image status
- MS L.V.26, late fourteenth to fifteenth century (Langlois) Unknown image status

Russia, St Petersburg: Hermitage Museum

- Manuscript on parchment, fifteenth century (Langlois) No further information found. Possibly coincides with entry in RDLR database, St Petersburg State Hermitage Print Dept. MS. 5, also referenced as Berlin, Hamilton-MS.576, Museum Stieglitz 14045, and Poltsoff 2153. However, the RDLR's reference to a copy in the Print Department seems to suggest this is a different manuscript to that referenced by Langlois

Russia, St Petersburg: National Library of Russia

- MS No. 1, fifteenth century (Langlois) No further information found. Possibly coincides with entry in RDLR database, St Petersburg Russian National Library Fr. F.V.XIV, 5, also known as State Library Saltykov-Shchedrin. (Langlois referred to the institution as the Imperial Library in St Petersburg)
- MS No.55, fourteenth century (Langlois) No further information found. This may also be the manuscript referenced in the RDLR database. (Langlois referred to the institution as the Imperial Library in St Petersburg)

Thanks

Anne Causey, for forwarding a digital scan of fragment Charlottesville MS 6765

José Bouman, for information on the sale of the Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam manuscript

Isabella Ceccopieri, for information on the Biblioteca Casanatense *Rose*, MS 1598, Rome
Halina Fedyna at the National Library, Poland

Joanna Jaskowiec of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Poland

All staff at the Royal Library, Brussels, Ghent University Library, the Tournai Town Library, the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the Musée Conde, Chantilly, the Municipal Library, Meaux, the Riccardiana and Laurenziana Libraries, Florence, the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana and Vatican Libraries, Rome, the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm, the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, the Library of Gray's Inn, London, the British Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and all other libraries contacted during the course of my research regarding manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*

4: Printed Editions, c.1480-1538

- a. St-Omer, Inc. 77-2223, c.1481 (Digital/St-Omer) 82 woodcuts, six of which are repeated, resulting in a total of 92 images accompanying the *Rose*. Speculatively identified as an edition by Jean Croquet, Geneva, however no explicit printer's name, place of origin or date appears in the edition. Bourdillon previously considered this to be an Ortuin and Schenck edition, of Lyon, due to watermarks, letter patterns and the provenance of one copy. Other copies of this edition are held in the British Library, Pierpont Morgan Library and Paris Mazarine Library among others. Corresponds to Bourdillon's Folio I.
- b. Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris, Est Mas 995, c.1481 (Digital/Cat'zArts). This is also one of the Croquet prints, though this time the images have been coloured in. Brunet, Jacques-Charles, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, tome troisième*, (Paris : Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1862) [8° 219 A], 1171. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. (Leipzig, Berlin, 1925-), n°11854. Corresponds to Bourdillon's Folio I.
- c. BnF Rés. Ye. 13, c.1481 (Coilly and Tesnière/BnF). This is a further exemplar of the Croquet edition, featuring an erroneous hand-painted initial on the first page beneath the opening image - an 'S' instead of the 'M' for (M)aintes. (f. a 2r). The copy also features additional pen bracketing of certain lines, likely by a later reader of the poem. Corresponds to Bourdillon's Folio I.
- d. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., Incunable Rosenwald 396, c.1487, also known as Incun. X. R75 (Digital/RDLR). 85 woodcuts, printed from blocks used previously in an earlier edition attributed to Jean Syber, at Lyon, c.1485 (unseen; described below). Rosenwald 396 belongs to a run printed by Guillaume le Roy, at Lyon. The woodcuts of this and the Syber edition were closely based on those of the Croquet edition, though they do revise the imagery slightly. Other copies of this edition exist in Lyon, the BnF, Pierpont Morgan Library, and British Library, among others. Rosenwald 396 corresponds to Bourdillon's Folio III.
- e. BnF Res. Ye-166, c.1494 (Digital/Gallica). 83 woodcuts, 5 reused to produce 88 images, printed from the same blocks as the Guillaume le Roy and Jean Syber editions. This edition is attributed to Jean du Pré as it features his device and initials which appear in another edition printed by him c.1493. This copy corresponds to Bourdillon's

Folio IV. Other copies of this edition are held in the British Library and Cambrai Médiatheque, among others.

f. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, c.1493-5 (Digital/Bonn). 62 woodcuts in total, many used in several different positions to result in 88 images. 16 cuts appear to have been specially made for the edition, with a further 46 reused from other editions. The special cuts imitate those of Du Pré's. The Bonn edition is attributed to Antoine Vérard, as it features his device as a frontispiece. The British Library, Washington Library of Congress and BnF hold copies on vellum with illuminations over the woodcuts. This copy corresponds to Bourdillon's Folio V.

g. Library of Congress, Washington, Incun. X. G974, after 1493 (Coilly and Tesnière/BnF). For Antoine Vérard or Jean Petit, with illuminations over the woodcuts. This is a single leaf from Vérard's c.1493 edition [Cat. f]. The illustrations of the folio correspond closely to the images underneath, i.e. those of the Syber and Le Roy editions of the 1480s, though some details have been omitted or expanded upon.

h. BnF Res. M-Ye-22, c.1497-8 (Digital/Gallica Numm. 71274). 80 woodcuts, some repeated to result in 87 images. The cuts are those featured in the Jean Siber, Guillaume le Roy and Jean du Pré editions described above. This BnF copy features Jehan Petit's device at the front, and also states that it was printed in Paris, however other Parisian originating editions of this were printed with the devices of Vérard, Le Petit Laurens, or without indication of the printer. These editions correspond with Bourdillon's Folio VI.

i. BnF Velins-578, c.1497-8 (Digital/Gallica/Part Viewed Only). Frontispiece only viewed. This copy appears to be a variant of the above edition [Cat. h], variously attributed to Le Petit Laurens, Jean Petit, Michel le Noir and Antoine Vérard. This specific example features Vérard's motif, the central part of which has been painted over.

j. BnF Res. Ye 22, 1500 (Digital/Gallica). Attributed to Vérard and Galliot du Pré. 85 woodcuts, some scenes repeated to result in 88 images. The imagery, while new, imitates the popular woodcuts of the Croquet, Le Roy, du Pré et al editions. This edition corresponds to Bourdillon's Quarto I, though Bourdillon illustrates a variant version with a double image at the head of the text, rather than the single *Dreamer and Danger* scene in the Res. Ye 22 copy.

k. Library of Congress, Washington, Incunable Rosenwald 917, 1503 (Digital/RDLR) Edition of Jean Molinet's *Roman de la Rose moralisé*. 139 images in the text, from 67 original woodcuts. Two of these are re-cuts of the popular Lyon series. This edition was printed by Guillaume Balsarin, Lyon. This edition corresponds to Bourdillon's 'Molinet's Prose Version II'.

l. 1515 Edition (Bourdillon/Part Viewed Only). Viewed as reproduction in Bourdillon's *Early Editions*; rest unseen. According to Bourdillon's notes, this Quarto edition was printed by Michel le Noir, largely using imagery from an edition of *Matheolus* much like his earlier edition of 1509. 14 woodcuts appeared in the edition, one matching the 1509 print. It was followed by a 1519 edition, which was very similar in terms of imagery. This represents Bourdillon's Quarto III.

m. BnF Rés. Vélins 1102, c.1511 (Coilly and Tesnière/BnF). This is a copy of Molinet's moralisation printed on vellum and with coloured cuts. The painted incipit scene borrows lightly from the imagery accompanying the normal printed edition (see Library of Congress Rosenwald 917), however the artist has turned this into a presentation scene, wherein the author hands the book to an important figure before witnesses. The seated author's position and triangular pulpit may however had been borrowed from the earlier woodcut design.

n. BnF Arsenal, Réserve-8-BL-8671 (Coilly and Tesnière/BnF/Part Viewed Only), This incunable is a print of Michel le Noir's 1519 edition, which used very similar imagery to his 1515 edition, again largely borrowed from editions of *Matheolus*. It was after this edition of the text that the manuscript for François I [Cat. 185] was copied from. Bourdillon describes this as Quarto IV, containing a similar number of images to 'Quarto III' (Michel le Noir's 1515 edition), borrowed again largely from editions of *Matheolus*.

o. BnF Rés Ye 16, 1521 (Digital/Gallica/Bourdillon). Edition of Molinet's *Roman de la Rose moralisé*. One large cut and 22 small. Two previous editions of Molinet's Moralisation appeared in 1500 and 1503, both incorporating prior imagery; the first of Vérard's Quarto, the second including some recuts of the popular imagery of the Jean Croquet et al editions. This edition corresponds to the Bourdillon category 'Molinet's Prose Version III'.

p. BnF Rés. Vélins 1100, c.1526 (Coilly and Tesnière/BnF). This is a version of Clement Marot's first *Recension* printed on vellum. The imagery of the first few folios corresponds with the earlier editions of Michel le Noir and the Syber/Le Roy visual traditions, though they have been painted in full colour. According to Bourdillon, the full edition featured 83 different woodcuts, of which some were reused to produce a total of 92 images, while the imagery was largely borrowed from earlier editions by Antoine Vérard.

q. 1529 Clement Marot's *Recension*, Galliot du Pré Edition, 1529 (Digital/Gallica Facsimile Numm.54662). 31 cuts, some repeated to result in 50 images. According to Bourdillon, these images were specially designed for the edition, and were reused in the 1531 reprinting of Marot's recension. This edition corresponds to Bourdillon's 'Clement Marot's Recension II'.

