

Image, Manuscript, Print:
Le Roman de la rose, ca. 1481-1538

VOLUME I

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Abstract

This thesis examines the transmission and reception of images in *Le Roman de la rose* manuscripts and printed editions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Through in-depth case studies, I analyse how illustrators, editors, and readers used printed imagery in *Rose* books *ca.* 1481-1538, during the period of *Rose* printed edition production, exploring wider cross-disciplinary issues concerning the history of the book, the relationship between word and image, and readership practices following the advent of French printing. I argue that the mobility of printed imagery, which was facilitated in part by the wider dissemination of woodcuts in workshops, influenced the form and function of images in books. In addition, I problematize the ‘transition’ from manuscript to print in the later Middle Ages, through an investigation of artisans’ personal and professional collaborations and evidence of image sharing between hand-illustrated and printed books. Bookmakers and readers used printed imagery in fascinating ways in books, appropriating and modifying woodcuts in order to engage with certain subjects and motifs. Readers’ visual responses to books are under-examined, and I assess how readers’ drawings add insight into their understanding of printed editions and those editions’ visual iconography. French books contain a large body of evidence pertaining to image production and reception, but printed imagery is often overlooked, despite its potential to shed light on the practices of illustrators, editors, and readers. I provide new strategies for examining patterns of printed image production, circulation, and reception in the visual presentations of manuscripts and printed editions of this period. I also deepen understanding of the *Rose* and its consumption in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, probing the role of images in books.

Long Abstract

This thesis studies the visual presentation of late manuscripts and early printed editions of *Le Roman de la rose*. With the *Rose* as my primary focus, I argue that printed images significantly impacted aspects of the production, circulation, and reception of illustrations in books in France in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and I engage with wider debates concerning the history of the book, the relationship between word and image, and the history of readership in the decades following the advent of print. In modern scholarship, this period in French cultural history holds an ambiguous status as either the later Middle Ages or the Renaissance. Indeed, this ambiguity is relevant to this project, as it addresses certain misunderstandings that have arisen from the desire to distinguish neatly between periods and art historical traits in medieval and Renaissance discourses, where divisions and distinctions may in fact blur. I utilize individual case studies of *Rose* books to address broader cross-disciplinary topics relating to the transmission and reception of imagery during this period. Woodcuts from examples of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions—originating *ca.* 1481-1538, during the period of early *Rose* printed edition production, from selected editors in Paris and Lyon—reveal greater mobility in production and consumption of manuscripts and printed editions than has been assumed by previous scholarship. This study seeks to augment understanding of the operation of workshops, text-image relationships, and image consumption during this era.

The mobility of woodcuts was demonstrated by wider dissemination and appropriation of visual models among different workshops, resulting in dynamic visual reception among viewers. The advent of print facilitated the increased production of illustrated books, but questions linger about the extent to which the makers of manuscripts and printed editions shared visual programmes and worked collaboratively

and in unison, rather than separately and apart. Furthermore, woodcuts often appear misplaced and misused in books of this era, revealing that editors repeated and borrowed images from other contexts. I posit that readers readily recognized appropriated and recurring images in books, identifying shared image compositions and their former contexts. Although previous scholarship has addressed instances of crossover between manuscripts and printed editions as well as readers' capacity to identify woodcuts appropriated from other contexts, this thesis's case studies shed further light on how bookmakers used printed images in order to *shape* readers' visual experiences and emphasize particular motifs. As this thesis examines, readers also illustrated many *Rose* books with drawings which may derive from woodcuts, actively interacting with text and image and responding to specific themes and passages, a subject area deserving of further analysis. This thesis's objective is to situate *Rose* manuscripts, early printed editions, and their images within the broader scope of visual culture in France *ca.* 1481-1538. In three chapters, I demonstrate (1) reciprocal relationships among artisan workshops, (2) enigmatic, but meaningful, text-woodcut pairings, and (3) the visual responses of readers in books.

Rose manuscripts and printed editions exhibit diverse pictorial programmes, resulting from the interventions of editors, illustrators, and readers. Substantial scholarship has focused on late medieval religious manuscripts, providing insight into the circulation and reception of religious visual iconography. Unlike religious books, however, the *Rose* was more readily exposed to and influenced by the fluctuating tastes of society. The *Rose* thus provides an ideal platform for analysis of the production, circulation, and consumption of text and print imagery in France. This thesis is the first comprehensive, analytical study of the visual programmes of *Rose* printed editions and their cross-fertilization with late *Rose* manuscripts. With approximately twenty-two

printed editions published from *ca.* 1481-1538 and over two hundred extant illuminated manuscripts produced during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, *Rose* books present a rich body of evidence for the study of book production and readers' responses to text and images.

This thesis contributes to both the histories of the book and of art. As concerns the history of the book, the cross-fertilization of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions highlights book production methods and the assertiveness of editors. Certain themes are of wider interest to the history of art, including the (sometimes counter-intuitive) relationship between text and images within the books subjected to study. I focus further on the importance of 'copies', i.e. the nature and function of repeated images and appropriations from other contexts, both secular and sacred. I engage with the significance of colour, in addition to the importance of certain artistic techniques, including naturalistic style and perspective, in illustrations. Finally, gauging the visual responses of readers in books adds detail, nuance, and fresh questions to our understanding of French culture and its image consciousness in the 1480s through the 1530s. Although readers seemingly recognized repeated images and their meaning in books, there have been few studies to date of readers' visual annotations and drawings in printed books.

Chapter 1 investigates important aspects of the crossover in production of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, in addition to the methods of their makers within the operation of workshops. This chapter adds perspective to the history of the book by revealing the cross-fertilization of visual programmes in manuscripts and printed editions. Despite the continued production of illustrated manuscripts in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, following the advent of print and the increased production of books, there are few detailed examples in modern scholarship of how manuscripts and

printed editions shared visual iconography and ideas during this period. Existing scholarship traditionally has focused only on one field or the other, limiting our understanding of relevant cross-disciplinary issues, including the transference and appropriation of images within new contexts and media. In response to previous assertions of a disjuncture and intense rivalries between the producers of manuscripts and printed editions, this chapter dispels the rigidity and exclusivity of workshops through studies of their appropriations of visual elements.

Interactions between workshops were collaborative, facilitating innovative crossover of specialisms in book production. Chapter 1 begins with an assessment of what is known about the operation of ‘craft guilds’ and possible explanations for recurring *Rose* iconography. I argue that the geographical proximity of workshops, mobility of artisans, familial ties, and existence of confraternities fostered both collaboration among workshops and artisans and the dissemination of printed images in the production of books and other media. Chapter 1’s first case study analyses the compositional and stylistic resemblances between the illustrations of a *Rose* manuscript and the woodcuts of a contemporaneous *Rose* incunable, contributing novel findings to scholarship on the crossover between manuscript and printed book production. The systematic copying of illustrations from a *Rose* incunable in this manuscript reveals not only the availability of woodcuts in illustrators’ workshops, but also the desire to emulate and at times modify the style of woodcuts in manuscripts. While the first case study explores the printed relations of a manuscript, the second focuses on the manuscript relations of a deluxe printed edition, through a study of the layout, composition, and stylistic elements of its overpaintings. Deluxe incunables, including *Rose* printed editions, have not been widely studied, but an analysis of their illustrations reveals important aspects of book production in the late fifteenth century. In this case

study, I demonstrate the variety and diversity of illustrations—rather than their standardization, as has been assumed—in printed editions.

While Chapter 1 assesses the shared visual programmes of manuscripts and printed editions, Chapter 2 evaluates the relationship between text and image in *Rose* printed editions. I endeavour to add fresh perspective to the correspondence between word and image in early printed books, arguing that repeated *Rose* woodcuts and woodcuts borrowed from other sources (which are sometimes also repeated) serve an important function in book reception. Previous scholarship has largely presumed a lack of care and attention in the assignment of woodcuts' placement in *Rose* printed editions. Woodcuts were often repeated and placed where they seemingly did not belong within the text. Yet what does it mean for a woodcut to *belong* within a narrative? In Chapter 2, I question, rather than dismiss, the relationship between word and image in *Rose* printed editions, as well as editors' unique approaches to image placement in books. Comprising three case studies, Chapter 2 investigates (1) woodcuts borrowed from two sources in a printed edition by Antoine Vérard, (2) appropriated author images in a printed edition by Alain Lotrian, and (3) the repetition and 'misplacement' of *Rose* woodcuts by Galliot Du Pré.

Vérard, Lotrian, and Du Pré borrowed and reused *Rose* woodcuts to allude to accompanying *Rose* text passages, as well as to evoke relevant contemporary preoccupations, such as ethical dilemmas, the emerging cultural role of the author, and the trials of love. Chapter 2's first case study analyses a *Rose* edition containing woodcuts borrowed from two sources, examining the editor's conscious intent to draw upon expectations of readers' exposure to literary and visual precedents. Through their positioning, these appropriated illustrations juxtapose and complement violent and amorous scenes in accompanying narrative passages, inviting the reader to contemplate,

among other things, the dangers of female sexuality and the naivety of men. Chapter 2's second case study further reveals an editor's unique compilation of borrowed woodcuts, highlighting the emerging role of the editor as author or creator. This second case study explores the varying depictions of authors within this single edition, shedding light on how the editor, Lotrian, ascribed personal and authorial aspects to himself, the poem's authors, and other iconic writers in order to entertain and entice readers. This study reveals aspects of the emerging cultural role of the author, in addition to themes of authorship specific to the *Rose* text. Finally, Chapter 2's third case study focuses on the seemingly random placement of *Rose* woodcuts in two printed editions produced by Du Pré. While the first two case studies in Chapter 2 analyse usages of woodcuts appropriated from other contexts, the third assesses woodcuts that were produced expressly for the *Rose*. A closer evaluation of the positioning of these *Rose* woodcuts—which depict, respectively, sacrificial and courtly scenes—suggests variant patterns and meanings. Through a closer evaluation of appropriated and repeated *Rose* woodcuts, distinct interrelationships of text and image emerge, serving to differentiate not only the editors of books, but also their capacity to complicate and supplement the text with their use of imagery.

Finally, Chapter 3 investigates the visual reception of *Rose* printed editions in the early sixteenth century. Modern scholarship addressing late medieval and Renaissance readership has focused largely on the study of patterns of collecting. Through a closer and more inclusive study of *Rose* printed editions, I assess how readers visually responded to books by adding illustrations, contributing new perspective to the history of readership during this era. In two case studies, I examine readers' systematic visual responses in books through evidence of their drawings and annotations. I posit that readers adapted motifs printed by editors, such as visages within historiated initials and

manicules, in order to customize printed editions and engage with certain motifs and subjects. Through their drawings, readers appropriated iconography and asserted their own specific interpretations of the poem's plot.

In Chapter 3's case studies, readers' drawings of sensory motifs dramatize aspects of speech and somatic perception in the *Rose* narrative, evidencing readers' active engagement with the text. Chapter 3's first case study probes a reader's drawings of open mouths and lips which correspond to passages describing kisses, oral communication, and varying types of speech. In this book, the reader's numerous mouth drawings animate oral contact and communication in the poem's narrative, possibly prompting the reading aloud of passages. Through their placement on the page, the reader's depictions convey a nuanced relationship between margins and text, as well as between images and text: this reader personalized his or her book, evoking the virtual presence of voicing and oral contact as significant visual features in the book's reception. Chapter 3's second case study explores the importance of another reader's drawings of fragmented body parts in the *Rose* text. This *Rose* book contains a plethora of whole and partial hands which gesture and interact with woodcuts and printed text, in addition to traces of a reader's own fingertip rubbings in woodcut scenes. This case study explores how the reader created manicule drawings to reference tactile moments and respond to the relationship between male and female personas in the poem. Through depictions of hands, the reader visually emphasized physical and emotional penetration in narrative scenes pertaining to aspects of love, manipulation, and violence, sometimes engaging with the poem's controversial treatment of women. Accordingly, I attempt to nuance and ascribe meaning to readers' sensory motif drawings and their placement in relation to passages and woodcuts.

In sum, this thesis addresses the mobility of printed iconography in the creation and reception of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Through close examination and questioning of the role of visual presentation in *Rose* books, I problematize aspects of the history of late medieval and Renaissance books and their makers, seemingly ill-fitting and nonsensical woodcuts, and practices of readership. A closer analysis of *Rose* books and usages of printed imagery can augment our understanding of the crossover of production among workshops, text-image pairings, and the interactive role of readers. Central to this discussion are printed images and their significance in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century visual culture: the advent of print resonated with a shift in the production of media through the introduction of new formats of text and images and new readership experiences. Yet the relationship between manuscripts and printed editions is complex and intersecting, requiring a closer study of visual and material evidence.

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answering my questions and offering numerous suggestions. I would like to extend particular thanks to Adrian Armstrong, Kevin Brownlee (who introduced me to the *Rose* during my undergraduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania), Craig Clunas, David Cowling, Cristina Dondi, Martha Driver, Rhoda Eitel-Porter, Alex Franklin, Andrew Honey, Meradith McMunn, Katie Walter, Lori Walters, Julia Walworth, Roger Wieck, and Mary Beth Winn. The ‘Text/Image Relations in Late Medieval French Culture’ Symposiums, chaired by Ros Brown-Grant and Rebecca Dixon, also offered valuable insight into my subject area.

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List of Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>CNN</i>	<i>Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles</i>
ISTC	British Library, <i>Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue</i> (available online at < http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/ >)
<i>Miroir</i>	<i>Le Miroir de la redemption humaine</i>
NLW	National Library of Wales
NYPL	New York Public Library
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library
<i>Rose</i>	Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, <i>Le Roman de la rose</i>
ULB Bonn	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Bonn

Translations, Standardizations, and Conventions of Transcription

All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. I use modernized spellings to refer to personifications (e.g. Bel Accueil) in the *Rose* and other texts. When quoting from manuscripts and early printed editions, I expand abbreviations and distinguish between *i* and *j*, as well as *v* and *u*. I also normalize the long *s* and the ampersand. When necessary, for clarity of meaning, I include grave accents on vowels (i.e. *à* and *ù*). When quoting from a pre-existing critical edition of a text, I do not modify punctuation or spellings.

Introduction

In the continuing quest to understand book production and the history of reading following the advent of print, a large body of evidence can be located in the images produced both for manuscripts and printed editions. Yet the potential of this visual material has been, until now, only partially subjected to scrutiny. This thesis examines image production and reception in French books of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries through a critical analysis of *Le Roman de la rose* manuscripts and printed editions. The advent of print in France ca. 1470 facilitated the increased production of illustrated books and the wider dissemination of woodcuts;¹ however, the transmission and reception of woodcuts in French books are under-examined and often misunderstood. Questions surround the extent to which the makers of manuscripts and printed editions shared visual programmes and worked together (or perhaps were one and the same) in the decades following the onset of French printing. Furthermore, woodcuts often appear misplaced and misused in books of this era, raising additional questions about how bookmakers repeated and appropriated images from other contexts. Critical to understanding these issues are aspects of readership: did borrowed and recurring printed images elicit responses from readers in books? If so, how did readers interpret and respond to these illustrations?

¹ I use the term 'books' to describe manuscripts and printed books interchangeably. Woodcuts are book illustrations, created from inked impressions of woodblock carvings; single-sheet relief prints, which I investigate in more depth in Chapter 1, are woodblock impressions printed on individual sheets as single images or prints. Woodblock carvings were created by transferring a design onto a wood surface and cutting around the edges of the design with a sharp tool. Single-sheet relief prints were widely circulated in Western Europe by the 1430s. Peter Parshall and Peter Shmidt, 'Introduction: The Aura of the Printed Image', *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 1-23, at 1-2. The advent of print in France (ca. 1470) refers to the onset of book printing with metal movable type, woodcuts, and oil-based ink, frequently on paper. Scholars often note the 'Chinese precedent' of printing from woodblocks and the invention of movable type in Korea centuries prior to the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz, Germany ca. 1450. Many contributing factors, however, differentiate Chinese and Korean printing from Gutenberg's printing methods, which later spread to France, including Gutenberg's use of oil-based ink: C. H. Bloy, *A History of Printing Ink, Balls and Rollers, 1440-1850* (London: Adams & Mackay, 1967), 1-3.

I shed light on the visual elements of manuscripts and printed books, assessing the form and function of images and providing new approaches to understanding patterns of image transmission and reception. In so doing, I analyse broader, cross-disciplinary debates concerning the history of the book, the relationship between text and image, and the social history of readership following the advent of French printing and into the 1530s. *Rose* printed editions were produced beginning in 1481, and the last early *Rose* printed editions were produced in 1538.² Accordingly, I examine usages of printed images in examples of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, produced *ca.* 1481-1538 from selected editors in Paris and Lyon, both important centres of book and image production.³

During this period, woodcuts reveal mobility as objects which were exchanged and recycled by bookmakers. The mobility of woodcuts was manifested in part through the wider circulation and availability of woodcuts in workshops, which fostered greater recognition of printed imagery among readers. To what extent did late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers recognize borrowed and repeated woodcuts in books: did they identify and respond to these woodcuts, perhaps adding nuanced layers of meaning to images through their understanding of these images' former contexts? Important recent research by Adrian Armstrong, Susan Kovacs, and Jane Taylor explores how editors tapped into readers' eagerness to detect patterns through editors' placements of recycled woodcuts in the layout of French printed editions.⁴ I further investigate how editors

² For a chronological list of early *Rose* printed editions, see Appendix: The Chronology of Early *Rose* Printed Editions.

³ I use the term 'editors' to describe those who selected images and texts for printed editions, overseeing the entire production process of a book. I use this term with the understanding that editors also performed other roles, as publishers-merchants, for example, which I discuss in greater depth in Chapter 1. I avoid referring to books as copies in order to avoid confusion with the artistic practice of artisans replicating print and non-print sources to create new, separate works. A printed edition refers to books printed from the same setting of type and woodcuts.

⁴ Adrian Armstrong, 'Love on the Page: Materiality and Literariness in Jean Bouchet's *Amoureux transi* and Its Avatars', *Book and Text in France, 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page*, eds. Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 95-116, at 98-103. Adrian Armstrong also addresses how

shaped readers' visual experiences, utilizing particular woodcuts to emphasize specific themes and passages in French books. Readers' visual responses to images and texts require closer investigation. Readers often illustrated books with fascinating and strange drawings, which may have been derived from woodcuts, in order to interact with texts, woodcuts, and their meaning.

This thesis aims to situate hand-illustrated and printed images in manuscripts and printed books in the broader scope of visual culture in France between the 1480s and the 1530s. It engages with a growing field of study investigating the histories of the book and of art in the seventy years following the advent of print in France.⁵ Significant research by Cynthia J. Brown and other scholars has introduced greater nuance to the relationship between manuscripts and printed books, revealing, for example, the ongoing production of illustrated manuscripts following the advent of print and the influence of late medieval techniques of image production in the creation of printed editions.⁶ I add detail and fresh perspective to these studies, probing the cross-fertilization of visual

repetitions of woodcuts unify and complicate understandings of other texts. His essay 'Is This an Ex-Parrot? The Printed Afterlife of Jean Lemaire de Belges' *Epîtres de l'amant vert*' ascribes meaning to recurrences of woodcuts in the layout of printed editions. He explains that woodcuts correspond to accompanying passages on a local level (e.g. portrayals of types of communication) or thematically relate to the overall text. Adrian Armstrong, 'Is This an Ex-Parrot? The Printed Afterlife of Jean Lemaire de Belges' *Epîtres de l'amant vert*', *Journal de la Renaissance* 5 (2007): 323-36, at 332-4. Susan R. Kovacs, 'Staging Lyric Performances in Early Print Culture: *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique* (c. 1501-02)', *French Studies* 55 (2001): 1-24, at 1-14. Jane H.M. Taylor, "'A Rude Heap Together Hurl'd'"? Disorder and Design in Vêrard's *Jardin de plaisance* (1501)', *De Sens rassis*, *Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens*, eds. Keith Busby et al. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 629-644, at 636-7.

⁵ E.g.: Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton, eds., *Book and Text in France, 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Diane Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). Peter Parshall, ed. *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009). See, also, David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

⁶ E.g.: Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995). Adrian Armstrong, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print, and Poetics in France, 1470-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000). Michael Camille, 'Reading the Printed Image: Illuminations and Woodcuts of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* in the Fifteenth Century', *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991), 259-291, at 284; 288. James Douglas Farquhar and Sandra Hindman, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing* (College Park: Art Department, University of Maryland and History of Art Department, Johns Hopkins University, 1977), 3-4; 101-102. Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1440-1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

programmes in manuscript and printed book production. Certain topics are of wider interest to the history of art, including the relationship between word and image and the function of borrowed and repeated images. I further explore the importance of certain artistic techniques, including elements of naturalistic style and perspective in book illustrations, in addition to the visual responses of readers in books.

Through examinations of how bookmakers and readers illustrated books, I endeavour to broaden understanding of French culture and its consciousness of images *ca.* 1481-1538. Modern scholarship often ascribes an ambiguous status to this period of French cultural history, with scholars divided as to whether this period is best characterized as the later Middle Ages or the Renaissance.⁷ This thesis embraces this ambiguity, helping to problematize the chronology of cultural history in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is important to scrutinize the terms ‘late medieval’ and ‘Renaissance’ in this context in order to address various misunderstandings which arise from the desire to distinguish between medieval and Renaissance discourses, where in fact distinctions may blur.

In line with recent scholarship by others, I assert that it is important to avoid broadly categorizing the readership practices of printed books. In *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (1989), for example, Roger

⁷ Thomas Greene explains that ‘no informed scholar today can blind himself or herself to the powerful lines of continuity binding ... the “Middle Ages” and the “Renaissance”’. Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982), 3. The ‘French Renaissance’ generally refers to a period spanning the late fifteenth through early seventeenth centuries in France. This term originated in the nineteenth century in Jules Michelet’s *Histoire de France*. Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France: Renaissance*, vol. 7 (Paris: Lacroix, 1876), 15-17. As William McKenzie explains, sixteenth-century works by Rabelais and others (e.g. the *Bible des poètes*, a version of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* printed in 1484 and 1531) blur distinctions between ‘old’ (i.e. medieval) and ‘new’ (i.e. Renaissance) learning. William McKenzie, personal communication, 14 Jul. 2013. Significantly, Terence Cave avoids generalizing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century authors and their texts according to broad historical periods and trends; instead, he investigates individual examples of unique language and styles in works by Rabelais, Montaigne, and Ronsard: Terence Cave, *Pré-histoires: textes troublés au seuil de la modernité* (Geneva: Droz, 1999). David Aers notes that it is also difficult to distinguish different periods of English literature, see David Aers, ‘A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the “History of the Subject”’, *Culture and History 1350-1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, ed. David Aers (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1992), 177-202. See, also, Heather Dubrow and Frances E. Dolan, ‘The Term Early Modern’, *PMLA* 109 (1994): 1025-1027.

Chartier engages with readers' diverse responses to books, which influenced the meanings and uses of texts.⁸ In so doing, Chartier refutes other investigations of print media, including Elizabeth Eisenstein's notion of a standardized readership following the advent of print. Eisenstein, in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformation in Early-Modern Europe* (1979), situates the evolution of the book within wider social contexts.⁹ Chartier, however, voices the need for further case studies of printed books in order to understand varying types of readership during this period. Indeed, Eisenstein's broad categorization of the readership of printed books is misleading. While it is necessary to recognize ongoing debates surrounding Eisenstein's study,¹⁰ I embark on detailed studies of French manuscripts and printed editions to demonstrate the need to think differently about books' susceptibility to diverse readings in various contexts.

A bestseller of its era by medieval standards, the *Rose* provides an ideal platform for an examination of image production and reception in books through its numerous extant manuscripts and printed editions and diverse pictorial programmes. Unlike a bestseller of modern times (which generally has a short shelf-life of weeks or months), the *Rose* demonstrated popularity over a much longer period spanning several centuries. Described by Rosemond Tuve as one of the longest-lived picture books in existence,¹¹

⁸ Roger Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture', *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), 1-10.

⁹ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), 22-24; 80-88.

¹⁰ E.g. Anthony Grafton, 'Introduction', *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 84-6. Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited', *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 87-105. Adrian Johns, 'How to Acknowledge a Revolution', *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 106-125. Elizabeth Eisenstein, '[How to Acknowledge a Revolution]: Reply', *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 126-8. Sabrina A. Baron et al., 'Introduction', *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, eds. Sabrina A. Baron et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 1-12.

¹¹ Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966), 321.

the large number of extant *Rose* books—327 manuscripts (of which 251 are illustrated)¹² and approximately twenty-two *Rose* printed editions (some containing over one hundred woodcuts)¹³—provides a robust source of material for study. How did images change in *Rose* books in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? *Rose* books of this period appear, for example, to be more extensively illustrated than previous *Rose* manuscripts. Considerable scholarship chronicles the production, circulation, and reception of imagery in religious manuscripts of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹⁴ Unlike religious books, however, the *Rose* was more susceptible to—and thus its makers presumably reacted to—the fluctuating tastes of society.¹⁵ Accordingly, study of *Rose* imagery can reveal which visual iconography was deemed important and relevant by bookmakers and readers in the periods preceding and following the advent of print.

Comprising more than twenty-two thousand lines in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, the *Rose* is a narrative poem written by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun that has spurred vigorous debate within literary circles for more than seven centuries.¹⁶ In *ca.* 1230, Guillaume de Lorris wrote his portion of the poem in which the narrator claims to describe a dream he had five years earlier. From *ca.* 1268-1278, Jean de Meun

¹² Meradith T. McMunn, personal communication, 8 Jan. 2010.

¹³ *Rose* printed editions contain different sizes and quantities of illustrations, ranging from five to 140 woodcuts. On average, *Rose* incunables contain approximately 89 woodcuts.

¹⁴ E.g. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: Braziller, in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML), 1997). Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Braziller, in association with the Walters Art Museum, 2001). John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1966). Michelle K. Hearne et al., *The Hours of Henry VIII: A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet* (New York: Braziller, 2000). Catherine Vincent, 'Images durables et images éphémères dans la vie des confrères à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Iconographie: études sur les rapports entre textes et images dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Gaston Duchet-Surcoux (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 2001), 253-274. Concerning the repetition of printed iconography in a manuscript book of hours, see Caitlin C. Hartigan, 'The Printed Relations of a Manuscript Book of Hours', *Bodleian Library Record* 22 (2009) : 81-93.

¹⁵ I avoid the inflexible designation of the *Rose* as a 'secular' work in view of the diversity of editors' and readers' interpretations of its images and text. For instance, *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions contain a plethora of different images, including images which were sometimes borrowed from religious sources as I investigate in Chapter 1.

¹⁶ For further scholarship on these debates, see Christine McWebb, *Debating the 'Roman de la rose': A Critical Anthology*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (London: Routledge, 2007). Christine de Pizan et al., *Debate of the 'Romance of the Rose'*, ed. and trans. David F. Hult (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

completed his addition, which expounds on erudite references to philosophy, theology, science, history, and classical literature.¹⁷ Guillaume de Lorris's portion of the poem is less than a quarter of the length of Jean de Meun's contribution. Critics have remarked on the apparent contrast between the two portions of the *Rose*, highlighting the authors' disparate visions of love, deceit, and desire.¹⁸ *Rose* editions of the sixteenth century may include different versions of the poem's text, including Clément Marot's recension of the poem, which was written in 1526, and Jean Molinet's 'moralized' version, which was written *ca.* 1500.¹⁹ Editors often further supplemented the textual content of their editions with paratextual material, and, as this thesis explores, some readers annotated and illustrated their *Rose* books.

The poem begins in a dream sequence: Amant (the Lover) exits his bedroom and encounters a garden wall painted with the personified figures of anti-courtly vices. Amant enters the garden of Déduit (Pleasure), where, in addition to encountering likenesses of courtly virtue, he views roses reflected in the Fountain of Narcissus. Amour (God of Love or Love) pierces Amant with an arrow, inflaming his desire for a

¹⁷ There are two manuscripts that do not contain Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem. Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Fortune's Faces: The 'Roman de la rose' and the Poetics of Contingency* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2003), 6. Sylvia J. Huot, 'Bodily Peril: Sexuality and the Subversion of Order in Jean de Meun's *Roman de la rose*', *The Modern Language Review* 95 (2000): 41-61.

¹⁸ Susan Stakel, *False Roses: Structures of Duality and Deceit in Jean de Meun's 'Roman de la rose'* (Saratoga: Anna Libri, 1991), 1; 46-82. Helen J. Swift, 'Splitting Heirs: Wrestling with the Rose in the *querelle des femmes*', *Essays in Later Medieval French Literature: The Legacy of Jane H.M. Taylor*, ed. Rebecca Dixon (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010), 3-19.

¹⁹ For issues of attribution surrounding Clément Marot's revision of the poem, see David F. Hult, 'La Fortune du *Roman de la rose* à l'époque de Clément Marot', *Clément Marot 'Prince des poètes français' 1496-1996: actes du colloque international de Cahors en Quercy 21-25 mai 1996*, eds. Gérard Defaux and Michel Simonin (Paris: Champion, 1997), 143-56. Detlef Brüning, *Clément Marots Bearbeitung des Rosenromans (1526): Studien zur Rezeption des Rosenromans im frühen sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Verlag, 1972), 11-41. Noël Dupire, *Jean Molinet: la vie -- les œuvres* (Paris: Droz, 1932), 71-89. Richard Cooper, 'Picturing Marot', *Book and Text in France, 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page*, eds. Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 117-138, at 121; 138. Jean Devaux, *Jean Molinet, indiciaire bourguignon* (Paris: Champion, 1996). Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Le *Romant de la rose* moralisé de Jean Molinet: alchimie d'une lecture méditative', *Medievalia* 55 (2002): 97-116. Robert Griffin, *Clément Marot and the Inflections of Poetic Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 20-5. Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 232-3; 237-8. As I discuss in Chapters 2 and 3, similar to *Rose* manuscripts, *Rose* printed editions sometimes include Jean de Meun's *Testament*, *Codicille*, and/or *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi*.

beautiful rosebud.²⁰ Amant is encouraged and rebuked by different allegorical characters in the garden as he attempts to kiss and pluck the bud. At the close of Guillaume de Lorris's narrative, Jalousie (Jealousy) imprisons the rose (along with Bel Accueil, or Fair Welcoming) in her tower. In Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem, Amant listens to the contradictory discourses of various characters, who advise on philosophy, deception, and desire. At the end of the poem, with the aid of Venus, Faux Semblant (False Seeming or Fraud), and others, Amant finally plucks the rose. He then awakens to discover that it has all been a dream.

Recent scholarship on the text of the *Rose* provides useful approaches to analysing its poetic images. The *Rose* presents a rich, but challenging, field of study. It is a long, complex poem which, as previously mentioned, makes diverse use of visual images in extant books. How do we analyse a poem with confusing, contradictory discourses and visual iconography? Sylvia J. Huot's *Dreams of Lovers and Lies of Poets: Poetry, Knowledge, and Desire in the 'Roman de la rose'*,²¹ which is the most recent book-length study on the *Rose*, provides useful insights. Huot, who has devoted several important volumes to the study of the *Rose* and its manuscripts,²² demonstrates that a successful approach to the *Rose* is achieved through detailed analyses of particular scenes and key themes in the poem.²³ She suggests that it would be wrong to imagine that such a long and miscellaneous text as the *Rose* was interpreted by medieval readers in a uniform fashion. Readers exhibited diverse approaches to the poem and its

²⁰ In the *Rose*, the names of personifications are difficult to translate in a modern sense. Characters' names, for example, may imply various traits (e.g. noblesse), as I discuss in particular instances in my case studies.

²¹ Sylvia J. Huot, *Dreams of Lovers and Lies of Poets: Poetry, Knowledge, and Desire in the 'Roman de la Rose'* (London: Legenda, 2010).

²² Sylvia J. Huot, *The 'Romance of the Rose' and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993). Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia J. Huot, eds., *Rethinking the 'Romance of the Rose': Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

²³ For example, in Chapters 3 and 4, Huot examines implicit references to Orpheus in various *Rose* discourses, including the debate between Amant and Raison. Huot, *Dreams of Lovers*, 4-7; 78-116.

‘unacknowledged web of allusions’ to other texts which informed their readings.²⁴ Her recent book consequently examines particular aspects of relevance to medieval reception of the text, including negative representations of eros in the poem’s narrative and the importance of mythological figures. Accordingly, in this project, I analyse the implications of specific scenes and illustrations in the *Rose* text with the understanding that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers read the poem as a compendium—as part of a larger visual and textual heritage—and understood its visual iconography in different ways.

Rose books and their imagery continue to entertain and confound audiences, inspiring exhibitions and scholarship. *L’Art d’aimer au Moyen Age: ‘Le Roman de la rose’*, a recent exhibition mounted in Paris by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), for example, featured illuminated *Rose* manuscripts and their literary and cultural influence.²⁵ As Nathalie Coilly explains in the exhibition’s catalogue, the *Rose* engages with diverse interests and topics, which influenced numerous authors and later works, including Geoffrey Chaucer, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and the visual iconography of a range of art objects.²⁶ While the exhibition displayed many examples of *Rose* manuscripts and a smaller selection of *Rose* printed editions, it did not address certain similarities shared between the visual programmes of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions. Indeed, *Rose* printed editions were displayed in a separate room apart from manuscripts, curtailing direct comparisons between hand-illustrated and printed images.²⁷ Instead, these printed editions were exhibited alongside eighteenth- and

²⁴ Ibid., 4-7; p.4, fn. 6.

²⁵ Paris, BnF, *L’Art d’aimer au Moyen Age: ‘Le Roman de la rose’* [Exhibition], 19 Jan. 2013.

²⁶ Nathalie Coilly, ‘La Réception du *Roman de la rose*’, *‘Le Roman de la rose’: l’art d’aimer au Moyen Age*, eds. Nathalie Coilly and Marie-Hélène Tesnière (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), 2012), 97-101. Natalie Coilly, “‘Senefiance’ et sentences; les enseignements du *Roman de la rose*”, *‘Le Roman de la rose’: l’art d’aimer au Moyen Age*, eds. Nathalie Coilly and Marie-Hélène Tesnière (Paris: BnF, 2012), 83-87.

²⁷ Such a distinct separation of manuscripts and printed books indicates a broader historiographical dilemma in scholarly approaches to manuscript and printed book studies, which I address in Chapter 1.

nineteenth-century *Rose* printed editions in an effort to explore the ‘redécouverte’ of medieval literature in the eighteenth century.

The last sixteenth-century *Rose* editions were printed in Paris in 1538, ending a flourishing period of *Rose* print production which spanned fifty-seven years. This end, which coincided with the waning production of *Rose* manuscripts, was linked to decreased demand for medieval vernacular literature among buyers—a trend observed in the French book market.²⁸ As noted in the BnF *Rose* exhibition discussed above, renewed interest in the *Rose* and its visual programmes emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, collectors and bookmakers in this period replicated late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Rose* woodcuts to replace missing illustrations in early medieval manuscripts and to create new manuscripts and printed books in the style of earlier *Rose* editions.²⁹ Although earlier *Rose* editions evince interesting similarities with

The exhibition also did not reveal the wide variety of woodcuts in circulation in *Rose* books ca. 1481-1538.

²⁸ Helen J. Swift explains how political and juridical texts ‘rapidly eclipsed’ medieval vernacular fiction in the mid-sixteenth century, following the publication of the last early *Rose* printed editions. Helen J. Swift, personal communication, 28 Sept. 2013. Helen J. Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance: Men Defending Women in Late Medieval France, 1440-1538* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 87-8, p. 87, fn. 194.

²⁹ In National Library of South Africa Ms. 4c12, a nineteenth-century illustrator depicted a pen and ink drawing on vellum of the Lover grasping the rose—a copy of a woodcut in Guillaume Le Roy’s ca. 1487 edition. Produced in the first half of the fourteenth century in north-eastern France, this *Rose* manuscript lacks several pages and sustained damage, probably compelling its nineteenth-century owner to commission the rewriting of passages and the illustration of an image at the end of the poem (fols. 131-133). It is highly probable that Guglielmo Libri, who sold this manuscript on 25 Aug. 1857, played a part in ‘restoring’ this fourteenth-century manuscript. Indeed, Libri, who became renowned for his thievery at the end of his life, would have been especially resourceful in obtaining a *Rose* printed edition from which to copy a woodcut and accompanying passages. Melanie Geustyn notes that there is no date given as to when the replacement pages were created, only that they were produced at a much later date. Cape Town, National Library of South Africa, Ms. 4c12, fol. 133r. Melanie Geustyn, personal communication, 12/22 Mar. 2012. Carol Steyn, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Grey Collection of the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town*, vol. 2 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2002), 92-102. P. Alessandra Ruju Maccioni and Marco Mostert, ‘Thief and Forger’, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802-1869): Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief. A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), 202-237. In Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 608 Rés., an illustrator created large drawings, some containing coloured washes, that derive from fifteenth-century *Rose* woodcuts. Ms. 608 Rés also contains rhyming rubrics copied from a *Rose* printed edition. In a sense, Ms. 4c12’s and Ms. 608 Rés’s illustrators demonstrated continuity with their medieval predecessors in that they perceived the shared visual (and sometimes textual) relationship between fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts and printed editions. This manuscript was owned by Monseigneur de Caulet, who was Bishop of Grenoble in the eighteenth century. His collection was purchased by the Bibliothèque publique de Grenoble in 1772. Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 608 Rés. P. Fournier et al., eds., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 7 (Paris: Plon, 1889), no. 864;

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *Rose* books, I limit my investigation to *Rose* books produced *ca.* 1481-1538, in order to address detailed evidence of the practices of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bookmakers and readers.

That *Rose* printed editions and their visual programmes remain on the periphery of critical attention is probably due in part to their inaccessibility (both in collections and digital libraries) and their illustrations. For example, the *Rose* Digital Library offers a collection of over 130 digitized *Rose* manuscripts from repositories across three continents; however, it has only two digitized *Rose* printed editions with no plans for further expansion.³⁰ In archives, *Rose* printed editions often lack records of their provenance, and they are generally catalogued and stored apart from manuscripts.³¹ To date, there are few studies of *Rose* printed editions, especially in comparison with the large scholarly interest in *Rose* manuscripts.³² The most comprehensive published study of *Rose* printed editions is Francis Bourdillon's 1906 book, in which he provides a useful chronicle of the evolution of *Rose* editions through evidence of their typography, texts,

Emmanuel Ladurie and Yves J. Monrozier, *Mille ans d'écrit* (Grenoble: Glénat, 2000), 42. Emmanuelle Spagnol, personal communication, 29 Jul. 2011. For a digital reproduction of some of this manuscript's images, see: <<http://manuscripts-medievaux.bm-grenoble.fr>>. In National Library of Wales (NLW) b11 P3(2), a nineteenth-century hand copied woodcuts and Molinet's revised *Rose* text into a damaged sixteenth-century *Rose* printed edition. Aberystwyth, NLW, b11 P3(2). Finally, some eighteenth-century illustrators also borrowed image compositions from medieval *Rose* manuscripts in an attempt to repair or customize medieval manuscripts. For example, PML Ms. Glazier 32 contains an eighteenth-century half-page miniature copied from Ferrell Collection Ms. Ferrell *Rose*. It is possible that Ms. Glazier 32's eighteenth-century owner borrowed Ms. Ferrell *Rose*, for use of its fifteenth-century illustration. New York, PML, Ms. Glazier 32, fol. 1. Los Angeles, Ferrell Collection (Privately Owned), Ms. Ferrell *Rose*, fol. 1.

³⁰ Nadia Altschul, personal communication, 6 Jan. 2010. Subsequent to our communication, the *Rose* Digital Library has not added any other printed books. To access the *Rose* Digital Library, see <www.romandelarose.org>.

³¹ I explore this issue in greater depth in Chapter 1.

³² E.g.: Alcuin Blamires and Gail C. Holian, *The 'Romance of the Rose' Illuminated: Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002). Pierre Yves Badel, *'Le Roman de la rose' au XIV^e siècle: étude de la réception de l'œuvre* (Geneva: Droz, 1980). Brownlee and Huot, eds., *Rethinking the 'Romance of the Rose'*. Nathalie Coilly, 'Aperçu sur un *Roman de la rose* insaisissable: le manuscrit français 25526', *Art de l'enluminure* 42 (2012): 58-71. Margareta Friesen, *Der Rosenroman für François I.: Ms. M. 948 der Pierpont Morgan Library, New York* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2007). Marie-Hélène Tesnière, 'Manuscripts enluminés du *Roman de la rose* au début du XV^e siècle: miniatures de quatre manuscrits', *Art de l'enluminure* 42 (2012): 2-57. According to William W.E. Slights, the vast quantity of *Rose* printed books deters some scholars from analysing them: William W.E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 61.

and some borrowed woodcuts.³³ Nevertheless, he expressly avoids analyses of what he judges to be ‘rude’ or ‘childish’ woodcuts, which he characterizes in terms of their stylistic elements and seemingly haphazard placement in *Rose* editions.³⁴ He also acknowledges the limitations of his study and the need to compare *Rose* printed editions to contemporaneous manuscripts. There have been no comprehensive published studies of *Rose* printed editions and their illustrations since Bourdillon’s volume. Yet *Rose* printed editions merit greater exposure and accessibility, as they are integral to the study of *Rose* manuscripts and reveal important aspects of image production and reception in France.

Through in-depth case studies of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, I address the form and function of French book images, while also deepening understanding of the *Rose*. In three chapters, I analyse hand-illustrated and printed images in *Rose* books produced *ca.* 1481-1538. I argue that the mobility of woodcuts influenced how workshops operated, how text and images functioned in books, and how readers interpreted books and their images. I present strategies for investigating printed imagery

³³ There are approximately twenty-two *Rose* printed editions, and Bourdillon noted twenty-one in his volume. Francis Bourdillon, *The Early Editions of the ‘Roman de la rose’* (London: Chiswick, 1906), 36-68. Discrepancies arise in Bourdillon’s account of certain editions, which remain obscure in origin despite more recent attempts at attribution by other bibliographers and historians. The first *Rose* incunable, for example, may have been published by Jean Croquet in Geneva or Gaspard Ortuin and Pierre Bouttlier (Schenck) in Lyon *ca.* 1481. The British Library’s Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC) number of this incunable is ir00307000. Bourdillon and Anatole Claudin, for instance, concur that the first incunable was published by Gaspard Ortuin and Pierre Bouttlier (Schenck) in Lyon. They base this assertion principally on the edition’s type, which closely resembles other contemporaneous publications by Ortuin and Bouttlier, and the edition’s watermarks, which, they argue, are characteristic of Lyon. Both Claudin and Bourdillon conclude that the publisher of this *Rose* also produced an anonymous translation of *Boèce*, which was printed with the same type used in the *Rose*. Bourdillon edition ‘A’: Bourdillon, 35-36; Anatole Claudin, *Histoire de l’imprimerie en France au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*, vol. 3 (Paris: Lacombe, 1915), p. 416; 418. Antal Lökkös and others present notable evidence that Jean Croquet was the publisher of the first edition. Lökkös refutes the notion that the first edition’s watermarks are definitively from Lyon, as the designs were also reproduced in the Rhone Valley. Antal Lökkös, *Catalogue des incunables imprimé à Genève 1478-1500* (Geneva: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 1978), 41-8. Denise Hillard, *Catalogues régionaux des incunables des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 4 (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1989), no. 965. There are thirteen extant copies of the first *Rose* printed edition, housed in collections in Denmark, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

³⁴ Bourdillon states that *Rose* woodcuts are not ‘first-rate in artistic design or as specimens of the art of woodcutting’, citing printers’ and publishers’ predominant ‘lack of inventiveness’. Instead, Bourdillon primarily uses woodcuts as tools for ‘Bibliography’ (e.g. tracing the chronology of printed editions produced by bookmakers). Bourdillon, 2; 16; 20; 74-82.

in French books following the onset of printing. Although I separate my discussion into three chapters, it is important to note that these chapters are interdependent and intersect in surprising ways, as will become apparent in the following case studies.

Chapter 1 explores the production of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, through a discussion of the operation of workshops followed by two case studies. It examines the cross-fertilization of hand-illustrated and printed images in manuscript and printed books, adding insight to aspects of the history of the book. I begin by investigating ‘craft guilds’ and possible explanations for recurring visual iconography due to artisan affiliations and collaboration in Paris and Lyon. In the chapter’s two case studies, I analyse the layout, compositions, and stylistic elements of manuscript and print illustrations. While the first case study assesses the influence of printed imagery in a late fifteenth-century *Rose* manuscript, the second case study investigates illuminated images in a late fifteenth-century *Rose* printed edition.

In Chapter 2, I analyse instances of borrowed and repeated *Rose* woodcuts in printed editions produced by three different editors. Chapter 2 explores the significance of appropriated and recurring imagery in books, contributing to a greater understanding of book reception. In three case studies, I examine editors’ diverse usages of woodcuts, including: (1) Antoine Vérard’s appropriations of woodcuts from two distinct sources in an incunable produced after Feb. 1493; (2) Alain Lotrian’s integration of borrowed author portraits in a printed edition produced *ca.* 1528; and (3) Galliot Du Pré’s patterns of repeated *Rose* imagery in two printed editions produced *ca.* 1529 and 1531. Through investigations of these books and their woodcuts, I assert that recycled woodcuts can demonstrate varying meanings in the *Rose* text.

Finally, in Chapter 3, I assess the readership of *Rose* woodcuts and text through evidence of readers' drawings and annotations in two *Rose* books. Chapter 3 investigates readers' illustrations in the margins of books, which interact with woodcuts and text passages, adding new insight to aspects of the social history of readership. While recent scholarship largely focuses on the history of book collecting in order to reveal book reception, I undertake an examination of readers' visual responses to text and printed images, which dramatize aspects of speech and somatic perception in the *Rose* narrative. The chapter's first case study explores a reader's drawings of mouths, which evoke important moments of orality in the *Rose* and possibly serve as a signal to vocalize passages of the poem. The second case study examines a reader's drawings of hands, which correspond to moments of touch and penetration in both narrative and woodcuts. In their respective editions, these readers possibly derived their body part illustrations from woodcut depictions of historiated initials and manicules. In so doing, they customized their *Rose* books and engaged with controversial motifs in the poem's narrative and woodcuts.

Chapter One: Forging Connections: The Production of *Rose* Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Introduction

Nature stands poised with her hammer above the skull of a child, preparing to strike. In this dramatic image (Figure 1), Nature, who is forging human figures before a fire, resembles an often-replicated woodcut (Figure 2). Variations of this scene are depicted in over a dozen different *Rose* printed editions, sometimes appearing multiple times within a single book.¹ But what distinguishes this illustration from those found in other books is that it was *not* printed, but rather was illustrated by hand in a manuscript. Imitating a woodcut used in a *ca.* 1487 *Rose* printed edition, this later ink drawing of the 1490s supports recent assertions of an overlap between the production of manuscripts and printed editions in the decades following the advent of print. Indeed, this illustration and other examples could indicate that the producers of manuscripts and printed editions, rather than exclusively and jealously protecting their craft secrets, in fact freely shared and appropriated iconography. A closer study of the visual presentation of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions could thus add to our understanding of important trends relating to the practices of image production and the operation of workshops *ca.* 1481-1538.

This chapter begins with a discussion of possible explanations for image sharing in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, followed by two case studies examining the layout, composition, and stylistic elements of illustrations in a *Rose* manuscript and a deluxe printed edition, respectively. The first case study examines Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 25, which was illustrated on paper and parchment in approximately

¹ E.g.: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 917, sigs. v2 recto and x6 recto.

the last decade of the fifteenth century.² This manuscript contains seventy-three illustrations, originating (with only a few exceptions) from *Rose* incunables. I compare Ms. PA 25 to Rosenwald 396 of the Library of Congress, a copy of an edition printed by Guillaume Le Roy in Lyon *ca.* 1487 which shares numerous pictorial and textual similarities with Ms. PA 25.³ The second case study assesses PML 535 in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML), which was printed on parchment by Vérard in Paris after Feb. 1493.⁴ Containing eighty-eight overpainted woodcuts, this deluxe printed book has a dynamic visual programme, calling into question the asserted standardization and fixity of printed books and their imagery.⁵ Ms. PA 25 and PML 535 have not hitherto received adequate critical attention, despite their capacity to shed light on important methods of image production during this era.

Artisans' strategies and techniques for sharing images raise a significant art-historical issue concerning the transference of iconography from and within different media. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, artisans regularly collaborated on diverse projects—ranging from tapestries to metalwork and architecture—that required varying

² Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 25. Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du 'Roman de la rose': description et classement* (Lille: Tallandier, 1910), 132.

³ Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396. The ISTC number of this incunable is ir00309000. Bourdillon edition 'C': Bourdillon, 13-15; 39-41. Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1964), no. R-309.

⁴ New York, PML, PML 535. ChL 1542. PML 535's ISTC number is ir00311000. Bourdillon edition 'E': Bourdillon, 42-3. John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London: Chiswick Press, 1900), p. 64, no. 125. Goff, no. R-311. Alfred W. Pollard, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, the Fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and Other Sources*, vol. 2 (London: Chiswick, 1907), no. 535. Deluxe printed editions usually consist of parchment pages and overpaintings, and were produced for important patrons. Like Ms. PA 25's illustrations, PML 535's overpaintings were probably executed by multiple illustrators. However, Ms. PA 25 and PML 535 demonstrate distinct and consistent style throughout their respective visual programmes, so I refer to only one illustrator of either book in my discussion.

⁵ In addition, this printed edition contains two modern illustrations on sigs. a1 verso and a2 recto. On sig. a1 verso, the illustration's composition derives from at least one fifteenth-century *Rose* woodcut printed in this edition (e.g. sig. t6 verso). It is possible that the other half of the modern illustration on sig. a1 verso was adapted from a woodcut printed in Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition (e.g. Rosenwald 396, sig. c6 verso). On sig. a2 recto, the other modern half-page illustration resembles a fifteenth-century woodcut printed in early *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (*CNN*) printed editions. E.g.: New York, PML, PML 493, sig. c5 recto. The ISTC number of this *CNN* incunable is in00277000.

skill sets.⁶ While this overlap in production may account for some recurrences of iconography, identical repetitions of imagery are possibly linked to the existence of ‘pattern books’ or the distribution of single-sheet relief prints. The existence of ‘pattern books’ as a genre, however, is controversial. Scholars, most notably Robert W. Scheller, have presented examples of ‘pattern books’ comprising (as their name suggests) patterns—tracings, drawings, and single-sheet relief prints—that may have been consulted or copied by illustrators and other artisans while creating manuscripts and other objects.⁷ Although model books and model sheets did exist, these examples do not necessarily establish the existence of a category of material products which can be systematically labelled ‘pattern books’. Artisans may not necessarily have utilized a formally gathered or bound book of models; trunks containing loose tracings and woodcuts, for example, were also shared among (and argued over by) workshops. Copying images was a significant part of medieval culture—as artists demonstrated respect for their masters during training, for example—and patrons often requested copies of venerated images and books.⁸ Yet copies were not necessarily exact replicas,

⁶ As Gervase Rosser notes, the term ‘artisan’ does not fully describe the complex, varying, and ‘fragmented’ role of artisans in the Middle Ages. Gervase Rosser, ‘Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town’, *Past and Present* 154 (1997): 3-31, at 8-9. For the purposes of this discussion, I use the terms artisans and illustrators with the understanding that these individuals may have been capable of executing works in other media associated with other craft specialisms.