4: Unseen Printed Editions or Details of Editions

- r. Jean Syber edition, ca.1485 (Bourdillon/BL). Described by Bourdillon as Folio II. Illustrated with 85 original woodcuts, some of which repeated. This series of images also found in several other editions. Copies of this exist in the British Library, and at Lyon, Amiens and in the Pierpont Morgan Library, among others.
- s. Bourdillon's Folio VII, c.1496-1505 (Bourdillon/BL). Set of 5 variant imprints, printed by Nicolas Desprez, and in Paris for Jehan Petit, Pierre le Caron, Jehan Ponce, Guillaume Eustace and Michel le Noir. According to Bourdillon, these also repeat the Lyon woodcuts of the Syber et al editions. Copies are held in the Harvard College Library (Houghton Library), New Haven, Yale University (Beinecke Library), the Library of Congress, Paris BnF and others.
- t. Michel le Noir edition, 1509 (Bourdillon). Described by Bourdillon as Quarto II, and containing only one woodcut accompaniment, borrowed from an edition of *Matheolus*. Various libraries including London, British Library and Paris BnF hold copies of this edition. The colophon identifies both date and printer: 'nouvellement imprime a Paris l'an mil cinq cens et neuf. Le penultime jour de febvrier par Michel le noir Libraire iure en L'universite de Paris, Demourant en la grant rue de saint Jacques, a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronnee'.
- u. Jehan Ihannot, Paris, 1520-1 (Bourdillon). Described by Bourdillon as Quarto V, with the reference to Jehan Ihannot appearing in the colophon. Features three repeated small cuts of a writer at a desk. Bourdillon further narrows the date as a Jehan Janot/Ihannot/Jehannot died before 1522, and this edition is copied from le Noir's edition of 1519.
- v. Edition of 1526, unknown publisher (Bourdillon). Described by Bourdillon as Quarto VI. The date is noted in the colophon, and the double woodcut at the opening repeats that of the three Quartos of Michel le Noir. Small cuts in texts follow layout of the Ihannot edition, but are different images.
- w. Alain Lotrain, Paris, c.1529 (Bourdillon). Title and cut at start borrowed from 1526 edition. Three small cuts in text appear in same places as the Ihannot and anonymous 1526 edition. Cuts from *Matheolus*, and *Le chevalier delibere* of 1493 also appear. Described by Bourdillon as Quarto VII.

x. Jean Molinet's Prose Version, 1500 (Bourdillon). Illustrations largely same as those in Vérard's Quarto.

y. Clement Marot's Recension III, 1531 (Bourdillon). 31 different woodcuts in text, some reused to make 59 images throughout. Contains the same series as was designed for his Second Recension, described above.

z. Clement Marot's Recension IV, 1537-8 (Bourdillon). 26 different woodcuts lead to 49 images. These are re-cuts of the images that appeared in Recension II.

List of Illustrations

1. *Ezekiel's Dream/Vision*, miniature on fol. 350v of BnF Arsenal 590, the so-called *Bible of Charles V*, c.1300
2. *Death of Herod; Joseph's Dream of the Flight into Egypt*, fol. 9r in BL Lansdowne 420, c.1200-1225
3. *Jacob's Dream; Jacob Blessing the Site of his Dream*, fol. 13v in the so-called 'St Louis Psalter', BnF Lat. 10525, c.1253-70
4. *Cain Killing Abel; God Asks Cain About Abel*, fol. 2r in BnF Lat. 10525
5. *Tree of Jesse*, fol. 267r in BnF fr. 16747, c.1200-25
6. *Nascien's Dream*, fol. 43r in BnF fr. 95, c.1280-90
7. *Nascien Blessed; Nascien Approaching the Ship of Solomon*, fol. 44v in BnF fr. 95
8. *Dream of Gaynor*, fol. 63r in BnF fr. 344, c.1275-90
9. *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of Vatican Urb. Lat. 376, c.1280-90
10. Detail of a historiated initial featuring a teaching figure at the head of Johannitius' *Isagoge*, on fol. 2r of BL Harley 3140, known as the 'Articella', c.1300-1325
11. Detail of fol. 137r with a historiated initial (*Teacher and Students*) at the head of Isaac's *Fevers*, on fol. 137r of BL Harley 3140
12. Folio 1r of Vatican Urb. Lat. 376
13. *Reclining Dreamer*, incipit on fol. 38v of Dijon 526, c.1275-1300
14. *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 13r of BnF fr. 378, c.1280-90
15. *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 1559, c.1290-1310
16. *Author? Reading to an Audience; Dreamer and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 1569, c.1290-1310
17. *Guillaume or Gui de Mori Writing*, historiated initial on fol. 5r of Tournai MS 101, c.1330
18. *Author Writing (Pierre Comestor)*, incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 155, a copy of Guiard des Moulins' *Bible Historiale*, c.1310-20
19. *Pierre Comestor Giving His Text to Guillaume, Archbishop of Sens*, miniature on fol. 1v of BnF fr. 155
20. *God and Angels; Historiated Initial 'P' with Guiard des Moulins Writing*, detail of fol. 1r of BnF fr. 8, a copy of Guiard des Moulins' *Bible Historiale*, c.1320-1330, attributed to the Master of the *Roman de Fauvel* and his collaborators
21. *Poet and Onlookers; Dreamer and Dog*, incipit on fol. 1r of Bodleian Douce 195, c.1480-1500
22. *Jean Writing*, miniature on fol. 28v of Rennes 243, c.1330-50
23. *Jean and Guillaume*, miniature on fol. 27v of Munich Cod. Gall. 17, c.1335-50
24. Folio 1r with a quadripartite incipit in a *Roman de la Rose*, BnF fr. 1565, dated 1352
25. Folio 3r of a *Grandes Chroniques* with a quadripartite incipit, BnF fr. 10135, after 1333
26. *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 39v of Milan Ambrosiana I 78 Sup, c.1310-25

27. *Dreamer and Idleness*, miniature on fol. 3v of Milan Ambrosiana I 78 Sup
28. *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 47r of Chalons-en-Champagne 270, c.1320-40
29. *Dreamer in Bed, Idleness at the Garden Gate, and the Dreamer in the Garden*, miniature on fol. 1r of Chalons-en-Champagne 270
30. *Croesus Hanging*, miniature on fol. 05i of Charlottesville University of Virginia MS 6765, c.1300-25
31. *Croesus and Phanie*, Historiated initial 'F' on fol. 48v of Berlin Cod. Gall. Qu. 80, c.1325-40
32. *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 46v of Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1126, c.1345-55
33. *Dreamer? Danger?* First quadrant of the quadripartite miniature on fol. 1r of Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1126
34. *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 50v of BnF fr. 25526, c.1340-60
35. *Dreamer Sleeping; Dreamer in the Garden*, miniature on fol. 1r of Bodleian e mus. 65, c.1375-1400
36. *Dreamer Sleeping*, miniature on fol. 120v of BnF fr. 812, c.1400-10
37. *King Scipio; Dreamer in Bed*, miniatures on fol. 1r of Getty Ludwig XV 7, c.1400-10
38. *Guillaume's Dream of the Heavenly City*, miniature on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 829, a copy of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages*, c.1400
39. *Multiscenic Dreamer Incipit*, miniature on fol. 2r of Valencia 387, c.1400-10
40. *Multiscenic Dreamer Incipit to Guillaume de Deguilleville's Pèlerinages*, miniature on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 376, c.1400-20
41. *Dream of Socrates*, miniature on fol. 40r of Valencia 387
42. *Dream of Jacob*, miniature on fol. 161v of BnF fr. 2810, c.1410-1412
43. *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 48r of Valencia 387
44. *Dreamer Wakens*, miniature on fol. 148v of Valencia 387
45. *Reunion with the Rose; Dreamer Waking*, bas-de-page miniature on fol. 170v of Tournai BM 101, c.1330
46. *Dreamer Waking*, miniature on folio 207r of Morgan M.948, c.1519-47
47. Incipit folio of British Library Egerton 1069, c.1390-1410
48. *Idleness and the Dreamer at the Garden Gate*, miniature on fol. 5v of Egerton 1069
49. *Old Woman and the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 100r of Egerton 1069
50. Detail of a miniature on fol. 8r of British Library Burney 257, c.1405?
51. Detail of a miniature on fol. 13v of Burney 257
52. Folio 56v in the 'Salisbury Breviary', BnF Lat. 17294, c.1430-40
53. *Presentation Scene*, folio 1r of The Hague MS 128 C 5, c.1500
54. *Coat of Arms*, full page miniature on fol. 3v of Morgan M.948, c.1519-1547
55. *Presentation to François I*, full page miniature on fol. 4r of Morgan M. 948
56. *Presentation*, full page miniature on fol. Jv of BnF fr. 2817, after 1515
57. First folio (43r) of the *Roman de la Rose* in BnF fr. 12876, c.1310-40
58. Detail of fol. 43r, BnF fr. 12786

59. Detail of fol. 1r of Milan Ambrosiana MS I 78 Sup, c.1315-50, with small 'm' inscribed on the worn left-hand sidebar of the large decorated M initial of 'maintes'
60. *Dreamer 'M' Initial* on fol. 1r of Chalon-sur-Saône BM 33, c.1325-50
61. First folio of *Rose* (1r) in Besançon 553, c.1350-1400
62. Detail of fol. 1r, Besançon 553
63. Folios 1v-2r in Lyon 764, with three gaps preceding the sketch of Avarice, c.1325-50
64. Detail of fol. 2r in Lyon 764
65. Folios 2v-3r in Lyon 764, with varying degrees of preparatory work across a double-page spread
66. *Two Illuminators at Work on Manuscripts, bas-de-page* image on fol. 77v of *Rose* BnF fr. 25526, c.1340-60
67. *Battle of Love's Army and the Gatekeepers*, fol. 112r in BnF fr. 12593, c.1340-60
68. Detail of fol. 5v in *Rose*, Bodleian e mus. 65, c.1375-1400, showing miniature alongside marginal doodles by a later user of the manuscript
69. Marginal sketch of crutches, detail of fol. 3v in BnF fr. 802, c.1325-50
70. *Old Age*, miniature on fol. 3v of BnF fr. 802
71. Marginal sketch of bow and arrow, detail, fol. 11r in BnF fr. 802
72. *God of Love Fires at the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 11r of BnF fr. 802
73. *Dreamer at the Fountain*, miniature on fol. 11r of BnF fr. 802
74. Marginal sketch, fol. 11r, BnF fr. 802
75. *The Dreamer (Narcissus?) at the Fountain*, miniature on fol. 12r of BnF fr. 802
76. Marginal sketch, fol. 12r, BnF fr. 802
77. Incipit miniatures, fol. 1r of BnF fr. 805, c.1400-20
78. *Carole in the Garden of Delight*, miniature on fol. 7r in BnF fr. 805
79. *Dreamer and Responsiveness Embrace, Watched by Slander*, miniature on fol. 25v of BnF fr. 805
80. Incipit on fol. 1r of *Rose* Arras 897, c.1375-1400
81. *Dreamer at the Garden Wall*, miniature on fol. 2r of Arras 897
82. *Dreamer Outside the Castle of Jealousy*, miniature on fol. 23v of Arras 897
83. *Dreamer and Roses?* Miniature on fol. 120v of Arras 897
84. *Dreamer and Roses*, incipit on fol. 1r of Lyon 763, c.1330-50
85. *Dreamer and Roses*, incipit on fol. 1r of KB 9574-5, c.1325-50
86. *Multiscenic Dreamer, Roses, Idleness*, incipit on fol. 2r of Rennes 243, c.1330-50
87. *Jean de Meun*, miniature on fol. 68v of Brussels 9574-5, c.1325-50
88. *Jean de Meun*, miniature on fol. 27r of Lyon 763, c.1330-50
89. *Jean de Meun*, miniature on fol. 21v of Augsburg I.4.2.3., c.1330-50
90. *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 12r of Brussels 9574-5
91. *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 12r of BnF fr. 12588, c.1325-40
92. *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 13v of Rennes 243, c.1330-50
93. *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 14v of Draguignan 17, c.1330-50
94. Folios 16v-17r in BnF fr. 12592, showing layout of text and small marginal scene on left-hand folio margin, c.1375-1420

95. *Virginius and Virginia*, marginal image on fol. 16v of BnF fr. 12592
96. Fol. 72v of Baltimore Walters W.143, c.1340-50
97. Detail of fol. 72v, Baltimore Walters W.143
98. Detail of miniature on fol. 72v of Baltimore Walters W. 143
99. Detail of *Old Age*, drawing on fol. 3v of BnF fr. 1574, c.1325-50 and later additions
100. *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, overpainted miniature on fol. 13v of Bodleian Douce 188, c.1350-1400 and later additions
101. *Dreamer and Danger; Dreamer and Idleness, Rose* incipit of Jean Croquet's Edition, printed in Geneva, c.1481
102. *Croesus and Phanie*, woodcut of Croquet's Edition of the *Rose*, c.1481
103. *Dreamer and Danger; Dreamer and Idleness*, incipit to Guillaume Le Roy's *Rose*, printed Lyon, c.1487
104. *God of Love and Dreamer; God of Love and Idleness*, incipit to Antoine Vérard's *Rose*, printed Paris, c.1493-5
105. *Lecturing Scene*, incipit to Vérard/Galliot du Prè *Rose*, 1500
106. *Poet at his Writing Desk*, incipit to Jean Molinet's *Roman de la Rose Moralisé*, printed by Guillaume Balsarin, Lyon, 1503
107. *Dreamer and Danger, Dreamer with Idleness*, incipit of Michel le Noir's *Rose*, 1515 (reprinted in Bourdillon, from a copy now held in the British Library)
108. *Poet at his Writing-Desk*, first image in Michel le Noir's edition of Molinet's *Rose Moralisé*, 1521
109. *Dreamer (and others)*, second image in Michel Le Noir's edition of Molinet's *Rose Moralisé*, 1521
110. Front page of Galliot du Pre's edition of Clement Marot's *Recension* of the *Roman de la Rose*, 1529



Figure 1: *Ezekiel's Dream/Vision*, miniature on fol. 350v of BnF Arsenal 590, the so-called *Bible of Charles V*, c.1300



Figure 1: *Death of Herod; Joseph's Dream of the Flight into Egypt*, fol. 9r in BL Lansdowne 420, c.1200-1225



Figure 3: *Jacob's Dream; Jacob Blessing the Site of his Dream*, fol. 13v in the so-called 'St Louis Psalter', BnF Lat. 10525, c.1253-70



Figure 4: *Cain Killing Abel; God Asks Cain About Abel*, fol. 2r in BnF Lat. 10525