⁷ Robert W. Scheller explores the existence of ‘model books’ and ‘pattern books’, presenting examples and analysing their various uses. Robert W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1963). Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1450)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 1995). Since Scheller, there have been other discussions about the existence of ‘pattern books’ and ‘model books’. On the use of pattern books by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian artists, see Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 29; Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981), 76-108. Other scholars and museum exhibitions note the importance of pattern books in workshops: Peter Schmidt, ‘The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches’, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 7-56. Adrian Wilson and Joyce L. Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: ‘Speculum humanae salvationis’, 1324-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 21. New York, PML, *Renaissance Venice: Drawings from the Morgan* [Exhibition], 22 Sept. 2012. For an example of a ‘model book,’ see: New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Ms. 439.

⁸ Anne H. van Buren and Roger S. Wieck, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515* (London: Giles, 2011), 17, p. 17, fn. 118.

in the sense that they could be modernized and changed,⁹ and this chapter will explore how illustrators copied and modified printed imagery. Instead of simply assuming how images were transmitted, it is important, as in this chapter's case studies, to review material evidence and explore what this demonstrates about how visual iconography was reproduced in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Scholars often distinguish hand-illustrated manuscripts from printed editions produced in the era following the advent of print, treating the two as altogether distinct in creation and appearance. While some scholars assert that the onset of printing signalled the immediate demise of manuscripts,¹⁰ others have acknowledged manuscripts' continued existence and production, but assume a lack of collaboration between print and manuscript industries, stemming from intense rivalry and the need for differing skill sets in each.¹¹

There exists a broader historiographical dilemma in how these scholars have approached either field. Scholars who study manuscripts naturally tend to focus chiefly on manuscripts, while scholars who study printed editions have examined predominantly works produced by means of the printing press. Such a conscious division between manuscript and print studies fosters a divide, precluding a closer evaluation of the hybrid nature of manuscripts and printed editions. This lack of connection between manuscript

⁹ Ibid., 17-19; p. 19, figs. 3-5.

¹⁰ E.g. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 9.

¹¹ E.g. Roger S. Wieck describes the relationship between printers and illuminators as a 'Ping-Pong game' in which illuminators 'fought back by stealing iconography' and printers competed by adding more imagery and manuscript traits to printed books. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Hours of Henry VIII as a Book of Hours', *The Hours of Henry VIII: A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet*, eds. K. Michelle Hearne et al. (New York: Braziller, 2000), 3-14, at 8-9. Antony Griffiths explains that creating woodcuts was a difficult skill, and illustrators instead designed woodcuts which professional woodcutters carved. Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Technique* (London: British Museum, 1980), 13. The late fifteenth century has been viewed by Charles Talbot and others as the defining point at which manuscripts were relegated to the status of *objets d'art*, thereby removed from the sphere of 'mass-produced' printed books. Talbot stresses the superiority of the printed book, asserting that manuscripts became 'obsolete, except as aesthetic objects' in the sixteenth century. Charles Talbot, 'Prints and the Definitive Image', *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, eds. Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 189-207, at 189.

and print studies emerges not only in academia, but also within the holdings of libraries and museums, which classify manuscripts and printed editions with different terminologies and often even store them apart, stifling comparison of the works.¹² In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by contrast, library inventories rarely distinguished between manuscripts and printed editions, which shared space in coffers and on shelves.¹³

Significant scholarship, however, presents a more nuanced approach to the relationship between manuscripts and printed editions, encouraging more individual case studies. Armstrong, Martha W. Driver, Sandra Hindman, and Michael Orr, for example, provide compelling insights into the borrowing of text and sometimes images between manuscripts and printed editions by editors and manuscript makers.¹⁴ In the introduction to her co-edited volume on the cross-fertilization of manuscripts and printed editions in Western Europe, Hindman voices the need for further case studies examining manuscripts and printed editions, especially those with illustrations.¹⁵ Recent seminars and workshops have attempted to fill this void, presenting opportunities for specialists to collaborate on the discussion of differences and similarities between manuscript and

¹² For example, manuscripts and printed editions are housed in separate wings of the NLW, impeding the comparison of images and texts in both types of works. Nevertheless, when classification is deemed essential, as in archives, deluxe printed editions with overpaintings commonly are registered as printed editions. Unlike their manuscript counterparts, not every *Rose* printed edition that I have viewed has a corresponding internal library file. This flawed system of organization prevents a central gathering of information—ranging from scholarly observations to provenance—about specific works. This practice further reveals how institutions have consciously prioritized manuscripts (which generally do have internal files) within their collections. The divergent record-keeping systems for manuscripts and printed editions underscore their perceived separation within holdings.

¹³ Booton, 215-16. In Sir Thomas Bodley's letter to Richard Hadocke on 22 Jan. 1602, he stated that he saw no reason to separate printed books from rare manuscripts, which should be 'chained with the rest'. Thomas James, *Letters Addressed to Thomas James, First Keeper of Bodley's Library*, ed. G.W. Wheeler (Oxford: OUP, 1933), 23-4.

¹⁴ Armstrong, *Technique and Technology*. Martha W. Driver and Michael Orr, 'Decorating and Illustrating the Page', *The Production of Books in England, 1350-1500*, eds. Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 104-128. Sandra Hindman, 'Introduction', *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, eds. James Douglas Farquhar and Sandra Hindman (College Park: Art Department University of Maryland and Department of the History of Art, Johns Hopkins University, 1977), 1-7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

print copies of specific texts, as well as to explore their text-image relationships.¹⁶ This chapter's first section and case studies expand on these studies and add detail to the production of hand-illustrated and printed images in books.

Perceived distinctions between manuscripts and printed editions can possibly be traced to misconceptions about the status and roles of their makers. Editors and illustrators often worked together—rather than apart—to produce books.¹⁷ Indeed, as Susie Nash notes, the *absence* of printing presses in a city probably caused the decline of local manuscript production, as in Amiens where the illustration of significant manuscripts was outsourced to Paris by the first quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Far from being segregated, illustrators and bookmakers relied on professional collaboration and were sometimes members of the same guilds and confraternities, as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.¹⁹ Furthermore, in book production, artisans were also trained in a variety of skills, including illumination, the transcription of texts, and the creation of inks and other products from raw materials.²⁰ The versatility of artisans in a

¹⁶ Giles Bergel, 'The Printing Revolution I', History of the Book Reading Group, Merton College, Oxford, 5 Nov. 2009. Giles Bergel, 'The Printing Revolution II', History of the Book Reading Group, Merton College, Oxford, 26 Nov. 2009. Ros Brown-Grant and Rebecca Dixon, 'Symposium 1', Text/Image Relations in Late Medieval French Culture, Leeds Humanities Research Institute, University of Leeds, Leeds, 29 Jan. 2011. Ros Brown-Grant and Rebecca Dixon, 'Symposium 2', Text/Image Relations in Late Medieval French Culture, Leeds Humanities Research Institute, University of Leeds, Leeds, 28 Jan. 2012. W. H. Bond, 'Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 54 (1979): 386-388, at 386.

¹⁷ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, trans. David Gerard (London: Editions Albin Michel, 1976), 78.

¹⁸ Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London: British Library, 1999), 51. Curt F. Bühler also notes that with the advent of large-scale printing, printing presses generated more work for artists. Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book; The Scribes, The Printers, The Decorators* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 15; 87.

¹⁹ Thus it is important to question whether bookmakers facilitated the transportation and repetition of visual media in order to suit the tastes and desires of patrons or possibly guild affiliates. Artisans repeated certain visual iconography, such as ancient motifs depicting faces surrounded by foliate decoration, in sculptures and illuminated manuscripts. In Chapter 3 of this thesis, this particular motif receives greater attention. Alain Gruber, 'Grotesques', *The History of Decorative Arts: The Renaissance and Mannerism in Europe*, ed. Alain Gruber, trans. John Goodman (London: Abbeville, 1994), 191-276, at 197. Wilson and Wilson, 23.

²⁰ Jean Leurens, for example, made ink, paper, and parchment, as well as illuminated and copied texts in manuscripts. Nash, 50.

variety of media could inform how they transmitted imagery between manuscript and print.

Within *Rose* scholarship, there is a pressing need to examine the art-historical implications of a crossover between illustrated manuscripts and printed editions. As mentioned in the Introduction, there have been no comprehensive published studies of *Rose* printed editions' visual programmes since Bourdillon's book in 1906, and Bourdillon avoids extensive image analyses of what he deems 'small and often poor and unimportant cuts',²¹ leaving the task to future scholars. With few exceptions, *Rose* manuscript studies largely do not take account of their printed counterparts.²² For example, Ernest Langlois, an authority on *Rose* manuscripts, does not mention in his volumes how *Rose* manuscript texts might correspond to printed editions.²³

Many notable *Rose* manuscripts, including those produced for powerful patrons, display iconographic and textual programmes derived from printed editions. Housed at the PML, Ms. M. 948 was produced *ca.* 1520 for François I^{er} and contains illuminations modified from woodcuts.²⁴ Girard Acarie copied this manuscript's text and rhyming rubrics from Michel Le Noir's 1519 printed edition. Ms. M. 948 and other *Rose* manuscripts, including British Library Ms. Harley 4425 (*ca.* 1490-1500), contain highly naturalistic miniatures adapted from printed woodcuts.²⁵ These *Rose* manuscripts

²¹ Bourdillon, 11; 71.

²² Margareta Friesen, for example, notes several similarities between PML Ms. M. 948 and printed editions. Margareta Friesen, *Der Rosenroman für François I.*

²³ Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du 'Roman de la rose'*. Further research on the relationship between *Rose* manuscript and print illustrations would benefit the ever-evolving scholarly interest surrounding *Rose* manuscripts, which have become increasingly accessible through digital libraries, related publications, and a BnF exhibition (and catalogue). Coilly and Tesnière, eds., *'Le Roman de la rose': l'art d'aimer*.

²⁴ New York, PML, Ms. M. 948. Mechthild Modersohn observes that this manuscript was based on Michel Le Noir's *ca.* 1519 edition, and that fifteen miniatures might originate from other manuscripts created during this period. It is possible that Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 195, previously owned by Louise de Savoie, wife of Charles d'Orléans and mother of François I^{er}, also contains print elements. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195. Mechthild Modersohn, *Natura als Göttin im Mittelalter. Ikonographische Studien zu Darstellungen der personifizierten Natur* (Berlin: Verlag, 1997), 216-17. Friesen, 34.

²⁵ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4425. Modersohn also notes similarities between Ms. Harley 4425 and Guillaume Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition. She observes that Engelbert II owned another manuscript with

demonstrate an important pattern: their illustrations can be identified as originating from printed woodcuts, but appear different in treatment and style from printed models. The Master of the Prayerbooks, for instance, illustrated Ms. Harley 4425's illuminations with a highly chromatic palette. Made for Engelbert II, Count of Nassau and Vianden, this manuscript's text and rhyming rubrics were probably copied from Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition, like Ms. PA 25. Although the British Library's catalogue entry for this manuscript dismisses any relationship between Ms. Harley 4425's illuminations and contemporaneous woodcuts, I have observed numerous illustrations that persuasively indicate otherwise.²⁶

Another striking example of an illustrator who appropriated woodcuts occurs in the Wormsley Library's *Rose* manuscript, illuminated in Paris by the workshop of Jean Pichore *ca.* 1510.²⁷ Unlike the makers of Mss. M. 948 and Harley 4425, Pichore employed a monochromatic palette reminiscent of a printed programme. Scholarship chronicles Pichore's mastery of skills in various media, including panel painting, illumination, and engraving.²⁸ Previous scholarship, however, has not accounted for the significant similarities between this *Rose* manuscript's semi-grisaille illustrations and *Rose* woodcuts. With two half-page and eighty-nine smaller miniatures, this manuscript predominantly contains illustrations with compositions and stylistic elements copied

illuminations by the Master of the Prayerbooks. Modersohn, 209-11. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 4-5; 44; 73; 315; 323; 394; 398; 401-3; no. 120. The State Hermitage Museum's *Rose* manuscript, which was illustrated in the sixteenth century, also contains illustrations which derive from woodcuts; however, like Mss. M. 948 and Harley 4425, these illustrations were depicted in a naturalistic style. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum – Print Department, Ms. 5. BnF Ms. fr. 24392, which contains 119 illustrations, also contains print imagery and rhyming rubrics. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24392.

²⁶ Contrary to this manuscript's catalogue description, Ms. Harley 4425's illuminations sometimes derive from woodcuts. British Library, 'Detailed Record for Harley 4425', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed 3 Feb. 2013. <<http://catalogue.bl.uk>>. For example, the illustration of Venus in her chariot (fol. 138v) resembles Rosenwald 396's woodcut (sig. o7 verso).

²⁷ Burton upon Trent, Wormsley Library, Ms. 109B BM3740. William M. Voelkle, '20. Grisaille *Romance of the Rose*', *The Wormsley Library: A Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty*, eds. H. George Fletcher et al. (London: Maggs, 1999), 57-59.

²⁸ Caroline Zöhl, *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

from woodcut cycles. This book's rhyming rubrics and text also originate from Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition. Due to his versatility in other media, Pichore probably interacted with print workshops, enabling him to own or borrow *Rose* woodcuts and text from editors with whom he had collaborated on other projects.

Rose manuscript makers also adapted woodcuts to suit their individual styles and the format of books. For example, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique Ms. F.S. XXXVI 2 contains illustrations derived from *Rose* woodcuts, but executed on a much smaller scale within historiated initials.²⁹ Illustrated in the sixteenth century, possibly in the southern Netherlands, this manuscript contains nearly one hundred historiated initials.³⁰ There are no examples of printed initials depicting elaborate pictorial scenes in *Rose* printed editions; rather, the maker of this manuscript modified the scale, shape, and compositions of contemporary *Rose* quarter-page woodcuts in order to suit the size and configuration of this manuscript. Ms. F.S. XXXVI 2's and other *Rose* illustrators demonstrated ingenuity through the ability to create a different kind of visual presentation using woodcut compositions.

The following examination of artisan practices and case studies investigating the visual presentations of Ms. PA 25 and PML 535 helps to reveal the extent to which the creators of manuscripts and printed editions worked both separately and collaboratively.

²⁹ Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. F.S. XXXVI 2. Inside this manuscript's front cover, a pastedown reads: 'Jehan lalemant seigneur de marmaignes et du perreau fait le xiiii^e jour de may lan mil cinq cens trente et quatre' (followed by a signature). Jean de Marmaignes was the king of France's secretary in 1561. On fol. 320v, there is a Latin excerpt written by the scribe. As Michiel Verweij explains, there are other manuscripts signed by this scribe, and 'plenus amoris' is probably a quality, rather than a part of Jacobus's name. Michiel Verweij, personal communication, 19 Sept. 2011. Pierre Cockshaw and Georges Colin, *La Donation du baron van Bogaert: choix de cent œuvres: exposition* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, 1992), 15. Langlois, 145.

³⁰ Like Ms. PA 25 and the other aforementioned manuscripts, this work also contains rhyming rubrics; these rubrics, which were added to the margins in Ms. F.S. XXXVI 2, may have been inserted by a sixteenth-century reader at a later date due to evidence of palaeography.

These studies will also clarify the degree of exclusivity and rigidity of ‘craft guilds’,³¹ confraternities, and workshops in France. A number of questions are raised in this chapter: how did artisan practices facilitate the transference of printed imagery? How did manuscript illustrators use printed imagery in their illustrations? And how and why was certain printed imagery modified in manuscripts and printed books?

The Operation of ‘Craft Guilds’ and Possible Explanations for Recurring Images

A possible explanation for the recurrence of printed imagery in manuscripts and printed editions is the acquisition of complete printed editions by illustrators. Galliot Du Pré, for example, employed illustrators and owned 181 editions printed by Vérard.³² More plausible (due to the cost of early printed editions), however, is that workshops—endeavouring to create illustrations—owned and shared books or gatherings of tracings, drawings, and single-sheet relief prints. Circulated in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, woodcuts provided illustrations adaptable to a variety of different media. Although single-sheet relief prints were disseminated in Western Europe as early as the fourteenth century, the printing press enabled a wider distribution of prototypes and models on paper by notable artists—such as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Brosamer, and Albrecht Altdorfer—which led to the repetition and refinement of various motifs.³³ Moreover, workshops in Italy and France saved examples of their most successful products in order to teach a master’s style to new apprentices.³⁴ These templates would

³¹ The term ‘craft guilds’ suggests a guild’s specialization in one craft; however, as I discuss in the next section of this chapter, guilds had different subgroups of craft specialisms, and artisans may have specialized in a variety of different media.

³² Annie Parent, *Les Métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e siècle (1535-1560)* (Geneva: Droz, 1974), 222.

³³ Gruber, ‘Grotesques’, 122. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings*, 1-88.

³⁴ Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (London: Yale UP, 2000), 23. Wieck, ‘The Hours of Henry VIII’, 8.

also have provided important exemplars used by both illustrators and editors alike as tools for reproduction. Piracy of iconography and industrial espionage seem to be perhaps the *least* likely explanations for image transference during this period, as contact and exchange between workshops were not as restricted or unusual as has been presumed.³⁵ As will be explored in Case Studies 1 and 2 of this chapter, illustrators had access to a range of illustrations, and this section will explore how illustrators relied on professional, cultural, and social ties to different crafts in order to create works.

During the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, master craftsmen produced complex works, requiring artisans to work collaboratively and form new alliances across different industrial, cultural, and geographic boundaries.³⁶ Workshops commonly worked on a wide range of commissions, establishing relationships with artisans from other specialisms and locations in order to execute projects. Such intersections of crafts would have enabled artisans to observe specialists from other trades and to experiment with diverse materials and stylistic programmes. Although a steady hand (e.g. of a professional woodcutter) was required to create more intricate woodcuts and engravings, less detailed compositions—including those of certain *Rose* woodcuts—could have been executed by artisans of other crafts.³⁷ In order to meet the desires of different patrons

³⁵ Indeed, the day-to-day practices of workshops remained on the periphery of the function and regulations of urban governments; artisans also demonstrated great mobility during this period. Rosser, 18. Issues of copyright, or privileges, and ‘authorial ownership’ did emerge during this period. André de la Vigne, for example, filed a lawsuit against Le Noir with the Parliament of Paris. Brown, 1-2. Although Bourdillon describes how bookmakers shared and recut other editors’ woodcuts, he expresses dismay at how some *Rose* images were ‘imitated and stolen’. Bourdillon, 71-96. In his examination of Marcantonio Raimondi’s copies of Albrecht Dürer’s works, Griffiths maintains that true ‘fakes’ of woodcuts did not emerge until the rise of the collector. Griffiths, 138.

³⁶ Rosser, 15; 19; 31. Harald Deceulaer notes how early-modern guildsmen participated in civic and religious ‘rituals’ (e.g. guild feasts) in Antwerp in order to establish social identity and status within craft specialisms. Harald Deceulaer, ‘Institutional and Cultural Change in Wage Formation: Port Labour in Antwerp (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)’, *Experiencing Wages: Social and Cultural Aspects of Wage Forms in Europe since 1500*, eds. Peter Scholliers and Leonard D. Schwarz (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), 27-52, at 27.

³⁷ Griffiths, 13. Through experimentation with woodcut engraving in the New Bodleian Library’s Bibliography Room under the supervision of Paul Nash, I was able to trace and replicate *Rose* woodcut illustrations. Although some practice was required, I do believe that it was possible for previously untrained artisans to transfer and replicate simple woodcuts, provided that they had the proper tools.

and ensure their survival and marketability in a fast-changing marketplace, artisans were required to acquire transferable skills.³⁸ Jean Poyet and his workshop, for example, illuminated manuscripts for French royalty and also created an altarpiece for the Charterhouse of Liget in Loches.³⁹ Printers—perhaps most notably Gutenberg—were often originally trained as goldsmiths or in other crafts. In Florence, the Pollaiuolo brothers typified this movement, creating sacred and secular images in such media as engravings, tomb carvings, and portraiture to meet the varied demands of patrons.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, although guilds’ structures varied between cities, they often remained a crucial factor in the economic and social status of artisans in the sixteenth century. Antonio Pollaiuolo, for instance, was formally associated in Florence with the subgroup of goldsmiths within the important guild of the Arte della Seta,⁴¹ not only enabling political entitlement, but also ensuring that he received respect amongst painters and sculptors.

The customary separation of the study of manuscripts and printed editions may in part originate from the perception that guilds were clandestine and exclusive, protecting their trade’s secrets and preventing the overlap of industries. Still influential nineteenth-

³⁸ Lucas van Leyden, for example, was trained as a painter, but also produced etchings. He was greatly influenced by Dürer and the workshop of the painter Jan Gossaert. Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, ‘Rinceaux’, *The History of Decorative Arts: The Renaissance and Mannerism in Europe*, ed. Alain Gruber, trans. John Goodman (London: Abbeville, 1994), 113-190, at 122-124. Pollard explains how printers and publishers would often attempt to buy or borrow cuts before creating a new set; French woodcuts, rather than Dutch or German cuts, were plentiful in number and often reused in England. Alfred W. Pollard, *Old Picture Books: With Other Essays on Bookish Subjects* (London: Methuen, 1902), 83-89. Marina Belozerskaya describes the ‘international community’ of European courts, which shared and competed through the arts. Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 3-7. Wilson and Wilson, 22.

³⁹ For a reproduction of the Loches Altarpiece, see Roger S. Wieck, ‘The Artist Jean Poyet and His Oeuvre’, *The Hours of Henry VIII: A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet*, eds. K. Michelle Hearne et al. (New York: Braziller, 2000), 15-47, at p. 23, fig. 16.

⁴⁰ In his *Zibaldone* (commonplace book), the banker Giovanni Rucellai describes Antonio Pollaiuolo as a ‘maestro di disegno’ (master of design), placing particular emphasis on Pollaiuolo’s mastery of technical design skills rather than on his specialism in any specific profession or media (e.g. bronze sculptures). Rucellai’s admiration of Antonio Pollaiuolo’s transferable design skills demonstrates that there existed artisans who were not exclusively categorized according to one skill or field, but who were successful in the representations of diverse techniques. Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2005), 5; 151-152.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 27-8; p. 27, fn. 18. Although printers and painters have been widely chronicled in art-historical studies, goldsmiths also received significant social and political recognition rooted in their skill.

century scholarship pertaining to workers' rights often misconstrues the inflexibility and daily operations of guilds. For example, this scholarship emphasizes the importance of labour within society and hypothesizes that guilds precluded the growth of industry through their traditionally conservative, hierarchical, and rigid work ethics and values.⁴² Yet the distinct classification of different labours and professions overlooks the cultural complexity of late medieval and Renaissance guilds, which also facilitated movement and exchange between industries. Despite the rigidity of certain controls within specific guilds, there were dynamic, practical, and collaborative interactions between artisans of different trades.

Association through confraternities probably also enabled editors, illustrators, bookbinders, booksellers, and others to interact and collaborate outside the workplace. For example, beginning in 1401, the Confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist founded at the Church of Saint André des Arts in Paris brought together craftsmen from the different specialisms of manuscript and book production.⁴³ Nevertheless, the status of confraternities was not always secure, due to the suspicions of the state, which frequently perceived confraternities, particularly those comprising only journeymen, as a threat capable of inducing religious or political dissent.⁴⁴ Most likely prompted by a strike of Lyonnais journeymen printers in Apr. 1539, these suspicions resulted in a ban—later approved by François I^{er}—by the local *sénéchal* on gatherings of more than five journeymen; however, despite property seizures in Paris by the *prévôt*, many

⁴² E.g. Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. Frederic L. Bender (London: Norton, 1988), 55-57.

⁴³ Parchment-makers were also associated with the Confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist: Booton, 33. This confraternity continued to group artisans from other book trades together according to records dating from the 1540s: Parent, 173. In Brussels, moreover, editors and painters were members of the same guilds, suggesting that it was not unusual for the makers of manuscripts and printed editions to be linked professionally and socially elsewhere in Western Europe. Bloy, 3-4.

⁴⁴ R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 359.

confraternities reemerged in the 1540s.⁴⁵ These instances of state measures outlawing confraternities occurred at the very end of the period subject to study. In any event, it is necessary to investigate other means by which craftsmen interacted and shared visual and textual iconography and related ideas during this period.

The close and sometimes overlapping geographic proximity of editors' and illustrators' workshops would have further permitted relationships between industries in Paris, Lyon, and elsewhere. For example, a self-described 'Libraire de Paris',⁴⁶ V  rard defined himself as a bookseller known to distribute and contract manuscripts and printed books. *Libraires* hired and supervised artisans (e.g. scribes, miniaturists, and bookbinders) to complete manuscripts and deluxe printed editions commissioned by patrons.⁴⁷ While V  rard's possible prior training as an illuminator may have influenced the production of his books, his shops were physically situated near manuscript makers, illustrators, and other *libraires*. In Paris, V  rard originally directed shops located on the Pont Notre-Dame—where other printers and illustrators were situated—and at the Palais de la Cit  .⁴⁸ As will be discussed in Case Study 2, he also employed painters.⁴⁹

According to Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, certain *libraires* in Paris and Avignon sold old and new manuscripts and printed editions simultaneously, which is unsurprising given that important patrons such as the Duc de Berry owned and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 359. There are no records of confraternities or guilds comprising stationers in Amiens and Rouen in the fifteenth century; however, as Susie Nash notes, the prevalence of *libraires* in Amiens implies an 'organized industry'. Regulation statutes for the producers of books also existed. Nash, 49.

⁴⁶ As Mary Beth Winn explains, the translation of 'libraire' as 'bookseller' does not adequately express how *libraires*, e.g. V  rard, supervised the entire production of a book and cultivated relationships with patrons. Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine V  rard: Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512: Prologue, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 9-10; 38; p. 9, fns. 1-2. Accordingly, when I employ the term 'bookseller' in this chapter, it is with the understanding that booksellers may have performed different functions and orchestrated the tasks of printers, copyists, miniaturists, and others in the production of manuscripts and printed editions. As previously mentioned, in the context of composing printed editions, I primarily refer to *libraires* (such as V  rard) as editors, due to their roles in selecting the images and texts of books.

⁴⁷ Booton, 33, p. 37, fn. 97.

⁴⁸ Parent, 35. Winn, 16-17; 23-24.

⁴⁹ Manuscript makers frequently expanded into printing or invested in print shops. Febvre and Martin, 78.

commissioned both manuscripts and printed books.⁵⁰ Editors also often purchased printed editions from each other and traded other editors' books; Du Pré, who owned numerous editions printed by Vérard, sold and exchanged books with other editors including Denis Janot and the Langelier brothers.⁵¹ Merchants, lawyers, and others regularly intermingled at booksellers' shops, and editors would have welcomed a steady stream of visitors of all trades, as they needed to be attuned to and reliant on the public's taste when revising and creating books.⁵²

Interactions among editors, manuscript creators, and other artisans radiated outside of their respective residences and cities, as they traded books and other products. Printers and booksellers would visit paper mills located by water sources near cities, to ensure proper standards of quality and production. Trade between cities facilitated the movement of finished programmes of visual and textual iconography. Du Pré and Jean Petit, for example, paid the book merchant Simon Vincente to transport their printed editions in 1558, and, in lieu of monetary payments, fees for transportation and merchandise were often rendered in the form of books.⁵³ Books from outside France arrived in Paris, Lyon, and other less populated locations. Indeed, Venetian books were among the most lucrative and sought-after products in the Parisian book market during this period.⁵⁴ As illustrations and books circulated outside of Paris and Lyon to Burgundy, Bordeaux, the Pyrenees, and beyond, this dispersal was marked by the movement of not only merchants and booksellers, but also editors, illustrators, and their apprentices.⁵⁵ The flow of visual media within and between major cities was made

⁵⁰ Ibid., 78.

⁵¹ Parent, 49; 222.

⁵² Ibid., 244-45.

⁵³ Ibid., 144.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 166.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 150-51. Similarly, Dutch miniaturists, specializing in detached miniatures and bookmaking, travelled to avoid strict measures and to find work. Wilson and Wilson, 19. In London and Norwich in the mid-sixteenth century, there were regulations to ensure the protection of local journeymen from the

possible by individuals selling wares, as well as artisans capable of creating reproducible models. Some illustrators, including those of manuscripts and printed editions, adopted a peripatetic lifestyle, travelling great distances in order to learn new styles and locate work. Surely, the migration of illustrators and other artisans overlapped during this period along common trade routes and through shared connections.

Familial ties also fostered and accounted for significant cross-media associations. If a family of illustrators could afford to support a son's apprenticeship, he could then learn new skills that could be applied to the family's trade. Similarly, a family's relationship with another workshop or artisan might lead to new collaborations on projects or the sharing of tools and reproducible models. The illuminator Jacques Girault, for example, had two sons who were employed by Jean Micard, a creator of moveable type.⁵⁶ The sons' involvement in the typesetter's workshop may have been the direct result of their father's ties to Micard. Putting aside speculation as to how Girault's sons gained access to Micard's trade, their exposure to the creation of moveable type may have enabled them to establish professions in a different area from their painter father, but at the very least would probably have resulted in the sharing of clientele and projects with him.

Marriage also established permanent bonds between families of editors, illustrators, and other craft specialisms. Although women were rarely recognized as apprentices and consistently received lower wages, daughters, sisters, wives, and cousins of artisans were regularly exposed to the family trade and performed important tasks to facilitate the smooth operation of workshops.⁵⁷ A woman would not have been permitted

infiltration of unemployed workers, or 'foreyns'. Robert Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: The Six Centuries' Road from Craft Fellowship to Trade Unionism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), 55.

⁵⁶ Parent, p. 80, fn. 3.

⁵⁷ If a girl was accepted in the role of an apprentice, she would not be permitted to be a part of a craft confraternity, and thus would not have a 'work identity'. According to Natalie Zemon Davis, there were only eighteen extant contracts for female apprenticeships out of a total of 204 contracts in Lyon from ca.

to become an apprentice at a printing workshop, as the trade of printers was exclusively male.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, a female relative of an illustrator, ink maker, or printer could prove a vital asset if taken as the wife of a craftsman in a similar trade, as she could facilitate professional ties as well as help within a workshop.⁵⁹ Married to a printer, Claudine Bourriquant was formerly a servant of a maker of printer's ink; consequently she was capable of aiding her husband's work.⁶⁰ Marriages within crafts also strengthened unions within craft specialisms. In 1547, for example, the printer Martin Llomme of the rue du Bon Puits married Catherine Beaumanoir, the daughter of a printer of the faubourg Saint-Victor.⁶¹ There are, moreover, recorded instances in which widows continued to run and operate printers' workshops after their husbands' deaths, including Claire Dimanche, the wife of Jean Du Pré. Unlike the vast majority of other trades in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the printing trade permitted widows of printers and booksellers to continue their deceased husbands' businesses, as indicated by the printing of their names within the title pages and colophons of books in France.⁶²

Despite the crossover between crafts through personal ties and within confraternities and guilds, it must be acknowledged that there existed rivalries and

1553-1560. Female apprentices were often motherless, and women who were hired out for wage labour were probably poor. The lack of female organizations, or *compagnons*, may have been due to a growing fear of witches; gatherings of women may have incited violence. Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', *Feminist Studies* 8 (1982): 47-80, at 48-50; 52; 58; 61. James R. Farr emphasizes gender as an important factor in the historical determination of skill, as gender distinguishes guild labour from that of 'skilled' work. James R. Farr, 'Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans', *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 56-74, at 58-60.

⁵⁸ Other trades, such as pinmaking, did employ both men and women. Davis, 'Women in the Crafts', 56.

⁵⁹ Parent, 183.

⁶⁰ Davis also points out that tension existed in workshops due to the presence of wives, as demonstrated by Balthazar Arnoullet's wife's refusal to obey her husband's orders. In one recorded incident, she purportedly defied her husband by providing *vin de compaignon* to her husband's proofreaders. Davis, 'Women in the Crafts', 53; 55.

⁶¹ Parent, 183.

⁶² In Lyon, eight widows continued their deceased husbands' printing trade. Davis maintains that these widows were not perceived as a threat to publishers and printers in Lyon and elsewhere, as they were continuing their families' businesses. Davis, 'Women in the Crafts', 66; 68; p. 79, fn. 52. Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). In the sixteenth century, Charlotte Guillard printed 158 titles. For further reading on Charlotte Guillard, see Farr, 88-89. Michel Le Noir's widow continued to produce printed editions following Le Noir's death, and printed a *Rose* edition ca. 1521: e.g. Aberystwyth, NLW, b21 P3(1).

incompatibilities between different professions. Court documents attest to tension and disputes between workshops regarding the ownership of trunks of patterns for paintings and illuminations.⁶³ In Louvain, a carpenters' guild sued the engraver Jan van den Berghe in order to force him to join their guild and conform to guild obligations.⁶⁴ Legal disputes provide accounts of how workshops and guilds operated and intersected within varying craft specialisms during this period. As early as the fourteenth century, craftsmen quarrelled over the ownership of cartoons, which, through the use of tracing paper, enabled multiple copies of illustrations to be produced.⁶⁵ Sometimes rooted in the loss of patronage, professional jealousies are further documented amongst artisans.⁶⁶

Likewise, patrons of illustrations and other arts competed against one another on a larger scale. Courts throughout Western Europe experimented with and appropriated different styles and image compositions in an effort to display their opulence and power as well as to outshine competitors. Although professional, personal, and courtly rivalries resulted in disagreements and broken allegiances and sometimes curtailed production, they did not universally extinguish the sharing of illustrations and other goods in France and elsewhere during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁶⁷ Indeed, masters and artisans, who would convene and share techniques within courts and elsewhere, were often lured away from or moved fluidly between courts and workshops—as, in a uniquely prestigious instance, when François I^{er} brought Leonardo da Vinci to France in 1516-17—establishing further means by which artistic practices could be influenced and

⁶³ Maryan W. Ainsworth and Thomas Kren, 'Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships', *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, eds. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 35-57, at 54. Brown, 1-3.

⁶⁴ In the fifteenth century, Jan van den Berghe cut letters, pictures, and probably blockbooks. The Louvain magistrate ruled in favour of the guild, but exempted Van den Berghe's enrolment fees to the guild. Wilson and Wilson, 23; p. 23, fn. 19.

⁶⁵ Febvre and Martin, 27.

⁶⁶ George G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1953), 218.

⁶⁷ See David Landau and Peter Parshall, 'From Collaboration to Reproduction in Italy', *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994), 103-145.

transported.⁶⁸ This chapter's next section will address how an illustrator appropriated the visual elements of woodcuts in a manuscript. In undertaking this analysis, it is useful to bear in mind the diverse ways in which printed imagery may have been available through the illustrator's professional and/or personal connections.

Case Study 1: The Printed Relations of a *Rose* Manuscript

This case study investigates the printed relations of Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. PA 25, through an examination of its illustrations. More specifically, I shall demonstrate that the manuscript's illustrator utilized (1) layout, (2) composition, and (3) stylistic elements in the book's visual presentation in an effort to imitate woodcuts. Ms. PA 25's illustrations, text, and rhyming rubrics probably derive from Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition, and I compare this manuscript to Le Roy's edition, Library of Congress Rosenwald 396.⁶⁹ Although it might be tempting to infer that Ms. PA 25 was the original template for Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition and other *Rose* printed editions, there is uncertainty surrounding this evidence and there are reasons indicating that, on the contrary, Le Roy's edition was the source of the manuscript. Originating in *Rose* incunables *ca.* 1487, rhyming rubrics are an important indicator that a *Rose* manuscript's text was copied from a printed edition. Ms. PA 25, for example, does not physically display the usual wear, smudges, fingerprints, and heavy markings of a manuscript that

⁶⁸ Due to economic reasons, Philip the Good's order reduced inscription fees for citizens and foreigners in Bruges in the mid-fifteenth century, enabling an increased number of artisans to move into the city. Belozerskaya, 224.

⁶⁹ Ms. PA 25 and Rosenwald 396 share numerous visual and textual similarities, though Ms. PA 25's copyist uses different abbreviations in the text. I compare Ms. PA 25 to Rosenwald 396 (i.e. Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition) with the understanding that there exist other copies of Le Roy's edition which may contain slight variants in visual and textual programmes, due, for example, to wear by readers. Illustrators may have used other means to reproduce Le Roy's edition (e.g. single-sheet relief prints or a similar book).

would have been employed as a ‘printer’s copy’.⁷⁰ In addition, the manuscript’s illustrations portray garment styles characteristic of the 1490s,⁷¹ rather than the 1480s (the first *Rose* incunable was produced *ca.* 1481). Consequently, as will be discussed further in this case study, Ms. PA 25 was probably created *after* Rosenwald 396, possibly in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Consisting of 156 folios, Ms. PA 25 contains seventy-three quarter-page illustrations and one half-page illustration. Written in two columns with between thirty-two and thirty-six lines to a page, this manuscript is incomplete and lacks at least one half-page illustration, though dozens of additional quarter-page illustrations are also probably missing.⁷² While it is possible that portions of Ms. PA 25 were separated unintentionally (perhaps due to the decay of previous bindings), the loss of the opening illustration of the manuscript and other sections suggests that pages may have been deliberately excised for their illustrations.⁷³ As with the majority of contemporaneous *Rose* printed editions, the manuscript’s pages are paper, with the exception of two pages

⁷⁰ The term ‘printer’s copy’ refers to a manuscript which exhibits markings indicating it was used by compositors in preparation of printing a text; however, there are relatively few extant manuscripts with these characteristics, raising questions as to whether these copies can be classified as a homogenous phenomenon: H. C. Schultz, ‘A Middle English manuscript Used as a Printer’s Copy’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 29 (1966): 325-336, at 325. William Thynne’s 1532 and 1542 editions of the Middle English *Rommaunt of the Rose* have been linked to an original manuscript, which reveals heavy handling and usage by a printer’s workshop. Graham Caie, ‘Some Significant Changes in William Thynne’s 1532 and 1542 Editions of the Middle English *Rommaunt of the Rose*’, York, *Twelfth Biennial Conference of the Early Book Society in Collaboration with the Twelfth York Manuscripts Conference in Honour of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya* [Conference], 4 Jul. 2011. Yet no original ‘printer’s copy’ of the French *Rose*—from which other *Rose* printed editions’ text and visual programmes may have been based—has so far been recovered or identified.

⁷¹ According to Wieck, garment styles represent a useful and reliable indicator for dating, as I discuss further in this case study.

⁷² This manuscript lacks lines 176-639 (fols. 2-3), lines 896-1162 (fols. 4-5), and lines 1783-1898 (fols. 9-10). In addition, a page is missing between fols. 99-100 and the poem ends abruptly after line 21003 (fol. 156v). Langlois, 132.

⁷³ There is a corresponding stub at the bottom of the first page containing the beginning of the poem’s text (fol. 1r). In the nineteenth century, collectors increasingly removed single leaves, illuminated initials, and other illustrations from manuscripts. A recent exhibition at the National Gallery of Art explained how these works were subsequently framed as individual works of art. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Heaven on Earth: Manuscript Illuminations from the National Gallery of Art* [Exhibition], 30 Mar. 2009. Regarding a study of *Rose* fragments, see, Meradith T. McMunn, ‘The Illustrated Fragments of the *Roman de la rose*’, *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1988*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), 97-113.

that are parchment.⁷⁴ The use of paper in this manuscript could suggest the bookmaker's desire to appropriate other industrial characteristics of early printed books, though the use of paper was also very common in manuscripts during this period.⁷⁵ Acquired by the collector and bibliophile Pierre Adamoli of Lyon in 1733, Ms. PA 25 was subsequently bequeathed to the Académie de Lyon and later passed on to the Bibliothèque municipale in 1960.⁷⁶ This manuscript and its illustrations have not been closely analysed in available scholarship.⁷⁷

As mentioned previously, Le Roy's edition shares similar imagery with other *Rose* printed editions.⁷⁸ There are approximately twenty-two *Rose* printed editions which were produced *ca.* 1481-1538, and seven of these were produced prior to 1500. Although it remains unclear whether the first *Rose* printed edition originated in Geneva or Lyon, many later *Rose* printed editions produced in Lyon and Paris adhere to a similar visual format, comprising numerous woodcuts which are often repeated and sometimes appropriated from other sources. These printed editions vary in size, appearing in folio,

⁷⁴ Ms. PA 25 probably had two additional parchment pages at the opening of the manuscript. Parchment pages are more durable than paper. Since the opening and closing pages of books were the most handled, these parchment pages would have been longer-lasting. Furthermore, a buyer would probably look most frequently at the opening pages of a book, and parchment pages might suggest a more high-end product. Other contemporaneous *Rose* manuscripts were also written on paper. See, e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 1127.

⁷⁵ Citing Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, Pascale Charron notes how parchment and paper were used together in books in the late fifteenth century. Nonetheless, there existed variations in book compilation methods from different regions, workshops, and across genres of books. Pascale Charron, *Le Maître du 'Champion des dames'* (Paris: CTHS/INHA, 2004), 78-80. Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit* (Paris: CNRS, 1980), 37; 67; 70-2. Helen J. Swift notes that illustrations portraying watercolour techniques are better suited for paper than parchment. Swift, personal communication, 28 Sept. 2013. Parchment and paper pages do not appear the same, even if the text is copied by the same scribe or printed simultaneously by printers; parchment shrinks, causing font to look different. Joseph A. Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 79.

⁷⁶ Pierre Guinard, personal communication, 5 Mar. 2011. This manuscript was also owned by Claude Charneyron in the sixteenth century. Coilly and Tesnière, eds., *'Le Roman de la rose': L'art d'aimer*, 185. The binding of the manuscript probably dates to Pierre Adamoli's acquisition of the manuscript in the early eighteenth century.

⁷⁷ Although Modersohn notes a correspondence between Ms. PA 25 and Guillaume Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition, she states that further research will need to show whether the print edition was based on the manuscript or the manuscript was based on the print edition. Modersohn, 211-212. The present case study will clarify Ms. PA 25's printed relations.

⁷⁸ For example, Bourdillon notes that the woodcuts of Rosenwald 396 are 'identical' in composition to those of Jean Syber's *Rose* incunable, which was printed in Lyon *ca.* 1485. Bourdillon, 21-22. New York, PML, PML 601. ChL 1565. The ISTC number of Syber's edition is ir00308000.

quarto, or small-octavo.⁷⁹ It is unknown whether *Rose* woodcuts were initially copied from illustrations in earlier *Rose* manuscripts.⁸⁰ *Rose* woodcuts share visual iconography with preceding manuscript illustrations; however, there exist many compositional and stylistic variances between printed and earlier hand-illustrated book images. In my examination of Ms. PA 25, I assess how its visual and textual programmes are similar to and different from earlier *Rose* manuscripts and Rosenwald 396, inspecting the changing and unchanging roles of images in the *Rose*. In light of the lack of prior study of the printed relations of *Rose* manuscripts, I analyse Ms. PA 25 to provide strategies for investigating *Rose* printed imagery, adding insight into much broader practices of artisans replicating and customizing woodcuts.

A. Layout

In this section, I explore how Ms. PA 25's illustrator replicated the layout of a printed edition's woodcuts.⁸¹ Although I attribute the manuscript's layout to its illustrator, it is also plausible that the manuscript's scribe or others allotted space for illustrations in this book, as I will explore in more detail. Ms. PA 25 contains a similar quantity, format, and repetition of images when compared to Rosenwald 396. *Rose* manuscripts consist of an average of thirty-two illustrations per copy; however, the

⁷⁹ Although this chapter compares Ms. PA 25 to Rosenwald 396, it is important to note how *Rose* visual models were available for use by different editors, woodcut engravers, and illustrators during this period, probably influencing the creation of other works. Visual and textual cycles often drew on pre-existing visual models, some of which were originally designed for different purposes as will be discussed in greater depth in this study. Jennifer Monahan describes how different authors used *Rose* visual iconography in order to introduce their allegorical discourses, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Jennifer Monahan, 'Introduction', *Reading the 'Rose' in the Early Renaissance* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2000): iii-vii, at iv.

⁸⁰ I have not located a manuscript source from which editors may have derived their entire programme of *Rose* woodcuts.

⁸¹ The manuscript's text was likely written before the production of its illustrations. For the purposes of clarity in this section, I refer to Ms. PA 25's conceptualizer or illustrator as responsible for the manuscript's illustrations, with the understanding that one or several individuals may also have been involved in the creation of its printed visual programme.

number of illustrations can vary from none to 163.⁸² Like Rosenwald 396, Ms. PA 25 probably had approximately ninety-two illustrations when it was produced. This number differs markedly from the majority of earlier *Rose* manuscripts (with the exception of a few outliers), suggesting that the illustrator of Ms. PA 25 intended to copy a printed edition for pragmatic or possibly competitive reasons. As a medium, print appealed to book purchasers, in part due to the high volume of images in some printed editions, and manuscript illustrators may have felt pressured (by workshops, customers, or both) to compete with printed visual programmes by increasing the number of images in their books. As previously noted, however, the copying of images from Le Roy's edition might also indicate a respect for printed visual programmes, signifying the illustrator's recognition of printed books or print models as authoritative works and as the source of Ms. PA 25's images. The scale and placement of the seventy-three remaining images in Ms. PA 25 reveal the maker's familiarity with Rosenwald 396.

The size and shape of manuscript illustrations, especially those which appear unusual, may in fact reveal printed origins. The dimensions of illustrations in Ms. PA 25 are consistent with Rosenwald 396's woodcuts, including one particularly prominent image. Like Rosenwald 396, Ms. PA 25 contains dozens of quarter-page images and a half-page illustration of the building of the Castle of Jalousie (Jealousy) (fol. 26r).⁸³

Although *Rose* manuscripts frequently begin with a half-page illumination of Amant

⁸² Meredith T. McMunn, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the *Roman de la rose*: Shared Contexts in Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Manuscripts', Machaut in Fourteenth-Century Contexts, *Forty-Sixth International Congress on Medieval Studies* [Conference], Kalamazoo, 14 May 2011. I am grateful to Helen J. Swift for relaying all sources relating to the ICMS at Kalamazoo on 14 May 2011. According to Meredith T. McMunn, BnF Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 9252, which now contains 123 miniatures and less than half of the poem, may have initially contained at least 250 miniatures. Meredith T. McMunn, 'Programs of Illustration in *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts Owned by Patrons and Friends of Christine de Pizan', *Au Champ des escriptures: III^e colloque international sur Christine de Pizan, Lausanne, 18-22 Juillet, 1998*, ed. Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 2000), 737-53, at 738-739. Paris, BnF, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 9252.

⁸³ I compare the compositional similarities between Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's Castle of Jalousie images in the next section of this case study.

dreaming,⁸⁴ a half-page portrayal of the Castle of Jalousie is unusual as compared to earlier *Rose* manuscripts, particularly if the manuscript's other illustrations are predominantly quarter-page.⁸⁵ The presence of this half-page miniature suggests that Ms. PA 25's illustrator modelled the sizes of illustrations according to Rosenwald 396's woodcuts. Rosenwald 396 features only two half-page woodcuts: (1) a bisected scene of Amant dreaming and approaching the garden of Déduit (Figure 3) and (2) the Castle of Jalousie (sig. d5 recto). On fol. 1r, Ms. PA 25 probably also contained a similar half-page illustration of Amant (Figure 4), removed by a later user of the book.

Nevertheless, the exact placement of illustrations within the pages of Ms. PA 25 diverges from Rosenwald 396. The half-page illustration of the Castle of Jalousie, for example, appears at the bottom of the page in Ms. PA 25, whereas it appears at the top of the page in its printed counterpart. Likewise, the placement of Ms. PA 25's illustrations of the vices and other scenes is staggered differently on certain pages. For example, situated in the lateral margin halfway down the page, the vice Haine (Hate) is the only illustration to appear on fol. 2r (Figure 5); in Rosenwald 396, however, the woodcut of Haine appears in the interior margin and lower half of the page (Figure 6), alongside the woodcut of Félonie (Violence or Cruelty) (sig. a3 recto). These shifts in position on the page appear to be attributable to differences in the size and appearance of the copyist's hand-written script in Ms. PA 25 in contrast to the uniform, printed type of Rosenwald 396. Indeed, Ms. PA 25's illustrations are also at times slightly larger or smaller than

⁸⁴ In manuscripts, this scene often portrays Danger looming near Amant's slumbering figure; a depiction of the garden of Déduit may also appear to the right of the scene. In other illustrations, illustrators depicted Amant as he dreams that he rises, dresses, and sets off on his quest to pursue the rose. E.g. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. Arsenal 3338, fol. 1r. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 1r. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 1r.

⁸⁵ Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1970-82), vol. 1, pp. 116-120, lines 3779-3908. Examples of earlier manuscripts which contain quarter-sized and small illustrations of the building of the Castle of Jalousie include: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 143, fol. 26v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 27r. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 380, fol. 26v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 26r. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 30r. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5210, fol. 26v. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3338, fol. 28r.

Rosenwald's 396's woodcuts—this on account of the illustrator's effort to fit images within the copyist's hand-ruled columns, which vary in width and length. While it is unclear whether the copyist wrote the text prior to or following the illustration of the book (I suspect the former), the decision to include illustrations was made at the outset of the manuscript's production as the copyist or illustrator needed to allot spaces on the page for images.⁸⁶

Despite occurring at different places on the page, Ms. PA 25's illustrations fall at the same junctures in the text as woodcuts in Rosenwald 396. On fol. 11v, for instance, the illustration portrays Amour explaining his commandments to Amant (Figure 7).⁸⁷ In this illustration, the enthroned Amour faces Amant, who sits before him on a stone perch. While this illustration occurs in the outer column of Ms. PA 25, it is placed at the top of the interior column on sig. b8 verso of Rosenwald 396 (Figure 8). Nevertheless, both illustrations appear at the same place in the text, and after the same rhyming rubric.⁸⁸ Although Rosenwald 396's rubric is printed at the bottom of the lateral margin, the woodcut still follows this rubric, as it does in Ms. PA 25. In manuscripts and printed editions, it is a fairly standard pattern to position illustrations so that they accompany rubrics; however, Ms. PA 25 consists of rhyming rubrics which were first printed in Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 *Rose* edition.⁸⁹ The shared rubrics and order of Ms PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's illustrations indicate that Ms. PA 25's copyist and illustrator desired to

⁸⁶ Accordingly, if Ms. PA 25's copyist wrote the book's text prior to the illustration of the manuscript, he or she would have allotted blank spaces on the page for illustrations. The manuscript's illustrations could have been placed in the same arrangement on the page as Rosenwald 396's woodcuts; however, the manuscript's copyist and/or illustrator placed images at similar moments in the main text and in relation to rubrics, suggesting the manuscript's text was written prior to its illustration.

⁸⁷ Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 65-9, lines 2074a-2221. Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's illustrations of Amour explaining his commandments to Amant differ from illuminations found in earlier *Rose* manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5209, fol. 15v. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5526, fol. 17r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 15r. Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Ms. Bodmer 79, fol. 13v. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 17r. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Ms. French 66, fol. 22r.

⁸⁸ The rubric reads: 'Comment le dieu d'amours enseigne / L'amant et dit qu'i face et tiengne / Les regles qu'i baille a l'amant / Escriptes en ce bel rommant'.

⁸⁹ As mentioned previously, there is the possibility that these rhyming rubrics originated from a manuscript source.

emulate Rosenwald 396's text and layout of woodcuts, underscoring the technological impact of print on manuscript production.

As further evidence that Ms. PA 25's illustrator used Rosenwald 396 as a model, he or she repeated the same images that were duplicated within Rosenwald 396, though the positioning of these images appears not to belong in the text. Despite their haphazard appearance, repeated manuscript images of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries require careful assessment, and they may originate from printed sources. The repetition of images—which sometimes results in images that appear misplaced in relation to corresponding text—is common in contemporaneous *Rose* printed editions.⁹⁰ Recurring woodcuts are often overlooked by scholars and readers due to their seemingly random placement; recent scholarship, however, demonstrates that repeated woodcuts can establish thematic resonance in books through their repetition and supposed misplacement, a topic that will be explored further in Chapter 2.⁹¹ In Ms. PA 25, the image of Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose appears twice in the book (fols. 17r; 22r) (Figures 9 and 10), though this moment happens only once in the narrative.⁹² Although the illustrator reversed one image and rearranged other details,⁹³ these repeated scenes

⁹⁰ Conceptualizers repeated illustrations in *Rose* manuscripts, such as images of Amour conversing with Amant. McMunn notes that illuminations were sometimes 'forgotten' by the illustrator and then included in a later portion of *Rose* manuscripts' texts. Meredith T. McMunn, personal communication, 5 Jul. 2011. Nevertheless, it is important to consider how images, though haphazard in appearance, may serve a purpose in the text, which I discuss further in Chapter 2.

⁹¹ Martha W. Driver emphasizes the importance of closely examining the compositions and layouts of printed books and other ephemera. Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), 40. David S. Areford describes how print materials were used across different media and in various public settings. Areford, 4; 28-29.

⁹² Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 86, line 2776. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 103, line 3339. In other *Rose* printed editions, this illustration represents Oiseuse (Idleness, Ease, or Leisure) opening the gate of the garden for Amant. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 17, line 523. It is important to question how readers distinguished characters in scenes. Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's rhyming rubrics help identify characters (e.g. the rubric describes Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose). Nevertheless, the woodcut might purposefully be ambiguous so as to serve multiple uses. Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's illustrations of Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose differ from earlier manuscript illustrations, e.g.: Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 22v. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5210, fol. 19v. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 378, fol. 21r. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 897, fol. 16v.

⁹³ The illustrator's creation of a reversed copy of Rosenwald 396's woodcut further reveals an adept familiarity with the process of replicating images, possibly with the aid of tracings. As mentioned above, the illustrator, however, did not trace woodcuts in Ms. PA 25.

imitate the placement of woodcuts in Rosenwald 396 (Figures 11 and 12). In both books, the repeated images of Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose appear at nearly identical moments in relation to the text and their rhyming rubrics. For example, the first image of Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose occurs several lines after a rhyming rubric describing Bel Accueil speaking to Amant.⁹⁴

Similar image placements in Ms. PA 25 and Rosenwald 396 suggest that the manuscript's maker appreciated the layout of Le Roy's edition. In manuscripts and printed editions, illustrations have often been viewed too simply as markers or reading aids in the text. Yet Ms. PA 25's maker and Le Roy did not always pair illustrations with the 'correct' rubric and text, as indicated by the duplicated illustrations of Bel Accueil leading Amant to the rose. In Ms. PA 25 and Rosenwald 396, repeated illustrations might not at first serve an identifiable purpose. It is possible that Ms. PA 25's illustrator lacked imagination or new illustrations and woodcuts from which to derive new compositions. A more plausible scenario, however, is that by the end of the fifteenth century, the visual programmes of Le Roy's edition had become an accepted template on which to base the organization of illustrations within not only other printed editions, but also manuscripts. As mentioned in this chapter's introduction, other late fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts comprise rhyming rubrics and visual programmes which appear to derive from Le Roy's edition. A wider dissemination of *Rose* printed editions ensured that their image-text pairings were not merely known to editors and illustrators, but also understood to be commercially successful. Cognizant of a new and lucrative mode of book production, Ms. PA 25's illustrator and its text's copyist used the visual and textual programmes of Le Roy's

⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the number of lines between the image and rhyming rubric differs in either book. This discrepancy in placement could be attributed to the conceptualizer's desire to position the image at the top of the page. In Ms. PA 25 and Rosenwald 396, the second instance of this image appears directly below a rhyming rubric recounting how Bel Accueil leads Amant to the rose—as portrayed in the image.

edition for their popularity.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the layout of Ms. PA 25 is not identical to Rosenwald 396 due, for example, to the manuscript's handwritten text. In order to determine more fully the printed relations of Ms. PA 25's illustrations, it is therefore essential to discern how Ms. PA 25's illustrator copied and/or modified Le Roy's woodcuts in image compositions.

B. Composition

This section explores the degree of crossover between the compositions of Ms. PA 25's illustrations and Rosenwald 396's woodcuts through an analysis of the illustrator's portrayals of human figures and settings within images. With the exception of only a few images, Ms. PA 25's illustrations appear to derive from Rosenwald 396's woodcuts. Yet these images were not directly traced from woodcuts, per se, as the scale and certain details were changed. Moreover, there is no evidence of pouncing⁹⁶ in this manuscript, which would indicate the direct transference of woodcuts (or their tracings). Consequently, this section will investigate how Ms. PA 25's illustrator appropriated woodcuts from Rosenwald 396, as well as why they were modified.

In *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, illustrations which appear at the outset of the poem are generally highly predictable in their content and placement in the text. The opening scene of Amant in bed and approaching the garden wall is the most common miniature in *Rose* manuscripts, and this illustration is typically followed by the

⁹⁵ Arguments that Ms. PA 25's illustrator deliberately copied the 'safe' layout of *Rose* printed editions to avoid censorship or scrutiny in France seem less convincing, if not problematic, since *Rose* manuscripts, with their known texts, did not account for any censorship or upheavals in production in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Indeed, François I^{er} owned at least one *Rose* manuscript (i.e. Ms. M. 948), the text and illustrations of which were based on Michel Le Noir's *Rose* printed edition. Although the *Rose* was the topic of considerable debate among academics and contemporaries—particularly with regard to its portrayals of women—there was no mass burning or controlled censorship of *Rose* books. Nevertheless, other texts were scrutinized and banned. For example, in 1521, François I^{er} condemned Lutheran texts and ordered Parliament to ensure that no books related to 'la foi chrétienne' and 'la Sainte Ecriture de la faculté de théologie' were sold or printed. Parent, 51.

⁹⁶ Pouncing is a process of transferring images onto surfaces (e.g. books' pages) by rubbing fine powder through a perforated design.

figures of the anti-courtly vices attached to or separated from the wall of the garden. Illustrators commonly included more illustrations at the outset of *Rose* books, and this practice is common in other manuscripts and printed editions.⁹⁷ Despite the regularity with which certain scenes appear in *Rose* manuscripts *ca.* 1481-1538, variations are abundant, as illustrators interpreted (or misinterpreted) the text, appropriated images from other works, and potentially took into account the preferences of buyers.

Although woodcuts circulated in France prior to the fifteenth century,⁹⁸ only in the last decade of the fifteenth century can a direct correspondence be established between woodcut cycles and *Rose* manuscript illustrations.⁹⁹ Ms. PA 25 might be the earliest example of woodcut appropriation in a *Rose* manuscript, though it is certainly not the only example. As analysed below, the strong compositional similarities between Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's illustrations suggest that the illustrator had access to Rosenwald 396's woodcuts (or copies thereof) while creating the manuscript.¹⁰⁰ Due to the cost of creating incunables and their value as completed works, it seems unlikely that the illustrator owned a polished, final copy of Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 edition for the sole purpose of using its illustrations. Nevertheless, editors did own printed editions produced by other editors, and this illustrator may also have owned books or borrowed damaged or partial copies of books. As discussed in the previous section, parallels between Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's placement of images in relation to the

⁹⁷ Illustrators included more images at the beginning of books for a number of possible reasons. For example, potential buyers may have looked most frequently at the beginning of books, illustrators may have grown tired or bored of their work as they progressed in the creation of books' visual programmes, or funds for illustration may have run out part-way through a book's production.

⁹⁸ Certain border patterns were also consistently repeated in late fourteenth-century manuscripts, suggesting the circulation of visual models in workshops during an earlier period. The border patterns of Mss. Rothschild 2801 and Arsenal 3338, for example, are nearly identical, suggesting that both works were copied with the aid of similar patterns or models. Paris, BnF, Ms. Rothschild 2801, fol. 1r. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. Arsenal 3338, fol. 1r.

⁹⁹ This is on account of the survival of printed editions, whereas single-sheet relief prints were (and are) more ephemeral.

¹⁰⁰ It has been hypothesized that certain sets of illustrations were produced by printers precisely for this purpose, i.e. to function as models. See, e.g., J.P. Filedt Kok, ed., *The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, or The Housebook Master, ca. 1470-1500* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985), 36; p. 39, fn.13.

poem's text and rubrics indicate that Ms. PA 25's maker utilized some system to consistently organize images, whether by means of Le Roy's edition or single-sheet relief prints annotated to indicate their placement in the text.¹⁰¹ The latter option would have been possible if single-sheet relief prints made from Rose printed edition woodblocks were sold as loose images.¹⁰² Single-sheet relief prints would have been portable and affordable, while also providing a variety of images suitable for a diverse range of commissions, as illustrators were known to have worked on a variety of commissions simultaneously.

Manuscript and print images can reveal similar compositions through shared depictions of characters. On fol. 18v, the illustration of Raison (Reason) scolding Amant mimics a woodcut composition (sig. c6 verso) (Figures 13 and 14). After observing Amant's prolonged consternation, Raison chastises him for his acquaintance with Oiseuse (Idleness, Ease, or Leisure).¹⁰³ Although this scene appears in many earlier manuscripts (Figure 15), the configuration of Raison and Amant differs from Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's image compositions.¹⁰⁴ In both Ms. PA 25's illustration and the woodcut, two figures stand beside a tower with an arched portal. Raison, who wears a mantle and crown, clutches her cloak, while Amant gesticulates with both hands,

¹⁰¹ In the fifteenth century, guides produced by iconographers also indicated in extensive detail the exact placement, actions, and costumes of figures, as in copies of Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier délibéré*: Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier délibéré (The Resolute Knight)*, ed. Carleton W. Carroll, trans. Carleton W. Carroll and Lois Hawley Wilson (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 329-52. See, also, Jean Lebègue's version of Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline and His Jugurthan War*. Van Buren and Wieck, 18-19.

¹⁰² In the particular case of Ms. PA 25, the quantity of visual borrowing from Rosenwald 396's woodcuts suggests that the illustrator used a copy of Le Roy's edition.

¹⁰³ Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 91-93, lines 2957-3016. Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's illustration of Raison chastising Amant differ from those of earlier manuscripts, e.g.: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 20v. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 21v. This illustration, however, resembles those of contemporaneous manuscripts with illustrations that derive from woodcuts, e.g.: New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 33r.

¹⁰⁴ E.g.: Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 270, fol. 22v. Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 1380, fol. 18v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 21r. In the illustration of Raison scolding Amant in Ms. 270 (Figure 15), there is no tower and both figures are seated as they converse. Raison does not wear a crown or have any feminine characteristics, and, consequently, it is difficult to distinguish Raison from Amant.

extending his back leg. As in its woodcut counterpart, Ms. PA 25's illustrator depicted Raison grasping her mantle with one hand, creating sharply-angled triangular folds. In both images, the figures are approximately the same height as the structure. Both Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's images also fall at the same moment in the text, following the same rhyming rubric.¹⁰⁵

Illustrations derived from woodcuts often portray different costumes and decorative features, however, indicating a later date of creation and the importance of fashion in image production. Although illustrators used woodcut compositions, they altered characteristics of printed images in manuscript images to appeal to book purchasers and possibly to compete with printed visual programmes. In Ms. PA 25, the illustrator modified specific details in the woodcut scene of Raison chastising Amant, updating the style of Amant's garments, for example.¹⁰⁶ As with other illustrations in this manuscript, the illustrator depicted garments which were in style after *ca.* 1490. Such notable features as Amant's square-toed *pantoffles* and the wide bombard sleeves of his knee-length *sayon* modernize this illustration in relation to Rosenwald 396's woodcuts.¹⁰⁷ French clothing influenced the production of images, as bookmakers produced manuscript and print images portraying laymen (and women) in contemporary garment styles, but also, in some instances, used particular fashion elements to entice buyers who appreciated certain customs and styles.¹⁰⁸ Hand-illustrated and printed

¹⁰⁵ As in Rosenwald 396, this illustration appears a second time in the manuscript on fol. 29r with the same rhyming rubric; however, Ms. PA 25's illustration contains slight alterations from Rosenwald 396's woodcut.

¹⁰⁶ Ms. PA 25's illustrations contain costume details that resemble portrayals of dress in woodcuts of later Rose printed editions, including Galliot du Pré's *ca.* 1526 edition. See, e.g., Aberystwyth, NLW, b26 P3(5F). This edition is Bourdillon's edition 'P': Bourdillon, 57-58.

¹⁰⁷ Van Buren and Wieck, 252; 264. Interestingly, the length of Amant's *sayon* is shortened, like hunting garments, perhaps alluding to his quest/hunt for the rose.

¹⁰⁸ In particular, Parisian fashion influenced fashion customs and styles throughout Western Europe, which in turn influenced image production. Illustrators customarily referenced the identities of characters and religious figures through dress (e.g. dagging for sinful characters and tunics and mantles for religious figures). Van Buren and Wieck, 2; 17; 19. Wieck, personal communication, 2 Sept. 2011. It is unclear

garments were not depictions of ‘real’ clothes in the sense that garments appear ‘fresher and smoother’ and less varied than actual contemporary garments.¹⁰⁹ Roger S. Wieck, who curated the recent PML exhibition on the evolution of fashionable clothing in miniatures, astutely notes that Ms. PA 25’s illustrator’s portrayal of male costumes indicates an approximate date of creation, perhaps as late as the early sixteenth century.¹¹⁰ Since the male garments were in style after *ca.* 1490, the image presents possibilities for the dating of the manuscript’s images. Certain elements of female costumes in Ms. PA 25’s illustrations reflect fashion *ca.* 1481-82, as depicted in Rosenwald 396’s woodcuts—such as the presence of shoulder-length headdresses accompanying ‘cup-shaped’ coifs and curved gown necklines. Nevertheless, Ms. PA 25’s depictions of male garments reveal a later style and thus a later date of creation than Rosenwald 396’s woodcuts. Accordingly, these fashion elements serve as tools to indicate that Ms. PA 25 was not the original template for Rosenwald 396. The illustrator’s adaptation of Rosenwald 396’s woodcuts exemplifies the versatility of printed scenes, which could be embellished in copies to portray the latest fashions, appealing to a reader.

Illustrators often emphasized their artistic strengths within compositions, apparent through angular or curvilinear contours and other stylistic features. Although numerous fifteenth-century woodcuts consist of angular lines and shapes, which are easier to create with engraving tools, an illustrator could depict different line gradients and shapes in drawings and overpaintings. Ms. PA 25’s illustrator modified architectural features in the image of Raison and Amant, rounding the tower’s façade. In this

whether Ms. PA 25’s illustrator depicted contemporary fashion only because this was conventional practice, or because he or she was responding to market preferences (though these motivations converge).

¹⁰⁹ Van Buren and Wieck, 17.

¹¹⁰ Wieck, personal communication, 2 Sept. 2011; 7 Oct. 2011. Van Buren and Wieck assert that new garments were not always depicted at the exact moment they were conceived and brought into style; thus, although this manuscript likely was not illustrated prior to the 1490s, it is plausible that it was produced at a later date in the early 1500s. Van Buren and Wieck, 28; 236.

example, the illustrator changed the woodcut tower's angular exterior to portray a smoother, curvilinear surface. Likewise, elsewhere in this manuscript, the illustrator evinced a penchant for portraying rounded, rather than angular, forms in architectural structures as well as garment hems. These particular modifications are probably attributable to the illustrator's drawing style; as Roger Wieck notes, it was more common to portray garments with straight lines and angles in late fifteenth-century images.¹¹¹

In other illustrations, Ms. PA 25's illustrator modified architectural features and edited the portrayals of characters to reinforce the purpose of a scene for the reader. The illustrator's modification of Rosenwald 396's woodcuts helps to convey particular dramatic or interpretive effects in scenes. In the illustration of the building of the Castle of Jalousie (Figure 16), Ms. PA 25's composition reveals woodcut origins (Figure 17). As previously discussed, this illustration's unusual half-page size is similar in dimension to Rosenwald 396's woodcut. In Ms. PA 25 and Rosenwald 396, the illustrations feature the construction of a castle with crenellated stone walls and a round central tower. Both the manuscript and incunable illustrations omit notable characteristics from the poem's narrative, including four corner towers, a moat, and the castle's perfectly square exterior walls.¹¹² Instead, in both the manuscript illustration and the woodcut, the castle is surrounded by a hexagonal enclosure, unlike earlier manuscript miniatures (Figures 18 and 19).¹¹³ Despite removing one human figure and altering the surrounding terrain, Ms.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 17. In *Rose* manuscripts, illustrators also depicted angular contours in architecture and other forms prior to and contemporaneous with Ms. PA 25. In the particular example of *Raison scolding Amant*, see, e.g.: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 143, fol. 21r. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 21v. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 23v.

¹¹² 'Qu'i sont mout lé et mout parfont. / Li maçon sus les fosgez font / un mur de quarriaus taillaiz, / qui ne siet pas sor croleiz, / ainz est fondez sor roche dure. / Li fondemenz tot a mesure / jusqu'au piez des fossez descent / et vient amont en atrecent, / s'en est l'uevre plus forz d'assez. / Li murs si est si compassez / qu'il est de droite quareüre, / chascuns des pans .C. toises dure, / si est autant lons come lez. / Les torneilles sont lez a lez, / qui sont durement bataillies / et fetes de pierres taillies; / au quatre coingnet en a .IIII. [b] / qui seroient fors a abatre; / et si i a quatre portaus, / dont li murs est espés et haus'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 116-7, lines 3787-3806.

¹¹³ Earlier *Rose* manuscript images do not replicate exactly the Castle of Jalousie's narrative description, nor do they mirror Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's images. See, e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,

PA 25's maker emulated the positions of the masons and Jalousie within the *Rose* woodcut, details that are not explicitly described in the *Rose* narrative. Specifically, two masons perch within the inner wall of the castle, while another mason carrying mortar climbs a ladder in the left foreground; Jalousie supervises from below with her cane. The illustrator's modification of certain details serves the purpose of supporting the overall action of the scene. For instance, the removal of the lone mason in the foreground heightens the sloping ascent and spatial depth of the tower, which will serve as a prison, while the mason who appears empty-handed and pointing in the upper half of the woodcut has been equipped with a hammer in the manuscript's illustration. Like *Raison* and *Amant* before the tower, the masons and Jalousie appear disproportionately large in relation to the scale of the architecture.

Illustrators, at their discretion, could revise woodcut compositions in order to create more complex or simple images and to distinguish characters. In other illustrations, Ms. PA 25's illustrator removed details and repositioned characters portrayed in Rosenwald 396's woodcuts in order to emphasize their motivations. For example, an illustration of *Faux Semblant* does not contain extraneous details in the peripheral setting of the scene (Figure 20), as in its woodcut counterpart (Figure 21).¹¹⁴

Ms. 5209, fol. 28r ; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 27r; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 143, fol. 26v. Ms. PA 25's illustrator appropriated other woodcuts which comprise distinct architectural elements and figural placement. On fol. 115r, for example, *la Vieille* (Old Woman) helps *Amant* enter the castle by unlocking its rear door. Both Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's scenes feature a crenellated structure with two turrets at the left of the composition. *La Vieille*, who grasps *Amant*'s right hand, glances backward as she extends her right arm into the castle's arched entryway. This figural placement is nearly identical to that in Rosenwald 396's woodcut (sig. n7 verso), suggesting that the illustrator appropriated the woodcut scene. The maker of Ms. PA 25, however, introduced different garments, a tree, and further decorative details within the upper register of the castle's entrance. *Amant*'s tunic and cap appear more refined, for example, resembling costumes featured in sixteenth-century *Rose* woodcuts (e.g. printed imagery in Du Pré's 1526 edition).

¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, this image is more similar to Rosenwald 396's woodcut than certain earlier *Rose* manuscript portrayals of this scene, e.g.: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 845, fol. 259r; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 76v. 'Trop sé bien mes habiz changier, / prendre l'un et l'autre estrangier. / Or sui chevaliers, or sui moines, / or sui prelaz, or sui chanoines, / or sui clers, autre heure sui prestres, / or sui deciples, or sui mestres, / or chateleins, or forestiers: / briefment je sui de touz mestiers. / Or resui princes, or sui pages, / et sai par queur trestouz langages; / autre heure sui vieuz et chenuz, / or resui jennes devenuz; / or sui Roberz, or sui Robins, / or cordeliers, or jacobins; / si pregn por

In the passage accompanying this illustration, Faux Semblant describes his many disguises and transformations—from, for example, from a Franciscan to a Dominican. The illustration features him clutching garments draped over a rod. In contrast to Rosenwald 396's woodcut, the illustrator removed the lancet window, roughly-textured wall, and stone-tiled floor in the background of the scene. Instead, the illustrator defined the floor with a single thick contour and several faint parallel lines. The removal of the woodcut composition's window potentially heightens Faux Semblant's clandestine actions, which are shielded from the prying eyes of possible observers. In contrast to the woodcut, the illustration portrays Faux Semblant's figure in the centre of the composition, as well as with an increased number of garments on the hanging rod to allude to his chicanery and many disguises. The simplification of the illustration's backdrop, repositioning of Faux Semblant, and addition of his disguises manifest the versatility inspired by an appropriated woodcut. The illustrator varied the placement of figures and other details. This technique enabled the illustrator to accentuate the narrative importance of a character's devious behaviour for the reader, as well as to customize illustrations according to his or her individual artistic strengths (e.g. creating rounded rather than angular contours within architecture, as in the illustration of Raison and Amant on fol. 18v).

Ms. PA 25's illustrator further reconstituted other woodcut scenes to heighten the malicious nature of characters as reflected in the poem's narrative. While the illustrator depended upon woodcuts for the manuscript's illustrations, he or she revealed creativity in the modification of printed images. On fol. 45r, Nero observes Seneca as the latter

sivre ma compaigne, / qui me solace et m'accompaigne / (c'est dame Attenance Contrainte), [a] / autre desguiseüre mainte, / si com il li vient a plesir, / por acomplir li son desir. / Autre eure vest robe de fame, / or sui damoisele, or sui dame; / autre eure sui religieuse, / or sui rendue, or sui prieuse, / or sui nonnain, or abbeesse, / or sui novice, or sui professe, / et vois par toutes regions / çarchant toutes religions'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 90-1, lines 11157-11184.

bleeds to death (Figure 22).¹¹⁵ After sentencing his master to death, Nero fulfils Seneca's wish that he die through blood loss. In this illustration and Rosenwald 396's woodcut (Figure 23), Nero's assistant grasps Seneca's right arm with his left hand, preparing to cut Seneca's veins with a blade.¹¹⁶ Seneca appears nude, stoically placing his left hand over his right breast. Although Nero stands in the right background of both scenes, in the manuscript's illustration he leans in, extending his right index finger as if to instruct his assistant as to where to slice Seneca's arm. Unlike the woodcut portrayal of Nero in which he raises both of his palms and recoils from the scene, Nero, through his posture, appears complicit in the death of Seneca. Nero's right hand's position suggests that he presides over Seneca's murder as a figure of authority.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Nero's extended index finger nearly touches Seneca's shoulder, drawing the reader's attention to their incipient physical contact. All-powerful, Nero controls the fate of Seneca: in a moment's time, his assistant will take away Seneca's life. As Nero reaches out his right index finger, Seneca receives his punishment. Seneca's assistant, who is in the foreground of the woodcut scene, now lingers behind the basin in which Seneca lies, alluding to his secondary, supporting role. In contrast to the woodcut, this manuscript illustration evokes Nero's direct, vicious role as a tyrant through the modification of his gestures. Seneca's poised resignation is the visual and moral foil to Nero, who is unbalanced and epitomizes vice.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 190-1, lines 6184-6220.

¹¹⁶ While earlier manuscript miniatures portray Seneca in his bath with Nero (often accompanied by his assistant), these miniatures depict a variety of different compositions which are not identical to Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's images, e.g.: Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 12595, fol. 47v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 45r; Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 47v.

¹¹⁷ Another illustration that diverges from a Rosenwald 396 woodcut is the gathering of the sentinels. On fol. 118r, the sentinels respond to Amant's cries as he is attacked by the gatekeepers. Clad in armour, dozens of barons stand at attention ready to rescue Amant from the porters. The barons hold their halberds and shields erect, preparing to charge at any moment. In Rosenwald 396's woodcut (sig. o2 recto), however, the illustration depicts only a small gathering of barons who converse. Unlike the stoic barons of the manuscript's illustration, the characters in the woodcut appear at ease; only a single sentinel holds his halberd at attention. Through their dense, frontal configuration, the wall of sentinels in the foreground of Ms. PA 25's illustration alludes to a readied force.

Ms. PA 25's illustrator was indebted to print materials in the creation of this manuscript, and his or her image compositions predominantly differ from earlier *Rose* manuscript illustrations. Nonetheless, Ms. PA 25's illustrator, likely to attract book purchasers and perhaps to rival printed visual programmes, modernized fashion elements and augmented the dramatic and interpretive effects in images. The illustrator demonstrated a purposive use and modification of Rosenwald 396's woodcut compositions, and the next section will analyse how the illustrator further used other stylistic features derived from printed imagery, influencing the reader's reception.

C. Stylistic Elements

In Langlois's *Les Manuscrits du 'Roman de la rose'*, his brief description of Ms. PA 25 simply notes: 'grisailles intéressantes'.¹¹⁸ Translated as 'greyness', grisaille refers to a painting technique characterized by often statuesque, monochrome figures.¹¹⁹ Indeed, Renaissance painters sometimes created grisaille paintings in an effort to demonstrate the superiority of their skills to those of sculptors.¹²⁰ Grisaille, however, may also describe designs used to guide artisans' engravings or applications of colour.¹²¹ It is unlikely that Langlois intended to describe the latter, as he makes no allusion to Ms. PA 25's illustrative programme as being left unfinished. The term grisaille does not aptly characterize Ms. PA 25's illustrations, which should be called 'ink drawings'. This section examines the important stylistic elements of line and colour in Ms. PA 25's ink drawings, which emulate Rosenwald 396's woodcuts, as well as clarifying the stylistic

¹¹⁸ 'Interesting grisailles'. Langlois, 132.

¹¹⁹ J. Patrice Marandel, 'Introduction', *Gray is the Color: An Exhibition of Grisaille Painting, XIIIth-XXth Centuries. Organized by the Institute for the Arts, Rice University*, ed. J. Patrice Marandel (Houston: Institute for the Arts, Rice University, 1974), 13-24. Molly Teasdale Smith explains the important connotations of grey colour in religious works, as grey often signifies ashes. Molly Teasdale Smith, 'The Use of Grisaille as Lenten Observance', *Marsyas* 8 (1957-9): 43-54.

¹²⁰ Marandel, 19.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 16-19.

differences between woodcuts, ink illustrations, and grisaille during this period. This section begins with an analysis of how Ms. PA 25's illustrator selectively appropriated the effect of contours and hatched lines from woodcuts, followed by a discussion of important colour applications in woodcuts and ink drawings.

The aesthetic technique of outlining figures with thick contours resembles woodcut depictions. In the scene of Samson and Delilah, the illustrator outlined Samson and Delilah in thick, dark contours (fol. 69r) (Figure 24). Asleep in a contrapposto pose, Samson leans against Delilah, who poises her shears against his hair.¹²² In the accompanying passage, Ami (Friend) advises Amant of the consequences of Delilah's deception. The illustrator emulated the inked relief carving of Samson and Delilah's figures and their garments in thick, uniform contours (Figure 25), which differs from the stylistic motifs of some earlier manuscript illustrations.¹²³ Ms. PA 25's illustrator suggested the industrial impact of print on manuscript images by imitating the style of woodcuts. Like Rosenwald 396's woodcut's line gradients, Ms PA. 25's illustration's broad contours suggest the inkiness of a woodcut impression. In both illustrations, the black outlines surrounding Samson and Delilah draw the viewer's eye to their figures in the foreground.

In manuscript illustrations, hatched line gradients in imitation of woodcuts guide the reader's eye to important gestures and poses. A technique of using parallel lines to give the effect of shading, hatching appears in illustrations prior to the advent of print;¹²⁴

¹²² Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 256-7, lines 16647-16664.

¹²³ In Ms. Douce 195, for example, the illustrator delineates forms and figures with thin brush strokes in a variety of different colours. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 120r.

¹²⁴ Early fifteenth-century artisans, who produced metalcuts and woodcuts, did not employ hatching in the same manner or with the same consistency as late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artisans. Early fifteenth-century artisans often relied on washes of colour in order to produce the effect of shading in woodcuts. Susan Dackerman, 'Painted Prints in Germany and the Netherlands', *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance and Baroque Engravings, Etchings, & Woodcuts*, ed. Susan Dackerman (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2002), 9-48, 10. Hatching was also used in fifteenth-century sculpture; see, e.g., S. Cristanetti, 'The Kress Madonna: Revelations of an Extraordinary Sculpture',

however, the style of hatching in woodcuts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries influenced contemporaneous image production in other media (e.g. drawings), due in part to the wider dissemination of woodcuts.¹²⁵ Ms. PA 25's illustrator copied the appearance of hatching used in Rosenwald 396's woodcuts.¹²⁶ The manuscript illustrator employed hatched lines to distinguish shadows and volumetric forms in the scene of Samson and Delilah, drawing attention to Samson's passivity. These thin, slanted contours emphasize the garments and postures of Samson and Delilah, alluding to their three-dimensionality. In both manuscript and incunable illustrations, the undulating folds of Delilah's gown and headdress are highlighted through groupings of angled, parallel, and intersecting contours. Further drawing attention to Samson's repose, and consequently his vulnerability, a band of hatched lines extends along his calf and thigh, echoing those of the woodcut scene. Although Ms. PA 25's illustrator employed fewer hatched lines within the scene's composition, the thickness and spacing of these contours evoke those in Rosenwald 396's woodcut. Ms. PA 25's illustration is a reversal of Rosenwald 396's woodcut; woodcuts were often traced and copied, causing images to appear backwards. In this instance, the scale is the same in both images, and it is possible that the manuscript's illustrator, in composing this scene, based this illustration on a tracing of Rosenwald 396's woodcut.

Technè 36 (2012): 47-53, at p. 51, fig. 5. In France, the first known uses of 'hachier' or 'hachié' (in reference to engraving) were in the fourteenth century.

¹²⁵ Michael Twyman notes that early woodcuts were often 'incomplete' until coloured; however, the use of finer, monochrome hatching in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* 'transformed' woodcuts into an important medium. Michael Twyman, *The British Library Guide to Printing: History and Techniques* (London: British Library, 1998), 35. Richard S. Field, 'The Offering to Mercury', *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 81-83.

¹²⁶ Ms. PA 25's illustrator also used cross-hatching, or layers of intersecting parallel lines, to evoke the visual effect of finer shading used in contemporaneous metalcuts. Rosenwald 396's Samson and Delilah woodcut does not contain cross-hatching. Nonetheless, the manuscript illustrator's use of cross-hatching is very limited and only used subtly in garment folds. Contemporaneous engravers used cross-hatching more prominently in metalcuts. Dackerman, 9-10. See, e.g., Richard S. Field, 'Saint Christopher', *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 75-79, p. 78, fig. 1.

Other manuscript illustrations reveal woodcut characteristics through portrayals of thick contours. These illustrations evoke the manuscript illustrator's indebtedness to the stylistic characteristics of printed images. On fol. 80v, the illustration of Amour assembling his phalanx of barons similarly depicts thick contours around the scene's central figures, in the manner of its woodcut counterpart (Figures 26.1 and 27). Earlier *Rose* manuscript illustrators used different compositions and stylistic motifs in representations of this scene (Figure 28).¹²⁷ In Ms. PA 25's image, Amour advances on the castle followed by his armoured brigade. Rosenwald 396's woodcut displays a similar composition; Ms. PA 25's illustrator, however, portrayed more soldiers with slightly different armour and modified the façade of the distant castle. Nevertheless, both illustrations consist of dense, dark contours surrounding all human figures, as in the scene of Samson and Delilah. These thick contours emphasize the readied stances of Amour and his assembled army.

Similar to woodcuts, manuscript images employ hatched line gradients to emphasize focal points in scenes. The illustrator further conveyed density and volumetric forms through these hatched lines. As with Delilah's garment on fol. 69r, the folds of Amour's mantle consist of angled, hatched contours that accentuate the sloping descent of his cloak (Figure 26.2). These hatchings are similar to the line gradients in the illustration's corresponding woodcut, drawing the reader's eye to the main character's actions. In addition, concentrations of hatched contours are paired with grey brushstrokes, alluding to shadows. These light grey patches further direct the viewer towards important gestures, such as Amour's left hand, which motions toward the castle

¹²⁷ On fol. 87r of Ms. French 66, for instance, Amour stands in front of a planar, cerulean blue background decorated with small white rosettes. The barons in attendance do not wear armour and strokes of opaque red pigment highlight garment folds and the castle's structure (which lies immediately to the left of Amour). Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Ms. French 66, fol. 87r. See, also, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 107v; Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Ms. Bodmer 79, fol. 96v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9345, fol. 44r.

and the approaching battle. In this way, the illustrator adapted the printed image in order to help the reader discern Amour's intentions.

In scenes that differ slightly from Rosenwald 396's woodcuts, the illustrator continued to outline characters with thick, dark contours. On fol. 94r, for example, Faux Semblant offers his heart to Abstinence Contrainte (Constrained Abstinence) (Figure 29.1).¹²⁸ In contrast to Rosenwald 396's woodcut (Figure 30), Ms. PA 25's illustration depicts Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte standing together in a barren landscape. Faux Semblant, dressed in a cowl, reaches his hand toward Abstinence Contrainte, who clutches rosary beads and wears a nun's habit. Despite the scene's divergence from the Rosenwald 396 woodcut, which displays two figures seated apart and wearing different garments, the illustration portrays both characters outlined by thick lines.¹²⁹

Moreover, Faux Semblant's cowl contains black pigments which seemingly foreshadow his negative intentions (Figure 29.2). The illustrator purposefully used stylistic elements for interpretive effect.¹³⁰ The illustrator, for example, introduced black shading, perhaps in an effort to distinguish important personality traits among characters. While the outside of Faux Semblant's cowl is pale, the inside of his garment, beneath his extended left arm,¹³¹ is blackened. In Rosenwald 396 and Ms. PA 25, the accompanying

¹²⁸ Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 114-6, lines 11951-12036.

¹²⁹ In the style of Rose woodcuts, the thick outlines of the sloping hillside in the background appear to be the same darkness as the contours outlining the figures in the foreground. Other manuscript portrayals of Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte contain compositional variations which differ from Ms. PA 25's image, e.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 114r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 82r.

¹³⁰ As in other illustrations, thin, parallel hatchings mirror the technical style of Rosenwald 396's woodcuts. Here, the appearance of these thick, inked contours against the natural tone of the paper is evocative of a woodcut.

¹³¹ Fittingly, Faux Semblant gestures with his left hand, which had profane connotations during this period. For example, in medieval Europe, it was believed that witches were left-handed. Chris McManus, *Right Hand, Left Hand: The Origins of Asymmetry in Brains, Bodies, Atoms and Cultures* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), 27.

text describes Faux Semblant as ‘blanc dedans et dehors noircy’;¹³² this is an anomalous reading which is not in alignment with other earlier and contemporary *Rose* manuscript and printed books, which describe him as ‘blanche dehors, dedenz nercie’.¹³³ Indeed, Faux Semblant uses disguises to put his victims at ease before he harms them: he pointedly remarks that his holy appearance is a lie, explaining ‘dehors semblons aigneaus pitables, / dedans sommes lous ravisables’.¹³⁴ Ms. PA 25’s illustrator, who previously changed another image of Faux Semblant to portray his many disguises, seemingly recognized this error. The illustrator chromatically indicated Faux Semblant’s ‘dedenz nercie’ through the application of black shading within his cloak, which contrasts with his cowl’s white exterior. These black shadows are much darker than those applied inside different characters’ cloaks in other images.¹³⁵ It is possible that Ms. PA 25’s illustrator invented this image of Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte or appropriated its iconography from another woodcut or manuscript illustration. Regardless of its origin, however, the illustrator depicted the style of contours in *Rose* woodcuts, but further demonstrated a familiarity with the poem’s narrative—possibly through experience illustrating other manuscripts—by heightening Faux Semblant’s dishonourable nature.

In hand-illustrated and printed images, applications of colour dramatize interactions between characters. As mentioned previously, Ms. PA 25’s drawings are at times touched with colour in order to allude to important narrative details and relationships between figures within scenes. As in contemporaneous *Rose* woodcuts, Ms. PA 25’s illustrations display colour for dramatic and decorative purposes. Although

¹³² ‘White within and entirely black without’. In both books, this description precedes the illustrations. This line occurs on the page adjacent to the illustration in Ms. PA 25 (fol. 93v); in Rosenwald 296, this line appears immediately next to the woodcut in the outer column of the page (sig. l5 verso).

¹³³ ‘White without and entirely black within’. Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 115, line 11985.

¹³⁴ Johnny Morton, ‘Wolves in Human Skin: Questions of Animal Appetite in Jean de Meun’s *Roman de la rose*’, *Modern Language Review* 105 (2010): 976-997, at 976-8.

¹³⁵ E.g. Ms. PA 25, fol. 42v.

it is difficult to determine whether this colour was added by the main illustrator, another artisan, or even the reader,¹³⁶ these tonal washes bear a resemblance to the incorporation of colour by artisans and readers in other *Rose* woodcuts. Ms. PA 25's even and controlled application of pigment strongly suggests that it was administered not by the reader but by an experienced artisan. On fol. 44v, for example, Nero commands the dissection of his mother's womb so that he can see where he was born (Figure 31).¹³⁷ Holding a sceptre, Nero presides over his assistant, who reaches into Nero's mother's torso, exposing her insides. In this gruesome scene, which precedes that of Seneca's death by Nero's command, the illustrator drew the reader's attention to the opening of Nero's mother's womb by positioning her exposed figure at the centre of the scene and outlining her wound with pink brushstrokes, in case the reader had ventured to overlook the grisly scene.¹³⁸ This addition of colour within the monochrome setting draws attention to Nero's mother's lethal injury. Illustrators of *Rose* printed editions similarly accentuated Nero's mother's dissection through additions of red pigment in woodcuts. In PML 601, printed by Jean Syber in Lyon ca. 1485, the gaping hole in Nero's mother is coloured bright red (sig. f4 verso).¹³⁹

As in woodcut examples, other manuscript illustrations utilize colour to allude to focal points and violence in scenes. On fol. 96v, Faux Semblant and Abstinence

¹³⁶ As L. M. J. Delaissé explains, many books contain disrupted visual programmes, created by different artisans over long periods of time. L. M. J. Delaissé, 'Towards a History of the Medieval Book', *Codicologica: Towards a Science of Handwritten Books*, eds. J.P. Gumbert et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 75-82.

¹³⁷ 'Si rot bien queur plus dur que pierre / quant il fist occierre son frere, / quant il fist desmembrer sa mere / por ce que par lui fust veüz / li leus ou il fu conceüz; / et puis qu'il la vit desmenbree, / selonc l'estoire remenbree, / la beauté des membres juja / (Ha! Diex, con ci felon juje a!) / n'onc de l'oill lerne n'en issi, / car l'estoire le dit issi, / mes si con il juigeit des membres, / conmena il que de ses chambres / li feïst l'en vin aporer / et but por son cors deporter'. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 189-90, lines 6162-6176.

¹³⁸ The accentuation of blood in Ms. PA 25's image resembles other manuscript miniatures of this scene, e.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 44v.

¹³⁹ New York, PML, PML 601. Other woodcuts in PML 601, however, do not portray blood emerging from lethal wounds. For example, the illustration of Nero killing himself with a sword does not incorporate red pigment on his blue garment (sig. g3 recto).

Contrainte sever the tongue of Male Bouche (Foul Mouth) (Figure 32.1).¹⁴⁰ As with the scene of Nero's mother's murder, this illustration has minimal colour. Nevertheless, accents of light pink signify focal points in the scene. While the cheeks of Faux Semblant, Abstinence Contrainte, and Male Bouche are touched with peach, Faux Semblant's hand—which ominously holds a blade—and Male Bouche's tongue are further highlighted with rose colour (Figure 32.2). This colouring of Male Bouche's extended tongue and Faux Semblant's hand draws attention to the main action of the illustration and elicits a visceral response, as Male Bouche's pink tongue will shortly be lifeless and dismembered by the approaching blade. Dark grey shading behind Male Bouche's head ensures that the reader's eye is drawn to Male Bouche's tongue and Faux Semblant's hand and blade, making the imminent excision unavoidable.¹⁴¹

Moreover, colour elucidates relationships between characters and their fates. On fol. 7v, for example, Narcissus gazes at his reflection in a fountain (Figure 33.1).¹⁴² In the poem's narrative, Narcissus spies a fountain covered by branches of pine and, after leaning in to take a drink, becomes enraptured by his reflection. Portrayals of Narcissus witnessing his own image have been created by artisans since antiquity in such media as paintings, drawings, and sculptures.¹⁴³ Woodcut depictions, which furnished different templates for artisans' illustrations in other media, may have derived from a variety of sources. In this manuscript image, Narcissus's visage is in profile as he rests his left

¹⁴⁰ Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 125-6, lines 12331-12387.

¹⁴¹ It is unlikely that the reader smudged this grey over Foul Mouth's tongue. Since the pinkness of Foul Mouth's tongue does not appear muted or darker as compared to Faux Semblant's and Constrained Abstinence's cheeks, it can thus be assumed the grey pigment was applied carefully. Earlier manuscript illustrations comprise different compositions of and stylistic elements in this scene, e.g.: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5209, fol. 85r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 89r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 802, fol. 83r.

¹⁴² Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 45-7, lines 1437-1508. Narcissus's shorter tunic, or *sayon*, is characteristic of the 1490s.

¹⁴³ For reproductions of Narcissus in other contexts (e.g. Pompeii wall paintings dating from the first century), see: Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Roman and Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), p. 200, figs. 8.41 and 8.42. Rome, Palazzo Barberini, Caravaggio, *Narcissus*, ca. 1597-99.

hand on the upper lip of the fountain, which comprises two tiers—one circular and one rectangular.¹⁴⁴ Washes of blue suggest pools of water within the two tiers of the fountain's basins. Yet blue strokes also appear on Narcissus's collar (Figure 33.2). Although Narcissus's own image is supposed to be mirrored by crystals within the depths of the fountain, the reflection of blue on his lapels suggests his engagement with and connection to the water. This colour pairing further implies that Narcissus is inseparable from the fountain. In medieval visual culture, mirrors and other reflective surfaces (e.g. water) reveal an individual's true identity, but these reflections can further serve to *change* an individual.¹⁴⁵ In the narrative, the fountain's blue depths lay claim to a self-absorbed Narcissus, who becomes transfixed by his reflection. By colouring Narcissus's garment with blue pigment, the illustrator indicated that Narcissus is irrevocably tied to the blue of the fountain's water. The reader would have recognized this depiction of water as an active agent in the scene: by mirroring images, it shapes Narcissus's fate, resulting in his death.

As demonstrated by the stylistic elements of line and colour, Ms. PA 25's use of shading is not identical to the grisaille technique employed extensively in fifteenth-century northern manuscripts. Popularized in the early fourteenth century, grisaille was mastered by such illuminators as Pucelle, who created the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux.¹⁴⁶ According to Meredith T. McMunn, twenty-eight out of 249 illustrated *Rose* manuscripts, including those that were intended to include illuminations, feature

¹⁴⁴ In Rosenwald 396's woodcut, to the contrary, Amant's face is barely visible and the fountain is hexagonal in shape. Ms. PA 25's illustrator thus created a new sort of composition, possibly derived from another incunable or adopted because the revised illustration better suited the illustrator's style, an iconographer's guide, or the buyer's preferences. The resulting scene appears more refined due to the delicate rendering of the fountain's narrow support and tapered upper basin.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998), 47.

¹⁴⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art – The Cloisters Collection, Ms. 54.1.2.

grisaille.¹⁴⁷ Throughout Western Europe, artisans and masters such as Andrea Mantegna produced grisaille illustrations in diverse media, including paintings, drawings, stained glass, and woodcuts.¹⁴⁸ But by the end of the fifteenth century, usage of white, black, and grey within miniatures was increasingly replaced by renderings in camaïeu, or one or several tints of colour.¹⁴⁹ It is important to observe how ink drawings with grey accents may derive from woodcuts, rather than emulate a specific painting technique, such as grisaille.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, it is necessary to examine closely fifteenth- and sixteenth-century illustrations, which, although described as grisaille or semi-grisaille, could instead be classified otherwise.

In Ms. PA 25, the illustrator used layout, composition, and stylistic devices to evoke and reinvent Rosenwald 396's visual presentation. In their layouts, Ms. PA 25's and Rosenwald 396's images are similarly placed in relation to text and rhyming rubrics. The illustrator's use of printed images' compositions and stylistic elements provides more insight into how he or she used printed images. The illustrator emulated Le Roy's

¹⁴⁷ McMunn, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the *Roman de la rose*' [Conference], 14 May 2011. In fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts, miniatures comprising grisaille figures often display highly chromatic backgrounds. On fol. 3r of Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 332, for example, Convoitise hovers eagerly over a trunk filled with coins and serving vessels. Painted in shades of white and grey, her figure does not comprise hatched line gradients. The red wall behind her is adorned with a gold vegetal pattern of undulating leaves, while the floor is a rich mossy green. Similar to other miniatures in Ms. Douce 332, this illumination depicts a thickly painted grey figure framed by a brightly hued setting. In Ms. PA 25, however, the illustrator does not use an opaque or bright palette to accentuate the backdrops behind figures. On fol. 2v of Ms. PA 25, for example, only a light yellow wash colours Convoitise's chair as well as the base of a column capital in the background. This minimal use of colour does not detract from the representation of the vice's figure. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 3r. As in Ms. Douce 332, the illuminator of Ms. Ludwig XV 7 consistently incorporated saturated colours into the landscape backgrounds of miniature settings. On fol. 2r, Félonie walks in a bucolic terrain, her grisaille figure framed on either side by two gatherings of trees. In this scene, the illustrator conveyed a sense of atmospheric perspective through the modulation of colours. The cerulean blue of the miniature's upper register fades to a pale, light blue at the edge of the meadow, simulating a hazy, receding skyline. Modulated yellow and brown tones evoke texture and depth in the trees' trunks, leaves, and branches, while patches of blue and green in the illustration's lower half suggest the emergence of a sloping hillside behind Félonie's figure. On the contrary, Ms. PA 25's illustration of Félonie (fol. 2v), which bears no resemblance to the figural composition of Ms. Ludwig XV 7's miniature, does not evince a highly chromatic palette. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 2r.

¹⁴⁸ Marandel, p. 27, fig. 1; p. 30, fig. 4; p. 33, fig. 6; p. 42, fig. 14; p. 45, fig. 15.

¹⁴⁹ According to Pierre Cockshaw, Hieronymus Bosch pioneered this movement. Pierre Cockshaw, 'Preface', *Miniatures en Grisaille* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royal Albert I^{er}, 1986): ii-v, at iv.

¹⁵⁰ In her description of grisaille manuscript illustrations (e.g. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Ms. 108), Marandel explains how manuscript illuminators created black and grey illuminations to rival the 'challenge' of ink woodcuts. Marandel, 30-31, pp. 30-31, fig. 4.

printed visual programme through the technical appropriation of printed image scenes and their line gradients. But the illustrator also demonstrated creativity by modifying printed imagery and their characteristics. By adding and eliminating certain compositional details and stylistic motifs in images, the illustrator focused the reader's gaze and augmented images' dramatic and interpretive effects. Colour applications in these illustrations further emphasize characters' actions and identities, by distinguishing important gestures and objects. This technique resembles the addition of colour in woodcuts. The prevalence of woodcut characteristics in this manuscript strongly suggests that its illustrator had an intimate knowledge of and appreciation for Rosenwald 396's woodcuts, including their capacity to be revised when necessary.