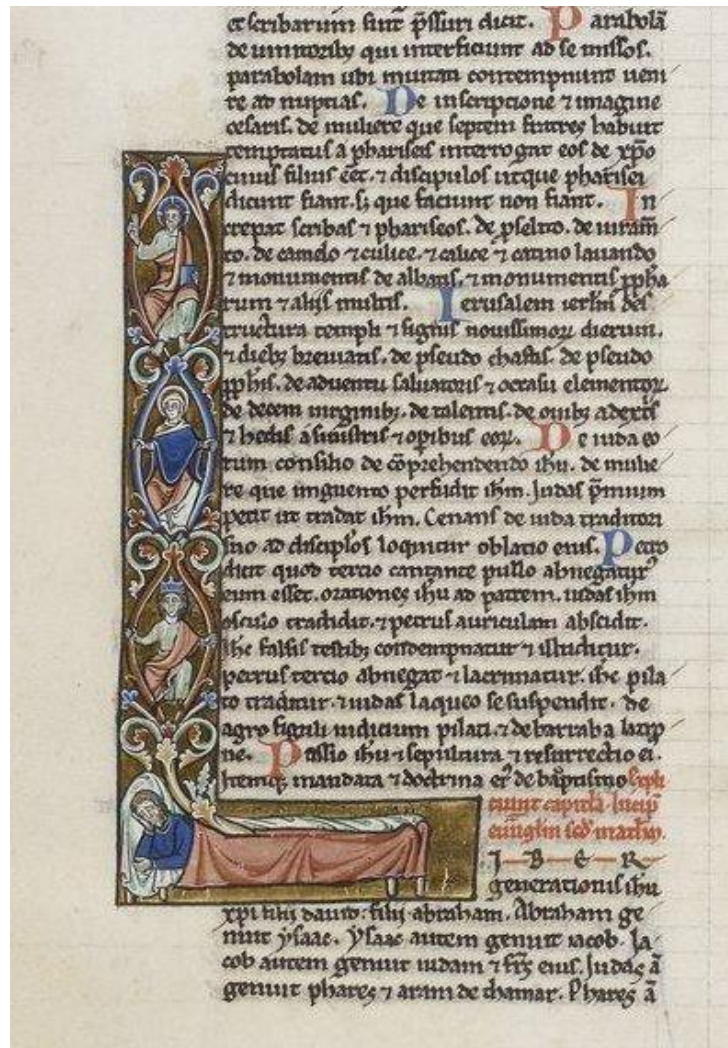


Figure 5: Tree of Jesse, fol. 267r in BnF fr. 16747, c.1200-25



Figure 6: Nascien's Dream, fol. 43r in BnF fr. 95, c.1280-90



Figure 9: *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of Vatican Urb. Lat. 376, c.1280-90



Figure 10: Detail of a historiated initial featuring a teaching figure at the head of Johannitus' *Isagoge*, on fol. 2r of BL Harley 3140, known as the 'Articella', c.1300-1325



Figure 11: Detail of fol. 137r with a historiated initial (*Teacher and Students*) at the head of Isaac's *Fevers*, on fol. 137r of BL Harley 3140



Figure 14: *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 13r of BnF fr. 378, c.1280-90



Figure 15: *Dreamer, Roses and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 1559, c.1290-1310



Figure 16: *Author? Reading to an Audience; Dreamer and Danger*, incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 1569, c.1290-1310



Figure 17: *Guillaume or Gui de Mori Writing*, historiated initial on fol. 5r of Tournai MS 101, c.1330



Figure 18: Author Writing (*Pierre Comestor*), incipit on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 155, a copy of Guiard des Moulins' *Bible Historiale*, c.1310-20



Figure 19: *Pierre Comestor Giving His Text to Guillaume, Archbishop of Sens*, miniature on fol. 1v of BnF fr. 155



Figure 20: *God and Angels; Historiated Initial 'P' with Guiard des Moulins Writing*, detail of fol. 1r of BnF fr. 8, a copy of Guiard des Moulins' *Bible Historiale*, c.1320-1330, attributed to the Master of the *Roman de Fauvel* and his collaborators



Figure 21: *Poet and Onlookers; Dreamer and Dog*, incipit on fol. 1r of Bodleian Douce 195, c.1480-1500



Figure 22: *Jean Writing*, miniature on fol. 28v of Rennes 243, c.1330-50



Figure 23: *Jean and Guillaume*, miniature on fol. 27v of Munich Cod. Gall. 17, c.1335-50



Figure 24: Folio 1r with a quadripartite incipit in a *Roman de la Rose*, BnF fr. 1565, dated 1352



Figure 25: Folio 3r of a *Grandes Chroniques* with a quadrupartite incipit, BnF fr. 10135, after 1333



Figure 26: *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 39v of Milan Ambrosiana I 78 Sup, c.1310-25



Figure 27: *Dreamer and Idleness*, miniature on fol. 3v of Milan Ambrosiana I 78 Sup



Figure 28: *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 47r of Chalons-en-Champagne 270, c.1320-40

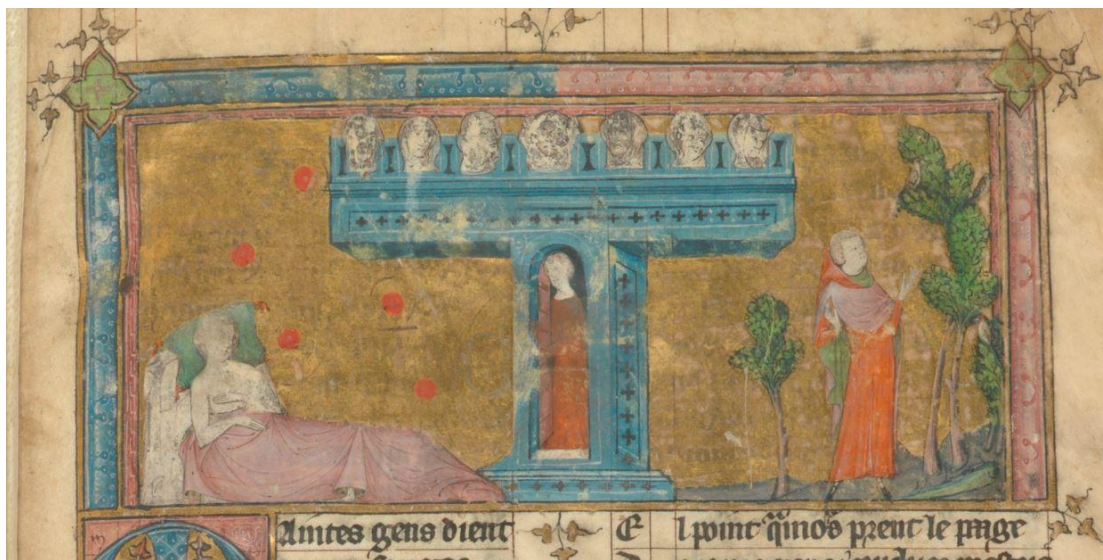


Figure 29: *Dreamer in Bed, Idleness at the Garden Gate, and the Dreamer in the Garden*, miniature on fol. 1r of Chalons-en-Champagne 270



Figure 30: *Croesus Hanging*, miniature on fol. 05i of Charlottesville University of Virginia MS 6765, c.1300-25



Figure 31: *Croesus and Phanie*, Historiated initial 'F' on fol. 48v of Berlin Cod. Gall. Qu. 80, c.1325-40



Figure 32: *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 46v of Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1126, c.1345-55



Figure 33: *Dreamer? Danger?* First quadrant of the quadripartite miniature on fol. 1r of Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1126



Figure 34: *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 50v of BnF fr. 25526, c.1340-60



Figure 35: *Dreamer Sleeping; Dreamer in the Garden*, miniature on fol. 1r of Bodleian e mus. 65, c.1375-1400