Case Study 2: Illuminating a *Rose* Printed Edition

Although some scholars maintain that the advent of print triggered the standardization of printed books and their illustrations,¹⁵¹ PML 535 demonstrates how an illustrator diversified a printed visual programme. A deluxe printed edition, PML 535 was printed in Paris by Vérard after Feb. 1493. In PML 535 and other late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Rose* editions, editors allotted space in printed books for the inclusion of manuscript elements, such as hand-written initials and readers' annotations. Editors often borrowed woodcuts from sacred and secular sources alike, suggesting that the illustrative programmes of *Rose* books were neither fixed nor uniform. Mary Beth Winn's *Anthoine Vérard: Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* provides a useful chronicle of the operation and literary history of Vérard's workshop in Paris, tracing the provenance of some deluxe editions produced for

¹⁵¹ E.g. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, vol. 1, 80-8.

important patrons and revealing their discrepancies in quality.¹⁵² She offers glimpses into Vérard's shops, which commissioned scribes, illustrators, binders, and other artisans to produce printed editions and manuscripts; *Rose* editions and their visual programmes, however, remain on the periphery of her discussion, as Vérard's *Rose* editions do not contain prologues.¹⁵³ Vérard's *Rose* editions are an untapped resource, capable of providing insight into the ways in which illustrators borrowed and modified visual elements in printed books. This section presents a comprehensive study of the layout, composition, and stylistic devices of PML 535's illustrations, revealing how its illustrator created adaptable and dynamic scenes derived from woodcuts.

Inside the front cover of PML 535, a cut-out describes a 'most brilliant and magnificent specimen . . . one large and about 100 small Miniature Paintings, very spiritedly executed'.¹⁵⁴ Comprising 150 leaves with two columns of text to a page, PML 535 was printed on parchment and contains eighty-eight overpainted woodcuts.¹⁵⁵ Its earliest known owner was Bourgevin de Vialart de Moligny, whose library was sold in 1795.¹⁵⁶ In the last decade of the fifteenth century, Vérard employed multiple printers, and six different printers' names appear in the colophons of various editions produced during this period.¹⁵⁷ Although no sources reveal Vérard's previous profession(s) or whereabouts prior to his first two publications in 1485, Vérard may have had experience directing a manuscript workshop and could have overpainted some of PML 535's

¹⁵² Winn, 10-11; 31-2.

¹⁵³ Mary Beth Winn, personal communication, 19 Jul. 2011.

¹⁵⁴ There are four brief catalogue excerpts pasted on PML 535's inside cover; only one acknowledges that the printed edition originally contained woodcuts.

¹⁵⁵ As Winn notes, it is unlikely that Vérard actually operated a printing press; rather, he would have provided typographical materials and 'subsidized' the production of printed editions with the assistance of his associations (e.g. his personal association with historian Nicole Gilles (Scheurer)). Winn, 17-9.

¹⁵⁶ John Bidwell, personal communication, 11 Nov. 2010. The incunable's bookplates and annotations indicate that it was also owned by Richard Bennett, William Clark (ca. 1840), 'M. Chardin', and the Earl of Ashburnham.

¹⁵⁷ Winn, 22.

illustrations himself.¹⁵⁸ In other late fifteenth-century parchment editions, V  rard commissioned illuminators—including the Master of Jacques de Besan  on, who illuminated some of his royal commissions—to overpaint woodcuts in one or several parchment books at a time, depending on market demand for luxury editions.¹⁵⁹ Due in part to the cost and limited availability of type during this period, deluxe parchment printed editions would have been produced during the same print-run as other paper printed editions, of which approximately 200-500 books would have been produced on paper.¹⁶⁰

Similar to other contemporaneous printed editions of the *Rose*, PML 535 contains woodcuts originating from a variety of sources. In this incunable, V  rard borrowed woodcuts, for example, from *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (*CNN*) and *Le Miroir de la redemption humaine* (*Miroir*). Robert Proctor laments that the majority of V  rard’s printed editions ‘seem to likely remain ... a pathless wilderness’, as V  rard and other editors inserted similar woodcuts in many different editions and borrowed illustrations from each other.¹⁶¹ Due in part to cost and convenience, editors loaned and borrowed cuts, reprinting them in different editions. However, this is an over-simplification of a more complex system of borrowing, the intertextual significance of which will be addressed further in Chapter 2. PML 535’s type also appears in other printed editions produced by V  rard, including the *L  gende dor  e* and *Ogier*.¹⁶² This recycling of types was also common among editors. Accordingly, woodcuts and type, which were

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 17; 35.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 35; 38.

¹⁶⁰ This is a rough estimate, as the exact number of copies produced by *Rose* editors is unknown. As Philip Gaskell explains, it was economical for editors to produce between 200-2,000 copies of an edition in a print-run, factoring in the cost of raw materials and the market demand for books. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 161-62.

¹⁶¹ Robert B. Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: With Notes of Those in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 2 (London: Holland, 1889-1903), 603. Nevertheless, Winn describes how V  rard established a reputation as the ‘first great art editor’. Winn, 102. Pollard, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, vol. 2, 242.

¹⁶² Robert B. Proctor notes that it is ‘impossible’ to separate V  rard’s types due to their abundant reuse. Proctor, 604.

borrowed in different ways by different editors, suggest the diversity—rather than the standardization—of printed programmes during this period. This study’s examination of PML 535’s overpaintings further indicates how its illustrator and/or Vérard envisioned woodcuts as adaptable visual templates.

A. Layout

In PML 535, the illustrator both adhered to and modified the original order of woodcuts through overpaintings. While certain illustrations replicate underlying woodcut scenes, others introduce new compositions, possibly originating from other printed editions. Like Ms. PA 25’s maker, PML 535’s illustrator reveals his or her access to *Rose* printed imagery. Furthermore, the illustrator’s modification of certain underlying woodcuts conveys the dynamic variability of woodcut placement in *Rose* printed editions. The use of printed images by illustrators may have been practical—due, for instance, to the wider availability of woodcuts following the advent of French printing. Nonetheless, illustrators’ replication of and changes to printed visual programmes in deluxe printed editions reveal illustrators’ creative use of visual elements in anticipation of the reader’s reception.

In the manner of Ms. PA 25 and other contemporaneous printed editions, PML 535 repeats the same woodcut for different passages. On sigs. a3 recto and a4 verso, for example, the illustrator used the same image for the vices Haine (Hate) and Tristesse (Sorrow or Misery) (Figures 34 and 35), preserving the underlying, repeated woodcut compositions (Figure 36).¹⁶³ In each miniature, a veiled woman sits atop a rectangular platform; a window and a suspended heart appear at either side of her figure, which

¹⁶³ ‘Enz en le mileu vi Haïne, / qui de corroz et d’ataïne / sembla bien estre meneresse; / corroceuse et tançoneresse / et plaine de grant cuvertage / estoit par semblant cele ymage; / si n’estoit pas bien atornee, [b] / ainz sembloit fame forsenee. / Rechinié avoit et froncié / le vis, et le nés secorcié’. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 5-6, lines 139-51.

differs from the compositions of earlier manuscript illustrations.¹⁶⁴ In accompanying text, Haine and Tristesse differ in their physical appearance: Haine is dark and frowning, with an upturned nose, while Tristesse is emaciated with scratched cheeks and a jaundiced complexion, her garment and hair torn from bouts of depression.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the illustrator did not change the underlying woodcuts' compositions in the overpaintings, displaying the same scene for both vices.¹⁶⁶

Recurring images can reveal significance through their placement in the text. Manuscripts are sometimes noted for their unique visual programmes, unlike printed editions, which contain serial woodcut repetitions; this explanation, however, does not account for image borrowing and repetitions in Ms. PA 25 and deluxe printed editions with overpaintings. In PML 535, for example, Félonie's image recurs multiple times (Figures 37 and 38). In this woodcut scene, Félonie impales herself with a sword as she sits atop a rectangular perch. Two windows staggered at different heights appear behind her figure. On sigs. a3 recto and a4 recto, Félonie's woodcut accompanies text describing her vice and Envie (Envy).¹⁶⁷ As with the illustrations of Haine and Tristesse, the illustrator overpainted both woodcuts, consciously replicating their underlying

¹⁶⁴ E.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 3r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 2v; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1566, fol. 2r. Nevertheless, illustrators often depicted Convoitise and other vices seated on rectangular perches, e.g.: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1558, fol. 2v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 2v.

¹⁶⁵ 'Delez Envie auques pres iere / Tristesce pointe en la mesiere. / Tres bien paroit a sa color / qu'ele avoit au cuer grant dolor, / et sembloit avoir la jaunice; [a] / si n'i feïst riens Avarice / de paleté ne de maigreice, / car li corroz et la destreice / et la pensee et li ennuiz / qu'el soffroit de jorz et de nuiz / l'avoient mout fete jaunir / et maigre et pale devenir. / Onques rien nee en tel martire / ne fu mes ne n'ot si grant ire / come il sembloit que ele eüst. / Je cuit que nus ne li seüst / feire rien qui li peüst pleire, / n'el ne se vosist pas retraire / ne reconforter a nul fuer / dou duel qu'ele avoit en son cuer: / trop avoit son cuer corrocié / et son duel parfont enforcié. / Mout sembloit bien estre dolente, / car el n'avoit pas esté lente / d'esgratiner tote sa chiere, / n'el n'avoit pas sa robe chiere; / en maint leu l'avoit desciree / con cele qui mout fu iree. / Si chevel tuit destrecié furent, / et expanduz par son col jurent, / qu'el les avoit tretoz deroz / de mautalant et de corroz'. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 10-11, lines 291-322.

¹⁶⁶ The illustrator possibly added a faint pink hue to Haine's headdress, which differs from Tristesse's white headdress.

¹⁶⁷ 'Un ymage qui Vilanie / avoit non revi devers destre, / qui estoit auques d'autel estre / con ces .II. et d'autel faiture. / Bien sembla male criature, / fole et crueus et outrageuse / et mesdisant et ramponeuse. / Mout bien sot poindre et portroire / cil qui sot tele image feire, / qui / sembloit chose mout vilaine. / Bien sembloit estre d'afiz plaine / et fame qui petit seüst / d'anorer ceus qu'ele deüst'. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 6, lines 156-168 (Félonie); pp. 8-10, lines 235-90 (Envie).

printed compositions (Figure 39). In Félonie's description in the text, however, Amant describes Félonie's image as indistinguishable from the vice Haine. So why does Félonie appear differently? Moreover, why does Félonie's woodcut portray Envie? The text describes Envie as closing one eye in disdain, a feature absent in the underlying woodcut and its overpainting. As will be demonstrated further in this case study, the illustrator did not hesitate to modify other scenes. Perhaps the illustrator portrayed a different kind of connection between Félonie and Envie, worthy of preservation: the text describes Envie as having a 'felons cuers'.¹⁶⁸ Like the maker of Ms. PA 25, the illustrator of PML 535 allowed for repeated woodcut illustrations that do not necessarily mirror characters' physical descriptions in the text. As PML 535 demonstrates, illustrators did not always conceal woodcut cycle repetitions in their illuminations, deliberately replicating the layout of underlying cuts, perhaps for symbolic purpose.

In other instances, PML 535's illustrator possibly appropriated woodcuts from other printed editions to create new compositions that more closely adhere to the poem's narrative. On sig. a7 verso, the illustrator portrayed Amant gesturing with his hands as he walks in a landscape setting (Figure 40).¹⁶⁹ Amant's depiction bears a resemblance to a woodcut in Le Roy's *ca.* 1487 Lyon edition (Figure 41).¹⁷⁰ Although the underlying woodcut portrays the vice Avarice (Figure 42), the illustrator overpainted this scene to depict the accompanying text and rubric. In the overpainting, Amant's hands emulate Avarice's gestures in the underlying woodcut, but the background and Avarice's figure have been modified. Similar to the illustrator of Ms. PA 25, the maker of PML 535 presumably had direct access to woodcuts from other printed editions, potentially in the form of single-sheet relief prints or incunables. In this instance, since the illustrator was

¹⁶⁸ 'Felon heart'. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 9, line 265.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 23, line 723.

¹⁷⁰ Rosenwald 396, sig. b3 recto. The portrayal of Amant's gestures and appearance is similar to some earlier manuscripts, e.g.: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 10r.

employed by V  rard, he or she probably had direct access to relief prints from V  rard’s workshop and *Rose* editions. It would have been in V  rard’s best interest to supply the illustrator with a variety of woodcuts in order to diversify the visual programme of the editor’s illuminated parchment copies.

V  rard, who was the ultimate overseer and salesman of not only printed but also illuminated editions in his workshop, may have directed the revision of certain images at his discretion. V  rard’s deluxe *Rose* editions are not identical and comprise different modifications in their overpaintings, probably attributable to the different styles and hands of V  rard’s illustrators. As the proprietor of his workshop, V  rard would have had ultimate control over the composition of his printed editions prior to their sale. Winn posits that V  rard kept a few deluxe printed books in his shops in anticipation of wealthy buyers.¹⁷¹ V  rard sometimes took into account the preferences of particular patrons, tailoring details and adding familiar monograms or crests in illustrations. Customers of luxury printed books may also have preferred that the visual programmes of their editions were not identical to those of books printed on paper or other deluxe editions, though buyers’ involvement is often unknown (and, in some instances, unknowable due to a lack of documentation).¹⁷² It is also possible that some buyers commissioned illustrators to overpaint parchment editions after purchasing them unpainted from editors such as V  rard.

PML 535’s illustrator modified underlying woodcuts to portray details in the accompanying text. On sig. b4 verso, an illustration of Narcissus leaning over a fountain replaces a woodcut of Avarice (Figures 43 and 44).¹⁷³ The illustrator modified the

¹⁷¹ Winn, 102.

¹⁷² For example, Booton notes the intentional disposal of ‘historically unimportant’ documents in Nantes when the *Commission de Triage* ordered over half of approximately 3,000 collections from financial and legislative archives to be used as artillery wadding in the 1790s. Booton, 7; p. 10, fn. 14.

¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the original pairing of Avarice’s woodcut with Narcissus’s story possibly reveals deeper significance, foreshadowing Narcissus’s eventual downfall. In this printed edition, woodcuts of Avarice

underlying woodcut so that it more closely reflects the accompanying narrative passage and rubric which refer to Narcissus. The overpainting depicts Narcissus as he spies his blurred reflection on the water's surface; two zoomorphic spigots empty water from the basin into a nearby stream. Although it is not an exact copy of similar *Rose* woodcut compositions or earlier *Rose* manuscript illustrations,¹⁷⁴ this illustration contains the essential elements of a scene portraying Narcissus: namely, a fountain and a self-absorbed male figure leaning over water to observe his visage. Indeed, Narcissus's portrayal is somewhat similar to Ms. PA 25's illustration, which was borrowed from Rosenwald 396. As with the illustration of Amant walking in a landscape setting, this illumination may have been painted without using a direct tracing; however, the illustrator probably based this image on some sort of template, such as a woodcut. In Library of Congress Incun. x. G974,¹⁷⁵ another deluxe parchment copy of V  rard's edition, the illustrator overpainted Avarice's woodcut to depict Narcissus in a scene that is nearly identical to PML 535's image (Figure 45). Both illustrators displayed complex spatial perspective through the angling of Narcissus's pose over a square cistern; however, Incun. x. G974's illustrator demonstrated a slightly more detailed style.¹⁷⁶ As previously mentioned, V  rard probably supervised the illumination of PML 535 and other books, perhaps determining on a case-by-case basis whether the illustrator could diverge from an incunable's woodcut cycle or borrow woodcuts from V  rard's workshop to inspire new images throughout various stages of production.

also appear with passages describing (1) Narcissus and (2) Amour conversing with Amant. Like Narcissus, Avarice is proud and desires to possess things. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, 'misplaced' images deserve closer analysis.

¹⁷⁴ This image of Narcissus differs from earlier manuscript miniatures, e.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 17r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 57, fol. 11v; Paris, Biblioth  que de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5209, fol. 11r.

¹⁷⁵ Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Incun. x. G974.

¹⁷⁶ Incun. x. G974's illustrator used delicate applications of shell gold and portrayed more naturalistic scenes.

B. Composition

Through overpaintings, the illustrator introduced new compositional elements, modifying decorative embellishments and other details in illustrations. As discussed in the previous section, the illustrator sometimes overpainted certain woodcuts with an attention to more closely adhering to accompanying text. This section assesses how the illustrator adapted compositional details to augment interpretive and dramatic effects in scenes. Similar to Ms. PA 25's illustrator, PML 535's illustrator modified specific characters and architectural motifs in scenes. These revised compositions sometimes derive from other *Rose* printed editions' woodcuts. The incorporation of different costumes and settings in PML 535's images further suggests the versatility of printed woodcuts. As discussed in Case Study 1, illustrators focused on fashion and the allure of certain artistic techniques in the design of their manuscripts. This section will explore how PML 535's illustrator portrayed characters and their garments, probing the roles of manuscript and printed visual elements in book reception.

Through overpaintings, illustrators added new decorative features and ornamentation in books. In PML 535, the illustrator often purposefully included new architectural details to illustrations' background settings. On sig. a3 verso, Convoitise (Covetousness or Greed) grasps two bags of money as she sits atop a rectangular platform (Figure 46), similar to some earlier *Rose* manuscript depictions.¹⁷⁷ The illustrator portrayed two paned windows behind her, much as in the original woodcut (Figure 47); the illustrator, however, also depicted stone medallions carved into the surrounding wall. While one medallion features a deer-like creature, the other displays a woman grasping a scroll. These relief-like wall adornments create a more elaborate

¹⁷⁷ Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 6-7, lines 169-194.

interior setting.¹⁷⁸ In the same manner, the illustrator further framed Convoitise's face within a semi-circular arch, drawing attention to her gaze—which is directed downward toward the sack of money that she clutches in her left hand—and emphasizing her obsession with riches and earthly possessions.

In other images, the illustrator supplemented underlying woodcut scenes with unique costume features to personalize characters and allude to the exotic fashion of another time and place. As previously noted, readers were attuned to fashion styles and customs in images, recognizing high fashion and old-fashioned clothing, in addition to historicizing garment features used to represent a wearer's identity.¹⁷⁹ In the illustration of Samson and Delilah (Figure 48), for example, the illustrator overpainted the underlying scene in order to depict a new composition.¹⁸⁰ The underlying woodcut portrays Judith slaying Holofernes (Figure 49); while the illustrator's revision arguably corresponds more closely to the accompanying passage and rubric, the underlying woodcut could also convey meaning in the text, as will be discussed in the next chapter. In the overpainting, the illustrator customized Samson's blue tunic with the initial 'S', which is painted in shell gold on his chest.¹⁸¹ Samson's garment thus brands him with the first letter of his name, labelling him within the scene. The illustrator further suggested an ancient period through the exotic fashion of Delilah's headgear. Delilah wears a turban-like headpiece fastened with a large blue stone. Unlike fifteenth-century *chaperons*, which resemble dishevelled turbans with tails, Delilah's headpiece has a

¹⁷⁸ Some earlier *Rose* manuscripts depict Convoitise in an interior setting with decorative embellishments; however, these scenes do not resemble PML 535's illustration. E.g. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1569, fol. 2r.

¹⁷⁹ Van Buren and Wieck, 17-8.

¹⁸⁰ Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 256-7, lines 16647-16664.

¹⁸¹ Thomas Primeau explains that prints were not overpainted with 'precious' lapis lazuli, noting that even Albrecht Dürer complained that the pigment was costly. Instead, Primeau maintains that pigments produced from sources such as smalt, azurite, indigo, and woad would have been used to illuminate prints. Thomas Primeau, 'The Materials and Technology of Renaissance and Baroque Hand-Colored Prints', *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance and Baroque Engravings, Etchings, & Woodcuts*, ed. Susan Dackerman (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2002), 60; fn. 35, p. 77.

smooth surface with a prominent gemstone.¹⁸² The big jewel affixed to Delilah's turban signals to the reader that she is a pagan, from another era and a faraway land;¹⁸³ other earlier and contemporaneous manuscript illustrations portray Delilah wearing a similar headpiece.¹⁸⁴

Illustrators also simplified woodcut scenes through overpaintings to focus the reader's attention on particular characters and their gestures. In some illustrations, PML 535's illustrator simplified, for instance, costume elements and backgrounds of underlying woodcut scenes. On sig. f7 recto (Figure 50), for example, the illustrator removed specific costume details within a woodcut borrowed from the *CNN* (Figure 51).¹⁸⁵ In this scene, the illustrator omitted the female figure's apron and the plume in the male figure's cap. The illustrator further edited the scene by removing the gathering of figures in the castle portico at the right of the composition, instead depicting a bare floor and dark grey planar wall; he or she also removed clusters of plants in the foreground. The illustrator likely removed these details in order not to detract from the interaction between the scene's two central figures. In particular, the elimination of

¹⁸² For portrayals of *chaperons*, see New York, PML, Ms. M 245, fol. 22v. London, National Gallery of Art, *Portrait of a Man in a Turban*, Jan van Eyck, 1433, inv. NG222. Delilah's headdress also differs from V-shaped burllets, popular in the 1450s, e.g.: New York, PML, Ms. M. 48, fol. 217r.

¹⁸³ Gemstones adorn headpieces in other manuscripts' miniatures, e.g. in an image of the wedding of Jupiter and Juno from the *Recueil des histoires de Troie*. Van Buren and Wieck, 17; p. 265, fig. B.92. In the underlying woodcut in PML 535, Holofernes is the pagan, and Judith is the Christian heroine. For further examination of paganism in the stories of Samson and Delilah and Judith and Holofernes, see, Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith* (London: Sheffield, 2002), 111.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 120r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 153r. In Ms. Douce 195, Robinet Testard also illustrated Saturn wearing a similarly-shaped turban, suggesting that illustrators depicted both mythological and Biblical personages with particular garments in order to imbue a sense of their paganism and foreign heritage. There appears to have been an established tradition of representing Old Testament figures in turban-like headdresses. François I^{er}'s patronage of the study of oriental languages and arts also possibly influenced illustrators, including the maker of PML 535, in the execution of book illustrations. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 37. In the late fourteenth century, illustrators portrayed Byzantine architecture, influenced by their travels. Wilson and Wilson, 32. The illustrator's portrayal of a turban in PML 535 also resembles oriental headgear illustrated by artists in the nineteenth century: Petre Bezdička et al., 'Microanalytical Identification of Pb-Sb-Sn Yellow Pigment in Historical European Paintings and Its Differentiation from Lead Tin and Naples Yellows', *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2007): 377-386, p. 385, fig. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Vêrard borrowed this woodcut from his earlier *CNN* edition. See, e.g., Paris, Bnf, RES-Y2-174, sig. b5 recto. This incunable was produced for Vêrard and Nicole Gilles on 24 Dec. 1486, and its ISTC number is in00277000.

the gathering of people on the scene's periphery directs the reader's attention to the central figures' expressive gestures and postures. The meaning of this *CNN* woodcut in the context of the accompanying passage will be discussed further in Chapter 2's first case study.

C. Stylistic Elements

This section focuses on how PML 535's illustrator employed colour in order to intensify violent scenes and allude to a greater sense of visual perspective. The integration of saturated tonal gradients in woodcut overpaintings enabled the illustrator to accentuate certain characters and suggest three-dimensional settings in printed images. Unlike Ms. PA 25's illustrations, PML 535's images were illustrated with an opaque layering of pigments, rather than thin washes of colour. PML 535 contains colours that draw attention to certain gestures and details within illustrations, underscoring characters' identities and actions for interpretive purposes.

In woodcut overpaintings, applications of saturated colour direct the reader's gaze to moments of bloodshed. Like the maker of Ms. PA 25, the illustrator employed colour to convey violence, introducing shades of red, for example, to emphasize blood in woodcut scenes. On sig. f5 recto, for instance, Nero presides over the murder of his master Seneca (Figures 52.1 and 52.2). As in the scene in Ms. PA 25, Nero's assistant holds a blade over Seneca's arm. In PML 535's underlying woodcut (Figure 53), there is no indication of blood emerging from Seneca's wound. In PML 535, however, the illustrator depicted blood spurting from Seneca's arm through curvilinear red contours, intensifying the gruesome nature of the scene.¹⁸⁶ These bright strokes of red attract the viewer's eye, making it difficult to avoid the significance of Nero's and his assistant's

¹⁸⁶ Areford describes how layered colour on prints increases the tactility of illustrations and the readers' involvement. Areford, 36.

malicious act. Other earlier and contemporaneous manuscripts also accentuate the appearance of blood in this scene.¹⁸⁷

In the illustration of the dissection of Nero's mother (Figure 54), the illustrator similarly augmented the violent nature of the scene through red pigment. Unlike the underlying woodcut (Figure 55), the overpainted illustration portrays the red depths of Nero's mother's womb, as her flesh is peeled back by Nero's assistant. As in Ms. PA 25, PML 535 evokes brutality through additions of red and pink pigments to signify blood. A dozen watery pink rivulets flow down the sides of Nero's mother's stomach, simulating the flow of blood from her incised belly. Yet again, PML 535's illustrator modified the underlying woodcut to create a more expressively brutal scene. In this edition, other scenes of violence, which do not contain suggestions of blood in underlying woodcuts, comprise red and pink pigments to connote bloodshed, dramatizing vicious encounters for the reader.

Woodcut overpaintings can further exemplify the illustrator's ability to portray a depth of perspective in pictorial scenes. In the style of Ms. PA 25 and other contemporaneous *Rose* woodcuts, PML 535's illustrator employed hatching in garment folds and architectural details in order to suggest shading. PML 535's illustrator also introduced opaque, chromatic tones in order to allude to distant horizon lines. On sig. r6 verso, the illustrator suggested a depth of space in the background through the gradation of blue and green tones (Figure 56). In this scene, Nature sends Genius to deliver her message in the foreground of a landscape setting.¹⁸⁸ Behind their figures, a castle rises from a hillside, appearing distant due to its faded blue tone. Moreover, the foreground appears to recede through the subtle lightening of green tones in the landscape surrounding the figures. This use of perspectival illusion appears in other

¹⁸⁷ E.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 45r; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12595, fol. 47v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5209, fol. 44r.

¹⁸⁸ Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 243, line 7931.

contemporaneous *Rose* manuscripts,¹⁸⁹ as well as panel paintings and tapestries, simulating spatial depth. As master of his workshop, V  rard was probably involved with the illustrator's work and may have instructed him to portray naturalistic settings reminiscent of not only certain manuscript illuminations, but also panel paintings and other objects.¹⁹⁰ As mentioned previously, V  rard could control not only the organization of woodcuts within printed editions, but also the degree to which perspectival illusion was accentuated by illustrators within individual illuminations, in order to appeal to clientele interested in naturalistic compositions.

PML 535 problematizes previous assertions that printed editions contain fixed and standardized visual programmes. The artisan who overpainted this incunable's woodcuts sometimes sought to create new compositions, changing characters' gestures and garments from underlying woodcuts. Colour augments the violent nature of certain scenes, as well as the perception of atmospheric and three-dimensional perspective, particularly in images with bucolic landscape backgrounds. Nevertheless, the illustrator also depicted underlying, repeated woodcuts in overpaintings, raising further questions as to the importance of appropriated, 'misplaced', and replicated woodcuts in books, a topic that will be addressed further in the next chapter. Although PML 535 may seem like an outlier due to the overpaintings which made its woodcuts more malleable, editors regularly produced unique systems of image borrowing and organization within unpainted printed books. PML 535's illustrator probably had access to a variety of woodcut impressions and other types of illustrations (e.g. the repeated Narcissus image),

¹⁸⁹ E.g.: New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 79v.

¹⁹⁰ Flemish panel painters, who also illuminated manuscripts during this period, demonstrated a mastery of naturalistic landscape settings and *trompe l'oeil* through the use of oil paints. Ainsworth and Kren, 35. Art historians such as John Plummer and Kathleen Whitley differentiate the visual programmes of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts from those of earlier manuscripts and contemporaneous printed editions, asserting that the 'last flowering' of manuscripts coincided with a proliferation of highly 'illusionistic' manuscript illuminations. John Plummer, 'Introduction', *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts: 1420-1530* (New York: PML and OUP, 1982), xi-xiv, at xi. Kathleen P. Whitley, *The Gilded Page: The History and Technique of Manuscript Gilding* (London: British Library, 2000), 192.

demonstrating creative methods of image transference in illustrators' workshops and other crafts during this period.

* * *

This chapter's case studies have focused on the dynamic practices and techniques of illustrators in their adaptations of woodcuts in books. Previous misconceptions about the exclusivity of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century industries risk impeding our understanding of vibrant, innovative, and complex methods of image production. While there were surely rivalries among guilds, confraternities, individual artisans, and their patrons, interactions among workshops were complex and intersecting, enabling a rich overlap of specialisms and shared illustrations within different industries. Illustrators were undoubtedly influenced by the visual elements of print in manuscripts and deluxe printed editions; however, they also changed printed visual elements in order to emphasize certain scenes, artistic techniques, and other characteristics (e.g. fashion elements), which share similarities to and differences from earlier *Rose* manuscripts. These printed images were altered to appeal to the reader's reception of visual iconography, though it is impossible to know whether the reader stipulated a preference for certain images. In this section, I have closely examined the dependence between manuscript and print materials and the reasons for this relationship (though different causes—e.g. competition, practical convenience, or respect for print technology—may have combined). Questions remain as to the function of woodcuts, as well as the reader's reception of borrowed and repeated images: did editors emphasize particular motifs and subjects through their use of woodcuts? How did the reader intervene in books and respond to woodcuts, if at all? These questions regarding the function and

reception of printed images will be addressed through case studies in the following chapters.

Chapter 2: Does It Belong? Examining Borrowed and Repeated Woodcuts

Introduction

Scholars often view the advent of print as having caused a marked shift in the visual programmes of books, observing that woodcut placement in texts following the advent of print lacked the care and attention of editors observed in contemporary illuminated manuscripts.¹ These scholars note as common and, in their opinion, therefore unremarkable the practice of reusing and ‘misusing’ woodcuts. They frequently attribute what they judge to be the misplacement of woodcuts to, among other things, hasty work by editors burdened by increased demand for printed editions and willing to utilize whichever woodcuts were on hand—often repeatedly—in order to structure their books, add desirable pictorial elements, and expedite their products for purchase.² As discussed in the previous chapter on book production, the business of creating printed editions was an expensive endeavour, encouraging collaboration among workshops.³ Constraints of time and cost may have curtailed editors’ abilities to procure and subsequently position appropriate woodcuts. But to conceive of the use of borrowed and repeated woodcuts as wholly devoid of forethought compromises our understanding

¹ E.g.: Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings*, 1-88. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, vol. 1, 258. Bühler, p. 182, fn. 148. As previously mentioned, although printers, publishers, and artisans were involved in the execution of editions, I use the term ‘editor’ to refer to the primary overseer of this process. In this chapter, I discuss how the placement of woodcuts in text (i.e. in relation to the poem’s main text, rubrics, and titles) corresponds to narrative scenes in *Rose* books. I use the term rubric, which derives from *rubrica* (meaning sanguine or red chalk), to refer to text which both describes or highlights a text passage or an image. In numerous manuscripts and some early printed editions, rubrics appear in red ink.

² For further reading on the demands of printing, see Driver and Orr, ‘Decorating and Illustrating the Page’, 126-8. Leslie Lawton, ‘The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, with Special Reference to Lydgate’s *Troy Book*’, *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York*, ed. Derek A. Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), 41-69, at 45-8. Martha W. Driver, ‘Printing the *Confessio amantis*: Caxton’s Edition in Context’, *Re-visioning Gower*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Asheville: Pegasus, 1998), 269-303, at 275-80.

³ For example, Booton describes the ‘inexplicable’ vanishing of editors and their colleagues in Brittany as a result of, among other things, financial difficulties. Booton, 103.

of the relationship between text and images in books. The representation of repeated, appropriated iconography across diverse media is an important art-historical issue. Similarly, analyses of ‘misused’ images in books provide insight into the mindset of editors and aspects of reception by readers.

What does it actually mean for a woodcut to ‘belong’ in a text? The narrative of the *Rose*, for example, claims ‘l’art d’amours est toute enclose’⁴—a statement that daringly defies limitation, representing its compendium of references and voices. Editors reinforced this conception of the *Rose*, repeating the phrase ‘tout l’art d’amours est enclose’ in titles and rubrics at the beginning and end of *Rose* books,⁵ cueing in and signing off the reader. Does it follow, then, that anything ‘can belong’ when it comes to the *Rose*’s imagery?

In this chapter, I undertake to examine a selection of *Rose* printed editions with appropriated woodcuts and seemingly misplaced *Rose* visual iconography. I argue—along with a small number of recent scholars⁶—that borrowed and repeated woodcuts were not simply mere afterthoughts in the construction of books, but instead have wider relevance for exploring text-image relationships and the reader’s engagement with illustrated books. Originating in religious and secular sources alike, incidences of ‘misused’ illustrations in *Rose* editions are not limited to one edition or even to the books of a single editor; rather, numerous editors appropriated illustrations, and I argue that they did so in particularly distinct and meaningful ways.⁷ To this end, I analyse *Rose*

⁴ ‘The art of love is completely contained’. ‘Ce est li *Romanz de la Rose*, / ou l’art d’Amors est tote enclose’. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 2, lines 37-8.

⁵ For example, an editor repeated this phrase in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 167, sigs. a2 recto and z5 verso.

⁶ Armstrong, ‘Love on the Page’, 95-116. Taylor, “‘A Rude Heap Together Hurl’d’?”, 629-44. Griffiths briefly explains how publishers have a significant but overlooked role in the creation of prints. Griffiths, 145.

⁷ Although this chapter explores borrowed and repeated illustrations in *Rose* printed editions, it is important to note that, as discussed in Chapter 1, other printed editions—including *Rose* books—contain woodcuts that reflect the details of the passages they accompany. As this chapter notes, however, borrowed woodcuts need not necessarily replicate narrative passages in order to ‘belong’.

printed editions and their illustrations by comparing three editors' techniques of placing borrowed and reused *Rose* woodcuts in books. These editors are Vérard, Lotrian, and Du Pré. As mentioned previously, multiple artisans were customarily involved in the execution of books, including editions by Vérard, Lotrian, and Du Pré. Nevertheless, I attribute decisions relating to image placement to these editors, as the primary overseers of the production process, rather than their workshops. There exist no critical analyses of *Rose* woodcuts and their structural role in the narrative of the *Rose*, despite their popularity and wide circulation *ca.* 1481-1538.

Recent scholarship highlights editorial participation in woodcut placement in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions, and Vérard has received particular focus in this respect. According to Taylor, for example, Vérard exploited new technology in his *Le Jardin de plaisance* volume to capitalize on 'readerly ingenuity', reusing woodcuts to tap into the reader's eagerness to detect patterns.⁸ Taylor describes how Vérard's woodcuts engaged the reader's ability to identify intertextual links in narrative systems, resulting in a satisfying reading experience.⁹ Kovacs shares Taylor's view that Vérard incorporated illustrations not only to enhance, but also to manipulate, the reader's interaction with the narrative.¹⁰ Taylor and Kovacs comment on the same Vérard compilation, an anthology relevant to my analysis of the *Rose*, as both works are vernacular French poetry presented in printed form and they likely shared readership during the same period.¹¹ Kovacs describes how Vérard's composition of woodcuts in his *Le Jardin de plaisance*

⁸ Taylor references Vérard's use of interchangeable blocks in his *Grand Téreence* edition which could be reassembled to depict new scenes with different backgrounds. Taylor, "'A Rude Heap Together Hurl'd'?", 629-37. See, also, Winn, 128-9.

⁹ Taylor, "'A Rude Heap Together Hurl'd'?", 636-37.

¹⁰ Kovacs, 2-6.

¹¹ Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance*, 133-34; p. 134, fn. 97. *Le Jardin de plaisance* is an anthology of many works by different writers, whereas the *Rose* is a composite work by two authors. See, also, Jane H.M. Taylor, *The Making of Poetry: Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 229-92; p. 74, fn. 198.

edition establishes a sense of ‘homogeneity and universality of poetic “voices”’.¹² She asserts that repetitions of woodcuts depicting human figures exchanging dialogue allude to ongoing discussions on courtly morals in the narrative of *Le Jardin de plaisance*, unifying an otherwise diverse volume.¹³

Similarly, speaking of another Vérard edition, Armstrong breathes life into reused woodcuts that appear at first glance to be mere stock scenes in Jean Bouchet’s *Amoureux transi*; but, whereas Kovacs asserts that illustrations unify Vérard’s *Le Jardin de plaisance* volume, Armstrong identifies how recycled images *disrupt* the text by recalling previous usages in other publications as well as within different passages of the book itself.¹⁴ Significantly, Armstrong describes how readers would have been able to recognize reused woodcuts as having former life and purpose.¹⁵ He posits that, in Vérard’s edition of *Amoureux transi*, for example, woodcuts intentionally recall important literary precedents, characters, and traditions through their derivation from other contexts, which the reader probably recognized and appreciated.¹⁶

Following this scholarship, this chapter presupposes that late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century readers of *Rose* editions read with intelligence,¹⁷ identifying appropriated and repeated woodcuts and understanding the stories that they had previously illustrated. In this respect, Taylor, Kovacs, and Armstrong describe how

¹² Kovacs, 5.

¹³ Ibid., 2-7.

¹⁴ Armstrong, ‘Love on the Page’, 96-103; 113-14.

¹⁵ Ibid., 99-101.

¹⁶ Armstrong describes Vérard’s ‘compilatory’ strategy. In his edition of *Amoureux transi*, Vérard artfully merged and overlapped the roles of *Amoureux*, the narrator, and the author through his use of text and woodcuts. Armstrong observes that the selection of woodcuts within a book is ‘never entirely random’ and the role of woodcuts deserves analysis, or a ‘quest for meaning’. Ibid., 99-103; 113-115. As cited by Armstrong, see, also, Danièle Sansy, ‘Texte et image dans les incunables français’, *Médiévales* 22-3 (1992): 47-70.

¹⁷ Indeed, Daniel Hobbins and Alastair Minnis note how readers, in their reception of the *Rose*, and those who debated the poem were attuned to how the *Rose* related to other authors and literature. Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 104; 144-50; 187-90; 206. Alastair Minnis, ‘Theorizing the *Rose*: Commentary Tradition in the *querelle de la Rose*’, *Poetics: Theory and Practice in Medieval English Literature*, eds. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), 13-36, at 17-36.

readers, with the aid of images, could become adept at intuiting visual and textual similarities in books and across genres.¹⁸ I also assume that readers viewed images in light of their previous visual experiences of observing not only books, but also other media. Just as certain motifs were commonly repeated within printed books, they often recurred elsewhere—in contexts such as monumental fresco cycles, fountain sculptures, playing cards, and small decorative objects.¹⁹ Romance narrative imagery, devotional scenes, and personifications were mainstays in late medieval and Renaissance visual cultures, sometimes comprising mnemonic systems to activate viewers' engagement.²⁰ This chapter, therefore, reveals wider art-historical implications as to how readers engaged with borrowed and repeated images and responded to a range of familiar iconography. The placement of woodcuts in printed texts could prompt readers' engagement in illustrated books, but this placement also indicates—through the existence of visual and textual motifs in other settings—that the connotations of a given image could be wide-ranging.

While this chapter examines borrowed and repeated visual iconography in *Rose* printed editions, it is important to acknowledge a manuscript precedent. Manuscript

¹⁸ See, also, Martha W. Driver, 'Pictures in Print: Late Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers', *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989): 229-44, at 230; 238-40.

¹⁹ Gruber focuses on the appearance of printed iconography on various unique surfaces, including bejewelled brooches, stained glass, table feet, pilaster ornaments, wooden cloister screens, and woven tapestries. He discusses how the printing press enabled the creation and dissemination of prototypes and models on paper by notable artists—such as Albrecht Dürer and Albrecht Altdorfer—which led to the repetition and refinement of various motifs. Gruber, 'Grotesques', 122. Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Laurence King, 1998), 108. Areford also explains how prints proliferated on a variety of surfaces in different settings. Areford, 1-4; 29.

²⁰ For further reading on the importance of romance narrative imagery, see Nicholas Perkins and Alison Wiggins, *The Romance of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2012), especially 9-33, 89-150. For links between art and memory in the Middle Ages, see, e.g., concerning monastic art, Mary J. Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), especially 4-23. Concerning the narrative function of words and images in books, see Vera F. Vines, 'Reading Medieval Images: Two Miniatures in a Fifteenth-Century Missal', *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Reading: Harwood, 1991), 127-38, at 127-28. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin discusses modern misconceptions as to how words and images were read in Italian fresco cycles. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 9-12; p. 296, fn. 32.

illustrators appropriated illustrations from other contexts, as analysed in Chapter 1, and also included images where they seemingly do not belong in the narrative.²¹ Some critics readily recognize this practice in manuscript culture. Why, then, do they view it far more sceptically in print culture, particularly given the correspondence in time and overlap of production methods?²² Although some illustrators and editors probably borrowed images without intending to appropriate an associated set of meanings, illustrators' and editors' usages of borrowed and repeated images can reveal a purposeful transference of meaning through those images' placement in texts. Through a greater understanding of the incorporation of woodcuts in later *Rose* books, it may be possible to glean further insight into how editors and the reader envisioned the *Rose* as a compendium and as part of a larger visual and textual heritage.

The visual tradition of *Rose* printed editions is far from homogeneous. *Rose* editors used illustrations in distinct ways in the text of their books. By questioning how V  rard, Lotrian, and Du Pr   composed their editions, I explore image reception and the importance of appropriated and repeated images in the reader's engagement with illustrated books. I argue that 'misplaced' printed images in many instances suggest alternative interpretations of the *Rose* text, by emphasizing specific subjects and motifs, but these 'misplaced' images also absorb new meaning and purpose in relation to titles, rubrics, and the passages they accompany. In so doing, they guide the reader's perception of content in the *Rose*. Case Study 1 investigates how V  rard imparted new meaning to the body of the *Rose* narrative through the incorporation of woodcuts from two distinct sources. I analyse how these woodcuts underscore particular subjects,

²¹ Driver and Orr, 'Decorating and Illustrating the page', 104-28, at 127. As discussed in Chapter 1, illustrators possibly employed 'model books' and other templates in order to execute books, readily generating visual links among works. As described by McMunn, illustrators occasionally forgot to include an illustration in the text and would instead depict the illustration later in *Rose* manuscripts. Meredith T. McMunn, personal communication, 6 Jul. 2011.

²² Driver and Orr, 'Decorating and Illustrating the Page', 126-27.

including immoral women and violence. In Case Study 2, I explore how Lotrian emphasized authors and his role as editor through appropriated woodcuts shared with a variety of sources. Whereas the first two case studies focus on the incorporation of borrowed illustrations in *Rose* editions, Case Study 3 assesses the misplacement and repetition of woodcuts that were produced expressly for the *Rose*. I examine two Du Pré printed editions comprising woodcuts which, upon closer examination, reveal recurrent motifs relating to the *Rose* narrative.²³

Case Study 1: ‘Inappropriate’ Image Borrowing in an Antoine Vérard Edition

As Bourdillon observed in the course of his chronicling of *Rose* editors’ lives and publications, Vérard included very few ‘appropriate’ woodcuts in what is probably the editor’s earliest *Rose* edition.²⁴ Although Vérard’s choice of illustrations may often appear random, however, his placement of woodcuts in this printed edition indicates forethought. I argue that Vérard borrowed images with intention, selecting specific woodcuts to emphasize particular subjects concerning the nature of women and violence.

This case study examines Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (ULB Bonn) Inc. 4’ 502 d,²⁵ a copy of a Vérard *Rose* edition printed in Paris after Feb. 1493 which

²³ Clément Marot possibly edited the editions’ narrative, but his name does not appear in this edition, problematizing attribution. Hult, ‘La Fortune du *Roman de la rose*’, 143-56.

²⁴ Bourdillon uses this expression throughout his book to characterize printed editions with illustrations that may or may not correspond to accompanying passages. Examples of these ‘[in]appropriate’ editions can be found on the following pages: Bourdillon, 27-8; 43; 73; 78; 89; 92; 135; 198-199.

²⁵ Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (ULB Bonn), Inc. 4’ 502 d. The ISTC number of this incunable is ir00311000. Bourdillon edition ‘E’: Bourdillon 42-3. Goff, no. R-311. Inc. 4’ 502 d was acquired by ULB Bonn from Antiquariat Ernst Philipp Goldschmidt in London in 1930. Marion Tradler, personal communication, 1 Oct. 2013. In this case study, I compare Inc. 4’ 502 d to a copy of Vérard’s *CNN* edition PML 493, printed in Paris on 24 Dec. 1486, and a copy of Vérard’s *Le Miroir de la redemption humaine* (*Miroir*) edition RES-A-1247, printed ca. 1499. New York, PML, PML 493. Goff, no. N-277. Pollard, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, no. 493. Paris, BnF, RES-A-1247. The ISTC number of RES-A-1247 is is00662400.

includes illustrations from the *CNN* and *Miroir*. Vérard published his first *CNN* edition on 24 Dec. 1486 in Paris, and he published his first *Miroir* edition *ca.* 1493 in Paris.²⁶ He recycled woodcuts used in these editions in Inc. 4' 502 d, in addition to his subsequent *CNN* and *Miroir* editions.²⁷ Previous *Miroir* editions by other French editors share similar woodcuts with Vérard's first and later *Miroir* editions,²⁸ and, as I explain further in this case study, readers may have been familiar with *Miroir* imagery through a variety of other means. Certain appropriated *CNN* and *Miroir* woodcuts occur only once in Vérard's *Rose* edition, suggesting purpose through their unique placement in the text, while others are repeated. This case study engages with relationships between text and illustrations in this edition, and, more specifically, how images borrowed from the *CNN* and the *Miroir* function in a book for which they were not created.

This printed edition may be one of Vérard's first published volumes of the *Rose*.²⁹ There are six extant deluxe parchment copies in existence, representing his substantial investment in this edition's print-run and his intention to distribute copies to wealthy patrons;³⁰ this is the largest number of preserved parchment copies of any *Rose* printed edition, suggesting that it was an important publication. I analysed overpaintings in a deluxe copy of this edition (PML 535) in Chapter 1's second case study, and this case study examines an unpainted paper copy, Inc. 4' 502 d. This incunable shares forty-six woodcuts with Vérard's *CNN* and *Miroir* editions, which were probably available for purchase alongside his *Rose* books. Vérard's sets of *CNN* and *Miroir* woodcuts differ in dimension and shape from each other, making it especially easy to identify *CNN*

²⁶ The ISTC number of Vérard's first *Miroir* incunable is is00662250.

²⁷ Vérard printed *CNN* editions on 24 Dec. 1486 and *ca.* 8 May 1489 to 25 Oct. 1499; he printed *Miroir* editions *ca.* 1493, *ca.* 1495, and *ca.* Oct. 1499 to Jul. 1503. In subsequent printings of these editions, Vérard modified certain woodcuts.

²⁸ In France, prior publications of the *Miroir* include Martin Huss's printed editions. See, e.g., ISTC number is00551000.

²⁹ Prior to 1500, Vérard printed two other *Rose* editions. The ISTC numbers of these editions are ir00312000 and ir00312500. In ir00312500, Vérard also used *CNN* woodcuts.

³⁰ These extant copies are housed at the British Library, BnF, PML, and Library of Congress.

woodcuts, which are small and square, as opposed to *Miroir* woodcuts, which are larger and rectangular.³¹ But why would Vérard risk publishing a *Rose* edition—in both paper and parchment (i.e. deluxe editions)—with illustrations that so noticeably do not seem to belong?³² Vérard had access to *Rose* woodcuts, as demonstrated by this book and his contemporary *Rose* editions. In contrast to Bourdillon's assertion that Vérard's visual programmes are haphazard, this case study argues that Vérard's composition of appropriated woodcuts appealed to readers by adding layers of meaning to the narrative. Section A of this case study explores Vérard's use of *CNN* woodcuts, and Section B examines his use of *Miroir* woodcuts.

A: *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* Woodcuts in the *Rose*

Vérard's inclusion of woodcuts from the *CNN* in his *Rose* edition encourages the reader's formulation of dynamic and surprising iconographic cross-references. A closer examination of four such woodcuts, recycled from Vérard's ca. 1486 *CNN* edition, demonstrates how borrowed illustrations reinforced contemporary fears and humour about the nature of female sexuality and the naivety of men. Vérard used woodcuts which, through their compositions and placement in the text, attract the reader's attention, engaging contemplation of female characters and their actions.

Similar to the *Rose*, the *CNN* contains immoral language and misogynistic characters. Jean de Meun—the thirteenth-century author of the much-debated longer continuation of the *Rose*—is also mentioned in the *CNN*.³³ Scholars continue to

³¹ The *CNN* woodcuts measure 6.35 x 6.51 cm; the *Miroir* woodcuts measure 6.99 x 8.47 cm. Vérard did not alter the dimensions of either set of woodcuts to make the illustrations uniform in shape. The different sizes of these woodcuts would have required physical adjustments by the editor to fit each woodcut within the confines of the page.

³² Of course, Vérard could overpaint woodcuts, as he sometimes did, in parchment editions. Yet paper copies of this edition do not contain overpaintings.

³³ David P. Laguardia, 'Masculinities in the Intertext: *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*', *Intertextual Masculinity in French Renaissance Literature: Rabelais, Brantôme, and the 'Cent nouvelles nouvelles'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008): 57-106, especially 76-8.

associate Jean de Meun's portion of the *Rose* with the *CNN* due to their seemingly negative portrayals of women.³⁴ Unlike the *Rose*, however, the *CNN* is not numerous preserved in book form; only one extant manuscript and a few printed editions survive, possibly as a result of post-fifteenth-century censorship or diminished popularity.³⁵ A collection of tales narrated by different voices, the *CNN* was composed in the mid-fifteenth century, possibly in Burgundy. Approximately thirty-two noblemen or squires contributed to the stories. Influenced by Giovanni Boccaccio and Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, the *CNN* recounts stories of monks, knights, and cuckoldry.³⁶ Vérard executed two different editions prior to the sixteenth century in Paris, and these printed editions were probably available for purchase alongside his *Rose* editions.³⁷ Charles d'Orléans, Count of Angoulême, possibly owned a copy of Vérard's *CNN* edition.³⁸

Through his use of imagery from the *CNN*, Vérard tapped into male anxieties about the female body in the fifteenth century. The tales of the *CNN* revolve around preoccupations with the danger, desires, and mysteries inherent in relationships with women. The stories of the *CNN* are structured according to themes of sexual rivalry (often focusing on the male perspective).³⁹ These tales objectify women, conceiving of their bodies as dangerous and disease-ridden traps, capable of killing and blinding men.

³⁴ Ibid., 57-106. Patricia Francis Cholakian, *Rape and Writing in the Heptaméron of Marguerite de Navarre* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991), 7-8.

³⁵ It is possible that this censorship occurred in the late 1550s, when editions inspired by the *CNN* (e.g. Marguerite de Navarre's *L'Heptaméron*) were censored. In the fifteenth century, however, some royal secretaries owned volumes of the *CNN* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*; see, Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1987), 16.

³⁶ In the *CNN*, approximately fifteen stories were borrowed from Giovanni Boccaccio.

³⁷ Before 1500, Vérard also published two editions of the *Decameron*. The ISTC numbers of Vérard's *Decameron* incunables are ib00728800 and ib00729000.

³⁸ Charles, Count of Angoulême may also have owned a copy currently housed at the BnF. Winn, 47; 166.

³⁹ Boccaccio's *Decameron*, however, has an internal narrative framework. Lance Donaldson-Evans, 'The Narrative of Desire: Boccaccio and the French *Decamerons* of the 15th and 16th Centuries', *Neophilologus* 77.4 (1993): 541-52, at 548. David A. Fein, 'The Dangerous Sex: Representations of the Female Body in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*', *Romance Notes* 39 (1999): 195-202, at 195. Laguardia observes men's 'fetishistic fixation' and obsessive recounting of stories involving the cuckold and female trickery in the *CNN*; he asserts these themes intertextually relate to *Le Livre de Matheolus*, which will be discussed in Case Study 2. Laguardia, 57; 59-66; 95-6.

As David A. Fein notes, although these male apprehensions are ‘disguised’ with comedic relief, the essence of the tales corresponds to contemporary male fears about cheating spouses rooted in historical reality, as older men competed to marry much younger women in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰

Vérard paired the *Rose* text with *CNN* woodcuts of decrepit women. In the *Rose* narrative, for example, Pauvreté is naked as a ‘vers’ and wears only a sack.⁴¹ Pauvreté is a personification excluded from the garden of Déduit and ‘fin amors’.⁴² On sig. a5 verso of Vérard’s *Rose* edition, he inserted a borrowed image to accompany Pauvreté’s rubric and description in the narrative (Figure 57). The woodcut portrays a nude woman as she sits beside a man in bed. This woodcut illustrates the ninetieth *CNN* story,⁴³ which tells of a merchant’s wife who is weak and ill because her husband has denied her carnal desires. By associating the narrative description of Pauvreté with the image of the merchant’s wife from the *CNN*, Vérard prompted the reader to acknowledge the pitiable states of both women. The figure of the merchant’s wife evokes Pauvreté’s strife in the

⁴⁰ Fein, 196; p. 200, fn. 4.

⁴¹ ‘Worm’. ‘Portrete fu au derrenier / Povrete, qui un sol denier / n’eüst pas, s’el se deüst pendre, / tant seüst bien sa robe vendre, / qu’ele estoit nue come vers. / Se li tens fust un poi divers, / je cuit qu’ele acorast de froit, [b] / qu’el n’avoit c’un viez sac estroit, / tot plain de mauvés paletiaus: / c’estoit sa cote et ses mantiaus; / el n’avoit plus que afubler, / grant loisir avoit de trembler. / Des autres fu un poi loignet; / com povres chiens en un coignet / se croit et estapissoit, / car povre chose, ou qu’ele soit, / est tot jors honteuse et despite. / L’eure puse estre la maudite / que povres hom fu conceüz! / qu’il ne sera ja bien peüz / ne bien vestuz ne bien chaucez / n’il n’est amez ne essauciez’. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 14-5, lines 439-60.

⁴² Norman Cohn, *The World-View of a Thirteenth-Century Parisian Intellectual: Jean de Meun and the ‘Roman de la rose’: Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of French Delivered in the Chemistry Lecture Theatre on 11 October 1960* (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Durham Press, 1960), 16. The grounds for excluding Pauvreté from the garden of Déduit are that she is incompatible with noble courtliness, which is both an ethical code and a material/social one. See, e.g., when Amour instructs Amant as to what is considered appropriate courtly attire: ‘De ganz, d’aumouniere de soie / et de ceinture te cointoie’. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 66, lines 2143-44.

⁴³ Recounted by Monseigneur De Beaumont, a merchant husband, who believes that his wife is about to die, asks to be pardoned for minor ways in which he has not satisfied her. Furious upon hearing that her husband has not polished her armour (‘cuiass’), his wife accuses him of keeping her ill because he has denied her carnal desires. The husband willingly obliges to cure his wife immediately. Thomas Wright, ed., *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles: publiées d’après le seul manuscrit connu* (Paris: Jannet, 1858), vol. 2, 184-87. Vérard omitted a figural representation in the left lateral margin of this woodcut (which is illustrated in other editors’ *CNN* editions).

Rose narrative.⁴⁴ But while Pauvreté suffers from lack of food and clothing, it is the merchant's wife's sexual appetite that is unsatiated, rendering her nearly dead in the *CNN*. In Inc. 4' 502 d, the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century reader suggested the sexualisation of Pauvreté's destitution by illustrating eight phalluses on the door left ajar at the edge of the *CNN* woodcut scene.⁴⁵ The reader's drawing and this *CNN* woodcut consequently imply misogynistic undertones in Pauvreté's poverty-stricken state.

Vérard employed a woodcut which captures the reader's gaze. The pairing of Pauvreté's description with this woodcut of the merchant's wife enhances the reader's and the narrator's scrutiny of Pauvreté in the book. In the *Rose* narrative, the narrator provides a description of Pauvreté, revealing her nature and destitution to the reader. In *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, illustrations often portray Pauvreté in tattered clothing, seated or wandering aimlessly (Figure 58).⁴⁶ The composition of the merchant's wife woodcut, however, evokes a different sort of exposure through the reader's gaze. A rectangular form at the left of the composition simulates a door left ajar, as if the reader suddenly stumbled upon the naked female figure. As noted by Michael

⁴⁴ In the *Rose*, the moral status of Pauvreté is unknown; however, she is paired with other 'vices' (e.g. Avarice) and excluded from the garden of Déduit. The merchant's wife's protruding collarbone and cheekbone could suggest malnourishment in this woodcut, alluding to the description of Pauvreté. Nevertheless, Pauvreté does not engage in any carnal act in the *Rose* text, nor does she appear in bed in any narrative descriptions. The *CNN* woodcut could consequently be seen as playing a 'misogynistic' role in the sexualisation of Pauvreté.

⁴⁵ Inc. 4' 502 d's reader probably annotated the book in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The darker wash on the door, however, may have been a later attempt to conceal the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century reader's phallic drawings. In Franciscan tradition, Lady Poverty conveys purity and a lack of sin through her nude portrayals. Here, by contrast, the reader suggested through his or her phallic drawings that the *Rose*'s Pauvreté is sexual and immoral. For further reading on Lady Poverty, Francis, and the purity of nudity in Franciscan tradition, see Lawrence Cunningham, *Francis of Assisi: Performing the Gospel Life* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004), especially 20-22; 73-4; 113-14. Illustrators depicted phallic imagery in the margins of other *Rose* books and phallic visual iconography appears elsewhere in medieval visual culture: Coilly, 'Aperçu sur un *Roman de la rose* insaisissable', 58-61. Sylvia J. Huot, 'Vignettes marginales comme glose marginale dans un manuscrit du *Roman de la rose* au XIV^e siècle (BnF, Fr. 25526)', *La Présentation du livre: Actes du colloque Paris X-Nanterre, 4, 5, 6 décembre 1985*, eds. Emmanuele Baumgartner and Nicole Boulestreau (Paris: Université Paris X-Nanterre, 1987), 173-86.

⁴⁶ E.g.: Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 5r. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396, sig. a5v. In illustrations of Pauvreté in *Rose* manuscripts, Pauvreté also sometimes appears seated atop a heap of dung, alluding to her lack of worldly goods: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 6r. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 12595, fol. 5r. As described in the *Rose* narrative, Pauvreté *should* be attached to a wall, in bas-relief, slightly apart from her other vice companions.

Camille, our desire to look at an image is heightened when depictions of bodies are partially concealed from view.⁴⁷ In this woodcut, the woman faces forward, only her chest bare to the viewer, as she raises her hands in a gesture of surprise. Like Amant in the *Rose* narrative, who unabashedly observes Pauvreté's figure, the reader spies on the woman in the woodcut. Vérard's use of this woodcut enhances the voyeuristic dissection of Pauvreté, who is scrutinized as vulnerable and barely clothed, in the *Rose*. Significantly, Vérard inserted this woodcut only once in this *Rose* printed edition, whereas he repeated other *Rose* woodcuts.⁴⁸ His unique pairing of this illustration with the description of Pauvreté complements her portrayal in the narrative as haggard and indecent. The reader's phallic drawings on the *CNN* woodcut's door suggest that the door is an important part of the image, literally and figuratively revealing Pauvreté's lascivious conduct.

As with the woodcut accompanying Pauvreté's description, Vérard incorporated other *CNN* woodcuts in his edition in order to dramatize the impurity of women in the *Rose*. On sig. n2 recto, for example, the narrative explains how Vulcan catches Mars and Venus in bed.⁴⁹ In the intercession by la Vieille (Old Woman), she describes a cuckolded Vulcan who spies Mars and Venus asleep together and promptly binds them, inviting the gods into the bedroom to mock them. Vérard used a *CNN* woodcut (Figure 59), however, to emphasize the dishonest *woman*, rather than man, in the *Rose* narrative.

⁴⁷ Michael Camille, 'Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 139-54, at 152.

⁴⁸ Vérard employed only *Rose* woodcuts in the first four pages of his *Rose* edition. As previously discussed, he repeated certain of these *Rose* illustrations, including woodcuts of the vice Convoitise. Vérard easily could have reconstituted an image of another vice in order to depict Pauvreté; however, he chose to introduce an illustration from his *CNN* edition—only once. His usage of *Rose* woodcuts at the outset of the book perhaps situates the reader within the dream allegory of the *Rose*. On fol. a5 verso, the sudden and obvious inclusion of woodcuts from the *CNN*—distinguished through their smaller size and thin borders—may challenge the reader to begin engaging with the text in new ways.

⁴⁹ 'Si tost con Vulcanus ce sot, / que pris provez andeus les ot / es laz qu'entour le lit posa / — mout fu fos quant fere l'osa, / car cil a mout po de savoir / qui seus cuide sa fame avoir — / les dex i fist venir an heste, / qui mout ristrent et firent feste / quant en ce point les aperçurent. / De la biauté Venus s'esmurent / tuit li pluseur des damedex, / qui mout fesoit plaintes e dex / conne honteuse et corrociee / don ainsinc iert prise et laciee, / n'onc n'ot honte a ceste paraille'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 170-1, lines 13817-13831.

Representing the fifty-first story of the *CNN*,⁵⁰ the borrowed woodcut depicts a partially-nude woman on her deathbed who confesses to her loyal husband that he is not the father of their children.⁵¹ The woman's husband stands alongside her lovers in this scene; their illegitimate children are absent. The woodcut was not modified to include a man beside the woman in bed. This alteration would have been possible with the aid of a skilled artisan's hand. Elsewhere in this edition, Vérard also inserted woodcuts in the text of only a man in bed.⁵² Instead, this borrowed illustration demonstrates the disloyalty and humiliation of only the wife who betrayed her husband. The *Rose* passage inherits the meaning of the borrowed woodcut from the *CNN*, referencing another instance of a dishonourable, though penitent woman. The placement of this woodcut in the *Rose* text draws a direct parallel between the disgraced wives in both stories, prompting the reader to question themes of adultery shared across the two narratives.

Moreover, the composition of this *CNN* woodcut augments the voyeuristic observation of Venus in the *Rose* narrative. In the woodcut, a bare-breasted female flails her arms in the company of three fully-clothed men; one man grabs the edge of her bed sheet, as if to expose her naked figure further to the waiting audience. Similarly, in the *Rose*, Venus is surrounded by those who judge her illicit behaviour. The borrowed woodcut's composition amplifies the observation of Venus by the gods and the reader in the *Rose*. In this woodcut, the parted gathering of men suggests that the reader is a part of the scene, as in the illustration accompanying Pauvreté's description in which the door

⁵⁰ This story is told by 'l'Acteur'; Wright, *CNN*, vol. 2, 5-8.

⁵¹ As she prepares to die, the adulterous wife confesses her sins to her husband (who believed, wrongly, that he was the father of their children), and he forgives her misdeeds. Unlike the husband in the *CNN* who grants his wife clemency, in Vérard's *Rose* edition, Vulcan punishes Venus for her lack of loyalty in the text. Other *CNN* editions display five children in the foreground of this woodcut composition; however, Vérard removed any traces of the children in the images printed in his *Rose* and *CNN* editions. Vérard's exclusion of the children from the woodcut's composition emphasizes the vulnerability of the female figure to the gaze of the observing men. Vérard employed woodcuts in which certain details were altered from earlier impressions in other editions. In some instances, figures and architectural elements were erased from woodcuts in order to create new compositions, emphasizing different focal points. Winn, personal communication, 19 Jul. 2011.

⁵² E.g. sigs. c8 recto and q3 verso.

stands ajar. The partial occlusion of the woman's nude body, and the expectation that it is about to be exposed, probably increased the reader's desire to observe the scene. The woman's pointed finger does not appear to gesture toward the nearby men, but toward the reader, suggesting his or her complicity in judging her actions. Viewing this woodcut as a representation of the accompanying text and rubric, the absence of a male figure in bed heightens the humiliation of Venus. Vérard cunningly positioned this woodcut only once in the *Rose* to dramatize the cuckolded Vulcan and the scrutiny of Venus. The pairing of the *Rose* text with this woodcut merges two contexts of disloyal wives, prompting the reader to contemplate visual and textual echoes concerning the untrustworthy nature of women.

In Vérard's *Rose* edition, other *CNN* woodcuts convey fundamental similarities between disgraced women in the *Rose* and the *CNN*. On sig. d3 verso, the rubric describes Honte (Shame) and Peur (Fear or Timidity) speaking to Danger.⁵³ The borrowed woodcut accompanying this label portrays a girl searching for the man who impregnated her after she was forced from her home in Brussels by her mother (Figure 60).⁵⁴ There exist notable discrepancies between the narratives of Honte in the *Rose* and this girl in the *CNN*: in particular, Honte is not pregnant and she has a female companion (Peur). Nevertheless, this borrowed *CNN* woodcut evokes the fears and treatments of the female characters in both stories. Like the girl who is reprimanded by her mother and infamous in her town in the *CNN*, Honte is scolded by Jalousie and is accompanied by

⁵³ Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 112-3, lines 3651-3694.

⁵⁴ Wright, *CNN*, vol. 1, 46-50. In the *CNN*, this scene accompanies Monseigneur de la Roche's story (the eighth nouvelle) of a girl who is forced out of her home after her mother discovers that she is pregnant. A man from Picardy impregnated the girl (his master's daughter), and, in an effort to avoid discovery, left Brussels to return to his village. In the woodcut, the master's daughter finds and confronts the Picardian at his wedding to another woman; the wedding party convenes at the right of the scene in the interior hallway. In previous versions of this woodcut, a mill's wheel appears at the left of the composition. Vérard removed the wheel attached to the building's structure in woodcuts illustrating his later *CNN* and *Rose* editions, conveying a more nondescript background. The crude erasure of the wheel creates a white, abstract patch which draws the viewer's eye directly to the two central figures. By removing the structure's mill, the female figure's engagement with the man in the foreground becomes more prominent.

fear (though in its personified form) in the *Rose*. The essence of both the girl and Honte is dishonour and embarrassment. This woodcut occurs elsewhere in the *Rose* text and *CNN* editions to represent shame and confrontation.⁵⁵

Other *CNN* illustrations express a violent tone and the naivety of men. On sig. c6 recto, the *Rose* narrative and a rubric describe Danger deterring Amant from the rose.⁵⁶ The accompanying *CNN* woodcut portrays a man attacking another man with a sword, as a bystander watches (Figure 61). The victim ducks, raising his left hand in a gesture of submission or perhaps in an attempt to block the approaching blow. This woodcut represents the fifth story of the *CNN* by Philippe de Loan,⁵⁷ in which an ignorant Englishman, armed only with buckle-straps, is attacked by a Frenchman who was wrongfully imprisoned by him. The positioning of figures in this woodcut alludes to the personalities of Danger and Amant in the *Rose* narrative. The Frenchman, who attacks the Englishman with a sword in the woodcut, evokes Danger, who deters Amant from the rose with his club in the *Rose*. Amant's comparison to the ignorant Englishman is warranted, as Amant, in some respects, initially emerges as a love-struck and impressionable character in Guillaume de Lorris's *Rose* text.⁵⁸ The placement of this woodcut in the *Rose* heightens Amant's victimization by Danger, who intimidates him and physically distances him from the rose.⁵⁹ This woodcut and the *Rose* narrative similarly emphasize the dangers of being naïve.

⁵⁵ For example, this image portrays Phania confronting her father on sig. f7 recto. This illustration is also preserved in the overpaintings of *Rose* deluxe editions (as discussed in Chapter 1). Recurring illustrations enable the reader easily to identify instances in which individuals are humiliated and disgraced.

⁵⁶ Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 89-91, lines 2904-2943.

⁵⁷ Wright, *CNN*, vol. 1, 32-7.

⁵⁸ The third figure in this woodcut represents the Englishman's superior, who condemns his underling's behaviour. When viewed as a surrogate to the accompanying narrative scene, the third figure in this woodcut possibly represents Bel Accueil. In contrast to the woodcut, Bel Accueil should be Amant's ally, rather than complicit in Danger's attack.

⁵⁹ This woodcut is repeated in Vêrard's *Rose* and *CNN* editions, alluding to patterns of alienation and physical attacks. By sharing rather than confining this illustration across and within narratives, Vêrard encouraged the reader to anticipate unexpected danger and fear.

While the illustrations discussed earlier in this case study evoke the lecherous nature and immorality of women, this image in the *Rose* text underscores the dangers of being a naïve man. By merging the *Rose* text with *CNN* woodcuts, Vérard expressed contemporary fears about the dangers and temptations of female sexuality. The format of certain woodcuts further entices the reader to observe scenes, through the partial concealment of nude figures as well as discrepancies between woodcuts' compositions and the accompanying narrative. In the passages describing *Pauvreté*, *Venus*, and *Honte*, borrowed woodcuts signify a lack of female virtue through the presence of nude, promiscuous, and pregnant women. Complementing this negative conception of women in Vérard's *Rose* edition, the borrowed woodcut of a man being attacked with a sword suggests *Amant's* victimization because of his pursuit of the rosebud, which incarnates a female identity. *Amant's* infatuation with the rose places him in imminent, mortal danger. Vérard's selective incorporation of *CNN* woodcuts in the text of his *Rose* edition alludes to the menace of women and the susceptibility of unknowing men. Nonetheless, while these woodcut scenes suggest disenchantment with women, they also imply a sense of playful irony at the expense of inattentive and obtuse men.

B: *Le Miroir de la redemption humaine* Woodcuts in the *Rose*

A bestseller and the earliest illustrated edition to be printed in Lyon,⁶⁰ the *Miroir* consists of violent, stoic, and contemplative scriptural iconography. Like the *Rose*, the *Miroir* is a highly visual work noted for its strong tradition of illustrations.⁶¹ In contrast to the *CNN*, there remain many extant manuscript and print editions of the *Rose* and *Miroir* from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Through the incorporation of

⁶⁰ According to Wilson and Wilson, by the end of the fifteenth century, nearly every library in northern Europe had a copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. There are more than 350 extant manuscripts in Czech, Dutch, French, German, and Latin. Wilson and Wilson, 24; 208; p. 24, fn. 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

images from his *Miroir* edition, Vérard succeeded in comparing and contrasting the *Rose* narrative with sacred iconography from the Old and New Testaments. Although Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem references the Old and New Testaments, Vérard's incorporation of *Miroir* illustrations where they seemingly do not belong in the *Rose* text can appear odd and ill-fitting, particularly when certain illustrations seem to create ambiguous references and contradict the *Rose* narrative. This section analyses the visual iconography of six *Miroir* woodcuts as used in Vérard's *Rose* edition. Through this analysis, I demonstrate that Vérard employed borrowed images to suggest the relationship between the *Miroir* and the *Rose*, inviting the reader to engage with resonating motifs of violence and betrayal. Subsequent to the production of Inc. 4' 502 d, the *Rose* was 'moralized' by Jean Molinet ca. 1500.⁶² Prior to Molinet's 'moralization' of the poem, however, readers and editors (including Vérard) recognized the *Rose*'s parallels with Christian doctrine and scriptural iconography,⁶³ such that it is possible to consider similarities between the *Rose* and the *Miroir*.

From the genre of speculum literature, the *Miroir* focuses on the manner in which the events of the Old Testament foretold the events of the New Testament. The author of the work remains unknown; it was first written in Latin ca. 1309-1323, and later translated into French, English, German, and other languages.⁶⁴ Known in its original Latin version as *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the first French edition was printed by

⁶² As Jacques E. Merceron notes, Molinet was a courtly poet and his 'moralization' was not intended to 'denounce' the *Rose*. Instead, he was interested in experimenting with the 'semiotic and semantic elements of ... Christian, Bawdy, and Courtly'. Jacques E. Merceron, 'Obscenity and Hagiography in Three Anonymous *Sermons joyeux* and in Jean Molinet's *Saint Billouart*', *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 344, p. 344, fns. 45-6.

⁶³ Huot, *Dreams of Lovers*, 46-7; 65-70; 80-93. Jessica Rosenfeld, *Ethics and Enjoyment in Late Medieval Poetry: Love After Aristotle* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 74-6, p. 75, fn. 7. Thomas D. Hill, 'Narcissus, Pygmalion, and the Castration of Saturn: Two Mythographic Themes in the *Roman de la rose*', *Studies in Philology* 71 (1974): 404-26, especially 424-25.

⁶⁴ Wilson and Wilson, 10; 26; p. 26, fns. 7-11.

Martin Huss in Lyon in 1478.⁶⁵ As with the *Rose*, the number and quality of illustrations varies in both manuscript and print versions of the *Miroir*. Vérard published his first *Miroir* edition ca. 1493, and the borrowed woodcuts employed in this *Rose* edition are similar to those used in Huss's earlier *Miroir* editions and Vérard's later *Miroir* editions. In this section, I compare the *Miroir* printed images in Vérard's *Rose* edition to Vérard's *Miroir* edition printed ca. 1499.

Like the *Rose*, the *Miroir* has a recognizable tradition of visual iconography repeated in other media. Widely distributed in the form of blockbooks, *Miroir* images also occur in oil paintings, stained glass, tapestries, relief-sculptures, and other media.⁶⁶ Indeed, *Miroir* woodcuts provided templates for image compositions in other contemporary media. The recurrence of *Miroir* illustrations in decorative and architectural settings encouraged the recognition of *Miroir* images among late medieval and Renaissance audiences. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers were primed to identify widely distributed woodcuts, including those from the *Miroir*.⁶⁷ As a result of their differing sizes and styles, *Miroir* images incorporated into Vérard's *Rose* edition are easily distinguishable from other *Rose* and *CNN* woodcuts.

Rose manuscripts frequently incorporate illustrations recycled from religious contexts, including the *Miroir*. Martine Meuwese notes that, for example, illustrations of

⁶⁵ The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was translated into French by the Augustinian monk Julien Macho. Ibid., 208. A copy of Martin Huss's first edition is housed at the Huntington Library: San Marino, Huntington Library, 105169. The ISTC number of this incunable is is00661000.

⁶⁶ Wilson and Wilson, 11-13; 21-28. Robert A. Koch, 'The Sculptures of the Church of Saint-Maurice at Vienne, the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*', *Art Bulletin* 32 (1950): 151-55. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis, texte critique, traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448)*, *Les Sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIV^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Beck, 1907), especially 287-92. Robert G. Calkins, 'Parallels between Incunabula and Manuscripts from the Circle of the Master of Catherine of Cleves', *Oud-Holland* 92 (1978), 137-60. Richard Berenson and M. R. James, *Speculum humanae salvationis; Being a Reproduction of an Italian Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 1926). Kimberly J. Vrudny, *Friars, Scribes, and Corpses: A Marian Confraternal Reader of 'The Mirror of Human Salvation' ('Speculum humanae salvationis')* (Paris: Peeters, 2010).

⁶⁷ As discussed in Chapter 1, readers pasted *Miroir* prints in manuscripts and printed editions. See, e.g., Peter Schmidt, 'Mirror of Human Salvation, Manuscript with Paste Prints', *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 196-98.

Amant in bed with peripheral rose vines derive from portrayals of Pharaoh's cupbearer dreaming of a vine in the *Miroir*.⁶⁸ Moreover, there exist instances of *Rose* manuscripts bound with religious texts and images, though it is unclear precisely when these works were integrated.⁶⁹ Late medieval and Renaissance viewers were accustomed to the conflation of religious and secular iconography in books and elsewhere.⁷⁰ Although editors and illustrators used or derived images from religious contexts, it is at times unclear whether, from an interpretive viewing standpoint, they intended the reader to recognize scriptural allusions in the *Rose*. This analysis, however, will demonstrate the overlap or mutual resonance of scriptural and *Rose* motifs in V  rard's illustration of his *Rose* edition.

By pairing the *Rose* text with biblical images, V  rard evoked important scriptural precedents of betrayal and violence. In the passage in which Beaut   (Beauty) and Laideur (Ugliness) attack Chastet   (Chastity), for example, the woodcut from the *Miroir* portrays two female figures raising their hands to strike the head of Christ (Figure 62).⁷¹

⁶⁸ Other scholars believe that illustrations of Amant with a rosebush unfurling near his groin emulate images of the Tree of Jesse. Martine Meuwese, 'Roses, Ruse and Romance: Iconographic Relationships between the *Roman de la rose* and Arthurian Literature', *De la Rose: texte, image, fortune*, eds. Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (Dudley: Peeters, 2006), 93-116, at 94-6. Wilson and Wilson, 156. Genesis XL, 9-11.

⁶⁹ E.g.: Arras, Biblioth  que municipale, Ms. 845.

⁷⁰ At the palace of Lorenzo de Medici, for example, a painting of the Madonna accompanied a rendering of the Rape of the Sabine Women. Giovanna Gaeta Bertel   and Marco Spallanzani, *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence: Associazione Amici del Bargello: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1992). While certain books and images were censored during this period, this censorship primarily involved works that undermined the authority of contemporary institutions or the power of the state, rather than those that misused religious iconography (as in the Counter-Reformation era). Sheila Delany, "'Mothers to Think Back through': Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan", *Medieval Texts & Contemporary Readers*, eds. Laurie Finke and Martin B. Schichtman (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), 177-197, at 193.

⁷¹ In other *Miroir* editions, this image resembles Lamech tormented by his bad wives and Job beaten by the Devil and his wife. The Bible does describe the aggression of Lamech's wives: Genesis IV, 9. Job II, 7-9. Wilson and Wilson, 181. 'Si di c'onques en nul a   / Biaut   n'ot pes o Chasta  ; / tourjorz i a si grant ten  on / qu'onc en fable ne en chan  on / dire n'o  l ne recorder / que riens les poilst acorder, / qu'eus ont entre eus si mortel guerre / que j a l'une plein pi   de terre / a l'autre ne lera tenir, / por qu'el puisse au desus venir. / Mes la chose est si mal partie / que Chasta  , par sa partie, / quant assaut ou quant se revanche, / tant set poi de luite et de ganche / qu'il li convient ses armes randre, / qu'el ne s'a poair de deffendre / contre Biaut   qui trop est fiere. / Ledeur ne  s, sa chamberiere, / qui li doit honeur et serveise, / ne l'aime pas tant ne ne prise / que de son hostel ne la chace, / et li queurt sus, au col sa mace, / qui tant est grosse et tant li poise, / que merveilleusement li poise / dom sa dame en vie demeure / la montance d'une seule heure. / S'est Chasta  

In the woodcut, Christ, clad only in a thin loincloth, submits to the physical admonishments of the women who surround him. In the narrative of the *Miroir*, this woodcut represents the public Mocking of Christ, prior to his crucifixion. In his *Rose* edition, Vérard used this woodcut of Christ to evoke the alienation of Chasteté in Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem. In the narrative, Ami asserts that Chasteté should be defended, rather than attacked by Beauté and Laideur because Chasteté is courteous, wise, and worthy. Vérard's borrowed woodcut reinforces the betrayal and abuse of a chaste, honourable figure (Christ) by those who should be providing protection. Accordingly, the evocation of violence toward Chasteté in the *Rose* narrative thematically corresponds to the woodcut's depiction. Similar to certain scenes appropriated from the *CNN*, this woodcut of Chasteté appears only once in Vérard's *Rose* edition, suggesting the editor's intention to recall a specific religious scene in the narrative. That women are the perpetrators of this violence perhaps reinforces a negative conception of women, as is evident in characters' discourses in Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem and Vérard's use of *CNN* woodcuts.⁷²

Elsewhere in his *Rose* edition, Vérard paired scenes of violence with woodcuts conveying similar motifs. On sig. m5 verso, the narrative and rubric describe the suicide of Dido.⁷³ In *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, this text often accompanies the image of a female figure impaling herself with her sword (Figure 63).⁷⁴ In Vérard's

trop mal baillie, [76 a] / qu'el est de .II. parz assaillie, / si n'a de nule part secours, / si l'en covient foïr le cours, / car el se voit en l'estor seule: / s'el l'avoit juré sus sa gueule, / seüst neïs assez de luite, / quant chascunne encontre lui luite, / n'oseroit ele contretier, / si qu'el n'i peut riens conquestier. / Ledeur ait ore mal dahé, / quant si queurt sus a Chastaé, / que deffendre et tencer deüst! / Neïs se mucier la peüst / entre sa char et sa chemise, / si l'i deüst ele avoir mise'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 22-3, lines 8927-8968.

⁷² Christine de Pizan criticizes Jean de Meun for describing how to attack women rather than defend them. She cites examples of strong and honourable women in the Old and New Testaments, including Sara and Rebecca. Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana, UP, 1997), 205-6.

⁷³ Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 151, lines 13168-13180.

⁷⁴ E.g.: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5209, fol. 90r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 124r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 195, fol. 94r; New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 129v; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396, sig. m5 verso.

edition, however, this text accompanies a *Miroir* illustration which depicts David being welcomed with praise upon his return from killing Goliath (Figure 64).⁷⁵ In the image, David carries the head of Goliath on his sword, as women serenade him with music. The woman nearest to David clutches a harp, his emblem. Despite the presence of certain key elements described in the *Rose* narrative—namely a sword, death, and a female figure—this image does not, for the most part, conform to the *Rose*. Consequently, the identification of shared visual iconography between this woodcut and Dido's suicide is more tenuous relative to other examples. Whereas the woodcut from the *Miroir* displays David's achievement of conquering a giant Philistine warrior and presenting his head, the *Rose* narrative and rubric describe Dido as defeated, succumbing to her depression and desperation through suicide. In this and the following example, the correspondence between images and text is not a narrative parallel, but a resonance of violent and destructive motifs.⁷⁶ The borrowed image of Goliath features brutality and slaughter that amplify the reader's engagement with the *Rose* narrative—which, at this point, presents a scene of death. The relationship between this appropriated image and the accompanying passage is suggestive, as image and narrative are linked through their similarly dramatic and violent tones. This concept of a thematic resonance between text and borrowed image is not frequently used in scholarly investigations of text-image relationships; however, I assert that recognizable, appropriated illustrations—such as this image, placed only once in the book—can 'belong' by evoking thematic parallels.

Vérard placed other recognizable illustrations from the *Miroir* into the *Rose* text at important scenes of conflict. In the passage in which Venus breaches the tower

⁷⁵ I Samuel XVIII, 6. This image resembles other woodcuts which portray David carrying Goliath's head on a sword. Wilson and Wilson, 171.

⁷⁶ Accordingly, the woodcut's rubric also mentions how Phyllis hanged herself, further connoting a shared theme of violence between the text and woodcut.

imprisoning the rose, violence and chaos erupt.⁷⁷ Accompanying this portion of the *Rose*, the appropriated woodcut portrays Eleazar Maccabeus sacrificing himself in order to topple a tower in the Battle of Beth-zachariah during the Maccabean revolt (Figure 65).⁷⁸ In the illustration, Eleazar, who fights on the side of the virtuous (i.e. the Hebrews) in the biblical narrative, lies exposed on a battlefield before the looming figure of an elephant which supports the tower he destroys. Similarly, the accompanying *Rose* passage and rubric, conveying the storming of the castle, evoke the destruction of Jalousie's tower. Just as Jalousie's structure is compromised and breached, so does the elephant's tower fall in the wake of conflict. Similar to illustrations of the Mocking of Christ and the presentation of Goliath's head, this illustration occurs only once in the *Rose*. The unique placement of these woodcuts in the text implies purposeful positioning. Through Eleazar's heroic attack, this scriptural woodcut augments the reader's interpretation of the violent ambush of Jalousie's tower in order to rescue the rose in the poem's plot. Although the composition of the Eleazar woodcut does not mirror the exact details of the accompanying *Rose* narrative and rubric, the woodcut scene implicitly urges the reader to perceive shared elements, such as a tower, conflict, and bravery.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ 'Venus n'i va plus atardant. / Le brandon plein de feu ardant / tout anpané lesse voler / por ceus du chastel affoler. / Mes sachez c'onc nule ne nus, / tant le tret soutilmant Venus, / ne l'orent poair de choisir, / tant i gardassent a loisir. / Quant li brandons s'an fu volez, / ez vos ceus dedanz affolez. / Li feus porprant tout le porpris, / bien se durent tenir por pris'. Lecoy, vol. 3, p. 138, lines 21221-21232.

⁷⁸ 1 Maccabees 6:43-46. Wilson and Wilson, 189. With his sword, Eleazar heroically kills the elephant, which crushes him to death in its fall; however, in the illustration from Vérard's *Miroir* edition, the elephant and its armed passengers are alive and Eleazar is weaponless. Like the woodcut of David returning with the head of Goliath, this woodcut of Eleazar parallels features in the text.

⁷⁹ The visual iconography of an elephant carrying a castle was familiar to medieval Europeans, as elephant and castle images were widely used in heraldic iconography and bestiaries: e.g. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 12 F. xiii, fol. 11v; London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4751, fol. 8r. In medieval England, this image would have also been recognized as the inn sign of the 'Elephant and Castle'. Paul Hardwick, *English Medieval Miscellany: The Margins of Meaning* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), p. 74, fn. 32. The image of a tower recalls other imagery in Old Testament passages (e.g. the Tower of David and the Tower of Ivory). Towers also serve an important role in the plot of courtly romance narratives (e.g. *Aucassin et Nicolette*). For further reading on heroines and 'passive maidens awaiting rescue' in the towers of courtly romance tales, see Rosalind Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, and Desire* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 31-2; 41-2; 91-3; 114-116.

Vérard also incorporated illustrations into his *Rose* edition that both contradict and supplement the strained relationship between men and women in the *Rose* narrative. In the passage of the jealous husband, for example, the narrative describes a husband who scolds and brutally attacks his wife.⁸⁰ Accompanying this savage tale is a *Miroir* woodcut scene (Figure 66). This woodcut portrays Saul's daughter Michal in an elevated tower criticizing her husband David, who stands below clutching his signature harp.⁸¹ Whereas other *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions commonly contain illustrations of a husband injuring his wife with a club or pulling her hair at this juncture of the text,⁸² Vérard's borrowed woodcut depicts a woman verbally assaulting her husband. Instead of being victimized, the woman is on the offensive, physically protected and separated from her husband in her lofty tower. The hierarchical configuration of the woodcut's composition further highlights the female's positioning above and apart from men—in control rather than submissive. In the edition of the *Rose* under discussion, the story of the jealous husband attacking his wife is juxtaposed with this *Miroir* woodcut of Michal scolding and antagonizing her husband. Through its placement in the text, the borrowed woodcut also shares a resonance of marital discord with the accompanying passage. As with his usage of *CNN* woodcuts, Vérard highlighted the victimization of a man by a woman with this borrowed woodcut, a subject which is consistent with his usages of other borrowed images. This scene, too, is

⁸⁰ 'Lors la prent espoir de venue / cil qui de mautalant tressue / par les treces et sache et tire, / ront li les cheveus et descire / li jalous, et seur li s'aourse, / por noiant fust lions seur ourse, / et par tout l'ostel la traîne / par corrouz et par ataïne, / et la ledange malement; / ne ne veust, por nul serement, / recevoir excusacion, / tant est de male entencion, / ainz fiert et frape et roille et maille [b] / cele qui bret et crie et baille / et fet sa voiz voler au venz / par fenestres et par auvenz, / et tout quan qu'el set li reprouche, / si con il li vient a la bouche, / devant les voisins qui la vienent, / qui por fous ambedeus les tienent, / et la li tolent a grant paine / tant qu'il est a la grosse alaine'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 34-5, lines 9331-9352.

⁸¹ 2 Samuel 6:16. After watching him from a window above, Michal rebukes David for leaping and dancing before the Lord. Her criticism of David possibly results in her inability to bear children. This scene is omitted from blockbooks. Wilson and Wilson, 200.

⁸² E.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 66v. New York PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 92v. Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 1380, fol. 55r.

not repeated, suggesting that V  rard consciously included this image to serve a particular purpose in the reader’s contemplation of his *Rose* edition.

Other descriptions of betrayal between a man and a woman in the *Rose* narrative acquire scriptural overtones through the inclusion of *Miroir* woodcuts. On sig. i1 recto, the narrative describes Delilah betraying Samson by cutting his hair while he sleeps.⁸³ In *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, this scene traditionally accompanies illustrations of Samson with his head resting in Delilah’s lap as she readies her shears.⁸⁴ In V  rard’s edition, however, this text and rubric are paired with a woodcut from the *Miroir* in which Judith slays Holofernes—a different scene, but one also involving both blades and betrayal (Figure 67). Both stories—of Samson and Delilah on the one hand and Judith and Holofernes on the other—recount the seduction of men and their ensuing vulnerability to preying women, Samson in his sleep and Holofernes while intoxicated. The story of Judith and Holofernes is described elsewhere in the *Rose*; thus, the woodcut invokes visual elements both from the immediate narrative it accompanies as well as from another *Rose* passage altogether. Nevertheless, this illustration appears only once in V  rard’s *Rose* edition (since the narrative describing Judith and Holofernes is not illustrated). This interweaving of imagery in the *Rose* text prompts the reader’s active engagement: the seduction and ensuing deaths of both men invite the reader’s contemplation of the link shared between the two stories.

In addition, V  rard integrated religious scenes to evoke visual elements of attraction and desire. In the portion of the *Rose* narrative in which Pygmalion speaks to his statue, the accompanying woodcut—appropriated from the *Miroir*—depicts Eve

⁸³ Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 256-7, lines 16647-16664.

⁸⁴ E.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 120r. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 153 r. New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 91r. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396, sig. i1 recto.

accepting an apple from a bare-breasted, winged serpent hovering in the air (Figure 68).⁸⁵ A nude Eve clutches the apple in her right hand, covering her genitalia with her left hand. This illustration subtly references the accompanying text describing Pygmalion and foreshadows the approaching final scene of the *Rose*. There exist certain key parallels between the stories of Eve and Pygmalion. Like Eve, Pygmalion is enamoured of a seemingly attractive, inanimate object; both Eve and Pygmalion succumb to temptation through their separate indulgences, an apple and a statue, respectively. Consequently, Eve appears as both agent and object of sin.⁸⁶ Figuratively, Eve evokes the nude and poised form of Pygmalion's statue; illuminators of V  rard's deluxe printed editions recognized this association and preserved Eve's form in overpaintings.⁸⁷ The placement of the woodcut of Eve in the text probably further suggests the approaching final scene of the *Rose*: Amant plucking the rose. Paralleling Eve's fall from innocence and expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Amant deflowers the rose by picking her at the end of the poem. Both Eve and Amant partake in the consumption of forbidden earthly fruit, separating it from its source and indulging in it, implying shared symbolic meaning. This woodcut, therefore, probably builds the reader's anticipation for the approaching final scene of the poem.⁸⁸ Like the previously mentioned *Miroir* woodcuts, this woodcut appears only once in the *Rose*, suggesting that through its unique placement, V  rard

⁸⁵ Lecoy, vol. 3, pp. 127-28, lines 20877-20906. This woodcut's winged serpent resembles images of basilisks, which have feet: Wilson and Wilson, p. 30, fig. II-3, d; p. 35, fig. II-0, d; p. 53, gif. III-3, c.

⁸⁶ For further reading on Pygmalion's 'autoerotic ... unnatural' fantasy and 'Orphic sin', see Huot, *Dreams of Lovers*, 79-83; 111-14; 142-3; p. 144, fn. 5. This image could also evoke how Raison describes sin and the use of language after the Fall. According to David F. Hult, Jean de Meun (through the voice of Raison) was aware of the Christian paradox and 'phenomenon of reception' of language after the Fall: 'sin, obscenity, and shame are all results of original sin and man's Fall. There is no "rational" explanation why certain words would have been acceptable in the Garden of Eden but judged obscene in the fallen world'. David F. Hult, 'Words and Deeds: Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose* and the Hermeneutics of Censorship Author(s)', *New Literary History* 28 (1997): 345-66, at 351-2.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., sig. s8 verso in Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Incun. x. G974 and New York, PML, PML 535.

⁸⁸ Per Nykrog notes how the final pages of Jean de Meun's text build the reader's anticipation for the final scene, noting the text's overt sexual connotations. Per Nykrog, 'Obscene or Not Obscene: Lady Reason, Jean de Meun, and the Fisherman from Pont-sur-Seine', *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in European Middle Ages. Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1998): 319-331, at 321.

beckoned the reader to intuit a purposeful connection between the scriptural woodcut and this particular moment in the book.

* * *

While this case study examines only a small selection of *CNN* and *Miroir* woodcuts in V  rard’s *Rose* edition, it raises questions about the interplay of borrowed illustrations in the narrative systems of illustrated books. In a commercially beneficial move, V  rard referenced his own publications through the integration of woodcuts used in his previous (and later) *CNN* and *Miroir* editions. Furthermore, by incorporating recognizable illustrations from these other works into his *Rose* edition, V  rard expressed different resonating visual motifs. He borrowed with purpose, selecting particular images: his woodcuts strategically emphasize aspects of gender and conflict, focusing on the nature of women and violence. Through their unique or, on occasion, repeated placement, these woodcuts engage the reader’s ability to identify not only patterns of images in a single edition, but the stories that formerly accompanied the images in other contexts.

This edition raises questions about reception and how readers reacted to appropriated images in their new contexts, particularly those charged with controversial meaning. For example, did the reader agree with the editor’s inclusion of woodcuts that allude to women as lecherous and untrustworthy creatures? Did the reader reinvent or alter these woodcuts to portray new images? Case Study 3 and the next chapter explore these questions further through analyses of readers’ interventions in illustrated books.

Case Study 2: Imag[in]ing Authorship in Alain Lotrian's *Rose* Edition⁸⁹

Described by Bourdillon as a 'lesser flea', Lotrian was adept at stealing illustrations from other editors, even those renowned for their own piracy.⁹⁰ As Bourdillon notes, Lotrian readily appropriated images from Michel Le Noir—known himself as the 'Prince of Pirates'—which is immediately apparent in b28 P3(1),⁹¹ Lotrian's *Rose* quarto edition printed in Paris *ca.* 1528. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Lotrian derived every illustration in this edition from other editors, including Jean Trepperel and Le Noir. Lotrian only produced a single *Rose* edition, which contains woodcuts borrowed from several sources, including *Le Songe du vergier*, *Le Chevalier délibéré*, and *Le Livre de Matheolus*.

Although Lotrian liberally borrowed images for use in his *Rose* edition—seeming to suggest, perhaps, a haphazard approach to editing—this case study argues that he was in fact conspicuously selective not only in the choice of these images, but also in their placement in the text. Unlike the woodcuts used by Le Noir and many other *Rose* editors, which depict a variety of different subjects, the woodcuts in Lotrian's *Rose* edition singularly emphasize *authors* and their personalities. Lotrian demonstrated purpose in his placement of woodcuts by using certain author images at important junctures of the book. While Lotrian's *Rose* edition contains only six illustrations, each conveys a different portrayal of the role of the author which invites the reader's interest.

As noted above, all of the illustrations in Lotrian's *Rose* edition are borrowed; unsurprisingly, the text originates from previous *Rose* editions as well. Bourdillon

⁸⁹ This title is inspired by a paper delivered by Emma Cayley on Alain Chartier. Emma Cayley, 'Imag[in]ing desire in 15th c. French Poetry'. Text-Image Relations in Late Medieval French Culture (14 c.-16 c.): Symposium 3. Leeds (University of Leeds), 28 Jan. 2012.

⁹⁰ Bourdillon, 96.

⁹¹ Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1). Bourdillon edition 'O'. Bourdillon, 55-7. Hugh William Davies and Charles Fairfax Murray, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, vol. 1 (London: Clowes, 1910), 327.

observes that Lotrian probably copied Le Noir's text printed *ca.* 1526, which itself was derived from Jean Janot's previous quarto edition.⁹² In Lotrian's book, there exist misspellings, omissions, and errors that perhaps are attributable to mixings of type in the workshop.⁹³ In any event, despite similarities shared among the texts of editions produced by Lotrian, Le Noir, and Janot, the use of author illustrations and certain titles and rubrics in Lotrian's edition diverges markedly from his contemporaries.

This case study explores the varying depictions of authors in Lotrian's *Rose* edition, including references to the poem's original authors—Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun—as well as authorial identities refracted through the narrator/protagonist of the poem, other iconic literary figures, and the editor Lotrian himself. I argue that Lotrian demonstrated the intersecting and divergent roles of the poem's different narrative voices, including his own, through author images. Through his placement of borrowed illustrations in relation to titles, various other headings, and the poem's main text, Lotrian ascribed authorial attributes to himself, the poem's authors, and other iconic writers, appealing to the reader. While scholars have focused on the role of authorship and editors in the sixteenth century, they sometimes dismiss borrowed woodcut author portraits because they appear generic and formulaic, divorced from the books in which they were placed because they are not adequately 'specific'.⁹⁴ To the contrary, this case study asserts that Lotrian's overall usage of images paired with text could reveal more

⁹² Bourdillon, 56.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁹⁴ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 30. Michel Foucault discusses the importance of author attribution during this period, noting that an author's name renders a work 'truthful' and authentic. Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977), 124-7, at 125-26. As Elizabeth Sears notes, citing Walter Goetz and Joachim Prochno, in early medieval manuscripts, illustrations of scribes also resemble those of authors; however, if these scribes accompany authors in images, they appear 'subordinate'. Likewise, she accounts for different types of author portraits, including the authors of the gospels. Elizabeth Sears, 'Portraits in Counterpoint: Jerome and Jeremiah in an Augsburg Manuscript', *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002): 61-74, at p. 72, fns. 1 and 2. Walter Goetz and Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (800-1100)* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929).

specific aspects of authorship to the reader, rather than a lack of purpose. Through a closer examination of Lotrian's positioning of illustrations in the text, I argue that author portraits correspond to the evolution and structure of the narrative, evoking both earlier and contemporary literary precedents, as well as Lotrian's distinct style as editor.

Lotrian capitalized on the blurred relationship between the *Rose*'s original authors, its narrator/protagonist, and eventual compilers. Brown, Huot, and Hult, among others, recognize the poem's confusing narrative strategy, which, as Huot notes, is highlighted by editors' rubrics. Medieval readers demonstrated a significant interest in the 'poetics of first-person narrative',⁹⁵ and *Rose* editors' rubrics distinguish different first-person voices. 'L'Amant', for example, refers to the poem's protagonist when he speaks to other personifications, and 'l'Auteur' describes the protagonist in scenes that transpired during his absence (in the accompanying narrative or in the historical past).⁹⁶ These rubrics and their meaning, however, are complicated by Guillaume de Lorris's 'pseudo-autobiographical' portion of the *Rose*; his first-person account makes him both an author and the narrator/protagonist of the poem. In Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem, Brown notes that the alternating use of 'l'Auctor' and 'l'Acteur' in rubrics further complicates our understanding of who speaks in the text and images.⁹⁷ Does the

⁹⁵ Sylvia J. Huot, "'Ci parle l'acteur': Rubrication of Voice and Authorship in the *Roman de la rose* Manuscripts', *SubStance* 17 (1998): 42-48, at 45.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁹⁷ Brown, 202-13. For a discussion of Molinet's use of 'l'Acteur' in his prose version of the *Rose*, see Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the 'Rose' to the 'Rhétoriciens'* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2011), 29-33. Huot notes how the *Rose* is the first example in French literature of a romance consisting exclusively of a first-person narrative account. She also explains that the relationship between the author and the narrator is complicated by the poem's rubrics, which may have been composed by Guillaume de Lorris or later by Jean de Meun; however, she maintains that it is most likely that later scribes included these rubrics in the *Rose*. Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), 83; 91. David F. Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First 'Roman de la rose'* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), 60-62. Sebastian Coxon explains how German, English, and Latin connotations of the word 'author' could apply to a variety of literary activities and meanings. Sebastian Coxon, 'Introduction: The Author in the Text', *The Presentation of Authorship in Medieval German Literature 1220-1290* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001): 1-34, at 5.

authoritative voice belong to Jean de Meun, the narrator/protagonist, or both?⁹⁸ This ambiguous dynamic between the poem's authors and its narrator/protagonist becomes more complex in light of the poem's eventual transcription by scribes and editors, who, in addition to adding rubrics, compiled and at times continued the poem.⁹⁹ According to Brown, such ambiguities between the poem's first-person voices did not end with transition from manuscript to print, but instead changed shape, as editors aimed to self-promote through their editions and to allude to their prestige in rubrics and images.¹⁰⁰

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editors often intervened in various ways in their books, for example, writing prefaces which were self-promoting and which demonstrated their creative role in the making of the book. Editors, who were not authors in the conventional sense, were eager to appropriate identities as *auctoritates*.¹⁰¹ Through rubrics and images, editors interpreted passages and added their narrative voice to the text.¹⁰² They frequently highlighted their creative involvement in literary works, such as through participation in their 'nouvellement corrigé' (newly corrected), 'nouvellement imprimé' (newly printed), and 'nouvellement revue et corrigé' (newly revised and corrected) compositions, which often contained self-referential visual indicators (e.g. printers' marks) at key segments of the text. In 'nouvellement revue et corrigé' editions, which, for instance, contained Marot's recension of the poem, revisions could possibly

⁹⁸ Furthermore, characters instruct Amant, and these authoritative voices could also possibly be construed as an 'authorial mouthpiece'. Helen J. Swift, personal communication, 22 Sept. 2013.

⁹⁹ Brown, 203; Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 60-1.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, 103; 203.

¹⁰¹ Armstrong explains the intersecting and 'viral nature' of authority in literary and publishing cultures in sixteenth-century France: Adrian Armstrong, 'Books on the Bridge: Writing, Printing and Viral Authority', *Authority in European Book Culture, 1400-1600*, ed. Pollie Bromilow (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 31-42.