Figure 36: *Dreamer Sleeping*, miniature on fol. 120v of BnF fr. 812, c.1400-10

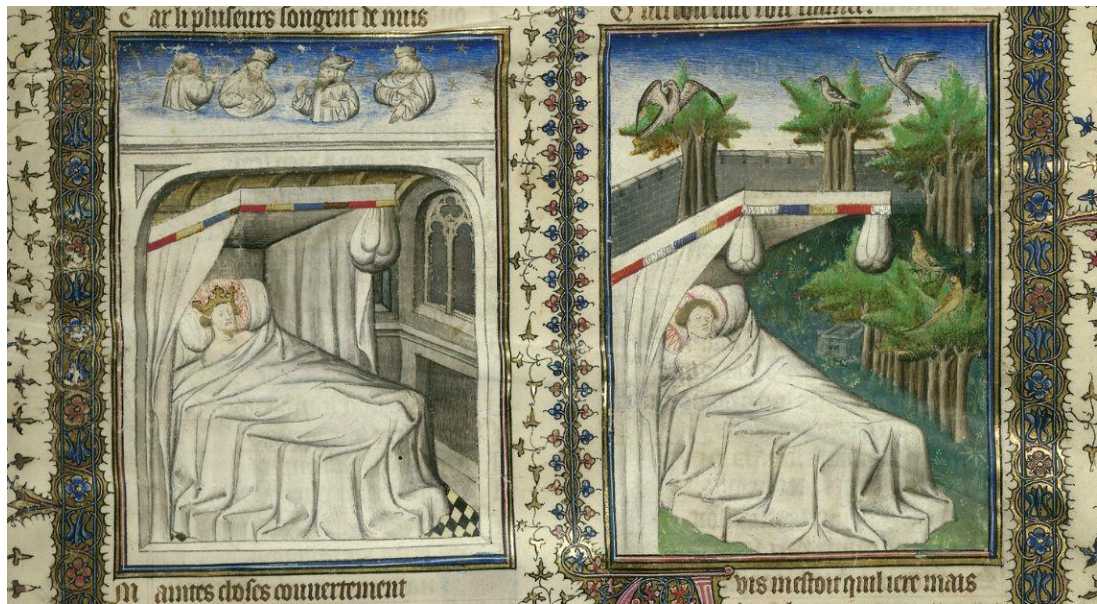


Figure 37: *King Scipio; Dreamer in Bed*, miniatures on fol. 1r of Getty Ludwig XV 7, c.1400-10



Figure 38: *Guillaume's Dream of the Heavenly City*, miniature on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 829, a copy of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages*, c.1400



Figure 39: *Multiscenic Dreamer Incipit*, miniature on fol. 2r of Valencia 387, c.1400-10



Figure 40: *Multiscenic Dreamer Incipit* to Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pèlerinages*, miniature on fol. 1r of BnF fr. 376, c.1400-20



Figure 41: *Dream of Socrates*, miniature on fol. 40r of Valencia 387



Figure 42: *Dream of Jacob*, miniature on fol. 161v of BnF fr. 2810, c.1410-1412



Figure 43: *Croesus and Phanie*, miniature on fol. 48r of Valencia 387



Figure 44: *Dreamer Wakens*, miniature on fol. 148v of Valencia 387



Figure 45: *Reunion with the Rose; Dreamer Waking*, bas-de-page miniature on fol. 170v of Tournai BM 101, c.1330



Figure 46: *Dreamer Waking*, miniature on folio 207r of Morgan M.948, c.1519-47



Figure 47: Incipit folio of British Library Egerton 1069, c.1390-1410



Figure 48: *Idleness and the Dreamer at the Garden Gate*, miniature on fol. 5v of Egerton 1069

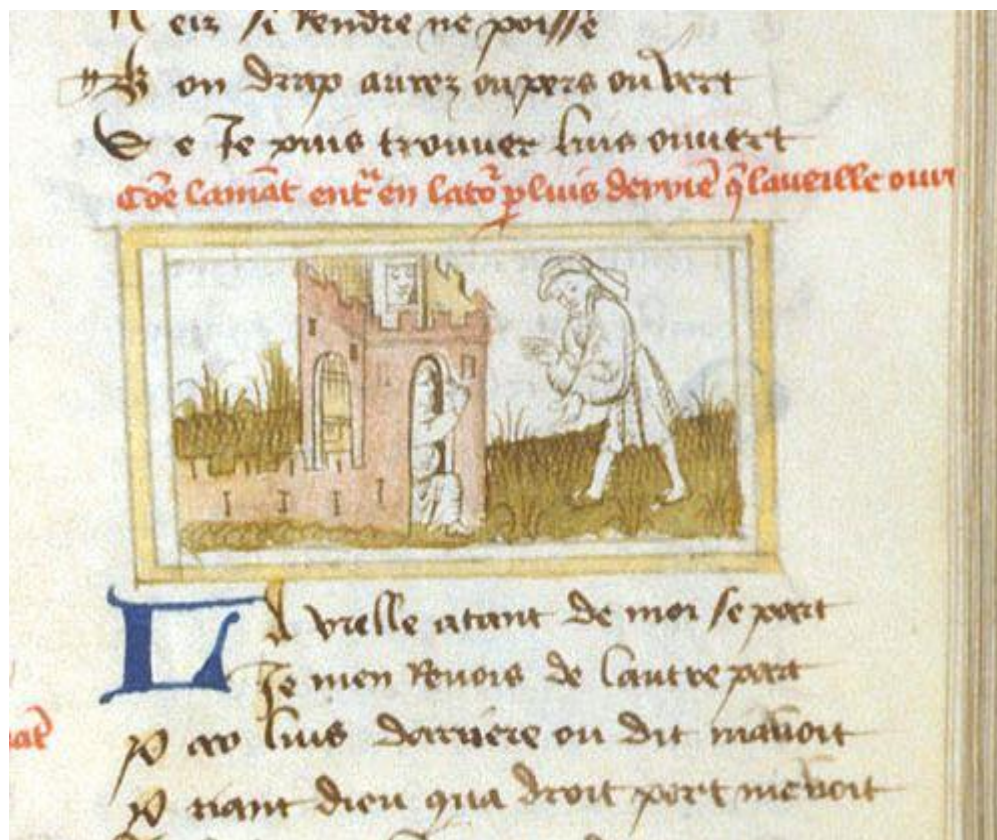


Figure 49: *Old Woman and the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 100r of Egerton 1069



Figure 50: Detail of a miniature on fol. 8r of British Library Burney 257, c.1405?



Figure 51: Detail of a miniature on fol. 13v of Burney 257



Figure 52: Folio 56v in the 'Salisbury Breviary', BnF Lat. 17294, c.1430-40



De prologue

De fuffit a
 vos tre tres
 haudre fei
 gnoune prof
 peant en
 fleur de bo
 nefte militer
 foubz le
 triumphant et l'andart de mars
 le grant dieu des batailles d'ot
 donb aués deu les e plois plus

que nul prinre de vos tre cage.
 De aués re tōme embrace dardat
 de fire e fporis damouneuse et finrelles
 ne de firez et tre champion des da
 mes en fieuant le tresplafant qui
 don de venno deesse damours.
 Dont l'assoit re que les arts les darts
 les lances et les barnas de l'amon
 reuse arteillere soient de plus
 tendre tempore que reulo de guer
 re que lon forge a unlan. Tou
 re fupores quant. Et fōt fouballemēt

Figure 53: Presentation Scene, folio 1r of The Hague MS 128 C 5, c.1500



Figure 54: *Coat of Arms*, full page miniature on fol. 3v of Morgan M.948, c.1519-1547



Figure 55: *Presentation to François I*, full page miniature on fol. 4r of Morgan M.948



Figure 56: *Presentation*, full page miniature on fol. Jv of BnF fr. 2817, after 1515

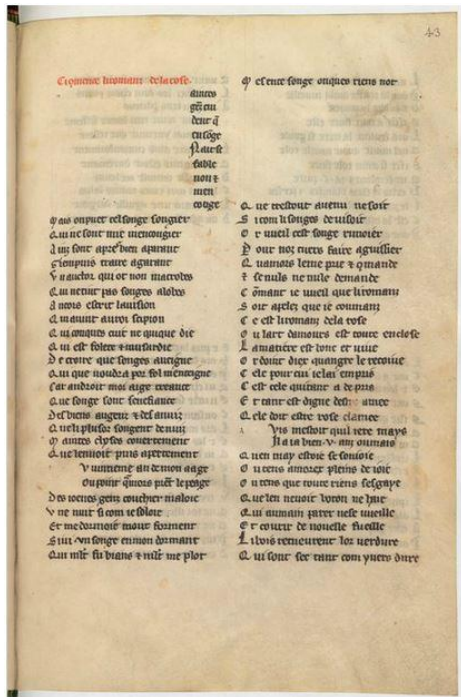


Figure 57: First folio (43r) of the *Roman de la Rose* in BnF fr. 12786, c.1310-40

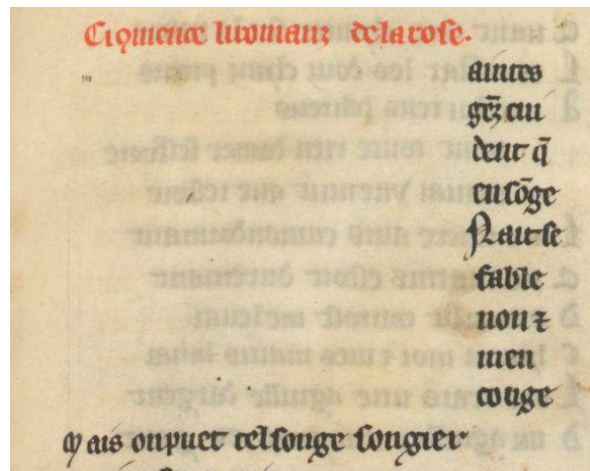


Figure 58: Detail of fol. 43r, BnF fr. 12786



Figure 59: Detail of fol. 1r of Milan Ambrosiana MS I 78 Sup, c.1315-50, with small 'm' inscribed on the worn left-hand sidebar of the large decorated M initial of 'maintes'



Figure 60: Dreamer 'M' Initial on fol. 1r of Chalon-sur-Saône BM 33, c.1325-50



Figure 61: First folio of Rose (1r) in Besançon 553, c.1350-1400

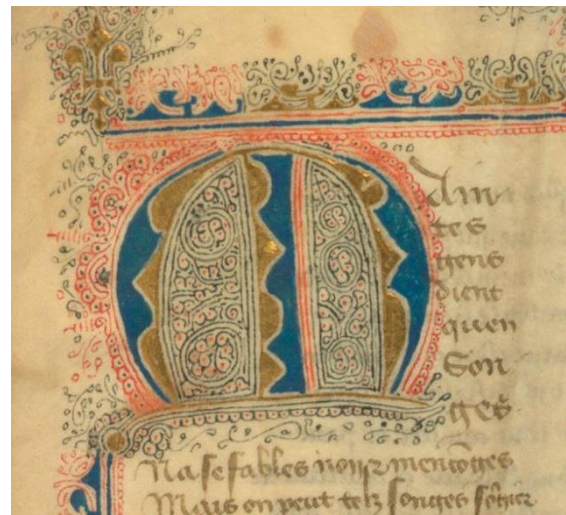


Figure 62: Detail of fol. 1r, Besançon 553

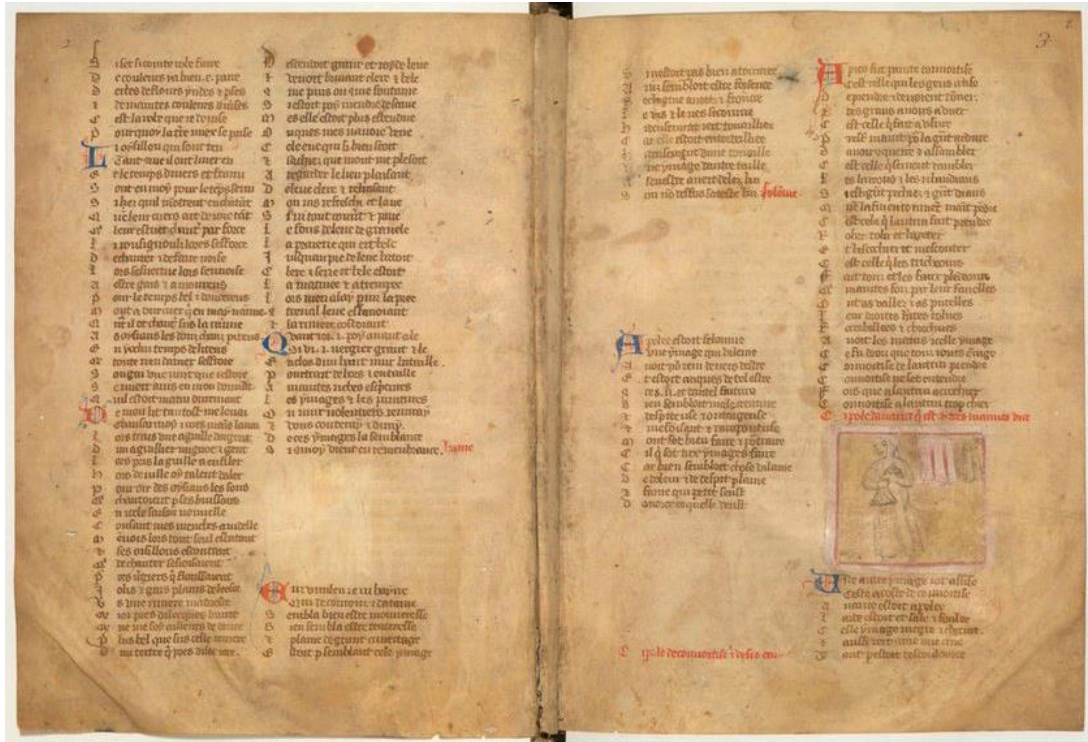


Figure 63: Fols. 1v-2r in Lyon 764, with three gaps preceding the sketch of Avarice, c.1325-50



Figure 64: Detail of fol. 2r in Lyon 764

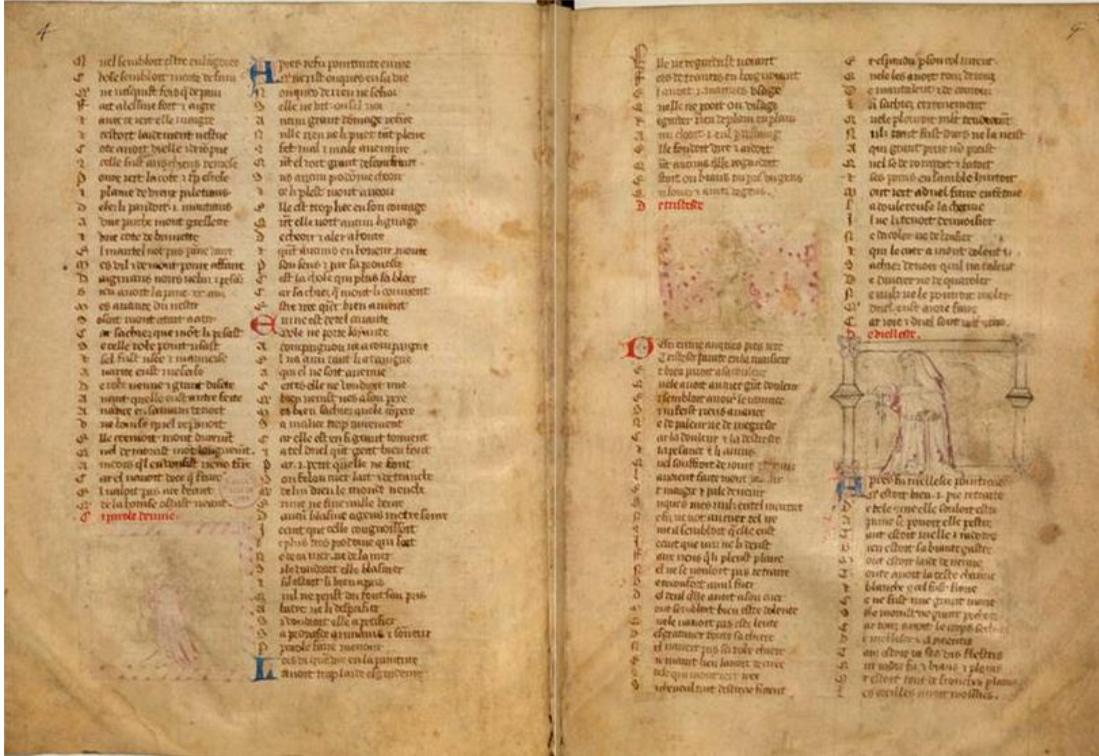


Figure 65: Fols. 2v-3r in Lyon 764, with varying degrees of preparatory work across a double-page spread



Figure 66: Two Illuminators at Work on Manuscripts, bas-de-page image on fol. 77v of Rose BnF fr. 25526, c.1340-60



Figure 67: *Battle of Love's Army and the Gatekeepers*, fol. 112r in BnF fr. 12593, c.1340-60