¹⁰² Huot, "'Ci parle l'acteur": Rubrication of Voice', 45-6. Regarding the practices of scribes who added to or did not modify manuscripts and their narratives (particularly in *Lancelot-Graal* manuscripts), see Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Scribe as Editor', *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier, Professeur à la Sorbonne, par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, eds. Jean C. Payen and Claude Régner, vol. 1 (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 521-31.

be attributed to Marot (himself in an editorial role), to the edition's editor, or both.¹⁰³

Other editors' editions were 'nouvellement imprimé' in the sense that they might, for example, contain different woodcuts. However, editors probably wrote 'nouvellement' in the titles of their books in an effort to entice buyers who were in the market for a newly edited, current copy of the *Rose*.

Given Lotrian's liberal copying of illustrations from other editors, it is important to note that copyright was neither regulated nor understood in the same way *ca.* 1481-1538 as it is today. As described in Chapter 1, images were shared and appropriated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (although there were instances in which certain editors were granted 'privileges' for a stipulated period to publish the text of select books).¹⁰⁴ Modern scholars have nonetheless frequently criticized as blatant and crude editors' practices of copying images from other sources. But these scholars' conception of image theft—too readily dismissing appropriated or borrowed images as lacking imagination—detracts from our understanding of how appropriated images operate when placed in different contexts by different editors.

Produced *ca.* 1505-1528, *Rose* quarto editions represent a distinct group of *Rose* printed editions due in part to the large size of illustrations at their outset. With the exception of Vêrard's quarto edition,¹⁰⁵ each *Rose* quarto edition contains two half-page

¹⁰³ Du Pré and Jean Petit printed the first edition containing Marot's recension 'avec privilege' ('with privilege') *ca.* 1526. Marot's recension appears in four printed editions produced from *ca.* 1526-1538 (of which there are many extant copies). Bourdillon refers to these editions as 'P', 'Q', 'R', and 'S'. Bourdillon, 156-159. Other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editors note their corrections and amendments to their *Rose* editions which do not contain Marot's recension—e.g. Guillaume Balsarin's *Rose* edition, which contains Molinet's prose version of the poem, printed *ca.* 1503 in Lyon. Bourdillon edition 'Y': Bourdillon, 65-66.

¹⁰⁴ Certain writers were granted greater rights in the reproduction of their works, strengthening their status and role within courts throughout Western Europe. As Brown notes, André de la Vigne restricted the dissemination of his texts and recuperated financial losses from unauthorized publications. Brown, 1-2. Guillaume de Deguileville wrote that the first version of his poem was stolen, suggesting piracy. Nonetheless, this assertion might be fictitious, serving to emphasize the 'memorative powers' of the author. Susan K. Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance: A Study of The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man as a Medieval Treatise on Seeing and Remembering* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), ix.

¹⁰⁵ Although Vêrard's quarto edition begins with a half-page woodcut (which may in fact be two woodcuts, rather than a single woodblock), Vêrard's edition does not contain any other half-page images. Instead,

woodcuts on the recto and verso of the title page, often mirrored at the end of the book. Quarto edition editors probably used large images in order to set the tone of their *Rose* books, and Lotrian did so through his incorporation of author images. My discussion of Lotrian's author woodcuts begins with an examination of how the two half-page illustrations at the opening of his book could communicate symbolic messages to the reader through their placement in the text, and is followed by analyses of smaller author portraits in his *Rose* edition.

In Lotrian's edition, the opening woodcut noticeably originates from a non-*Rose* source (Figure 69). Admittedly, the woodcut reprises the compositional format of many illustrations in *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions: the scene is bisected in the centre by a column, denoting the sequential progression of a figure, moving from left to right—from an interior setting to an external garden—as he sets off on his adventure.¹⁰⁶ Yet unlike traditional *Rose* illustrations, Lotrian's appropriated woodcut depicts a male figure pausing below a tree with spiky fronds to pay homage to a king and queen who converse in a nearby interior. This scene may appear to serve as an unsatisfactory surrogate for Amant's departure from his bedroom to the garden; there are, for example, notable discrepancies that alert the reader to the fact that this illustration was borrowed, such as the allusion to a discussion between a royal couple. Originating from *Le Songe du vergier*, this scene depicts the author of *Le Songe du vergier* in his dream narrative, which reveals the power of the king. Possibly commissioned by Charles V, *Le Songe du vergier* is a political treatise that was written in Latin *ca.* 1378 and later translated into

Vérard's edition contains more quarter-sized woodcuts than other quarto editions produced by different editors.

¹⁰⁶ This scene vaguely evokes Amant's journey in the *Rose* from his bedroom slumber (sometimes accompanied by Danger) to an outside garden, where he wanders until he finds the garden wall. Similar scenes occur in both manuscripts and printed editions, e.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 1r. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12595, fol. 1r.

the vernacular.¹⁰⁷ Lotrian possibly derived this particular illustration from Le Noir or Jean Petit, who printed similar illustrations during this period.¹⁰⁸

Rubrics, in the titles and labels, can supplement the meaning of woodcuts and set the tone of a book. Lotrian skilfully emphasized his own production of the *Rose* edition in the text surrounding this borrowed *Le Songe du vergier* woodcut. Alternating in red and black colours, Lotrian's large text leaves little blank space on the surface of the title page. The inscription below the woodcut references where Lotrian's *Rose* printed edition can be purchased. Above the borrowed woodcut of the author and the royal couple, the title announces in gothic font, 'S'Ensuyt le Rommant de la Rose: Aultrement dit le songe vergier'.¹⁰⁹ In certain quarto editions, the *Rose* is, in fact, called the 'songe vergier'.¹¹⁰ Given that the woodcut placed below this title originates from *Le Songe du vergier*, it is fair to assume that Lotrian also intended to reference this literary work.¹¹¹

There exist no obvious parallels between the *Rose* and *Le Songe du vergier*, with the exception that both works' narratives are dream visions that take place in bucolic settings.

¹⁰⁷ It is generally accepted that Evrart de Trémaugon wrote *Le Songe du vergier* for Charles V. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre discusses other potential authors of *Le Songe du vergier*, including Charles de Louviers, Philippe de Mézières, and Nicole Oresme. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du vergier: édité d'après le manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library*, vol. 1 (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 77-86. Schnerb-Lièvre asserts that Ms. Royal 19 C IV of the British Library is the original manuscript of *Le Songe du vergier*. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 'Le Manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library est-il le manuscrit original du *Songe du vergier*?' *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 40 (1984): 205-212. For an analysis of illustrations in extant *Le Songe du vergier* manuscripts, see Jenny Stratford, 'The Illustrations of the *Songe du vergier* and Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts', *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, eds. Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 473-488.

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Rawles notes as common the knowledge that Denis Janot and Lotrian heavily borrowed from Michel Le Noir during the 1530s. Stephen Rawles, personal communication, 26 Feb. 2012. I compare this illustration in Lotrian's edition to New York, PML, PML 540 (ChL 1475), sig. a1 verso. This edition was published in Paris ca. 1500 by Jean Petit. This illustration resembles woodcuts produced in other *Le Songe du vergier* editions, e.g.: New York, PML, PML 456 (ChL 1582), sig. a1 verso.

¹⁰⁹ 'There follows the Roman de la Rose: Otherwise called le songe vergier'.

¹¹⁰ As the *Rose* narrative unfolds in a garden, this descriptor of an orchard perhaps evokes Amant's dream setting. Lotrian's title gives *Le Songe du vergier* authority and importance, since, according to Lotrian, it is the *Rose*.

¹¹¹ Although it is possible that Lotrian published *Le Songe du vergier* editions, I have not located any copies. Nonetheless, if he did publish *Le Songe du vergier* editions, the rubric and image on the title page could absorb new meaning. At the bottom of the page, for example, Lotrian noted in red that 'On les vend a Paris' ('They are for sale in Paris'), providing his address. The plural 'les' (them) could thus stand for his *Rose* or *Le Songe du vergier* books (if the latter existed). Thus, in an effort to sustain his workshop, Lotrian may have prominently promoted his *Le Songe du vergier* edition(s) in his *Rose* books, though one can only speculate.

Instead, Lotrian may have chosen this illustration depicting an author with royal figures to amplify the prestige of his books. If so, on Lotrian's title page, the relationship between the text and image then suggests an association with royal patrons, augmenting his own importance as an editor in the eyes of the reader. Lotrian's references to the *Rose*, *Le Songe du vergier*, and his workshop¹¹² in the text above and below the woodcut confuse the meaning of the central, opening woodcut. For example, who is the male figure paying homage to the king and queen? Is he intended to be— aspirationally, perhaps—Lotrian himself? While the rotating male figure in the woodcut could be the author(s)/protagonist(s) of *Le Songe du vergier* or the *Rose*, the scene might also be interpreted as picturing Lotrian. The woodcut's pairing with text referring to the *Rose*, *Le Songe du vergier*, and Lotrian's workshop enables this scene to be open to different interpretations. Moreover, although the woodcut derives from *Le Songe du vergier*, Lotrian has altered certain details in its transference. The author, who appears slumbering at the edge of the scene in Petit's *Le Songe du vergier* woodcut, acknowledges and pays homage to royal patronage in Lotrian's image. Indeed, the composition is similar to illustrations found in other manuscripts and deluxe printed editions of editors paying respect to a princely patron,¹¹³ as the scene portrays a man placing his hand over his breast before a king and queen. Vérard, for example, created *Rose* presentation copies illustrating himself kneeling and bestowing deluxe editions to

¹¹² Although the rubric on this particular page does not mention Lotrian by name, it does include his address: 'la rue neufve nostre Dame a l'enseigne de l'escu de france' (la rue Neuve-Notre-Dame à l'Ecu de France). Lotrian succeeded 'la veuve de Jean Trepperel a l'escu de France' at this address from ca. 1525 to 1547. Graham A. Runnalls explains how, by using this address, Lotrian effectively enhanced his prestige as editor, exercising the name 'l'escu de France' (which had been used by the Trepperel family since 1504) in his editions. During the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, editors were intrinsically associated with their addresses, such that their workshop addresses became synonymous with their surnames and identities. Other editors were similarly associated with their addresses, which could serve to enhance their prestige: Graham A. Runnalls, 'La Vie, la mort et les livres de l'imprimeur-libraire parisien Jean Janot d'après son inventaire après décès (17 février 1522 n.s.)', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 78 (2000): 797-851, at 799-801; 808; 827-9; 842-44.

¹¹³ New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 4r.

patrons.¹¹⁴ The appropriation of a dedication portrait of the author presenting his work to a patron adds insight into how editors may have attempted to distinguish their editions alongside other books. Although there are portraits of authors in many medieval manuscripts, as Brown notes, woodcuts depicting authors with royalty—even if devoid of personalizing features—enhanced the prestige of the authors’ profession.¹¹⁵ Thus, I posit that Lotrian, as the living ‘author’ of the book, sought to enhance the importance of his *Rose* edition—and his own credibility as editor—through his explicit suggestion of his edition’s association with royal patronage on the opening page.¹¹⁶

The placement of other borrowed woodcuts at the beginning of books can reveal narrative significance. On the verso of the title page, for example, Lotrian used another author illustration to foreshadow the plot of the *Rose* (Figure 70). On sig. a1 verso, a macabre woodcut portrays a haggard man wringing his hands in a cemetery before a woman who stands by a mausoleum. This is the only funerary illustration that I have located in any *Rose* manuscript or printed edition; yet, as mentioned previously, the placement of illustrations at the outset of a book, particularly when large in scale, signifies their importance. Derived from *Le Chevalier délibéré*,¹¹⁷ this woodcut depicts the author accompanied by Fraîche Mémoire (Fresh Memory) as they visit the graves of

¹¹⁴ Winn describes how Vérard personalized woodcuts with overpaintings to portray specific patron/donor scenes. Winn, 67.

¹¹⁵ Brown notes that the first personalized printed author portrait could be that of Maurice Scève in his *Délie* edition, printed in 1544. Brown, 102-3.

¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, as with other dedications (and accompanying images), editors did not necessarily receive actual royal patronage (e.g. Lotrian’s *Rose* edition). As mentioned, dedication images often were aspirational.

¹¹⁷ Lotrian probably copied this woodcut from Jean Trepperel’s *Le Chevalier délibéré* edition (ca. 1500), e.g.: Paris, Bnf, Rés. Ye-249, sig. c6 verso. Written by Olivier de La Marche, *Le Chevalier délibéré* was finished in Apr. 1483. According to Elizabeth Mongan, although *Le Chevalier délibéré* is an unoriginal and ‘simple poem’, it encapsulates ‘moving sincerity’. Elizabeth Mongan, ‘Introduction’, *Le Chevalier délibéré by Olivier de La Marche Printed at Paris in 1488; a Reproduction Made from the Copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1946), iii-xix, at ix. The illustration in Lotrian’s *Rose* edition is very similar to a woodcut in Vérard’s 1485 edition of *Le Chevalier délibéré*. For a facsimile, see Mongan, ed., *Le Chevalier Délibéré by Olivier de La Marche*, sig. e4 verso. For further reading on aspects of memory and consolation in *Le Chevalier délibéré*, see Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of 15th-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 39-40.

those who succumbed to tragic and untimely deaths, as described in the Bible or by venerated authors (such as Cicero, Homer, and Valerius Maximus).¹¹⁸ Although her list of sudden and premature demises does not mention Guillaume de Lorris or Jean de Meun, Guillaume de Lorris's early and sudden death, at least as recounted by Amour in the text of Jean de Meun's continuation,¹¹⁹ is critical to the text and transition of narrative voice in the *Rose* poem.¹²⁰ Lotrian's inclusion of this woodcut could thus portend Guillaume de Lorris's demise. In this way, in anticipation of Guillaume de Lorris's unexpected death, Lotrian alludes to the changeover of authorship through imagery.¹²¹

By using this *Le Chevalier délibéré* illustration on the verso of the title page, Lotrian drew unspoken parallels between this woodcut, which alludes to the texts of venerated authors, and his *Rose* edition. He did not include any label alongside the

¹¹⁸ For a full list of those mentioned at the cemetery, see Marc van Hasselt, *A Burgundian Death: The Tournament in Le Chevalier délibéré* (Unpublished M.St. Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2010), 69; 153-7.

¹¹⁹ Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 71, lines 10531-10535. Suzanne C. Akbari analyses the continuity (or lack thereof) between Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's contributions to the poem: Suzanne Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 80-3.

¹²⁰ Guillaume de Lorris began writing the *Rose* in approximately 1225, asserting that he was describing a dream he had five years earlier, and Jean de Meun completed the story sometime before 1278. By purportedly describing his dream, Guillaume de Lorris literally and figuratively assumed the role of the poem's Amant/protagonist, whose journey was reprised by Jean de Meun in his addition to the poem (which overshadows Guillaume de Lorris's contribution both in length and quantity of external literary references). Hult probes the authorship of the *Rose* and the roles of its makers: Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, especially 92 and 107. Jean de Meun was included in other epitaphs, including Octavien de Saint-Gelais's *Le Séjour d'honneur*: Octavien de Saint-Gelais, *Le Séjour d'honneur*, ed. Frédéric Duval (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 109. Swift analyses Jean de Meun's interaction with the ghost of Guillaume de Lorris. In so doing, she explains how other authors converse with their predecessors, noting that dream-vision poems enable an 'intersection of voices', as authors conjure up 'the ghosts of past authorities'. Helen J. Swift, 'The Ghost(s) of the Author(s) Past, Present, and Future: A Literary Reflexive Perspective on Authorship in the Poems of Jean de Meun and Martin Le Franc', *Medium Ævum* 73 (2004): 235-259, at 235-243.

¹²¹ Contemporaneous manuscripts similarly reference Guillaume de Lorris's demise. In Ms. M. 948, at this moment in the text, the illustrator depicted Amant/Jean de Meun viewing the body of Guillaume de Lorris (fol. 44r). Swift suggests that the 'living continuator-figure' in this miniature may be entering the scene in order to assume the author's role as narrator. Accordingly, this image suggests 'past, present, and future author(s)'. Ibid., 241-3. In Ms. Arsenal 3339, an illustration portrays Jean de Meun on his deathbed surrounded by figures of importance, laymen, and women. Through Jean de Meun's association with powerful figures, this image alludes to the author as 'authoritative'. According to Lori Walters, this image of Jean de Meun on his deathbed could serve as Jean de Meun's 'last will and testament', 'rehabilitat[ing]' his professional reputation through the suggestion of penitence. Jean de Meun's *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi* was purportedly written on his deathbed (and this image precedes Jean de Meun's *Testament*, *Codicille*, and *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi* in Ms. Arsenal 3339). For further reading on this illumination, see Lori Walters, "'The Foot on Which He Limp[s]': Jean Gerson and the Rehabilitation of Jean de Meun in Arsenal 3339", *Digital Philology* 1 (2012): 110-138, at 110-131. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3339, fol. 156r.

woodcut of the anxious author brooding over his mortality among the graves of his predecessors; accordingly, given the absence of explanatory text, the scene of the vulnerable author remains open to the reader's interpretation. Nevertheless, Lotrian did position the woodcut at an important place in the text: between the opening title page—which references himself, the *Rose*, and *Le Songe du vergier*—and the beginning of the *Rose* poem. In this manner, this *Le Chevalier délibéré* woodcut suggests that authors—both alive and dead—are significant figures, as their works have an enduring legacy. It is possible that Lotrian intended to align his edition with books written by other important authors. Celebrated works by Cicero, for instance, are reprised in the *Rose*'s narrative.¹²² Moreover, by including this woodcut in the book, Lotrian advertised that another of his editions (*Le Chevalier délibéré*) was available for purchase alongside the *Rose* edition.

In his edition, Lotrian not only suggested the presence of iconic authors but, in addition, the allure of the unexpected, appealing to a potential buyer. This borrowed *Le Chevalier délibéré* woodcut could also be seen to connote a *memento mori*,¹²³ or a symbolic reminder of the inevitability and unpredictability of death, to anyone in any stage of life. Images and texts depicting the *danse macabre*, or dance of death, were particularly popular in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and appeared in a variety of media.¹²⁴ Indeed, the earliest woodcut depiction of activities in a print shop is a

¹²² Earl Jeffrey Richards states that the opening of Guillaume de Lorris's portion of the poem is modelled after Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* in *De Republica*. Earl Jeffrey Richards, 'Glossa Aurelianensis est quae destruit textum; Medieval Rhetoric, Thomism and Humanism in Christine de Pizan's Critique of the *Roman de la rose*', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 5 (1998): 248-263, at 256. Referencing Cicero's *De Amicitia*, Raison also refers to Cicero as 'source and authority'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 144, lines 4655-4662. Douglas Kelly, *Internal Difference and Meanings in the 'Roman de la rose'* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 57.

¹²³ 'Remember that you will die'.

¹²⁴ Accompanied by elaborate engravings, text and verses of the *Danse macabré* were a 'remarkable success', and the verses were painted below a fresco at the Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. Jane H.M. Taylor, 'Translation as Reception: *La Danse macabré*', *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: A Festschrift for Dr. Elspeth Kennedy*, ed. Karen Pratt (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994): 181-192, at 182.

woodcut portraying Death and the Printers.¹²⁵ Although Lotrian may well have recognized the symbolic value of this image to a buyer at his shop in Paris, and thus included it as a marketing tool, the image also serves a wider purpose in the composition of the book. Unlike traditional dance of death scenes that illustrate dancing skeletons and persons of different estates of the social hierarchy succumbing to unexpected demises, Lotrian employed a woodcut that alludes to the premature deaths of those written about by *authors* and in the Bible. Both large woodcuts and titles at the opening of Lotrian's book thus highlight the role of the book creator, but do not clarify for the reader whether the pictured male figures represent the editor of the book (i.e. Lotrian), the writers Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, or other authors.

Quarter-sized woodcuts in Lotrian's *Rose* edition further emphasize the specific personalities and preoccupations of authors. Labelled by a rubric as Guillaume de Lorris, one such woodcut depicts an author busy at work in a high-backed chair before a desk displaying sheets of his writings; books are shelved in a window-like alcove nearby (Figure 71).¹²⁶ A narrow, blank banderole hovers above the writer's seated figure, possibly awaiting the reader's annotation with a label.¹²⁷ This woodcut is not unusual; rather, it is a generic illustration of an author contemplating his work and could easily be used to portray writers of other works (e.g. the evangelists).¹²⁸ But Lotrian used an illustration with details that in this context elucidate specific characteristics of Guillaume

¹²⁵ This woodcut was printed by Martin Huss in *La Grante danse macabre* in 1499. Driver, *The Image in Print*, p. 163, fig. 8.

¹²⁶ The label reads: 'Cy parle l'acteur sans frivolle de desduyt et de sa karolle'. Scott notes that the majority of scribes and many authors probably could not afford such chairs but had visual access to them. Depictions of such seats bestow a sense of prestige and authority to occupants. Kathleen L. Scott, 'Representations of Scribal Activity in English Manuscripts c. 1400-c. 1490: A Mirror of the Craft?', *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, ed. Michael Gullick (Walkern: Red Gull, 2006), 115-149, at 144.

¹²⁷ Alison R. Flett, 'The Significance of Text Scrolls: Towards a Descriptive Terminology', *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Reading: Harwood, 1991), 43-56.

¹²⁸ Lotrian likely borrowed this illustration from Jehan Janot. Brown notes that this image of the seated author is abundant in Carolingian art. Brown, 100.

de Lorris's authorship. A rose-like bloom adorns the side of the author's chair, perhaps suggesting the primary object of his—and Amant's—affections. A rose-like shape also appears to materialize in the stylized folds of the garments near his heart, further branding him with his amorous interest in the rose. The proximity between the writer and the iconography of the rose suggests his thoughts, desires, and writings.

In addition, this woodcut reveals important references to the author's role in the poem. Intriguingly, Guillaume de Lorris's pen is poised inward with its quill touching his garment as if, instead of writing, he is drawing himself. Thus, while this illustration visually links Guillaume de Lorris with the rose, it further draws attention to his first-person narration. The writer's pen suggests his self-creation, both textually and visually, as he graphically reproduces his physical figure. Much as the narrative of his dream vision unfolds through his retelling, so, too, does Guillaume de Lorris's form emerge in this dreamscape through his pen. Illustrators of this period created *trompe l'oeil* paintings that blurred the distinction between works of art and reality. These works included portraits of artists in the act of self-portraiture. Such artisan portraits reveal self-assertiveness on the part of their makers through the inclusion of professional and personal monikers that identify, for example, guild affiliations and family heirlooms.¹²⁹ This woodcut depiction of Guillaume de Lorris reflects this trend: while it contains stylized line gradients and is not illusionistic, its illustrator included important iconographic markers.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ E.g.: Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal, Isaac Claesz van Swanenburg, *Self-Portrait*, inv. S 1738. See, also, Joanna Woods-Marsden, 'Representations of the Intellectual and the Manual Selves', *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998), 35-42. During this period, painters also began to paint themselves as St. Luke painting or drawing the Virgin, elevating the prestige of their profession. E.g.: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Roger van der Weyden, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*, inv. 93.153.

¹³⁰ Although Lotrian printed this image, this woodcut is not necessarily indicative of how artisans represented themselves. Artisans who worked with their hands (e.g. painters or printers' assistants) were often different from literary writers.

Elsewhere, Lotrian employed woodcuts to portray more divisive and misogynistic aspects of authorship to the reader. While the woodcut of Guillaume de Lorris demonstrates a process of self-creation, woodcut images of Jean de Meun borrowed by Lotrian for use in his *Rose* edition derive from a more controversial source. Below a rubric announcing the death of Guillaume de Lorris and the continuation of the poem by Jean de Meun, a woodcut portrays a man remonstrating with the Almighty (Figure 72).¹³¹ Lotrian probably borrowed this image from a previous French edition of *Le Livre de Matheolus* (e.g. Olivier Arnoullet's ca. 1510 edition),¹³² a text criticizing women and their vices. In this scene, the image's composition depicts Matheolus debating with God about why God created women, whom Matheolus has denounced at length in the narrative, along with the institution of marriage.¹³³ Thus, this illustration

¹³¹ The label reads: 'Cy endroit trespasa guillaume / De loris et n'en fist plus pseaulme / Mais apres plus de quarante ans / Maistre jehan de meun ce romant / Parfist ainsi comme je treouve / Et icy commence son oeuvre'. This label occurs between lines 4030 and 4031 of the poem. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 125, lines 4030-4031.

¹³² This edition was printed by Olivier Arnoullet in Lyon ca. 1510; the woodcut of Matheolus beseeching the Almighty is repeated within this edition: British Library, C.97.b.9, sigs. f1 recto and f6 recto. This image also occurs in Parisian editions, e.g.: London, British Library, 11475.ccc.29, sigs. a1 verso, h1 verso, and k3 recto. Mathieu (Matheolus) de Boulogne wrote the *Liber Lamentationum Matheoluli* in Latin ca. 1295. Jean Le Fèvre translated this work under the title *Les Lamentations de Matheolus* ca. 1371-72; however, he subsequently refuted Matheolus's work in his *Le Livre de Leesce*. Helen Solterer investigates Jean Le Fèvre's response to *Le Livre de Matheolus*, analysing his usage of 'feme/difamme dyad' and 'the impact of masterly writing on women in an increasingly judgmental manner'. Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 131-150, at 150. Véronique Gély-Ghédira asserts that it is very difficult to distinguish the origins of woodcuts printed in editions of *Le Livre de Matheolus*, as Parisian editors borrowed liberally from previous Lyonnais editions. She also mentions that Lotrian 'systematically' borrowed visual motifs from editions of the *Rebours de Matheolus* and *Le Livre de Matheolus* produced by Jean Trepperel and his widow. In his edition of *Le Livre de Matheolus* printed in 1527, Lotrian included illustrations that do not belong in the text (e.g. chivalric iconography), including images of 'very bad quality'. In the appendix of her article, Gély-Ghédira lists which images were included in editions produced by Claude Dayne, Claude Nourry, Michel Le Noir, Jean Trepperel, and Lotrian. Véronique Gély-Ghédira, 'Entre l'Exemplum et l'emblème: l'image exemplaire, à propos des éditions imprimées du *Livre de Mathéolus*', *Bulletin du bibliophile* 1 (1990): 29-62, at 36-7.

¹³³ God reassures Matheolus that marriage is 'purgatory' (as punishment for the Fall), and that God will reward suffering husbands in heaven's hierarchy. Karen Pratt, 'Translating Misogamy: The Authority of the Intertext in the *Lamentationes Matheoluli* and Its Middle French Translation'. *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35 (1999). 421-35, at 421-2.

echoes the criticism of women and the lengthy discourses on their flaws by characters in Jean de Meun's continuation.¹³⁴

A detail has notably been altered in this woodcut, however, distinguishing it from its original version. In Arnoullet's woodcut, a tree stands to the left of Matheolus's figure; in the revised woodcut by Lotrian, by contrast, the trunk of the tree has been removed, revealing a suspended, bloom-like form—an allusion to the rose. It seems likely that Lotrian appropriated this woodcut but altered the figure, suggesting that the true angst of the protagonist is no longer his wife, but the rose. While Guillaume de Lorris's contribution to the poem is arguably benign in tone, Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem suggests, through his personified voices, anti-feminine utterances.¹³⁵ Lotrian's visual association between Jean de Meun and Matheolus taps into a popular vein of literary and cultural production. Previous to and contemporaneous with the publication of Lotrian's book, writers frequently collocated *Le Livre de Matheolus* and Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Rose*, recognizing their similar characterizations of women which stirred famous debates, criticism, and defences.¹³⁶ *Le*

¹³⁴ See, for one example among many, Jean de Meun's citation of Theophrastus: Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 10, line 8531. Pratt notes how Le Fèvre uses the *Rose* as a 'compendium of antifeminist *sententiae*'. Pratt, p. 434, fn. 4.

¹³⁵ Alan Gunn asserts that Guillaume de Lorris's contribution to the poem is not merely a celebration of courtly love due to its conflicting visions of love through personifications. Gunn further explains that Jean de Meun recognized and evoked Guillaume de Lorris's characterizations of love in his continuation of the poem: Alan Gunn, *The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of 'The Romance of the Rose'* (Lubbock: Texas Tech, 1952), 21-2. Huot, however, probes how Jean de Meun's continuation of the poem juxtaposes Guillaume de Lorris's contribution to the poem, which presents erotic discourse as a distraction. Sylvia J. Huot, 'Désir de connaissance et connaissance du désir. Les modèles de composition poétique dans le *Roman de la rose*', *Lectures du Roman de la rose de Guillaume de Lorris*, ed. Fabienne Pomel (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 93-120.

¹³⁶ Hult, 'Words and Deeds', 351-365. See, also, Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance*, especially 71-73, 133-156. Catherine Brown explains this satire against women and other misogynist attacks continue beyond the later Middle Ages into the Renaissance. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), 179. Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in His Cultural Context* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 25-6. Other authors were influenced by *Le Livre de Matheolus* as well as Le Fèvre's *Livre de Leesce*, including Chaucer. Similar to Le Fèvre, Chaucer apologizes for his portrayals of women: in his *Legend of Good Women* Prologue, he explains how his work is an 'act of penance' for writing *Troilus* and translating the *Rose*. For further comparisons between Chaucer's works and the *Lamentations of Matheolus* and *Livre de Leesce*, see Helen Philips, 'Chaucer and Jean Le Fèvre', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 147 (1995): 23-80, at 24-5. Zacharias P. Thundy, 'Matheolus, Chaucer, and the Wife of Bath', *Chaucerian Problems and Perspectives, Essays*

Livre de Matheolus contains copious warnings to men about the deceptiveness of women and the angst of marriage. By labelling a woodcut of Matheolus as Jean de Meun, Lotrian prompted the reader's understanding of the relationship between these authors.

Near the end of the *Rose* narrative, this woodcut of Matheolus conversing with the Almighty reappears, establishing a humorous connection between Jean de Meun and his criticism of women (Figure 73). Below a caption in which Jean de Meun 'humbly' beseeches ladies to excuse him, Lotrian again displayed the woodcut of Matheolus's lamentation.¹³⁷ In his continuation of the poem, Jean de Meun's different personified voices describe ways of deceiving, scolding, and taking advantage of women.¹³⁸

Accordingly, scholars view Jean de Meun's brief pause in the narrative to ask in the narrator's voice for the pardon of ladies as a disingenuous and ironic apology.¹³⁹ Jean de Meun's summary attempt to redeem himself before his finale of plucking (deflowering) the rose pokes fun at prudish readers; it hardly attempts to make amends with those offended. Lotrian affiliated the shared misogyny of Jean de Meun and Matheolus by depicting Jean de Meun as Matheolus lamenting. Unsurprisingly, just as Lotrian created a link between the *Rose* and *Le Livre de Matheolus*, again echoing (consciously or

Presented to Paul E. Beichner. C. S. C., eds. Edward Vasta and Zacharias P. Thundy (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 24-58.

¹³⁷ The image label reads: 'Comment l'acteur moult humble / ment s'excusa. / Aux dames de rommant'. The following transpires at this moment in the main text of the poem: 'Si vos pri toutes, vaillanz fames, / soiez damoiseles ou dames, / amoureuses ou sanz amis, / que se moz i trouvez ja mis / qui samblent mordant et chenins / ancontre les meurs femenins, / que ne m'an voilliez pas blamer / ne m'escriture diffamer, / qui toute est por anseignement; / c'onc n'i dis riens certainement, / ne volanté n'é pas de dire, / ne par ivrece ne par ire, / par haïne ne par envie, / contre fame qui soit en vie; / car nus ne doit fame despire, / s'il n'a queur des mauvés le pire'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 211-2, lines 15165-15180.

¹³⁸ For synopses of misogynistic themes in Jean de Meun's contribution to the *Rose*, see Alcuin Blamires et al., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 148-166. Nevertheless, Alexandre Leupin asserts that men also receive 'damaging' portrayals in the text. Alexandre Leupin, 'The *Roman de la rose* as a Möbius Strip (On Interpretation)', *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*, ed. Virginie Greene (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 61-76, at 65-69. Referencing Jean de Meun's portion of the poem as well as such other works as Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de la Feuillée*, R. Howard Bloch asserts that misogyny was considered to be a genre and a topos in the Middle Ages. R. Howard Bloch, 'Medieval Misogyny', *Representations* 20 (1987): 1-24, at 1-2.

¹³⁹ Solterer describes how Jean de Meun advises women not to defame his narrative, thereby 'displac[ing] the problem of defamation and bring[ing] us straight back to the stereotype of contentious women'. Solterer, 131-132.

otherwise) the manner in which they had previously been associated in the *querelle de la Rose* and elsewhere by readers and writers, scholars continue to include *Le Livre de Matheolus* in their analyses of anti-feminine utterances in the *Rose*.¹⁴⁰ By associating Jean de Meun—rather than Guillaume de Lorris—with the figure of Matheolus, Lotrian visually emphasized to the reader Jean de Meun’s controversial continuation of the poem and the legacy of his authorial personality.

This case study focuses on the inclusion in Lotrian’s *Rose* edition of author illustrations. But Lotrian also employed rubrics and titles in order to enhance his *own* contribution as editor. As previously mentioned, Lotrian inserted text on the title page of his edition to promote himself. Similarly, at the close of his *Rose* edition, Lotrian highlighted his role as book creator (Figure 74). On the final page of the poem, Lotrian added to the end of the text a common rubric used in printed editions and manuscripts: ‘C’est fin du romant de la rose / Où l’art d’amours est tout enclose’. Below this rubric and in large font, Lotrian reiterated the preceding explicit, but with his own twist: ‘Cy finist le Rommant de la Rose: Nouvellement imprime à paris Pour Alai[n] Lotrian’ (followed by his address, la rue neufve nostre Dame à l’escu de France).¹⁴¹ In this colophon, Lotrian’s near-repetition of a formulation in the preceding explicit suggests his authorial role in this newly printed edition. Similar to other colophons, Lotrian’s prominent colophon is nearly quadruple the size of the font of the actual poem, dominating the page and intentionally drawing the attention of the reader.¹⁴² By appropriating a line of verse used at the end of the poem in this manner, Lotrian

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman: The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250-1500*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 200-4, p. 201, fn. 63.

¹⁴¹ ‘This is the end of the Roman de la Rose: Newly printed in Paris For Alai[n] Lotrian’. As mentioned previously, I expand abbreviations and normalize orthography and punctuation in quotations as per standard editorial practice.

¹⁴² As mentioned previously, readers commonly look most frequently at the beginning and end of books, particularly when deciding whether to purchase a book. Due to frequent use by readers as well as environmental factors, the opening and closing pages of books generally see much wear. Andrew Honey, personal communication, Oxford, 9 May 2012.

underscored his own persona as the creator of the book, highlighting his role as the maker of the edition.

Through his placement of appropriated woodcuts within and without the text, Lotrian emphasized authors as well as his own editorial role as central subjects in the reception of his *Rose* edition. By altering certain borrowed images, he created new meanings, applicable to the narrative as well as to the wider reception of the poem's original authors, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. The large illustrations on the recto and verso of the title page reinforce Lotrian's intention to promote his other editions and foreshadow the *Rose* narrative. Through his pairing of woodcuts with text, Lotrian exhibited personas of himself as editor, the poem's original authors, and prestigious, tortured, and lamenting author figures. Lotrian's borrowed images enable the reader to recall previous usages of woodcuts in other broader visual and literary contexts, while, through their edited compositions, also suggesting new meanings applicable to the *Rose*. The blurred relationship between the narrator/protagonist and authors of the *Rose*, as well as the book's compiler (who, in this instance, was Lotrian), presents an opportunity for an editor to expound on the authoritative and distinguished role of book creators. Although the use of first-person voices in the *Rose* narrative and rubrics may be confusing, it enables Lotrian to align his own voice and personality with those of the poem's original authors and narrator/protagonist. Through such an assimilation of text and borrowed woodcuts, Lotrian strategically emphasized authorial presence, elevating the status of his book and his profession in the eyes of the reader.

Case Study 3: Pattern Detection and Galliot Du Pré's *Rose* Editions

The final case study examines the repetition and patterns of woodcuts occurring in two editions—with starkly different formats—by Du Pré. While the previous two case studies explored usages in *Rose* editions of woodcuts borrowed from other contexts, this case study analyses woodcuts made expressly *for* the *Rose* that, on first encounter, appear to be misplaced or misused in the text of these two editions. Yet if these illustrations were incorrectly situated, why would the editor consistently recreate a similar order of images in later printed editions? Moreover, one book—located at the National Library of Wales (NLW) in Aberystwyth—is expertly coloured;¹⁴³ not a single woodcut has been altered to portray the ‘correct’ scene (i.e. by illustrating accompanying narrative), suggesting that the editor’s seemingly haphazard placement of woodcuts was intended.

This case study examines the arrangement of a selection of woodcuts in the text of two books produced by Du Pré, followed by a brief analysis of how these woodcuts could stimulate varying responses from the reader based on the difference in scale between the two books. Du Pré printed PML 1107 in Paris *ca.* 1529 and NYPL Spencer Coll. French 1531 in Paris *ca.* 1531.¹⁴⁴ I argue that through their positioning and repetition in the text, the *Rose* woodcuts in these editions evoke recurring motifs in the narrative, occasionally eliciting visceral responses from the reader. Like this chapter’s first two case studies, this final case study questions how illustrations operate in relation

¹⁴³ Aberystwyth, NLW, PQ 1527 A1 b31 (Qto). acc. no. CG 184. Martin Kauffmann rightly noted how the pink and blue tints employed in the overpaintings of this incunable resemble those of Italian incunables. Martin Kauffmann, personal communication, 21 Nov. 2011. E.g.: Eugenia Govi, ‘Inc. 225 (1481)’, *Patavinae cathedralis ecclesiae capitularis bibliotheca: Librorum xv. saec. Impressorum index* (Padua: Patavii, 1958), 65.

¹⁴⁴ New York, PML, PML 1107. Bourdillon edition ‘Q’: Bourdillon, 58-60. This printed book was bequeathed to the PML from George Beach De Forest. New York, New York Public Library (NYPL), Spencer Coll. French 1531. Bourdillon edition ‘R’: Bourdillon, 60-62.

to the poem's text and rubrics.¹⁴⁵ This case study, however, also attempts to decipher consistent patterns of 'misused' *Rose* woodcuts in PML 1107 and Spencer Coll. French 1531.¹⁴⁶ Although the woodcuts used are identical and positioned similarly in both editions, the books differ substantially in size—the 1529 edition is less than half the size of the 1531 edition—altering the way in which the reader perceived the illustrations in relation to the page.

As noted, the first two case studies have focused on meaningful usages of woodcuts appropriated from non-*Rose* editions in the *Rose* text.¹⁴⁷ But 'borrowed' images need not be appropriated from another context; they can just as easily be 'borrowed' in the sense that, though depicting a certain character or moment in the *Rose* narrative, they were nonetheless 'misplaced' in the text of the book. In that regard, I assert that *Rose* woodcuts were repeated and organized in Du Pré's editions in order to emphasize particular subjects and features in the passages they accompany. These recurring illustrations form distinct patterns, encouraging the reader's perception, through visual means, of new associations between different narrative scenes. By examining the placement of illustrations in the text of Du Pré's editions, this section explores his construction of a web of iconographic motifs in the *Rose*.

Recent scholarship notes the importance of analysing image patterns in books. In her analysis of early English printed books, Driver cautions readers and scholars not to

¹⁴⁵ Both editions contain Prologues and Tables of Contents listing illustrations pictured in the text. Similarly, the narratives of both editions contain side notes and descriptions to aid the reader's interpretation of text passages.

¹⁴⁶ Swift describes the 'intertextuality' of the woodcuts used in Du Pré's *Rose* editions, which were included in his editions of *Le Champion des dames*. Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance*, 82-90; 95-99, pls. 1.5-1.9. In addition, Jean Petit published a *Rose* printed edition containing the same woodcuts as Du Pré's ca. 1531 edition. Both Jean Petit's and Du Pré's editions were printed by Pierre Vidoue in 1531. Yet for the purposes of this discussion, I examine only Du Pré's printed editions in order to compare his ca. 1529 and 1531 *Rose* works.

¹⁴⁷ While Vérard demonstrated an ability to contrast borrowed illustrations from two sources in the *Rose* text for dramatic and contemplative effect, Lotrian promoted authorship and the dynamic role of book creators (including himself) through his pairings of text and images.

overlook the order of illustrations in books.¹⁴⁸ Driver reveals important associations between English books' text and seemingly random illustrations, encouraging further study of image-text relations. According to Driver, patterns of images in books demonstrate purpose, and I use—and support—this assumption through my analysis of Du Pré's *Rose* books.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly, this case study evaluates *Rose* woodcuts with an eye to how they relate to both accompanying passages and the page in Du Pré's *Rose* editions.

What if the repetition of *Rose* illustrations in the text reveals broader meaning? Upon closer examination, reused illustrations in Du Pré's printed editions evoke narrative parallels through their repetition, enabling the reader to distinguish thematic connections. Many images are repeated in Du Pré's printed editions, including woodcuts of a courtly couple immersed in conversation and a writer busy at work in his atelier with books splayed open at his feet. Due to the interweaving of numerous repeated illustrations in the text, the meanings of repeated illustrations are sometimes muddled and not immediately clear. In order to trace specific text-image relationships, I examine the following recurring woodcuts: (1) a woman committing suicide; (2) a man beating a woman; (3) Amant grasping a rose; and (4) a man and woman asleep.

The first example of image repetition—the illustration of a woman committing suicide—serves as a surrogate for other scenes of violence (Figure 75). In this woodcut, a woman wears a full-length gown with her breasts exposed. Lodging a sword's pommel into the earth at her feet, she prepares to impale her heart with the sword's point. Four winged and voluptuously-breasted harpies frame the four corners of the woodcut. The profusion of exposed breasts in this scene accentuates the main focus of the composition:

¹⁴⁸ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 40.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

the area of the woman's bare chest where she prepares to injure herself, fulfilling her suicide.

In Du Pré's printed editions, this scene is paired with both male and female suicides in the narrative. While the first appearance of this scene accompanies the vice Félonie in Du Pré's large edition, it also appears in both editions alongside text and a rubric describing the suicide of Nero (Figure 76).¹⁵⁰ In the narrative, Nero—facing assassination at the hands of his people—kills himself. The accompanying woodcut scene, however, displays the image of the lone female figure impaling herself. A reader familiar with representations of Nero's suicide in manuscripts and printed editions would have been accustomed to seeing a male (rather than a female) figure in this image. Accordingly, Du Pré's recycled image does not convey the appropriate gender. Moreover, this illustration also subsequently accompanies the suicides of Lucretia, Dido, and Phyllis in the *Rose* text;¹⁵¹ however, Phyllis hanged herself and did not use a sword. The repetition of this woodcut appears to link narrative themes of suicide and self-destruction throughout both Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's contributions to the poem. Nonetheless, this woodcut composition does not always represent the exact details of Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's accompanying narrative scenes in the main text and rubrics, and the reader would have recognized as much. By recycling this image, Du Pré may have intended for the reader to make other interpretive connections between these scenes and personages, recognizing how these figures' stories and their deaths are similar to and different from each other.

¹⁵⁰ In this case study, all examples—with the exception of those otherwise indicated—reference Du Pré's ca. 1531 edition. Félonie (sig. b2 recto): 'Un autre ymage d'autre taille / a senestre avoit delez lui, / son non desus sa teste lui, / pelee estoit Felonie'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 6, lines 152-155. Nero's suicide (sig. h4 recto): Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 197-8, lines 6404-6457.

¹⁵¹ Lucretia (sig. k5 recto): 'Si n'est il mes nule Lecrece'; Ibid., vol. 2, p. 13, line 8621. Dido and Phyllis (sig. p4 recto): (1) Dido: Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 150-1, lines 13143-13180; (2) Phyllis: 'Phyllis ausint tant atendi / Demophon qu'ele s'en pendi / por le terme qu'il trespasa / dom serement et foi quassa'; Ibid., vol. 2, p. 151, lines 13181-13184.

Other instances of violence are indicated through the recurrence of images. For example, a woodcut of a man beating a woman with a rod-like object appears alongside text and a rubric describing the narrative moment of the jealous husband beating his wife (Figure 77).¹⁵² In this image, the man clutches the woman's hair as she collapses on the floor by a fireplace. In the peripheral setting, pairs of animals echo the male's aggression. In the foreground, two cocks fight and, behind the man, two dogs ferociously expose their teeth and claw at each other's throats. This fomenting scene demonstrates violent, barbaric attacks. This illustration is similar to the portrayal in manuscripts and printed editions of the Jaloux (Jealous Husband) beating his wife,¹⁵³ which occurs only once in the text in relation to the specific scene of the Jaloux; however, in Du Pré's editions, this particular woodcut image is repeated elsewhere. For example, this scene accompanies the narrative moment in which Honte, Peur, and Danger beat Amant 'tres rudement' (Figure 78).¹⁵⁴ According to the image's rubric, which matches the text of the poem, Amant shouts 'mercy humblement' during the attack.¹⁵⁵ There are discrepancies between the narrative scene and the woodcut image—perhaps most notably the attack of a woman instead of a man. Nevertheless, the woodcut imparts a sense of Amant's helplessness in the face of his assailants. The savage scene of Amant's assault echoes the woodcut representation of a man beating a vulnerable woman. Much as the woman cowers on the ground, Amant can only feebly cry for mercy as he submits to the blows of his attackers. As another parallel to the man in the woodcut scene, the *Rose* narrative notes that Danger too carries a club to enforce his brutality.

Du Pré's repetition of woodcut scenes in his *Rose* editions is not limited to scenes of violence, however; other non-violent scenes are also repeated. One of the most

¹⁵² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 34-5, lines 9331-9359.

¹⁵³ E.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 66v. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396, sig. l2 recto.

¹⁵⁴ 'Very Rudely'; this scene occurs on sig. r2 verso; Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 204-5, lines 14913-14922.

¹⁵⁵ 'Mercy humbly'.

commonly recurring woodcuts in Du Pré's editions is the printed image of Amant lunging to pluck the long stalk of the rose (Figure 79). At the left of the composition, the gate to the garden stands ajar as Amant wrestles with the rose's serpentine and leafy stem. In the narrative, Amant only twice embraces the rose, physically holding the object of his desires: in Guillaume de Lorris's section (when he is punished) and at the conclusion of the story.¹⁵⁶ So why does this woodcut appear multiple times in Du Pré's edition? While the previously examined woodcuts denote physical actions occurring in accompanying passages, this image implies Amant's pensiveness and preoccupation with the rose, his ultimate goal and the object of his unrequited desires. Accordingly, it is unsurprising that this image appears elsewhere in Du Pré's editions at points in the narrative when Amant is brooding over the flower.¹⁵⁷ For example, in both printed editions, this woodcut accompanies the poem's text and rubric describing Amour piercing Amant with his arrow, inflaming his desire for the rosebud;¹⁵⁸ although Amant has not yet touched the rosebud, the portrayal of Amant clutching the rose could signify his bond to the bud. Similarly, this illustration accompanies other passages in which Amant is preoccupied with or thwarted from obtaining the object of his affections.¹⁵⁹

Although Amant is separated from the rose for much of the duration of the poem, the repetition of this woodcut continually emphasizes his inner thoughts and alludes to his continued pursuit. Ultimately, at the end of Du Pré's edition, when Amant at last

¹⁵⁶ Stolen kiss (sig. e4 verso): Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 106-7, lines 3455-3480. Amant plucking the rose (sig. z5 recto): Ibid., vol. 3, p. 152, line 21675.

¹⁵⁷ In the poem's plot, the rosebud is the object of Amant's affections and widely believed to represent a young woman. Women were commonly portrayed as flowers in other courtly narratives. Other scholars present different interpretations of the rose, e.g. as the Virgin Mary, an emblem of female sexuality, or Amant's narcissistic self-love (as he first perceives the rosebud in a mirror). Sylvia J. Huot, 'Women and "Woman" in Bodleian MS Douce 332: A Case of "Accidental Meaning"?', *De la Rose: texte, image, fortune*, eds. Catherine Bel and Hermann Braet (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 41-58. Huot, 'Bodily Peril', 41-61. Kelly, 106. Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, 233-234. Charles Dahlberg, 'Love and the *Roman de la Rose*', *Speculum* 44 (1964): 568-584, at 577-578.

¹⁵⁸ E.g. Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. c5 recto; Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 52-3, lines 1679-1718. Huot, *Dreams of Lovers*, 24.

¹⁵⁹ For example, on sig. r1 verso: Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 199-200, lines 14787-14791.

conquers the rose, this scene again appears—thus completing his quest (Figure 80). The placement of this woodcut at the end of the poem concludes Amant's harrowing, metaphoric wrestle to pluck the rose's stem. In this regard, Du Pré's illustrations are a guide of sorts to accompanying passages, enabling the reader to identify when Amant is lost in his thoughts about the rose or has attempted to gain access to her.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, these images do not serve as a modern index, in the sense that they do not serve as a guide to an unknowing reader. Instead, the reader brought to borrowed images knowledge of the narrative and images enabling him or her to intuit purposeful links through their usages. Moreover, this recurrent visual motif creates a background to the narrative of the poem, periodically summoning into the consciousness of the reader the image, in this case, of the reflective protagonist. Amant's ruminations echo the reader's own contemplations, linking disparate dialogues and ultimately attaining the rose (in the literal sense). Thus, these repeated illustrations reveal shared meaning, elucidating broader elements of Amant's and the reader's ruminations.

While this case study chiefly focuses on image repetitions, it is important to note that not all illustrations in Du Pré's editions appear multiple times. Certain illustrations occur only once, indicating that Du Pré was not averse to individual cameos of images and had the resources to produce a variety of woodcut scenes. For example, the woodcut accompanying the text passage of Jason in search of the Golden Fleece appears only a single time in the main text of Du Pré's editions (Figure 81).¹⁶¹ In this scene, a ship sails through choppy waters with billowing sails. A fleur-de-lys banderole adorns the bow of

¹⁶⁰ Other scholars have recognized Du Pré's purposeful recycling of woodcuts in his other editions and deemed his woodcuts worthy of study. See, for example, Sue Ellen Holbrook, 'Story, Picture, and Reading in Wynkyn de Worde's *Vitas patrum*', *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York: Garland, 1999), 219-252, at 229-230.

¹⁶¹ Sig. l4 verso: Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 38, lines 9471-9477.

the ship, as does a fluttering banner with Du Pré's motto.¹⁶² Another unrepeated woodcut is the image of Venus's chariot soaring through the air led by her team of white doves (Figure 82).¹⁶³ This image prefaces her breach of the castle, as she aids Amant in his pursuit of the rose. Though Du Pré's motives in this respect are not entirely clear, it is possible that he used certain illustrations only once in his editions in order to refocus the attention of the reader. Alternatively, he may have imagined that these particular illustrations were not essential recurring motifs or were too detailed and particularized in subject, thus choosing not to repeat them. Accordingly, Du Pré's use of specific woodcuts contrasts with how Vérard employed generic woodcuts in his *Le Jardin de plaisance* volumes (i.e. in which Vérard and/or the reader added labels in order to make images pertinent to a given scene).

Although both of Du Pré's editions contain nearly identical patterns of images in the text, they differ greatly in scale. This discrepancy fosters different forms of engagement on the part of the reader. The scale of Du Pré's larger printed edition's page

¹⁶² Du Pré's motto ('Vogue la galée') is written on the banderole soaring above the ship. By using this image only once in the poem's main text and in relation to the story of Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, Du Pré affiliated himself with the mythological legend of Jason's expedition. Indeed, this woodcut was frequently used as Du Pré's printer's mark in his other sixteenth-century editions. In Spencer Coll. French 1531, Du Pré used a similar version of this device (with the same motto) at the end of the poem. In PML 1107, Du Pré repeated the same printer's mark used to represent Jason in search of the Golden Fleece at the end of the poem. Similar versions of this printer's mark were also employed by Du Pré's father and son. The woodcut identifies Galliot Du Pré through (1) the word 'galée' (galley) and the depiction of a galley, or ship with a sail and banks of oars. Just as Lotrian affiliated himself with the address of his workshop, other bookmakers sought to make their names and workshops easily recognizable in books and elsewhere (e.g. by using signage outside their workshops). Du Pré used this device of a galley to make his name (Galliot) more memorable. Rabelais, who owned books published by Du Pré, referred to Du Pré's motto in his writings: William F. Smith, *Rabelais in His Writings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1918), 169.

¹⁶³ Sig. r6 verso. 'Lors fist sa mesnie apeler, / son char conmande a esteler, / qu'el ne veust pas marchier les boes. / Biau fu li chars, a .IIII. roes, / d'or et de pelles estelez. / En leu de chevaus estelez / ot au limons .VI. columbiaus / pris en son columbier, mout biaux'. Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 229, lines 15749-15756.

(27 x 18.8 cm) enabled him to reproduce multiple woodcuts on individual pages, permitting the reader easily to detect patterns and iconographic recurrences. But by the same token, the larger size of Du Pré's *ca.* 1531 edition causes the woodcuts to appear smaller and less substantial in relation to the page. The text and printed side notes dominate and crowd the pages' surfaces, dwarfing the presence of the woodcuts and perhaps their role in the reader's interpretation of passages. The smaller scale of Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 edition's page (13.3 x 8.3 cm), by contrast, creates an altogether different format in which woodcuts dominate the page through their placement and relationship to the text. Although the editions consist of the same text and images, Du Pré's smaller edition highlights illustrations in a different manner, presumably evoking divergent responses from the reader.

Each book creates a unique journey for its readers. Of course, each reader responds to images in a different way, relishing or disliking certain illustrations, textual passages, and combinations of the two. The composition of Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 edition is particularly effective in encouraging personal response through the intimate scale of the page. As with contemporaneous prayerbooks, Du Pré's smaller edition was portable, designed for intimate reading and reflection. Consequently, the small proportions of this small-octavo book and the corresponding prominence of illustrations within the page, demonstrate more visceral responses from the reader.¹⁶⁴ As an example, a printed book copied from Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 edition contains a stark instance of a reader's interaction with image repetitions.¹⁶⁵ In PQ1527 A1 b38 (copy A), the reader blackened the faces of

¹⁶⁴ The portability of small books—quite common during this period—ensured that they were not only conceived of, but utilized as, objects of personal reflection and meditation. This association applies to prayerbooks, particularly Books of Hours, which were conceived of as 'precious' objects of personal use. This history of small books was explored in an exhibition at the Walters Art Museum in 2000: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, *Shrunk Treasures: Miniaturization in Books and Art* [Exhibition], 9 Sept. 2009.

¹⁶⁵ This small-octavo book was published by Jehan Morin in Paris *ca.* 1538. Prior to the publication of Morin's *Rose* edition, which comprises the same woodcuts as Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 and 1531 editions, Morin was imprisoned, because he purportedly intended to use allegories to teach Reformed religion: Peter H. Ditchfield, *Books Fatal to Their Authors* (New York: Armstrong, 1895), 216. As noted in Chapter 1,

figures in specific woodcuts.¹⁶⁶ On the title page, for example, a woodcut portrays a man and woman asleep in bed (Figure 83); the cocoon shape of the two figures remains untouched in the illustration; however, the personages' faces are censored by a smudge of black ink. Above the illustration are the printed words, 'Cy est le Rommant de la Rose / Où tout l'art d'amour est enclose'.¹⁶⁷ Portrayals of a man and woman sleeping in bed were common during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; thus, in combination with the fact that the figures are covered and not engaged in any lascivious act, this particular image hardly appears deserving of censorship. Why would the reader feel compelled to erase their visages? Perhaps the answer lies in the reader's association of this image with its occurrence elsewhere in the *Rose*, accompanying a scene of adultery. On sig. h6 recto, the poem's text and rubric describe Vulcan catching Mars and Venus in bed.¹⁶⁸ Pictured alongside the text is the *same* illustration of the man and woman asleep in bed with faces blackened (Figure 84). The woodcut is identical to the image on the title page. While the title page woodcut may initially have seemed like an innocent scene of a husband and wife dozing in their sleeping caps, the reader's association of this image with the cuckoldry of Mars and Venus later in the narrative may well have retroactively caused a visceral response. Whether playful or disapproving (I suspect the latter), the reader recognized the visual parallels between these scenes and interacted with the images accordingly, by obscuring the faces of the offenders. This illustration occurs only twice in the *Rose*, and it is modified each time in this book.

The reader's responsiveness to these images, I suggest, relates in part to the scale of the book. While the pages of this book and Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 edition are small in size, they have a generous white border that draws attention to the central positioning of the

editors often borrowed woodcuts and visual programmes from each other; Morin borrowed Du Pré's woodcuts, in addition to their visual presentation in Du Pré's *ca.* 1529 edition.

¹⁶⁶ Aberystwyth, NLW, PQ1527 A1 b38 (copy A).

¹⁶⁷ 'This is the Romance of the Rose, wherein the art of love is completely enclosed'.

¹⁶⁸ Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 170-1, lines 13803-13829.

woodcuts; these woodcuts emerge as focal points in the composition of the page. The prominent images of the bedroom scene, therefore, may have been too much for the reader of the small-octavo book to tolerate, causing him or her to reach for the inkwell.

In sum, this case study has explored how the repetition of images in *Rose* editions could reveal to the reader important patterns of motifs in the narrative. Despite the divergent sizes of Du Pré's editions, he reproduced a similar order of illustrations which reveal a focus on particular features and subjects. Nevertheless, the reader probably viewed these editions differently due to their varying sizes. The woodcut placement in the text of both editions evokes underlying themes of the characters' desires, vulnerabilities, and violence, enabling the reader to establish connections between different scenes in the book and contemplate their relevance to the plot. These illustrations evince, through their repetition, an awareness of tonal shifts and progression in the story. While the prior case studies explored the use of borrowed images from other sources in *Rose* books, this case study has grappled with the usage of *Rose*-specific woodcuts and their ability to contribute diverse layers of meaning to accompanying narrative passages. Rather than assessing only individual images, this analysis has focused on Du Pré's patterns of visual and textual iconography in order to determine how repeated images can be significant visual tools used by the reader.

* * *

This chapter has explored editors' intentions in the construction of text and images in *Rose* printed editions. Its three case studies problematize the ways in which images function in, or interact with and superimpose new meanings on, the *Rose* narrative. Through analyses of Vérard's, Lotrian's, and Du Pré's editions, I have probed

important aspects of reception and how editors' varied placement of appropriated and repeated *Rose* images in the poem's text consciously taps into the reader's eagerness to detect patterns and identify shared motifs (in manuscript, print, and other media). Through their selective usages of borrowed and repeated images, these editors demonstrated different perspectives as to how images belong in books: Vérard used borrowed *CNN* and *Miroir* imagery to emphasize the (often immoral) nature of women and aspects of violence; Lotrian capitalized on the role of authorship, highlighting the prestige and multivalenced personas of authors through appropriated author imagery; and Du Pré repeated *Rose* imagery to evoke recurring motifs, such as self-destruction and longing, in narrative scenes. Appropriated and reused *Rose* illustrations do not simply allude to the accompanying *Rose* text and rubrics; rather, editors further addressed relevant contemporary preoccupations, including cuckoldry (Vérard), the cultural role of the author (Lotrian), and the trials of love (Du Pré), to shape their editions and appeal to the reader. Editors' recycled images both broadened and restricted the scope of the reader's interpretation of text and images in their editions, by evoking other contexts and emphasizing certain subjects and features. The visual presentations of printed editions examined in this chapter enticed—and dismayed, at least in the case of one reader—through their displays of symbiotic, unexpected, and multivalenced relationships between text and images in books.

This chapter's title asks whether, within the pictorial programme of books, images 'belong'. Examinations of borrowed and repeated *Rose* images and their relationships to rubrics and the poem's narrative implicitly reveal that these images 'belong' in Vérard's, Lotrian's, and Du Pré's *Rose* editions. It is important to continue questioning and exploring the role of borrowed and reused woodcuts in different editors' books in order to broaden our understanding of image reception across narrative genres.

Significant questions remain as to how the reader may have interpreted and intervened in illustrated books. I assess more thoroughly these and other aspects of the reader's interactions with visual iconography in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 3: The Sense of the Page

Introduction

As has been explored in Chapters 1 and 2, early printed books were not fixed entities. They were susceptible to and even formatted for change, as is demonstrated by the skilled interventions of editors and illustrators. Were the easily manipulated pages of books intended solely for the creative prowess of editors? While the makers of books altered their printed products through the use of printed images, titles, and rubrics, their additions were selective, and another active interpreter lurked: the reader.¹ This chapter posits that editors purposely provided ample marginal space and limited their hand-rendered interventions in books in order to enable the reader to interact with and structure his or her own books according to taste.

In this chapter, I investigate the consumption of *Rose* printed editions by analysing readers' illustrations and annotations in those books. Many *Rose* books reveal evidence of drawings and annotations penned by readers in the margins (and elsewhere). This chapter examines how the readers of two *Rose* books, through their drawings of sensory motifs—particularly mouths and hands—interpreted printed woodcuts and texts. Through two case studies, I argue that readers depicted mouths and hands to dramatize aspects of speech, oral contact, and somatic sensation in the *Rose* narrative.

This chapter posits that readers were familiar with the use of marginal figures (e.g. illustrated pointing hands and historiated initials containing faces) in manuscripts and printed editions, and depictions of mouths and hands serve as representations of

¹ I use the term 'reader' to describe sixteenth-century readers who also corrected, annotated, depicted drawings, and possibly vocalized or silently mouthed words in books.

these sorts of devices.² Through mouth and hand illustrations, readers may have intended to assume a role akin to the books' editors, appropriating woodcut iconography, guiding the eye, and insisting on specific interpretations. Unlike an editor, however, readers exercised greater freedom, given that they decorated and annotated books for their own purposes, rather than to enable reading by others.³ Nor were they required to worry about how their illustrations and annotations might affect the future sale of books.

In *Rose* scholarship and elsewhere in studies of books and art, scholars often measure reception according to how books and objects were collected.⁴ While these surveys reveal important patterns, perhaps, as Evelyn Tribble asserts, value lies also in 'the local, the material'⁵— i.e. in close analyses of readers' annotations in books themselves—in order to ascertain how readers perceived meaning and responded to images. Following this methodology, I undertake a close examination of readers' varying responses in two books to reveal how they customized editions for personal use and to evoke sensory perception and communication in the *Rose*.

This chapter's first case study examines Bodleian Library Lawn d. 49,⁶ a book published by Du Pré in Paris ca. 1526. In this copy, the reader depicted open mouths and lips in the margins and in at least one woodcut. The second case study examines

² In the margins of Dutch manuscripts and printed books, illustrators also penned drawings of faces, eyeballs, eyelashes, and other body parts: Anne S. Korteweg, *Kriezeles, Aubergines en takkenbossen: randversiering in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1992), p. 88, fig. 56; p. 89, figs. 57-8; p. 91, fig. 64; p. 92, fig. 72.

³ Although readers may have intended their illustrations to influence contemporary or future readers of their volumes, for the purposes of this study, I explore how their depictions relate to their own perception of the narrative and its patterns.

⁴ See, e.g., Booton, 193-211. Till-Holger Borchert, 'Collecting Early Netherlandish Paintings in Europe and the United States', *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, eds. Anne van Buren et al., trans. Andrew McCormick and Anne van Buren (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2005), 173-217.

⁵ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (London: UP of Virginia, 1993), 5.

⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49. Bourdillon edition 'P': Bourdillon, 57-8. Davies and Fairfax Murray, 328.

PML 553,⁷ a copy of an edition published by Vérard in Paris *ca.* 1505. In this book, the reader drew gesturing hands in the margins. Through the introduction of mouth and hand depictions, Lawn d.49's and PML 553's readers demonstrated different responses to the *Rose* and its images, responses deserving of closer analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 2, readers brought purpose to works, not only as consumers but also by virtue of their capacity to identify links between literary sources and images. Building on this concept, I analyse how readers intended to illustrate books with mimetic representations of speech, oral contact, and touch. This is the first critical study of how readers alluded to the possibility of voicing and physical contact in *Rose* printed editions through their drawings of mouths and hands. I argue that readers—such as those in these two case studies—depicted body parts in woodcuts and text in order to connect disparate moments in the plot with shared thematic resonance, as well as to emphasize individual narrative scenes pertaining to sensory perception.

I have identified other readers who drew mouths and hands in different *Rose* and non-*Rose* manuscripts and printed editions.⁸ In books, drawings of mouths and hands are at times physically hidden by tight bookbinding or are difficult to recognize due to their abbreviated forms (e.g. pairs of lips, clenched knuckles, and segmented fingers detached from bodies). These factors might also explain why late medieval and Renaissance readers' drawings are under-examined, despite their potential for reconstructing how individuals sensed and imagined narratives.⁹ In this respect, Lawn d.49's and PML 553's readers were a part of a larger practice and a larger readership who illustrated body

⁷ New York, PML, PML 553. The ISTC number of this edition is ir00314000. Bourdillon edition 'G': Bourdillon, 45-6. Goff, no. R-314. Pollard, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, no. 553. Both Lawn d.49 and PML 553 contain printed historiated initials containing faces and figures. It is possible that these initials inspired some of the readers' annotations. Copies of other *Rose* editions feature historiated initials with human faces and figures, including Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mal. 12.

⁸ E.g. London, British Library, C.7.b.12. London, British Library, IB.41546.

⁹ Although the small size of quarto and octavo editions arguably fostered intimate handling and more personalized annotations by readers, copies of larger printed editions also contain extensive annotations. See, e.g.: New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531.

parts in similar ways in books during this period. Lawn d.49 and PML 553 appear to include a higher volume of readers' drawings of mouths and hands than other *Rose* editions, but these two books offer insight into how to explore other contemporary readers' illustrations in other books.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers intrigue literary critics and historians. They were the users of the diverse category of objects we classify variously as luxurious, tattered and torn, intimately small or sometimes large, usually portable objects of reflection: books. They also manifested important relationships with these objects. In *A History of Reading*, Alberto Manguel explains that, in the mid-fifteenth century, the notebooks of humanist schools reveal a shift in book reception, as individual readers began to locate meaning in scholastic works, rather than relying on authority figures for guidance as to how to receive these works and what to think.¹⁰ As Manguel remarks, while this change in scholastic teaching methods was by no means sudden, evidence indicates that Renaissance readers increasingly questioned and altered books, at least in part as a result of the increasing accessibility of printed editions in Western Europe.¹¹

Other scholars have noted important shifts in readership as a result of the emergence of print culture. In *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, Walter J. Ong asserts that the advent of print fostered a new awareness of language and the visual in books by readers.¹² He explains that manuscripts previously encouraged an oral culture, in which readers memorized texts by reading words aloud and remembering

¹⁰ Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (London: Flamingo, 1997), 81-2.

¹¹ As Manguel notes, some scholastic manuscript works also encouraged readers to read carefully and discern meaning. *Ibid.*, p. 82, fn. 14. Manuscript readers also altered and intervened in other manuscript texts, as I discuss further in this chapter's introduction and Case Study 1. Chartier also emphasizes the variable uses and meanings of texts. He cautions against 'predetermining [books'] sociological level by dubbing them "popular"'. Heeding Chartier's advice and methodology, this chapter does not attempt to pigeonhole a vast body of readers' responses in *Rose* books; instead, I investigate two particular examples of how readers used books, and the resulting implications. Roger Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture', 1; 4.

¹² Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

words as sounds.¹³ The legibility of print, he argues, encouraged silent reading, and the objectification of words as ‘things’.¹⁴ Paul Saenger suggests that a shift from reading aloud to silent reading fostered readers’ acute awareness of the visual in books—especially of erotic illustrations.¹⁵ Saenger, however, identifies a correspondence between the influx of portable prayerbooks and the onset of silent reading, determining that the French nobility began to practise silent reading in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁶ Saenger’s premise that books became heightened sensory experiences due to the onset of private, silent reading should be equally applicable to non-religious works. Ong’s and Saenger’s studies invite further analysis of the psychology of reading in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹⁷ To that end, I analyse how readers engaged visually with books by adding drawings, and whether printed editions encouraged readers’ development of new visual responses. I also explore whether readers may have read both aloud and silently following the advent of print, or whether readers’ marginalia might have, in what was perhaps a new period of largely silent reading, alluded to older, oral practices. These possibilities present interesting variations of simple theories of transition from oral to silent reading.

¹³ Ibid., 115-117.

¹⁴ Nevertheless, in the early age of print, reading was still considered a listening process ‘set in motion by sight’. Ibid., 117-119.

¹⁵ Paul Saenger, ‘Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages’, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1989): 141-173, especially 156-7.

¹⁶ Paul Saenger, ‘Written Culture at the End of the Middle Ages’, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997), 256-78, at 256-71. Huot describes how the aesthetic quality of manuscripts informs readership practices. She explains how manuscripts containing the works of ‘lyric poets’ (e.g. Guillaume de Lorris) changed in design according to how readers read (i.e. reading aloud to literacy and silent reading). She also observes how manuscript illustrations portrayed poets reading aloud and writing; Huot, *From Song to Book*, 164-73.

¹⁷ Joyce Coleman critiques Ong’s thesis, arguing that elite audiences in France and England enjoyed hearing texts read aloud beyond the later Middle Ages. She explains how orality and literacy were not separate readership practices, citing examples of literary works read aloud before audiences and authors describing the act of reading and hearing their texts. Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 76-108; 148-178. Michael T. Clanchy explains how in England during the early 1300s literacy spread as a ‘collective and institutional’ process, rather than as an individual skill. For further discussion on hearing words and speaking text in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 44-5; 255-284.

In the Middle Ages, sense perception was integral to the attainment of knowledge and comprehension of meaning in books. Thomas Aquinas wrote (quoting Aristotle), ‘omnis nostra cognitio a sensu initium habet’,¹⁸ emphasizing the pivotal role of sensation in devotion. Furthermore, sense perception was essential to the cognitive reception of religious and secular books: readers focused on instances of sounds, smells, tastes, and touch in texts, which in turn caused them to *feel* emotions.¹⁹ Katie Walter notes that perceptions of sensation in texts were understood to penetrate the late medieval reader’s own body and imprint on the brain, with the perceptions of taste and touch producing the greatest physiological effects.²⁰ Once absorbed in the brain, sense perceptions engaged the reader’s imagination and memory.²¹ Here, I explore whether sixteenth-century readers’ drawings demonstrate continuity with late medieval readership practices of perceiving sensation in books. While readers’ drawings in printed editions evoke sense perceptions, in line with Ong and Saenger, they also relied on visual perception in order to communicate meaning.

That readers were active in *Rose* printed editions does not mean they were inactive in *Rose* manuscripts in the sixteenth century. Sixteenth-century readers annotated medieval and Renaissance *Rose* manuscripts with drawings and text, emphasizing particular motifs and characters. There exist continuity and dexterity in the ways in which readers read *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions: readers both inserted

¹⁸ ‘All knowledge takes its rise from sensation’. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. Thomas Gilby, vol. 1 (London: Blackfriars, 1999), 9. Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Mediation and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Katie Walter, ‘Books and Bodies: Ethics, Exemplarity, and the ‘Boistous’ in Medieval English Writings’, *New Medieval Literatures* 14 (2012): 95-125, at 100-103. See, also, Katie Walter, ‘The Form of the Formless: Medieval Taxonomies of Skin, Flesh, and the Human’, *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Katie Walter (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013), 119-40. Daniel Heller-Roazen, *The Inner Touch: Archaeology of a Sensation* (New York: Zone, 2007), 26-7.

²⁰ Walter, ‘Books and Bodies’, 101-103; 119-120.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 102; 118. Walter’s analysis is a particular development and extrapolation of accepted processes of medieval faculty perception. For further reading on the influence of medieval theories of sense perception in England during the Reformation, see James Simpson, ‘The Rule of Medieval Imagination’, *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England*, ed. Jeremy Dimmick et al. (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 4-24.

print elements in manuscripts and manuscript elements in printed editions, much like bookmakers.²² Later in this chapter, I will explore readers' use of manuscripts and printed editions in more depth.

Extensive scholarship examining the printed margins of English books provides a useful starting point from which to explore readers' responses in French books. In *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England*, Tribble addresses the importance of printed marginal annotations in English books. She explains that printed annotations inserted by editors were often critical to the comprehension of literary texts. Printed side notes, however, also competed for authority with books' texts, as in Reformist editors' inflammatory doctrinal notes in English printed Bibles.²³ In *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books*, William W. E. Slights expands on Tribble's study, describing books' printed glosses as a sort of 'comfort zon[e]' that guided English readers' interpretations of literature.²⁴ Slights examines how printed marginalia influenced readers' opinions and shaped their responses to texts from ca. 1540-1700 in England. He discerns how printed side notes varied between authoritative and oppositional voices, compromising any supposed fixity of texts.²⁵ I apply Tribble's and Slights's conception of side notes as highly instructional and capable of influencing the tenor of texts; however, my examination focuses on marginal annotations *added by the reader*, rather than glosses or annotations created by editors and authors that come with the book. Slights and Tribble describe tension

²² Schmidt, 'Mirror of Human Salvation', 196-198; p. 196, fig. 52. Manuscript owners may have worked actively with workshops in order to tailor *Rose* books and other works to suit their personal preferences and needs, but few records of these practices remain. As discussed in Chapter 1, some manuscripts (as well as deluxe printed editions) were also created as tribute pieces, without the interference of future owners. While *Rose* manuscripts may at times include textual additions created by scribes under the direction of readers, this chapter investigates the responsiveness of readers who customized books in their own hands. In manuscripts, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the handwriting of readers from scribes. Evidence of readers' annotations in printed editions, however, can be easier to discern.

²³ Tribble, 6.

²⁴ Slights, 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14; 21.

between the printed marginal glosses and texts of Renaissance English books, and this chapter attempts to decipher how readers established their own nuanced relationships between the edge and centre of pages in French books.

There are notable examples of readers' handwritten annotations and mnemonic devices in English books. Analysing an edition of Chaucer's *Works* published by William Thynne, Antonina Harbus remarks how reader annotations provide personal entertainment and act as memory aids.²⁶ Citing Heidi Hackel, Harbus explains that anonymous readers' annotations can reveal the intellectual practices of a period, supplementing our knowledge of the history of reading.²⁷ Like Harbus and Hackel, I examine anonymous readers' annotations in books in order to reveal the ways in which readers interacted with the page. According to Heather Jackson, it is uncommon to find examples of Renaissance readers expressing their opinions in English texts, as they tended to be conditioned by the terse examples of editors and grammarians. Consequently, readers predominantly confined themselves to translations, textual collations and corrections, and references to other sources and examples in the margins. This chapter tests Jackson's assertion in relation to *Rose* books and analyses instances in which readers included drawings within the confines of the page.²⁸

While this chapter engages with evidence of readers' annotations in *Rose* printed editions, it is important to include a cautionary note about the limitations of the following case studies. Through analyses of handwriting and ink colours, I identify readers who were active in the margins, woodcuts, and texts of sixteenth-century books. The readers' annotations are impossible to date precisely, but the evidence of palaeography, in particular, provides a strong basis to conclude that the annotations date

²⁶ Antonina Harbus, 'A Renaissance Reader's English Annotations to Thynne's 1532 Edition of Chaucer's *Works*', *The Review of English Studies* 59 (2008): 342-355, at 344; p. 344, fn. 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 343-344. Heidi Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 139-141.

²⁸ Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 50.

from the early to mid-sixteenth century. In some instances, however, readers' annotations and drawings have been washed, trimmed, covered, or otherwise removed from books—re-bindings, eighteenth-century aesthetics, and natural decay are partially to blame for some of these removals. Accordingly, both case studies require a degree of forensic analysis and guesswork to discern faded annotations. As Kathryn Rudy explains in her study on 'dirty books', damage or cleaning within books does not always obscure readers' interaction with the page—damage and patterns of wear can also provide insightful clues as to how readers read and which pages they considered most significant (or insignificant).²⁹ Thus, although some readers' insertions in the following case studies may not provide unambiguous evidence, it remains important to inspect their placement and potential meaning.

Through annotations and drawings of body parts, readers customized and supplemented their reading experiences. In Lawn d.49 and PML 553, added illustrations that evoke faculties of perceiving, as well as elements of accompanying narrative scenes. Although this chapter's case studies manifest different reader responses, both readers necessarily relied on the visual in order to allude to speech and physical contact, utilizing mouths and hands as cues in marginal spaces. I suggest that there is nuance, depth, and inventiveness in the annotations and drawings of sixteenth-century readers in France, indicating methods of usage and, importantly, how individuals sensed and dramatized voicing, oral contact, and touch to elaborate meaning.

²⁹ Kathryn Rudy, 'Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), accessed 2 Jun. 2012. <<http://www.jhna.org>>. Kathryn Rudy explains how densitometers can measure grime left by fingerprints and wax stains in books. In addition, she argues that there are prayerbooks in which readers nibbled and licked pages; however, some of this damage, I believe, could instead be evidence of natural decay or other environmental factors (e.g. water stains). Kathryn Rudy, 'New Life in Medieval Books', Centre for Book Studies, Oxford, 15 Oct. 2012.

Case Study 1: Speaking Volumes: Reading with Hundreds of Parted Lips

In the *Rose* narrative, la Vieille explains to Bel Accueil that a woman must laugh with her mouth closed, never cry in front of a man, and never reveal what she is thinking.³⁰ In Lawn d.49, the reader outlined the length of la Vieille's proscription on laughter with the line of a pen, further underlining the accompanying side note, 'nota', and a pointing hand in the margin (Figure 85.1). Significantly, the reader's marginal line puckers with the delineation of small, parted lips along its edge (Figure 85.2). These lip drawings possibly represent the *viva voce* book-reader, or perhaps dramatize a passage concerned with oral conduct.³¹ Layered on top of this annotation is the distinct outline of a pair of reading spectacles, inserted as a bookmark—perhaps in a moment of reflection or fatigue.³² The eyeglasses and their brass or iron frames presumably were forgotten, left long enough to create a rust-tinged impression between the pages.

In this book, through numerous traces, the reader revealed thoughts, interests, and preoccupations.³³ But, perhaps most importantly, the reader expressed an oral fixation, depicting mouths as a form of creation, reflection, and protest—and removing them from certain woodcuts as punishment. As noted above, certain scholars, including Ong, posit that the advent of print signalled the transition from the practices of reading religious and

³⁰ 'Mes repoignent les denz et queuvrent. / Fame doit rire a bouche close, / car ce n'est mie bele chose / quant el rit a gueule estandue, / trop samble estre large et fandue'. Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 156, lines 13328-13332.

³¹ It is unlikely that the reader's drawings of mouths in the margins defy la Vieille's proscription on laughter, as laughter with an open mouth evokes specific imagery. The reader's drawings of slightly parted lips do not denote this coarse expression of amusement. M.A. Screech analyses different textual and visual depictions of laughter (e.g. works by Erasmus and Rabelais). While laughter most commonly conveys humour, it can also signify distress, sadness, and extreme torment. M.A. Screech, *Laughter at the Foot of the Cross* (London: Penguin, 1999).

³² It is unclear whether the same reader who annotated this copy also left this pair of reading spectacles behind. According to Andrew Honey, who examined Lawn d.49 with me, it is quite possible that s/he is the same reader. If this is the case, questions remain as to whether the reader read in a linear fashion, or possibly forgot his or her glasses during a different reading. Andrew Honey, personal communication, 9 May 2012.

³³ In addition, the reader possibly revealed a need to procure a new pair of reading glasses after leaving them on sig. p3 recto, assuming that the book's sixteenth-century annotator was the wearer.

secular works aloud to silent, private reading.³⁴ Other scholars, including Huot and Saenger, maintain that the transition from an oral to a written understanding of the word on the page is evident in manuscripts before the advent of print.³⁵ This case study investigates how, by depicting images of mouths in a *Rose* printed edition, the reader emphasized the importance of speech, which may have prompted reading aloud.³⁶ It is important to question whether readers, who used and interpreted books in different ways, may have continued to read texts aloud or with an understanding of previous oral practices (e.g. mouthing words silently).³⁷ Accordingly, later in this chapter, I analyse evidence of how Lawn d.49's reader read. Lawn d.49's reader not only personalized his or her printed book, but evoked voicing and oral contact as important features in book reception.

Mouths signify powerful orifices of creation and destruction. The most famous mouth of the Middle Ages is the Hellmouth, which represents a gateway to the underworld and sometimes Hell itself. Depictions of Hellmouths usually portray lips gaped widely to form either a vacuum or an opening packed with souls.³⁸ Emblematic of what awaits sinners, Hellmouths adorn private and public spaces, including manuscripts and relief-sculpture on column capitals.³⁹ Elsewhere, philosophically and

³⁴ Ong asserts that manuscripts, unlike printed books, manifest a 'give-and-take of oral expression'. Ong, 130. William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), 18.

³⁵ Huot, *From Song to Book*, 160-73. Paul Saenger, 'Silent Readings', 400-14. Saenger, 'Written Culture at the End of the Middle Ages', 256-278. Nevertheless, some scholars refute Saenger's claim, arguing that sustained illiteracy during this period necessitated oral readings: Dennis H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 15, p. 15, fns. 152, 153, and 154.

³⁶ Although I primarily refer to portrayals of mouths as indicative of speech, I assert, along with other scholars, that speech was a sensate experience in which readers possibly tasted and digested words. Walter, 'Bodies and Books', 118.

³⁷ Indeed, Coleman notes how wealthy audiences of the later Middle Ages preferred to hear texts read aloud in groups rather than to read them silently and privately. Coleman, 76-108.

³⁸ E.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 374, fol. 14v. For a general survey of Hellmouths and their portrayals, see Marisa Mandabach, 'Holy Shit: Bosch's Bluebird and the Junction of the Scatological and the Eschatological in Late Medieval Art', *Marginalia* 11 (2010): 28-49, especially pp. 32-33, figs. 3 and 4.

³⁹ For an example of a column capital's relief-sculpture depicting a Hellmouth, see, e.g., New York, The Cloisters Collection, inv. 25.120.4.

physiologically, mouths were considered open channels capable of transferring good, evil, and love in their abstracted and human forms.⁴⁰ Doorways and windows in churches and other structures were sometimes described as mouths, as they functioned as a sort of crossroads between exterior and interior spaces.⁴¹ In human beings, mouths were pathways to primal sins, such as those relating to excess in speech or consumption.⁴² Conceptions of mouths also varied according to gender, as female mouths, like other openings found in female bodies, were perceived to be dangerous and capable of causing harm, increasing apprehension among men.⁴³ Yet mouths were also contemplative and pious features, used for repeating prayers, confession, and the tasting of spiritual meaning—monastic practices, for example, chronicle a link between eating and reading, attributing sustenance to monks who metaphorically ‘chewed’ and savoured religious texts from the time of St. Augustine.⁴⁴ At the beginning of books of hours, for example, readers read ‘Domine, labia mea aperies’,⁴⁵ further demonstrating the important spiritual connection perceived in the recitation of prayers. In this case study, I touch on how mouth drawings relate to a variety of contemporaneous fears and pleasures concerning oral contact.

⁴⁰ Michael Camille, ‘The Image and the Self: Unwriting Late Medieval Bodies’, *Framing Medieval Bodies*, eds. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 62-99, at 70; p. 70, fn. 19.

⁴¹ Michael Camille, ‘Mouths and Meaning: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art’, *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-4 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology; Index of Christian Art, 1993): 43-58, at 48.

⁴² R. F. Yeager, ‘Aspects of Gluttony in Chaucer and Gower’, *Studies in Philology* 81 (1984): 42-55. Kari Kalve, ‘“The Muthes Wit”: Reading Speaking, and Eating in *Ancrene Wisse*’, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 14 (1998), 39-49. Caroline Walker Bynum explores aspects of how women fasted in an effort to control their bodies. Through extreme starvation, women believed they could rise to a higher spiritual level and become more male. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), especially 210-218. Kathleen Biddick, ‘Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible’, *Speculum* 68 (1993), 389-418.

⁴³ Kalve, 39-49. Depictions of tongues also represent sacred and profane (e.g. sexual and sodomit) connotations: Sarah Stanbury, *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 154-5. In medical tradition, men were believed to be more rational than women because they had more teeth. Katie Walter, personal communication, 23 Aug. 2012.

⁴⁴ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion, 1992), 63-4. Walter, ‘Bodies and Books’, 118. Thomas Usk, *The Testament of Love*, ed. R. Allen Shoaf (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1998), 181.

⁴⁵ ‘O Lord, open thou my lips’.

The later cleaning and re-binding of Lawn d.49 makes it difficult to discern evidence left by its sixteenth-century reader. Published by Du Pré *ca.* 1526, this printed edition contains Marot's first recension of the *Rose*.⁴⁶ A sixteenth-century reader's hand appears throughout the printed edition in iron gall ink. Nevertheless, it appears that someone—probably in the eighteenth century, as indicated by dating of the book's binding—later attempted to minimize this reader's traces.⁴⁷ Lawn d.49 was washed, bleached, pressed, trimmed, and re-bound. These processes resulted in the loss of some of the reader's annotations, and possibly several pastedowns, which will be discussed later in this case study. It is possible that 'de Caumartin' identifies the sixteenth-century reader, on the reverse of a fragment inserted at the end of the edition (Figure 86).⁴⁸ Rabelais also probably owned a copy of this edition.⁴⁹ Like the reader of Lawn d.49, Rabelais possessed an interest in mouths and speech in his writings,⁵⁰ which provides an interesting point of comparison for this case study. Yet it is not the aim of this study to prove or disprove the provenance of this book. Instead, I investigate how the reader used this copy as a vehicle to dramatize motifs and texts relating to speech, on the understanding that the evidence is both fragmentary and incomplete.

It was not effortless for the sixteenth-century reader to include annotations in books. He or she needed to mix gelatin or gum with ink in order to prevent its fading on

⁴⁶ This printed edition was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Brian Lawn in 2001 and includes his letterpress bookplate. This edition also contains notes on its sale history in Lawn's hand. The book's binding contains the gilt-stamped armorial device of Le Fevre de Caumartin, the armorial bookplates of William Stewart Rose, James Wyllie Guild, the Duke of Sussex, and Viscounts Melville. In some of the book's woodcut frames, I detected another black ink, which likely dates from the eighteenth century. Unlike the ink used by the sixteenth-century reader, this black ink bled onto adjoining pages and has purple pigment as its base colour.

⁴⁷ According to Honey, the smooth surfaces of the book's pages and text imprints indicate that the pages were washed and pressed, probably in the eighteenth century. Honey, personal communication, 9 May 2012.

⁴⁸ In a later century, the fragment was affixed with glair to one of the book's pages in an effort to hide both the person's autograph and cover the sixteenth-century reader's annotations. The cut-out reads, 'Henri par la grace du roy de France ... [unidentified signature] ... de Caumartin'.

⁴⁹ L. Sianéan, *La Langue de Rabelais* (Paris: Bocard, 1922-3), 102.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., François Rabelais, *Pantagruel roy des dipsodes restitué à son naturel avec ses faictz et prouesses espoventables*, ed. Jean-Yves Pouilloux (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1969).

paper or parchment.⁵¹ Indeed, in some annotations found in Lawn d.49, the ink does not appear to have been properly prepared, judging by its faint colouring. In assessing the reader's additions to this or any book, it is necessary to consider the forethought and planning that was required for the reader to make a lasting mark.

At the beginning of the poem, the reader asserted a significant presence through handwritten annotations. Above the printed title of the poem and all other text on the first page, the reader wrote 'Rommant de la Rose', centring the words on the page (Figure 87.1). This textual addition by the reader was gratuitous, as the poem's title was already printed on the page. The reader's handwritten title is larger and more prominent than the book's printed title. In addition, the reader included annotations on the title page and last page of the book. While the reader's closing words will be examined more thoroughly later in this case study, it is important to note the reader's activity in these spaces. As discussed in Chapter 2, the opening and close of *Rose* printed editions sometimes feature editors' titles, rubrics, and authorial portraits. By supplementing the beginning and end of the book with annotations, the reader made his or her presence visible. Through the occupation and elaboration of these zones, the reader assumed a role akin to the text's editor, but further personalized the book in unique ways.

The reader added drawings to the book's first woodcut in order to enhance important iconography. In the opening woodcut of Amant in bed with Danger wielding his club nearby, the reader added two drawings of roses within the scene (Figure 87.2). The inclusion of roses both echoes the title of the *Rose* poem on the first page and reflects the object of Amant's affections. The portrayal of a faded bloom by Amant's slumbering head alludes to the object of his dream, while also foreshadowing how he will become entranced with the flower: Amant first perceives the bud mirrored in water,

⁵¹ In Germany, medieval manuals instructed readers to mix formulas of gum with water in order to produce ink capable of adhering to paper surfaces. Honey, personal communication, 9 May 2012.

reminiscent of this faded, reflective depiction.⁵² Subsequently, Danger prevents Amant from plucking her stem.⁵³ The reader added another rose drawing behind Danger and his awaiting club, suggesting how the poem's narrative unfolds. These careful inclusions establish that the reader did not randomly insert drawings without purpose; rather, the reader illustrated the book with knowledge of its sequence of events and dénouement. The woodcut did not originally contain rose imagery—other *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, however, include rose iconography on the first page and throughout illustrations and border cycles, as rose motifs appear to have enhanced the marketability of *Rose* books.⁵⁴ Through the reiteration of the poem's title and addition of rose illustrations on the first page, Lawn d.49's reader further defined the book as the *Rose* and as the individual's property. In so doing, the reader demonstrated that he or she understood the iconographic trends of the poem.⁵⁵

In addition, through these drawings, the reader alluded to sensory perception in this book and the oral tradition of the *Rose* poem. At the right edge of the scene, the reader penned an enlarged, partial profile of a person's face from which the darker rose emerges (Figure 87.3). The tip of the profile's nose dips into the scene, and the stem of the rose unfurls from large, parted lips.⁵⁶ The emergence of a rose from an open mouth

⁵² 'El miroër entre mil choses / choisi rosiers chargez de roses / qui estoient en un destor, / d'une haie bien clos entor; / et lors m'en prist si grant envie / que ne lessasse por Pavie / ne por Paris que je n'alasse / la ou je vi la greignor tase. / Quant cele rage m'ot si pris, / dont maint autre ont esté surpris, / vers les rosiers tantost me trës'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 50, lines 1613-1624. In manuscripts and printed editions, illustrations of Narcissus at his fountain sometimes portray his visage reflected in muted tones, similar to the rose above the Amant's bed. See, e.g., New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 19r.

⁵³ 'Mes uns vilains, qui grant honte oit, / mout pres d'ilec repost estoit. / Dangiers ot non, si fu closiers / et garde de touz les rousiers. / En un destor fu li cuvers, / d'erbe et de fueilles tot covers, / por ceus espier et sorprendre / qu'il voit au roses la main tendre'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 87, lines 2809-2816.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396. Caitlin Hartigan, 'A Rose by Any Other Name: Reinterpretation, Adaptation, and Stylization of Roses in Manuscripts and Printed Editions of *Le Roman de la Rose*' (Unpublished M.St. Thesis, University of Oxford, 2008).

⁵⁵ These handwritten insertions could pay homage to previous rose imagery that flourished in manuscripts, though it would be difficult to substantiate.

⁵⁶ The proximity of the darker rose bloom to the human profile's nose could also imply the sensory perception of smell. Elsewhere in the text, Amant describes the appealing odor of roses, e.g.: 'Biaus amis

suggests Guillaume de Lorris's first-person account of his dream of the rose, but also the simple act of vocalizing the *Rose*. Physiologically, spoken words were believed to 'spring to life' from the mouth.⁵⁷ This illustration recalls, possibly as nostalgia or as a cue to be re-enacted, the process of reciting the poem. The depiction of the rose in a mouth suggests that from speech follows the literal and figurative form of the poem: the rose. This drawing could be seen as a visualization of oral transmission of the poem.

The coupling of the mouth with the rose bloom further alludes to important oral motifs in the narrative of the poem: Amant obsesses about kissing the rose; the tongue of Male Bouche is removed as punishment; and various characters attempt to counsel Amant as to how to use speech to deceive and manipulate for gain.⁵⁸ Indeed, the immoral use of language by characters in the poem incited much of the *Rose*'s controversy (e.g. the *querelle de la Rose*). And as mentioned above, bookmarked by the reader's pair of glasses and heavily highlighted by the reader, la Vieille lectures how women's mouths should appear—closed while laughing. By illustrating an open mouth with a rose, the reader engaged with the creative and expressive power of mouths.

Furthermore, the image of the rose against human lips could portend Amant's later conquest of the flower. Portrayals of mouths can evoke various sensations, including lust.⁵⁹ In the *Rose*, Amant desires the rose, a virginal woman.⁶⁰ In his first

chiers, se il vos plest, / pasey la haie sanz arrest / por l'odor des roses sentir. / Je vos i puis bien garantir / n'i avroiz mal ne vilanie, / por quoi vos gardez de folie'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 86, lines 2781-2786.

⁵⁷ Aristotle believed that all sensations were first transported to the heart before being transmitted to the brain. Late medieval literary theory posited that the tasting and voicing of words nourished and regenerated the body. Words spoken by the mouth 'stem[med]' from the heart. Walter, 'Bodies and Books', 118-120.

⁵⁸ E.g.: In Guillaume de Lorris's text, Amour describes 'losengiers', whose speech stabs people in the back and/or through the mouth: Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 32-3, lines 1034-1051; Jean de Meun further employed the concept of stabbing people through the mouth in reference to Male Bouche. Guillaume de Lorris also described lovers who, like bird catchers, use 'sophisms' (false speech) to catch birds.

⁵⁹ Vanessa Houssaye explains how the relief-sculpture of a mouth-puller with exposed teeth on a column capital alludes to 'vagina dentata'. Vanessa Houssaye, "'Image of Lust'? The Origin and Function of the Castletown Mouth-Puller', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 26 (2007): 346-359, at 357.

⁶⁰ The reader suggested the darker rose bloom's anthropomorphism: it unfurls at the height of Danger, and the width of the bloom is comparable to the size of Danger's and Amant's heads in the scene.

encounter with the flower, Amant embraces her with his mouth. Just as he kisses the rose with his lips in the early stages of the poem, the lips in the woodcut on sig. a1 recto touch the flower. Yet in the reader's illustration, the enlarged, parted lips on the periphery of the woodcut scene do not make contact with the flower's petals. Instead, the lips purse around the rose's stem. Accordingly, this image possibly foreshadows not Amant's initial kiss, but rather his encounter with the flower at the end of the poem, in which he plucks, or deflowers, her.⁶¹ The depiction of the rose—apart and plucked from its stem—and its placement at the foot of Amant's bed in his bedroom further suggest the reader's intention to produce a sensually suggestive tone.

Nevertheless, this illustration also could connote a notable religious image of purity and piety. In a Marian legend from the cult of the Virgin of the Rosary and *Les Quinze joies de Notre-Dame*,⁶² a man was rescued from his assailants by praying to the Virgin of the Rosary. As he prayed, roses began to emerge from his mouth—each rose a figurative representation of an *Ave Maria* uttered from his lips.⁶³ In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, woodcut representations and paintings of this story depict a man kneeling beside the Virgin as blooming roses emerge from his mouth (Figures 88, 89,

Consequently, the scale of the rose coincides with the proportions of a human figure, alluding to the flower's identity as a female. In the *Rose*, Amant's rose is understood as a virginal woman, and the reader engaged in this understanding of the flower as human by accentuating its/her stature. For portrayals of the rose as both a flower and young woman in one manuscript, see, e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fols. 13v; 155v.

⁶¹ In the reader's drawing within the opening woodcut, the open mouth stands ajar as if consuming the rose. At the end of the *Rose*, Amant detaches the flower's stem from the bush: 'Par les rains saisi le rosier, / qui plus sunt franc que nul osier; / et quant a .II. mains m'i poi joindre, / tretout soavet, san moi poindre, / le bouton pris a elloichier, / qu'anviz l'eüsse san hoichier. / Toutes an fis par estovoir / les branches croller et mouvoir, / san ja nul des rains depecier, / car n'i vouloie riens blecier; / et si m'an convint il a force / entamer un po de l'escorce, / qu'autrement avoir ne savoie / ce don si grant desir avoie. / A la parfin, tant vos an di, / un po de greine i espandi, / quant j'oi le bouton elloichié. / Ce fu quant dedanz l'oi toichié, / por les fueilletes reverchier, / car je vouloie tout cerchier / jusques au fonz du boutonet, / si con moi samble que bon et'. Lecoy, vol. 2, p 152, lines 21675-21696.

⁶² E.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, [Goswijn van der Weyden], *Fifteen Mysteries of the Virgin of the Rosary*, inv. 1987.290.3a-p.

⁶³ Anne Winston-Allen notes that a version of this story involving a monk and robbers (instead of a man and his attackers) occurs in the *Passional*. In this tale, the robbers approached the monk to discover that each rose was an *Ave Maria*: Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1997), 149.

and 90).⁶⁴ As early as the thirteenth century, artisans depicted similar imagery in diverse media, and, by the sixteenth century, this visual iconography (i.e. a man whose prayers transform into flowers) was widely reproduced throughout Western Europe.⁶⁵ It is possible that the reader adapted printed imagery depicting the miracle of the Rosary for inclusion in the woodcut of *Amant*. The reader would have been familiar with representations of this image (probably in the form of woodcuts or altarpieces), as well as the Virgin Mary's association with roses in books, relief-sculptures, and other objects.⁶⁶ Rose iconography and roses were used to denote the purity of the Virgin Mary in devotion, and roses were cultivated in monasteries.⁶⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the producers of manuscripts often manipulated religious woodcuts and repeated their iconography in secular works. The reader's drawing of a rose emerging from lips may, therefore, be representative of how readers more generally borrowed and appropriated religious imagery in books.⁶⁸ Of course, it is unclear whether the reader intended to

⁶⁴ Augusta von Oertzen, *Maria, die Königin des Rosenkranzes: eine Ikonographie des Rosenkranzgebetes durch zwei Jahrhunderte deutscher Kunst* (Augsburg: Filser, 1925), 66, 70-73, pls. 10 and 26.

⁶⁵ This imagery is often referred to as the 'miracle of the gentleman of Cologne'; however, as Guy C. Bauman notes, this is a misleading title since this imagery was widespread throughout Europe in different media. There are numerous variations of details in this story (and its visual renderings). As Bauman explains, Rosary literature is 'extensive and contradictory'. Guy C. Bauman, 'A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 24 (1989): 135-42; p. 150, fns. 7-8.

⁶⁶ E.g. Colmar, Collegiate Church of Saint-Martin, *Virgin in Rose Arbour*, Martin Schongauer. Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie, inv. 1955.942. Antoine de la Sale created a satire of *Les Quinze Joies de Notre-Dame* in his *Les Quinze Joies de Mariage* (1462). Antoine de la Sale, *Les .XV. Joies de Mariage*, ed. Jean Rychner (Geneva: Droz, 1963).

⁶⁷ Roses were not cultivated for the sole purpose of religious ceremonies; they were also used for medicinal purposes, fragrances, and gifts. Judyth McLeod, *In a Unicorn's Garden: Recreating the Magic and Mystery of Medieval Gardens* (London: Murdoch Books, 2008), 122; 225; 74. Roy E. Shepherd, *History of the Rose* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), 98-99. There are two crosses in Lawn d.49's margins on sig. e6 recto; however, they do not appear to represent religious connotations.

⁶⁸ The reader's drawing could also reprise 'Green Man' iconography, which depicts mouths disgorging vegetation. Green Man iconography also portrays faces sprouting greenery from eyes and noses; in some instances, faces wear leaf masks. From the tenth century onward, Green Man imagery gained popularity in books in France. Highly repeated in church relief-sculptures and book illustrations in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, mouths sprouting greenery could symbolize good or evil; however, they generally allude to sinfulness, lust, and the devil—tangled foliage signifying the trapped human condition. Richard Hayman attributes the dual nature of Green Man iconography in part to the positive and negative associations of vegetation in the Middle Ages. In the Bible, vegetation often corresponds to important supernatural events (e.g. the burning bush, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden). Yet leaves were also linked to base connotations. In the ninth century, theologian Rabanus Maurus wrote that leaves

imbue religious significance in the opening woodcut, rather than evoke the rose's eventual consumption by Amant or reference the creative process of reading the *Rose* text aloud. It is also possible, however, that the reader consciously intended to embed several layers of meaning—both secular and religious—in this illustration of the mouth and flower.