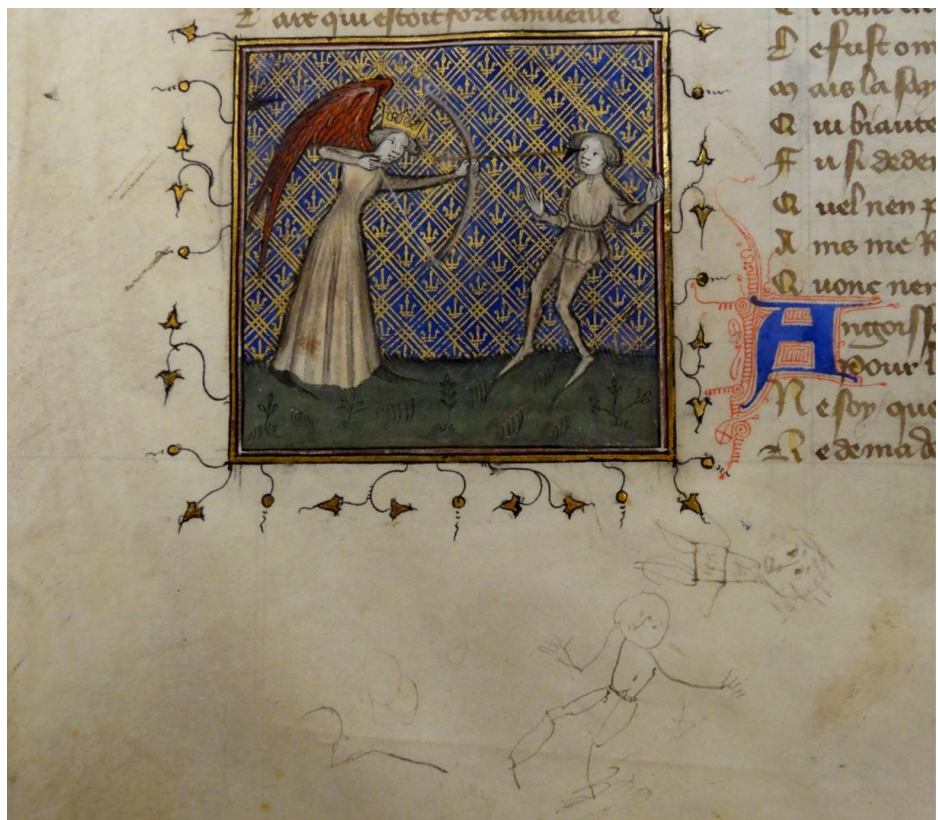


Figure 68: Detail of fol. 5v in *Rose*, Bodleian e mus. 65, c.1375-1400, showing miniature alongside marginal doodles by a later user of the manuscript

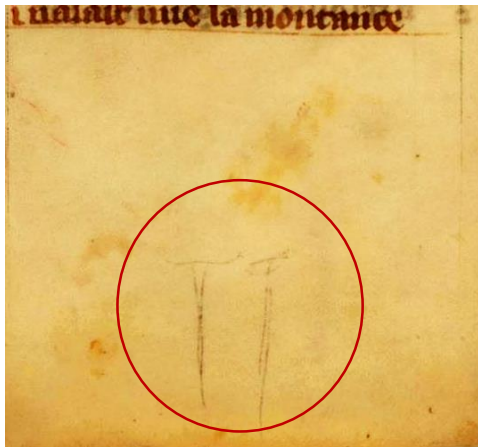


Figure 69: Marginal sketch (circled) of crutches, detail of fol. 3v in BnF fr. 802, c.1325-50 (Contrast of image raised for visibility)



Figure 70: *Old Age*, miniature on fol. 3v of BnF fr. 802



Figure 71: Marginal sketch (circled) of bow and arrow, detail, fol. 11r in BnF fr. 802 (Contrast raised)



Figure 72: *God of Love Fires at the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 11r of BnF fr. 802



Figure 73: *Dreamer at the Fountain*, miniature on fol. 11r of BnF fr. 802



Figure 74: Marginal sketch (circled), fol. 11r, BnF fr. 802 (Contrast raised)



Figure 75: *The Dreamer (Narcissus?) at the Fountain*, miniature on fol. 12r of BnF fr. 802



Figure 76: Marginal sketch (circled), fol. 12r BnF fr. 802 (Contrast raised)



Figure 77: Incipit miniatures, fol. 1r of BnF fr. 805, c.1400-20



Figure 78: *Carole in the Garden of Delight*, miniature on fol. 7r of BnF fr. 805



Figure 79: *Dreamer and Responsiveness Embrace, Watched by Slander*, miniature on fol. 25v of BnF fr. 805



Figure 80: Incipit on fol. 1r of *Rose Arras* 897, c.1375-1400



Figure 81: *Dreamer at the Garden Wall*, miniature on fol. 2r of Arras 897



Figure 82: *Dreamer Outside the Castle of Jealousy*, miniature on fol. 23v of Arras 897



Figure 83: *Dreamer and Roses?* Miniature on fol. 120v of Arras 897



Figure 84: *Dreamer and Roses*, incipit on fol. 1r of Lyon 763, c.1330-50



Figure 85: *Dreamer and Roses*, incipit on fol. 1r of KB 9574-5, c.1325-50



Figure 86: *Multiscenic Dreamer, Roses, Idleness*, incipit on fol. 2r of Rennes 243, c.1330-50



Figure 87: Jean de Meun, miniature on fol. 68v of Brussels 9574-5, c.1325-50



Figure 88: Jean de Meun, miniature on fol. 27r of Lyon 763, c.1330-50



Figure 89: Jean de Meun, miniature on fol. 21v of Augsburg I.4.2.3., c.1330-50



Figure 90: *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 12r of Brussels 9574-5

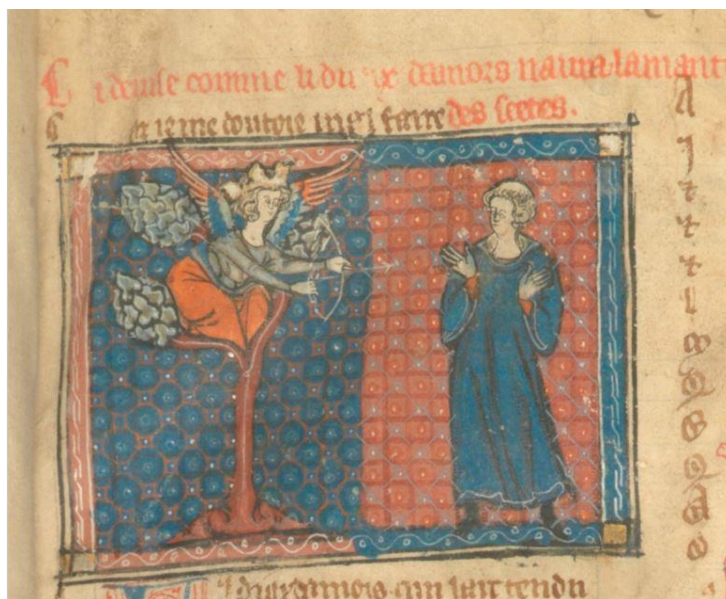


Figure 91: *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 12r of BnF fr. 12588, c.1325-40



Figure 92: *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 13v of Rennes 243, c.1330-50



Figure 93: *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, miniature on fol. 14v of Draguignan 17, c.1330-50

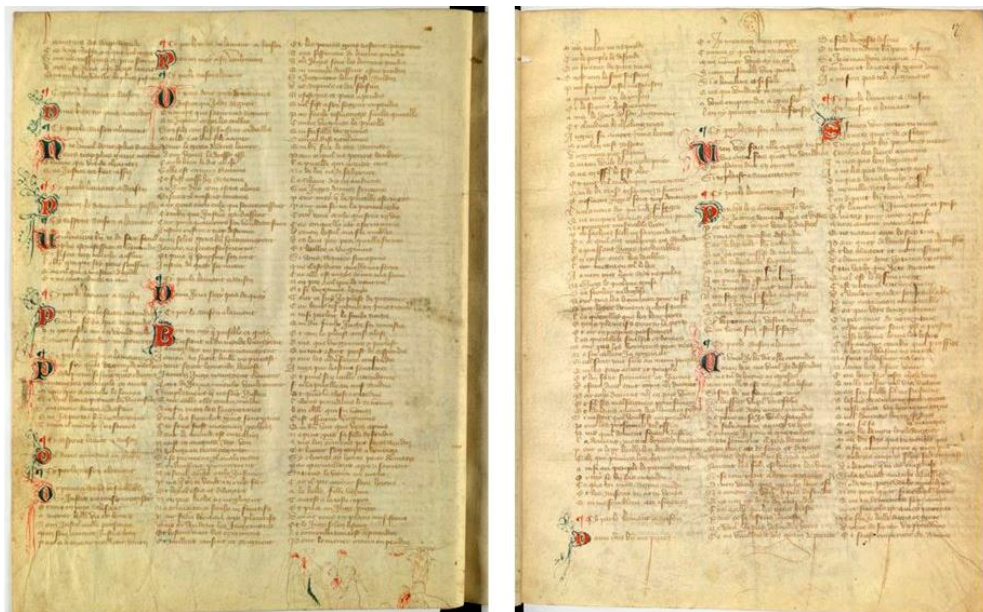


Figure 94: Folios 16v-17r in BnF fr. 12592, showing layout of text and small marginal scene on left-hand folio margin, c.1375-1420



Figure 95: *Virginius and Virginia*, marginal image on fol. 16v of BnF fr. 12592



Figure 96: Fol. 72v of Baltimore Walters W.143, c.1340-50



Figure 97: Detail of fol. 72v, Baltimore Walters W.143



Figure 98: Detail of miniature on fol. 72v of Baltimore Walters W. 143



Figure 99: Detail of *Old Age*, drawing on fol. 3v of BnF fr. 1574, c.1325-50 and later additions



Figure 100: *God of Love Attacks the Dreamer*, overpainted miniature on fol. 13v of Bodleian Douce 188, c.1350-1400 and later additions



Figure 101: *Dreamer and Danger; Dreamer and Idleness, Rose incipit* of Jean Croquet's Edition, printed in Geneva, c.1481



Figure 102: *Croesus and Phanie*, woodcut of Croquet's Edition of the *Rose*, c.1481



Figure 103: *Dreamer and Danger; Dreamer and Idleness*, incipit to Guillaume Le Roy's *Rose*, printed Lyon, c.1487

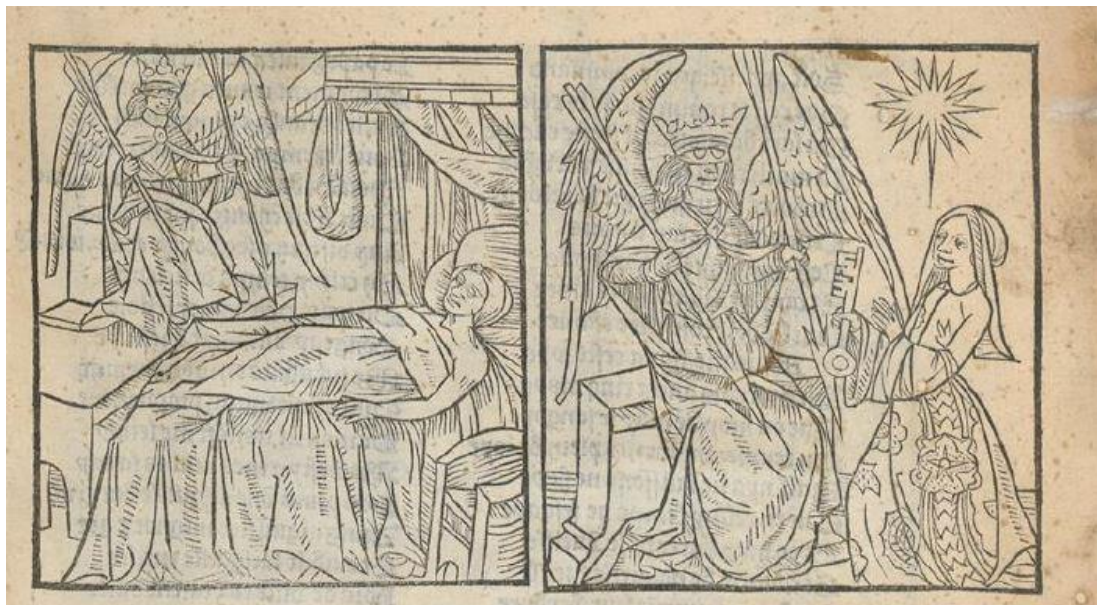


Figure 104: *God of Love and Dreamer; God of Love and Idleness*, incipit to Antoine Vérard's *Rose*, printed Paris, c.1493-5



Figure 105: *Lecturing Scene*, incipit to Vérard/Galliot du Prè *Rose*, 1500

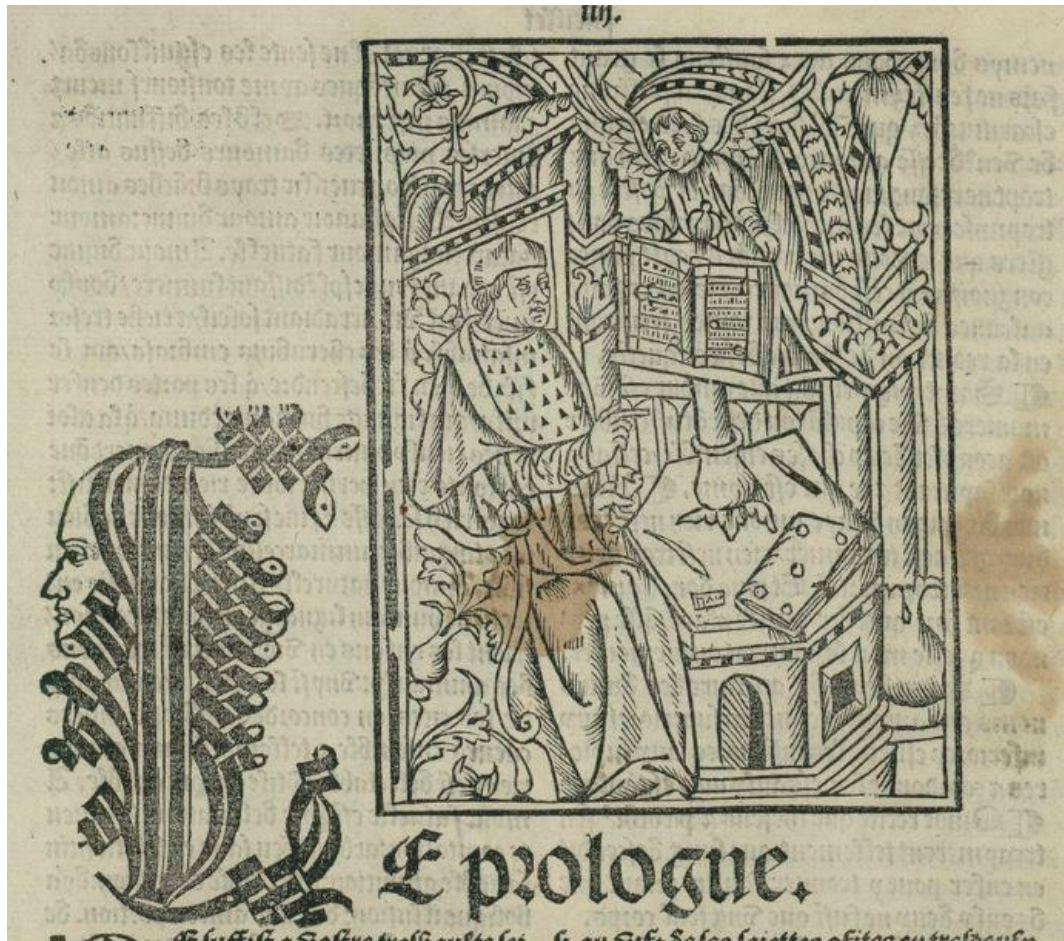


Figure 106: *Poet at his Writing Desk*, incipit to Jean Molinet's *Roman de la Rose Moralisé*, printed by Guillaume Balsarin, Lyon, 1503



Figure 107: *Dreamer and Danger, Dreamer with Idleness*, incipit of Michel le Noir's *Rose*, 1515 (reprinted in Bourdillon, from a copy now held in the British Library)



Figure 108: *Poet at his Writing-Desk*, first image in Michel le Noir's edition of Molinet's *Rose Moralisé*, 1521



Figure 109: *Dreamer (and others)*, second image in Michel Le Noir's edition of Molinet's *Rose Moralisé*, 1521



Figure 110: Front page of Galliot du Pre's edition of Clement Marot's *Recension* of the *Roman de la Rose*, 1529