Elsewhere in the *Rose*, the reader excised mouths from an illustration, demonstrating a violent response to text and image on a page. In the woodcut of Nero ordering the dissection of his mother, the reader punctured the faces of Nero and his aide (Figures 91.1 and 91.2). In this scene, Nero demands to see his mother's womb, so as to witness where he was born.⁶⁹ As discussed in Chapter 2, readers often used ink in order to censor images, as demonstrated by the reader who covered illustrations of the adulterous Mars and Venus in bed in a NLW printed edition. Although Lawn d.49's reader, similarly, could have blotted the faces of Nero and his accomplice with ink, he or she selected a violent approach to express disapproval. Fittingly, just as Nero's mother is carved open, the reader surgically incised the visages of Nero and his aide with a sharp object. The reader's intervention indicates the seriousness with which some readers more generally viewed illustrations in *Rose* books. By modifying images, these readers expressed an interest in denouncing characters' actions, implying their familiarity with the poem and the importance of woodcuts in their engagement with the text.

denote lust and sins of the flesh. Although lush, forests in Europe also contained dangers, and foliage was believed to conceal evil, wildness, thieves, and the devil. Green Man imagery often occurs on the periphery of church architecture, but its positioning was carefully planned. In the sixteenth century, Green Men became popular images in Christian worship. Richard Hayman, *The Green Man* (Oxford: Shire, 2010), 8-12; 26-27; 29; 508. For a portrayal of a Green Man as the devil in relief-sculpture of the Virgin and Child on a column capital, see *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶⁹ 'Puis va tant roant par sa sale / qu'el entre en la partie sale, / foible, decrevee et crolant, / o toute sa roe volant. / Lors va çoupant et jus se boute / ausinc con s'el n'i veïst goute; / et quant iluec se voit cheüe, sa chiere et son habit remue, / et si se desnue et desrobe / qu'el est orfeline de robe / et semble qu'el n'ait riens vaillant, / tant li vont tuit bien defaillant. / Et quant el voit la meschaance, / si quiert honteuse chevichance / et se vet au bordel croupir, / pleine de deul et de sopir'. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 188-189, lines 6115-6130.

Unlike the drawing of the rose and mouth, the woodcut of Nero's mother's dissection expresses the opening of mouths as destructive. On the first page, the reader illustrated parted lips from which a rose materializes—perhaps signifying a creative process. In the woodcut of Nero's mother, by contrast, the reader indicates an offence by creating holes in the page where Nero's and his accomplice's mouths were printed. This iconoclastic act may have been prompted by disgust for Nero's actions towards his mother. It might also have been prompted by revulsion at Nero's tyranny. Although the reader's motive remains unclear, the gashes in the faces of Nero and his accomplice serve as expressions of the reader's disapproval.⁷⁰ The reader was selective about these excisions: only the mouths of Nero and his aide are removed from their faces. The vacuums formed by these excised mouths could be seen to allude to Hellmouths, suggesting the absolute sinfulness and depravity of Nero and his accomplice.⁷¹ Furthermore, the reader's excisions imply that power lies in mouths—this is apparent both from the opening illustration of the mouth and rose and the excisions of mouths in this woodcut. Through orifices, the reader indicated spaces in which formation and destruction transpire. By removing the mouths of Nero and his aide, the reader rendered them impotent, punished, and branded as offensive.

⁷⁰ A *Rose* printed edition at the British Library (IB.41546 (1486)) contains evidence of yet another reader who opposed characters' actions by eliminating eyes and mouths in woodcut scenes. This printed edition was mentioned in an earlier footnote due to the reader's drawings of fragmented body parts (e.g. an eye on sig. c1 recto). On sig. g1 recto, the reader intervened in a woodcut depicting Virginia's execution. In this scene, the reader carefully removed the eyes of the executioner with a sharp object. This removal demonstrates the reader's disapproval, and suggests a sort of murder. The viewer's removal of faces, especially eyes, in images serves the wider symbolic purpose of attacking individuals' identities and power. Similarly, on sig. g6 recto, the reader removed Nero's mouth and his accomplice's eyes in the woodcut scene of Seneca's suicide. In the woodcut, Seneca is in a bath, as Nero and his accomplice hover nearby. By removing Nero's mouth, the reader effectively reversed Nero's command to sentence Seneca to death. Likewise, Nero's aide, who assists in Seneca's demise, is punished. Although the reader removed eyes and a mouth in these scenes, the reader did not puncture holes on the page. Instead, he or she used a sharp tool to scrape away *only* the ink of these facial features, leaving behind white circles in their place. Perhaps the reader's removals of eyes and a mouth also allude to contemporaneous punishments for crimes. James J. Paxson, *The Poetics of Personification* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 67-9; 95.

⁷¹ Illustrations of Hellmouths occur in some *Rose* manuscripts, e.g.: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 7, fol. 120v.

The reader's annotations emphasize the narrative's emblematic slanderer: Male Bouche. Indeed, it is highly probable that the reader's excisions of the mouths of Nero and his aide directly emulate and pay homage to Male Bouche's downfall. In the poem, Male Bouche succumbs to having his tongue removed at the hands of his enemies, Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte.⁷² The reader similarly evoked Nero's and his accomplice's offensiveness—removing their mouths. And for a reader who seemingly focused quite intently on the importance of speech and oral contact, the removal of this faculty would probably have been the ultimate form of castigation. In this respect, scholars have likened the removal of Male Bouche's tongue, or 'defining member', to a form of castration—his tongue's removal signals his demise, effeminacy, and inability to protect the rose from being plucked.⁷³

In this book, the reader conscientiously chronicled Male Bouche's contribution to the poem, highlighting his words and labelling his name in the margin (Figure 92). By writing 'Male Bouche' in the book's marginal space, the reader possibly prompted the reading of dialogue (as if a play's script).⁷⁴ This label parallels rubrics in the margins of manuscripts which signal a change in speaker. By distinguishing Male Bouche from other characters in the poem (which are not provided with handwritten marginal labels in Lawn d.49), the reader differentiated Male Bouche's voice and personification. In so doing, the reader further emphasized the importance of the character's eponymous

⁷² 'Male Bouche tantost s'abesse, / si s'agenoille et se confesse, / car verais repentanz ja ert; / et cil par la gorge l'ahert, / a .II. poinz l'estraint, si l'estrangle, / si li a tolue la jangle: / la langue a son rasoer li oste'. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 125-6, lines 12331-12387.

⁷³ Kelly, 116. The removal of Male Bouche's tongue recalls the torture of criminals, as well as women who gossiped, in the Middle Ages. As punishment, criminals and female gossipers were forced to wear publicly a brank or gossip's bridle (which could maim the tongue): Jody Enders, 'Violence, Silence, and the Memory of Witches', *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. Anna Roberts (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1998): 210-232, at 218-221; p. 220, fig. 10; p. 221, fig. 11.

⁷⁴ For example, his name appears next to this passage on sig. e3 recto. 'As estives de Cornuaille, / autre foiz dit a la flaüte / c'onques ne trova fame jute: / «Il n'est nule qui ne se rie / c'ele ot parler de lecherie; / ceste est pute, ceste se farde, / et ceste follement regarde, / ceste est / vilaine, ceste est fole, / et ceste si a trop parole.» / Male Bouche qui riens n'esperne / trueve a chascune quelque herne'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 119, lines 3882-3892.

feature: the mouth. The reader's addition of Male Bouche's name in the book's marginal space and alongside the underlined text relating to his actions enables a quick identification not only of passages of interest pertaining to his character, but also of instances of his foul and immoral speech.⁷⁵

As this section's title indicates, the reader depicted parted lips by the hundred in this book. These repeated illustrations of open mouths in the margins pictorially simulate incessant speaking and murmurings from the edge of the page, echoing the debate in the narrative. Throughout the poem, the reader designated passages of importance by outlining the sides of the text. These lines comprise curvilinear contours, which at first glance appear to be the wobbles of an unsteady hand; however, upon closer examination, it is evident that these contours form the profiles of faces. As noted by Mikhail Bakhtin, the most important and expressive feature of a grotesque is its mouth, which does not even require peripheral facial features to communicate.⁷⁶ In this respect, Lawn d.49's reader predominantly chose to draw only parted lips, rather than full profiles, alongside passages. At the outset of the poem, the reader depicted fuller profiles (Figures 93, 94.1, 94.2, and 95), and these profiles' mouths resemble lips portrayed independent of faces later in the book.⁷⁷ It is important to note this visual association in order to confirm the reader's intention to illustrate mouths elsewhere in the edition. Probably in an effort to expedite marginal annotations, the reader abbreviated these profiles to depict what he or she considered the most essential feature. These lips appear either alone or in a series, connected by a continuous contour. In some instances,

⁷⁵ Oftentimes, these annotations are accompanied by lips, as on sig. d6 verso. Solterer points out that aspects of slander occur throughout the *Rose* narrative, even when Male Bouche is not present. Solterer, 14.

⁷⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984), 317.

⁷⁷ These full profiles appear on such pages as sigs. a1 verso, a3 verso, a4 verso, c1 recto, and c4 recto.

the reader's handwritten words appear to emerge from these lips, suggesting their ability to speak a monologue.⁷⁸

This case study suggests a new manner of observing a reader's illustrations: closely, with an attention to patterns that might well reveal themselves as practical instruments of the reader. Through the reader's drawings of mouths, the book's passages come to life and 'speak', animating significant narrative sequences. These mouths could signify characters' voices in the poem, as they speak lines, adding sensation to the page. Along with a small group of scholars, including Chartier, I argue that readers' responses deserve individual investigative case studies. In *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, for example, it is likely that other readers utilized drawings to indicate significant shifts in speech and to highlight persuasion tactics (the implications of which will be examined further below).⁷⁹

The margins of Lawn d.49 visually ripple with the parted lips of expectant voices, perhaps urging the reader to read aloud. The drawing of an open mouth could serve as a direct visual prompt, urging the reader to vocalize the text. It is also possible that the reader intended to recite passages silently. According to Walter, readers often physically mouthed words, rather than actually vocalizing them—a process which is both oral and silent.⁸⁰ Lawn d.49's reader selectively chose which lines and excerpts should have a voice, rather than the entire text, designating lips in specific places on specific pages. The reader's selection of passages indicates a familiarity with the poem's

⁷⁸ For example, on sig. d2 verso, words appear to emerge from a mouth illustration in the interior margin. Due to the prior cleaning of the book, it is difficult to determine what was written on the page. The reader illustrated the mouth beside this line: 'Raison a moy parler commence'. In Lecoy: 'Atant e vos Reson comence'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 92, line 2981. Pairings of mouth drawings with verbs pertaining to speech will be analysed later in this chapter. On sig. y6 verso, another mouth drawing appears to speak the reader's handwritten, underlined word, 'nota'. The speech emerging from these mouth drawings could also possibly be understood as entering into 'dialogue' with the main text.

⁷⁹ Although Lawn d.49 might seem like an exceptional example of a reader's annotations, my argument assumes that other books' drawings have been overlooked due to their placement in the margins and abbreviated forms.

⁸⁰ Walter explains that it is not a question of whether readers read aloud or silently, but whether they read in a 'muscular' or 'mental' manner. Katie Walter, personal communication, 12 Sept. 2012.

narrative, suggesting that he or she may have previously read the entire text. The reader's lip drawings may have been added at the same time or as the reader read the poem, section by section. It is uncertain whether, by marking certain passages with drawings, the reader's intention was to read only those passages in the future, or, perhaps, to demonstrate that those passages metaphorically 'spoke' to him or her with particular force. Alongside these drawings, the reader corrected words in the text, inserted punctuation, and wrote 'nota' beside passages,⁸¹ further suggesting the reader's active and attentive use of the book.

The presence of punctuation (e.g. virgules) and the reader's corrections indicate that the reader did not need to read the *Rose* text aloud. According to Nancy Freeman Regalado, books that lack punctuation and contain syntactically complex lines require the reader to read passages aloud to understand their meaning.⁸² For example, manuscripts and the first printed edition of François Villon's *Testament* contain almost no punctuation, with the exception of capital letters.⁸³ Marot's re-edited version of Villon's text, however, includes question marks and parentheses, which Regalado asserts facilitates the reader's silent reading of the book.⁸⁴ Marot also edited this case study's *Rose* edition, which includes syntactic breaks through markers.⁸⁵ Similarly, Lawn d.49's reader corrected individual words and selectively added punctuation omitted by the editor.⁸⁶ Following Regalado's reasoning, Lawn d.49's reader did not need to recite the

⁸¹ In other instances, the reader underlined some lines that rhyme, perhaps emphasizing their articulation. On sig. e3 recto, for example, the reader underlined a couplet. By underscoring the pair of lines, the reader possibly highlighted their shared pronunciation: 'Et aultre fois dit a la flust / Qu'oncques femme ne trouva iuste'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 119, lines 3883-4.

⁸² Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Speaking in Script: The Construction of Voice, Presence, and Perspective in Villon's *Testament*', *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. F. H. Nicolaisen (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), 211-25, at 216-17.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 218-19.

⁸⁴ Nonetheless, it could also be argued that punctuation helps the *viva voce* reader.

⁸⁵ E.g. Virgules.

⁸⁶ For example, the reader corrected individual words on sigs. a1 verso, a4 verso, and f2 recto. The reader also added punctuation omitted by the editor. On sig. c2 recto, for example, the reader added a pause: 'honneur en aura [/] tel doit estre'. A virgule, or forward slash, has different functions—one function was

poem in order to understand its content. Consequently, Lawn d.49's reader may not have intended to voice the poem's text. Regardless, illustrated mouths indicate the presence of speech and oral contact in the book—a sign that the reader may have used marginalia to enshrine a memory of previous practices of oral reading.

Mouth drawings adorn passages in the text that describe methods of speech. For example, on sig. a6 verso, the reader illustrated a profile with parted lips next to two lines describing the Carole (Figure 96): 'Car chanter/dancer/sont mestiers / Quelle faisoit moult volentiers'.⁸⁷ In this book, the reader's accompaniment of mouth drawings with actions pertaining to oral expression—speaking, lying, laughing and, in this instance, singing—further dramatizes voicing.⁸⁸ The acts of singing and debate may have been art forms mastered by the reader, ritually emphasized in the text to signify importance. In any event, the reader's marginalia indicate an interest in visualizing the enactment of oral expressions.

In addition to designating the presence of important oral moments in the narrative, the reader also added mouths alongside numerous printed side notes and glosses, published by Du Pré, in the volume. As mentioned in the introduction, printed side notes were prevalent in sixteenth-century printed books, particularly in England. In Lawn d.49, certain printed side notes suggest a direct relationship with the reader's mouth drawings in the margins. For example, on sig. c4 verso, the reader underlined and corrected a printed side note beside depictions of two open mouths that outline the edges of an accompanying passage (Figure 97): 'Note du feu d'amours qui tousio[r]s

to indicate a pause by semicolon. Virgules could also function as question marks or colons. Lecoy's text contains a comma at this moment in the text: 'Honor mout grant, et si doit estre'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 60, line 1941.

⁸⁷ 'For music and dance were the trades that she knew best'. 'Car chanters estoit li mestiers / qu'ele fessoit plus volentiers'. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 23, lines 739-740.

⁸⁸ For example, see sigs. d2 verso; k6 recto; n3 recto. It is also possible that accentuations of speech-related verbs were intended to signal a different intonation in their delivery if read aloud. For example, the reader may well have sung the word 'chanter', thus animating the text.

embrace’.⁸⁹ The close proximity between the mouths and the printed side note suggest that the mouths are speaking the text in the margin. The reader also inserted two parallel lines in the side note to indicate that the word ‘amours’ is broken between two lines, enabling a smoother reading of the side note. Although the reader’s annotations are reminiscent of editors’ marks, they are in the same ink as other annotations and drawings in the book. Furthermore, the edition does not contain an abundance of corrections of words and punctuation which might have indicated that the volume was used by an editor. Insertions of punctuation by both readers and editors, according to Regalado, probably function to enable silent reading in books during this period. This underlined side note not only enables the reader to identify passages quickly, but also suggests that the text of the side note is significant and meaningful—a part of the text that should be read.

In addition, the reader depicted *larger* mouths in the margins, probably to designate passages of importance and identify talkative speakers. Drawings of larger lips accompany heightened marginal activity on the part of the reader. For example, on sig. t1 recto, at the beginning of Nature’s confession, the reader wrote ‘No^a’ (Nota) and drew a large pointing hand, in addition to two mouths (Figure 98).⁹⁰ The reader’s drawing of a pointing hand motions toward the first line of Nature’s confession and an accompanying mouth illustration. Through his or her additions of mouths and ‘No^a’ in the text, the reader emphasized the presence of voice in Nature’s confession. While a small pair of lips accompanies the first line of Nature’s monologue, a larger set of parted

⁸⁹ ‘A note of the fire of love which burns incessantly’. The reader corrected the side note, adding an ‘r’ to ‘tousois’. This side note appears directly next to the following lines in Lecoy’s text: Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 72, lines 2337-2342.

⁹⁰ ‘C’IL Diex, qui de biautez habonde, / quant il tres biau fist ce biau monde / don il portoit en sa pansee / la bele fourme porpansee / tourjorz en perdurableté / inz qu’ele eüst dehors eté / — car la prist il son examplaire / et quan que li fu neccessaire; / car s’il ailleurs le vossist querre, / il n’i trovast ne ciel ne terre / ne riens don aidier se peüst / con nule riens dehors n’eüst, / car de neant fist tout saillir / cil en cui riens ne peut faillir, / n’one riens ne l’esmut a ce fere’. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 1, lines 16669-161713. As mentioned previously, in this chapter’s Case Study 2, I will assess the diverse meanings and functions of hands in the margins of a *Rose* book.

lips adjoins her dialogue below. This larger mouth identifies Nature's speech. The drawing of a large mouth is also significant because it can indicate the reader's perception of a person who talks at length.⁹¹ In this way, though other characters speak at great length in Jean de Meun's continuation, the reader hints that Nature and her monologue are particularly verbose and significant. Through mouth drawings, the reader thus revealed a self-referential process of dramatizing descriptions of oration and a character's perceived loquaciousness.

Near the end of Lawn d.49, the reader titled pages and illustrated mouths to signal passages of personal preference. In Genius's dialogue, the reader asserted an editorial presence, including titles on both the recto and verso of pages.⁹² These title formulations enable the reader easily to identify significant pages. Unlike an editor, the reader signified the importance of these pages, centring headings on the page, such as 'Chapitre notable', 'Pg [Passage] notable', and 'Pg [Passage] bon' (Figure 99.1). Coinciding with the inclusion of these headings are mouth drawings, as well as nota insignias. On many of these pages, rather than including a sole pair of lips, the reader inserted continuous lines bracketed with series of numerous mouths, suggesting that the reader recognized lengthy passages that spoke to him or her.⁹³ Thus, the reader further suggested the importance of mouths in the book by taking care to draw them on pages expressly deemed 'notable' and 'good' below personalized title formulations.

In addition, the lip illustrations on these pages, similar to many of those discussed previously, correspond to passages that pertain to the presence of speech and

⁹¹ Katie Walter, personal communication, 23 Aug. 2012. The reader illustrated large mouths elsewhere in the *Rose*. For example, on sig. k2 verso in Raison's monologue; however, there are very few large mouths in the book and in relation to other characters' speeches.

⁹² On some pages, the reader's annotations are only partially distinguishable due to trimmed pages. Other pages may have contained titles, though one cannot be certain.

⁹³ The reader also wrote marginal annotations, which potentially included additional words and phrases; however, the reader improperly prepared the writing ink, and, as a result, the penned words are difficult to decipher. In Lawn d.49, the discrepancy in the consistency of the reader's ink reveals that annotations may have been added at different intervals in a non-consecutive manner.

communication. For example, mouth drawings accompany Genius's descriptions of oral reception. On one page marked 'no^{table}', the reader depicted mouths beside a passage in which Genius beckons the ear to listen and hear about the Fountain of Youth (Figure 99.2).⁹⁴ By incorporating lip drawings alongside this passage, the reader dramatized the narrative—the mouths figuratively voice Genius's monologue, simultaneously playing the part of Genius and putting into practice his advice. The mouth illustrations suggest the virtual possibility of sound on the page.⁹⁵ If the reader also recited the passage, he or she would both speak and hear, acting both as a participant in and recipient of Genius's lesson. Through both the titles and lip drawings, the reader expressed a relationship between the character who is speaking, as perhaps recited by the reader, and the process of listening to the voice.

Elsewhere in Genius's monologue, the reader diligently discerned and made note of passages concerned with lessons on singing and speaking. At the close of Genius's sermon, the reader labelled a page 'Pg [Passage] bon'. Below, the reader depicted lips alongside a passage in which Genius explains that Amant should forever sing motets and *chansonnettes*, like the Carole (Figure 100).⁹⁶ Genius subsequently asks Amant what he chatters about and whether he knows what to preach from the podium. This passage

⁹⁴ 'Or levez un po les oreilles, / si m'an orrez dire merveilles. / Cele fontaine que j'ai dite, / qui tant est bele et tant profite / por guerir, tant sunt savourees, / toutes bestes anlangorees, / rant tourjorz par .III. doiz soutives / eves douces, cleres et vives; / si sunt si pres a pres chascune / que toutes s'assamblent a une / si que, quant toutes les verroiz, / et une et .III. an trouverroiz, / s'ous voulez au conter esbatre, / ne ja n'an i trouverroiz .IIII., / mes tourjorz .III. et tourjorz une, / c'est leur propriété commune'. Lecoy, vol. 3, pp. 114-5, lines 20433-20448.

⁹⁵ I adapt the expression—the 'virtual possibility of voicing'—from Michel Beaujour, as cited by Nancy Freeman Regalado. Like both scholars, I investigate what becomes of sound in Western writing; however, I primarily focus on how *images* might act to transmit the voice in books. I also expand this terminology to apply to the perception of physical contact in books in the next case study. Regalado, 'Speaking in Script', 211-226, at 212. Michel Beaujour, 'Phonograms and Delivery: The Poetics of Voice', *Notebooks in Cultural Analysis* 3 (1986): 270.

⁹⁶ 'D'occision nus ne s'aprouche, / netes aiez et mains et bouche, / saiez leal, saiez piteus: / lors irez ou champ deliteus, / par trace l'aiglelet sivant, / en pardurableté vivant, / boivre de la bele fontaine, / qui tant est douce et clere et seine / que ja mes mort ne recevroiz / si tost con de l'eve bevroiz, / ainz irez par joliveté / chantant en pardurableté / motez, / conduiz et chançonnetes, / par l'erbe vert, seur les floretes, / souz l'olivete querolant. / Que vos vois je ci flajolant? / Droiz est que mon fretel restuie, / car biau chanter souvant annuie. / Trop vos porroie hui mes tenir, / ci vos veill mon sarmon fenir. / Or i parra que vos feroiz / quant an haut ancroé seroiz / por preeschier seur la bretesche'. Lecoy, vol. 3, p. 120, lines 20615-20637.

concerns not only the act of singing, but the creative process of verbalizing and articulating what one should say. Genius refers to Amant as ‘vous’ (you), which, when read reflexively, causes the reader to assume the role of Amant, who speaks and listens to Genius’s sermon. By highlighting this text—and, possibly, by reading it aloud—the reader perhaps demonstrated a circular process of oral communication in which he or she both recited and consequently listened to the text. The reader’s lip drawings animate the possibility of speech and unplanned talk. Although the entire *Rose* contains dialogue between characters, the reader consistently highlighted passages that comment explicitly on oral performance, manipulative persuasion tactics through speech, and physical descriptions of mouths and their expressions.

In addition to the mouth drawings in the opening woodcut and in margins throughout the book, the reader probably emphasized significant moments of oral contact and communication in other woodcuts. In Lawn d.49, six woodcuts contain traces of a starch paste, indicating that they were previously covered by pastedowns. This starch paste—probably concocted by combining flour and water—cannot be dated precisely. Whoever applied this paste did so with a small brush and thin, quick brushstrokes. Whatever was affixed to the paste most likely floated away when the pages of Lawn d.49 were washed and rebound in the eighteenth century.⁹⁷ Given the time frame of the book’s rebinding, it is highly probable that our sixteenth-century reader added this paste, as there are no apparent interventions in the book from the seventeenth century. Given this assumption, it is interesting to consider what these pastedowns would have depicted and why the reader selected only a few images to cover. The pastedowns may have been single-sheet relief prints of different woodcuts;⁹⁸ or perhaps they were the reader’s

⁹⁷ Honey, personal communication, 9 May 2012.

⁹⁸ In the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, readers pasted and sewed prints into books; they also adorned furniture, panels, and other surfaces with woodcut and metalcut prints. Schmidt, ‘The Multiple Image’, 37-56; p. 43, fig. 2; p. 47, fig. 4; p. 49, figs. 5-8. Print users also pasted flock and other textures onto

modified versions of the very woodcuts that they obscured, outlined in pen and possibly filled in with colour (though there are no remnants of chromatic pigment beneath these images or elsewhere in the book). It seems unlikely that the reader would have covered these particular images in an effort to censor them, since the selected images do not seem particularly offensive (e.g. Phania with her father). The reader responded to a disturbing image differently elsewhere in this edition, by excising the figures' mouths (i.e. in the woodcut of Nero ordering the dissection of his mother).

The reader's pastedowns occur near descriptions of mouths and oral persuasion at the start of important monologues. For example, on sig. d2 verso, a pastedown appears over the woodcut of Raison standing with Amant (Figure 101). Above this woodcut, the reader illustrated several lips alongside the passage describing Amant's mood after Bel Accueil flees: 'Car cueur ne pourroit pas penser / Ne bouche d'homme recenser / De ma douleur la quarte part'.⁹⁹ Amant quantifies his despair by stating that no heart could think, and no mouth of a man could tell, his sorrow. As elsewhere, the reader highlighted text that concerns mouths and speech; however, in this instance, the incapacity of mouths to communicate seemingly intensifies the despair of Amant. The reader included other lip drawings on this page beside a passage describing Raison's face and her firm reprimand of Amant's behaviour.¹⁰⁰ Raison mandates that Amant must not believe the counsel he has heard from Amour and, instead, must listen to her advice to forget the love that torments him. In this instance, Raison attempts to persuade Amant through dialogue, to overpower and dissuade other messages that he previously heard.

individual prints. For further reading on these practices, see Alexandra Scheld and Roland Damm, 'Flock Prints and Paste Prints: A Technological Approach', *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 317-336.

⁹⁹ 'No heart can ever conceive or mouth recount one quarter of my dolour'. 'Cuers ne porroit mie penser / ne bouche d'ome recenser / de ma dolor la quarte part'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 91, lines 2949-2951.

¹⁰⁰ 'Se tu as folement ovré, / or fai tant qu'il soit recovré / et garde bien que plus ne croies / le conseil por quoi tu foloies. / Buer folie qui se chastie; / et quant joines hom fet folie, / l'en ne s'en doit pas merveillier. / Or te veil dire et conseillier'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 92, lines 2995-3002. Although Raison's mouth is not mentioned in this description, the reader seemingly supplemented Amant's description by adding an image of a mouth in the margin. Raison goes on to advise, 'Pren durement au dez le frain'. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 94, line 3051. 'Now firmly seize the bits between your teeth'. Dunn, 68.

Through tightly-grouped lip drawings, the reader demonstrated an interest in passages concerning speech tactics. In order to further emphasize this section of the poem, it is possible that the reader modified the accompanying woodcut in the form of a pastedown. In the underlying woodcut, Raison points with her hand, but her mouth remains closed. Perhaps the reader's lost pastedown depicted Raison in a more assertive oral stance, her mouth open to simulate discourse—but one can only speculate.

Elsewhere in Raison's monologue, the reader's pastedowns correspond to warnings about insincere speech. For example, a pastedown is evident by the description of a discussion between King Croesus and his daughter (Figure 102.1). In her speech to her father Croesus, Phania says that she will not flatter him, like others.¹⁰¹ Instead, Phania gives her father advice and counsel, warning against others' excessive and insincere compliments. Again, the reader accentuated this excerpt with marginal outlines of mouth drawings. Once covered by the reader's pastedown, the passage's accompanying woodcut portrays Phania kneeling before her enthroned father. Phania's inked face was damaged in the removal of the pastedown, with a loss of ink especially to areas around her mouth and above one eye (Figure 102.2). This ink removal could suggest that the reader drew over Phania's mouth area on the pastedown, and that the resulting pressure caused increased loss of ink on the underlying image. The reader may well have revised this woodcut's pastedown to depict an animated conversation, portraying Phania with open lips and perhaps a more assertive stance within the image. Although it remains unclear how the reader modified the woodcut scene, the reader's

¹⁰¹ 'Biau pere, dist la damoisele, / ci a doulereuse novele. / Vostre orguieuz ne vaut une coque, / sachiez que Fortune vous moque. / Par cest songe poez entendre / qu'el vos veust fere au gibet pendre; / et quant serez penduz au vent / sanz couverture et sanz auvent, / seur vos pleuvra, biau sires rais, / et li biaux soleuz de ses rais / vos essuiera cors et face. / Fortune a ceste fin vos chace, / qui tost et done les honeurs, / et fet sovent des granz meneurs, / et des meneurs refet greigneurs / et seignoirir sus les seigneurs. / Que vos iroie je flatant? / Fortune au gibet vos atant, / et quant au gibet vos tendra / la hart au col, el reprendra / la bele corone doree / don vostre teste a coronee, / s'en iert uns autres coronez, / de cui garde ne vos donez'. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 199-200, lines 6487-6510.

mouth drawings in the corresponding passage evoke his or her interest in how speech can influence actions.

In other woodcuts, the reader demonstrated an attentiveness to moments of oral contact. At the beginning of the poem, subsequent to Amour piercing Amant with his arrow, Amant approaches the rose and gives her a kiss. Like the woodcuts of Raison with Amant and Phania with her father, the woodcut of Amant with the rose accompanies lip drawings beside text that corresponds to the scene.¹⁰² The underlying woodcut portrays a gallant Lover beside a gate holding a rose near his lips. In this woodcut, Amant's face and the rose he clutches are covered in remnants of starch paste (Figure 103). Yet the other portions of the woodcut are untouched. The reader chose to cover only the portions of the image pertaining to Amant's kiss. In this woodcut's pastedown, the reader possibly revised the scene to display the exact moment in which Amant's mouth touches the rose. By adding paste to woodcuts, the reader further participated in the creation, and ultimate reception, of the book. In this example, the extra layer of a partial pastedown on the page could draw a reader's eye toward Amant kissing the rose. Although the reader's additions have been removed, his or her decision to include pastedowns reveals a responsive role and an intention to supplement this and other scenes with visual representations of voicing and physical oral contact.

The reader's pastedowns exhibit a relationship with accompanying text passages. As mentioned above, the reader's pastedowns occur near passages with illustrations of mouths. Consequently, when these woodcuts are repeated elsewhere in the book, they do not contain any traces of paste. For example, the editor inserted the image of Amant clutching the rose elsewhere in the poem; however, the text with which the woodcuts are paired neither describes Amant kissing the rose nor contains marginal lips. Thus, the

¹⁰² 'Et ne por quant j'ai mainz anuiz / sosferz et maintes males nuiz / puis que j'oi la rose besie. / La mer n'ert j a si apesie / qu'el ne soit troble a poi de vent: / Amors se rechange sovent, / il oint une eure, autre eure point, / Amors n'est gueres en un point'. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 107, lines 3471-3480.

reader's pastedowns over woodcuts denote an attention to more than the imagery those woodcuts portrayed—they demonstrate an attention to the interaction between imagery and accompanying text.

At the conclusion of the poem, the reader transcribed a passage describing Jean de Meun's fate and Faux Semblant's deception (Figure 104). As mentioned at the outset of this case study, the reader readily intervened in areas at the beginning and end of the book commonly used by editors to display author portraits, printers' marks, rubrics, or titles in printed editions. In Lawn d.49, however, the reader also included texts and images in these areas. At the end of the poem, the reader wrote 'fin du Rommant' (reiterating the first three words of the poem's last printed rubric), and handwrote rhyming couplets which are also found in other *Rose* manuscripts, including Ms. Ferrell Rose (Figure 105).¹⁰³ In Lawn d.49 and Ms. Ferrell Rose, these added rhyming couplets, which are a later interpolation to the *Rose*, appear after the close of the poem. As noted in an inscription above the added couplets in Ms. Ferrell Rose, François Perdrier, who was the Directeur de la monnaie du roi, acquired Ms. Ferrell Rose from Nicolas Gilles on 3 Sept. 1493. Ms. Ferrell Rose's inscription and the added rhyming couplets appearing below are in the same hand (though it is unclear if Perdrier wrote these lines or at what date the inscription and couplets were added). Did Lawn d.49's and Ms. Ferrell Rose's readers copy these rhyming couplets from the same manuscript or print source? The copying of the same passage in Lawn d.49 and Ms. Ferrell Rose could highlight the

¹⁰³ Langlois mentions that the first four lines of this passage appear in a fifteenth-century hand in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1572. He also notes that the following manuscripts include the first four lines of the passage: Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Ms. Acq. et Dons. 153; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 19154. He suggests this quatrain may have been added to Ms. fr. 19154 in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Langlois, 29; 54; 185. Ms. Douce 188 also contains this quatrain, though Lotrian does not note this in his volume: Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 188; Ibid., 155. In Ms. Ferrell Rose, this quatrain includes six additional lines. Edward Billings Ham transcribes this excerpt and other rhyming couplets that appear in Ms. Ferrell Rose (formerly a Cheltenham *Rose* manuscript). Edward Billings Ham, 'The Cheltenham Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*', *Modern Language Review* 26 (1931): 427-435, at 430-1. Los Angeles, Ferrell Collection (Privately Owned), Ms. Ferrell Rose.

dexterity of Lawn d.49's and/or Ms. Ferrell Rose's readers in manuscript and print, as referenced in Chapter 2 and this chapter's introduction.

Lawn d.49's reader's transcribed passage indicates that he or she was informed about broader elements of the poem and its sardonic humour. At the bottom of the page and after the end of the poem, the added rhyming couplets describe how Jean de Meun's reputation was affected by Faux Semblant's devious actions:

Par la grant hayne diverse
 Qui en faulx semblant converse,
 Fut clopinel aulx champs couvert,
 Pour ce qu'il ot voir descouvert
 De faulx semblant, ly maulx lyeux
 Qui maintz jour vit en chapitres,
 Mays depuys par l'universite;
 Fut dedans paris rapporte
 Et enterre honnestement,
 Maulgre faulx semblant le puant.¹⁰⁴

Elsewhere in the *Rose*, the reader annotated passages and a woodcut concerning Faux Semblant and his machinations.¹⁰⁵ The reader's added rhyming couplets on sig. z7 verso focus on Jean de Meun's fate, as influenced by Faux Semblant who lived in 'chapitres' and then by the university. The rhyming couplets are a fictitious anecdote about Jean de Meun (i.e. Clopinel), similar to other apocryphal narratives and anecdotes which proliferated around him and his persona.¹⁰⁶ In spite of the 'puant' (stinking) Faux

¹⁰⁴ 'Because of the many diverse hatreds, / Which exist within Faux Semblant, / Clopinel was sent out to pasture, / Because of what he truthfully discovered, / About the bad traitor Faux Semblant, / Who for many days lived in chapters, / But then by the university, / Was brought back to Paris, / And buried with honour, / In spite of the stinking Faux Semblant'.

¹⁰⁵ Indeed, on sig. o3 verso, the reader also covered one woodcut of Faux Semblant in starch paste, suggesting recurring interest in Faux Semblant's speeches and activity.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Pierre de Brantôme's story of a tapestry recounting how Jean de Meun was stripped naked and nearly beaten by women: Florence Percival, *Chaucer's Legendary Good Women* (Cambridge, CUP, 1998), 151-2, p. 152, fn. 2; Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance*, p. 142, fn. 130. The rhyming couplets could further echo how Jean de Meun's legacy was both besmirched and defended in later debates surrounding the *Rose*. Walters, 110-138. John V. Fleming notes how the *querelle* was 'novel' in its criticism of the *Rose* because the 'moral basis' of Jean de Meun's contribution to the poem was not previously at odds with the 'established norms of its age'. Accordingly, Fleming observes that Jean de

Semblant in the passage subject to study, Jean de Meun was eventually brought back to Paris and buried with honour. The ‘chapitres’ where Faux Semblant lived signify chapter houses or religious communities; the passage thus implies corruption within the mendicant monastic community (and subsequently at the university). Timothy L. Stinson and Huot have examined such aspects of corruption in Paris, as refracted through portrayals of Faux Semblant in *Rose* manuscript illustrations.¹⁰⁷ This added passage likely expresses a literary reflexive meaning: Faux Semblant also inhabits the pages, or ‘chapitres’ of the *Rose*. In this way, Faux Semblant lives in the book’s chapters through speaking his lies. Just as the reader’s annotations and drawings reveal multiple meanings, possibilities, and juxtapositions, these rhyming couplets demonstrate that the reader added to the book with an informed understanding of its narrative and reception. Through the use of this pun, the reader acknowledged the resonating satire in the book’s ‘chapters’.

In sum, this case study discerns how a sixteenth-century reader supplemented a book in order to characterize and dramatize speech. The reader’s abundant mouth drawings in Lawn d.49 reveal the important presence of voice in text passages, a practice that deserves further attention and clarification—particularly given many scholars’ assertions that printed books did not encourage reading aloud. While the reader may or

Meun’s work was ‘warmly approved in morally conservative circles’ in the fourteenth century. John V. Fleming, ‘The Moral Reputation of the *Roman de la rose* before 1400’, *Romance Philology* 18 (1965): 430-5. Badel, 61-93. Hult, ‘Words and Deeds’, 351-65. Gerson describes men and women of all ages who defended Jean de Meun as a ‘grant tourbe et une flote de gens sans nombre, josnes et vieulx de tous sexes et de tous ages’. Christine de Pizan et al., *Le Débat sur le ‘Roman de la rose’*, ed. Eric Hicks (Paris, Champion, 1977), 64. However, Jean de Meun did suggest (through the voice of Ami) an awareness of his literary reputation in the *Rose*’s main text—whether in jest or otherwise—implying that the *Rose* was a ‘ploy’ to enhance his standing with women. ‘Si li doit faindre noveaus songes, / touz farsiz de plesanz mençonges, / que, quant vient au soir qu’il se couche / touz seus en sa chambre en sa couche, / avis li est, quant il someille, / car poi i dort et mout i veille, / qu’i l’ait entre ses braz tenue / trestoute nuit trestoute nue’. Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 50, lines 9853-60. Huot suggests that Jean de Meun’s reputation with women is ‘another means to the end of an ever-deferred sexual consummation’. Huot, *Dreams of Lovers*, 33-4.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 39. Glosses and miniatures do not always associate Faux Semblant with a specific order of friars or historical figures, instead portraying corruption amongst religious individuals ‘more generally’. Timothy L. Stinson, ‘Illumination and Interpretation: The Depiction and Reception of Faus Semblant in *Roman de la rose* Manuscripts’, *Speculum* 87 (2012): 469-498, especially 492-3.

may not have read certain passages aloud or by mouthing words silently, the reader seemingly emphasized speech and oral contact in the poem's narrative. Lawn d.49's reader depicted mouth drawings in the margins in dynamic, purposeful ways, in reference to changes in voice and methods of speaking in the narrative. And, in so doing, the reader highlighted a direct, nuanced relationship between margins and text, as well as between illustrations and text. The reader's illustrations reveal not only knowledge of the poem's plot, but also his or her interpretation that certain moments of oral lust, deception, and counsel 'speak' important meaning. These drawings animate numerous passages, including those describing Amant's kiss, Male Bouche, Raison's counsel, and Nature's confession. Perhaps through a closer identification of marginal mouth drawings in other works, scholars could categorize readers' engagement in aspects of voicing and oral contact across books and other objects.

Case Study 2: Manual Dexterity: Reading with Feeling Hands

In this case study, I investigate a common symbol in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: the pointing hand. From at least the twelfth century through the eighteenth century, hand illustrations indexed, judged, and instructed (to name only a few of their many functions in books, frescoes, signage, and architecture).¹⁰⁸ Here, I discern another function of the pointing hand, one which does not merely lead the eye of the viewer or serve as a directional cue. While Case Study 1 examined how a reader emphasized speech and oral contact in a printed edition, Case Study 2 explores how another reader

¹⁰⁸ William H. Sherman, 'Toward a History of the Manicule', *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 25-52, especially, 29-34.

suggested the sensory perception of touch within the *Rose* narrative through drawings of hands in a book's margins.

I analyse how a sixteenth-century reader's drawings function in PML 553, a copy of a Vérard *Rose* printed edition (ca. 1505), which also contains Jean de Meun's *Codicille et Testament*.¹⁰⁹ I refer to the reader's drawings of hands as 'manicules' (derived from the Latin word 'maniculum', or 'little hand').¹¹⁰ PML 553 contains a variety of whole and partial manicules, which vary in shape and gesture. I argue that these manicules denote different functions corresponding to the reader's interpretations of the poem's passages and woodcuts. Recent scholarship demonstrates the importance of hand depictions and their pervasiveness in medieval and Renaissance books.¹¹¹ William H. Sherman, for example, explains that manicules are visually distinctive and individualized according to their illustrators, arguing that manicules depicted by readers in books are a better tool for identifying book owners than their handwriting.¹¹² Readers used manicules to distinguish passages and images in books. Building on recent scholarship, this study presents further in-depth analysis of how a reader depicted manicules to mirror moments of physical contact in a *Rose* book and to communicate feeling. Through an investigation of illustrations in PML 553, this study asserts that the reader drew manicules to express the importance of touch and penetration in passages concerning love, violence, and gender.

¹⁰⁹ Pollard, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed*, no. 553. Jean de Meun's *Testament* follows the *Rose* poem in twenty-five *Rose* manuscripts. His *Testament* is frequently accompanied by his *Codicille* and/or *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi*; however, questions linger as to whether Jean de Meun actually wrote the *Codicille* or *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi*. As Huot explains, the practice of including the *Testament*, *Codicille*, and/or *Tresor ou sept articles de la foi* after the *Rose* reveals a burgeoning interest in Jean de Meun as an author, in addition to the perception of 'didactic value' in the *Rose*. For further reading on this subject, see Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 32-4; p. 33, fns. 13-4.

¹¹⁰ Other names for manicules include the pointer, mutton fist, bishop's fist, and maniple. For a more complete list of names, see Sherman, *Used Books*, 32-34.

¹¹¹ E.g. Peter M. Lukehart and Claire Richter Sherman, eds., *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2000). Sherman, *Used Books*.

¹¹² Sherman, *Used Books*, 52.

Renaissance hands were significant instruments of communication. Of particular relevance to my argument is the use of hands in the teaching of rhetoric. In Renaissance rhetoric teachings, for example, Zeno's analogies between the open hand and the closed fist signify, respectively, expansive, open discourse and restrictive, sparse discourse.¹¹³ These teachings compare hands to types of speech in order to communicate different approaches to the art of persuasion. As Edward P.J. Corbett explains, 'The open hand might be said to characterize the kind of persuasive discourse that seeks to carry its point by reasoned, sustained, conciliatory discussion of the issues. The closed fist might signify the kind of persuasive activity that seeks to carry its point by non-rational, non-sequential, often non-verbal, frequently provocative means'.¹¹⁴ Sixteenth-century rhetoric teachings, therefore, related hands to verbal and non-verbal strategies of persuasion, which conveyed logic and emotion. I further analyse how PML 553's reader visually conceived of hands as communicative and persuasive tools, broadening our understanding of the reader's reception of the *Rose*.

Hands also serve other practical and complex functions for the mind and body. In medieval art, pointing fingers usually indicated that the person performing the gesture was speaking.¹¹⁵ Like mouths, hands speak, signing words, counting sums, and acting as mnemonic devices in diverse practices (e.g. singing). Extant woodcuts and illustrations display the ways in which hand gestures communicated words and numbers through movements and finger formations.¹¹⁶ Spiritually, hands and fingers were integral in

¹¹³ Edward P.J. Corbett, 'The Rhetoric of the Open Hand and the Rhetoric of the Closed Fist', *College Composition and Communication* 20 (1969): 288-296, at 288.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹¹⁵ François Garnier explores how medieval gestures reveal a language code, denoting varying types of communication. François Garnier, *Le Langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. Signification et symbolique* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1982), 249.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Lukehart and Sherman, *Writing on Hands*, especially p. 29, fig. 6; p. 33, fig. 9. Medieval and Renaissance hands also were used as mnemonic devices in diverse practices, including music and singing, deciphering calendar and zodiac cycles, and mapping the stars: Susan Forscher Weiss, 'The Singing Hand', *Writing on Hands*, eds. Lukehart and Sherman, 35-45. Brian P Copenhaver, 'A Show of Hands', *Writing on Hands*, eds. Lukehart and Sherman, 46-60, at 50. Sherman, 'The Cognitive Hand

stages of meditation used to reach salvation, as well as other demonstrations of piety.¹¹⁷

Hands also committed immoral acts and expressed negative connotations, such as profanity, as will be discussed later in this case study. Despite the impressive gestural range and significance of hands, readers' manicules are under-examined, but are deserving of greater attention in order to illuminate how readers communicated ideas and sensation in books.

Recent scholars provide important insights into the history of manicules and manicules' capacity to customize books. In 'Towards a History of the Manicule', Sherman explains how readers used unique manicules to customize the uniform texts and formats of printed editions, as they had with manuscripts.¹¹⁸ Manicules are so common that, despite their intended function, they are often overlooked.¹¹⁹ Sherman convincingly notes how manicules index texts, organizing and structuring passages.¹²⁰ He also discerns a spatial relationship between the reader's actual hand, which turned pages from the margins, and depictions of pointing hands in the margins: the pointing hands located in the margins figuratively emulate the lingering presence of the reader's fingers annotating and turning the pages of a book.¹²¹ Building on Sherman's assertions, I argue that the reader in fact used manicules as sensory receptors to express reactions to the

Map', *Writing on Hands*, eds. Lukehart and Sherman, 70-71. In addition to serving as memory aids, hands indicated the future through palmistry, or the charting and navigating of prospective events through the creases and lines of an individual's hands.

¹¹⁷ During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, individuals left sculpted and painted reproductions of their faces and hands in churches. Mannequin makers produced full-scale models of faces and hands, which were used as tokens of gratitude (e.g. following the miraculous healing of a body part). After the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478, Lorenzo de' Medici commissioned full-scale reproductions of his body for the convent church of the Chianti. John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 3rd ed. (London: Laurence King, 2005), 15. For usages of hands in other religious practices, see, John Desmond Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (London: Burns & Oats, 2002), 171-172. In the Middle Ages, depictions of hands were used as religious mnemonic devices as well: Claire Richter Sherman, 'The Hand as the Mirror of Salvation', *Writing on Hands*, eds. Lukehart and Sherman, 64-65. Sabine Giese, 'The Hand as the Mirror of Salvation', *The Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and their Public*, eds. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 292-5, at p. 293, fig. 92.

¹¹⁸ Sherman, *Used Books*, 25-52.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 41-44.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

content of the page: the divergent shapes and configurations of manicules in PML 553 correlate to the reader's shifting responsiveness to physical and emotional scenes of contact in the narrative.

Sherman's study notwithstanding, there remains a lack of analysis as to how manicules operate in relation to woodcuts and descriptions of gestures and physical contact in particular text passages. I suggest that manicules not only highlight the text, but also emphasize the virtual presence of feeling and penetration in the woodcuts and narrative of the *Rose*. While Sherman notes that each individual's manicules are distinct, he does not probe how a single individual could create a plethora of different manicules, signifying a plethora of different meanings, in a single edition. In this regard, I argue that PML 553's reader created a variety of depictions of whole and partial hands and fingers in different positions, expressing different purposes and animating contact within the narrative. Though sometimes appearing simplistic, the contours of a manicule can reveal a reader's interpretation of a text. The study of manicules, therefore, necessitates an acute awareness of line strokes and placement. Although I attempt to nuance the meanings of manicules in this edition, other modern readers may well infer different functions and purpose in these depictions. Thus, I strive to assimilate PML 553's manicules within a framework of contemporaneous, sixteenth-century perceptions of hands and books in order to extract the reader's intention, with the understanding that additional interpretations remain possible.

Readers were accustomed to intervening in and using images and texts in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Especially in devotional manuscripts, the concept of readers kissing, caressing, and intimately handling visual and textual iconography is not new; however, little critical attention has been paid to this practice in secular, printed books in France. Certain scholars, including Jackson, infer that Renaissance readers no

longer illustrated marginal spaces in creative, emotional, and controversial ways, due to the uniformity and format of printed books. PML 553's reader, however, frequently used a pervasive symbol—the manicule—and his or her own fingertip to rub and activate the page, at times in puzzling ways.

Like Lawn d.49, PML 553 reveals fragmented evidence on its pages, complicating a comprehensive analysis of its manicules. This book lacks two leaves and was re-bound in the eighteenth century. As with Lawn d.49, the book was washed, pressed, and trimmed. Particularly on the first and last pages of the edition, the reader's ink appears faded as a result of scrubbed pages. Moreover, due to the tight binding of the book, the reader's additions in the interior margins are sometimes difficult to read. And in many instances, only some annotations or drawings remain because the book's pages were cut. Nevertheless, while this book contains only partial and incomplete evidence of its sixteenth-century reader's activity, extant annotations reveal insights into the reader's perception of touch and the importance of hands.

In addition to manicules, the reader incorporated other depictions of body parts in this edition. Like the reader in the previous case study, PML 553's reader favoured drawing one type of body part. The reader of PML 553 also included certain other, less prevalent sensory motifs, such as lips, an eye, and a nose beside passages concerned with these features.¹²² As in the edition discussed in Case Study 1, the overwhelming prevalence of one sensory motif suggests more than just a passing preoccupation on the part of the reader; perhaps PML 553's manicules referenced his or her talents or profession. The priority of this study, however, is not to attribute a fetish, or determine

¹²² On sig. a2 verso, the reader illustrated lips beside this line, 'Quant il oit chanter sur la rame'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 3, line 82). On sig. c2 recto, the reader depicted an eye next to the following underlined words: 'Si que par l'oeil'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 54, line 1741. On sig. b4 recto, the reader underlined the name Franchise, the contour of which ends in the shape of a long nose. Below, the text describes her prominent nose, 'Le nez avoit long et tretis'. This line differs from Lecoy's text: Ibid., vol. 1, p. 30, line 946.

exactly who the reader was, but rather to extrapolate how manicules serve as instruments that activate meaning in the poem.

In PML 553, the reader assumed an editorial role, employing manicules to organize the text and, among other things, distinguish characters' names. Unlike an editor, the reader personalized this book for his or her own use without the constraints of needing to sell the edition. As other scholars have explained, one primary function of manicules is to highlight words and passages in books. In PML 553, the reader employed manicules to draw attention to the characters' names, underlining them with the tips of manicules' fingers. For example, on sig. b4 verso, the name 'Jeunesse' (Youth) is underlined and a small manicule points upward to the edge of the line (Figure 106). Manicules paired with names probably served to enable the reader to identify quickly when and where a character is first introduced in the narrative.

In other instances, the reader used manicules to relate lines of an argument. Numerous types of manicules appear in this printed edition; some have long index fingers, while others comprise only knuckles. On sig. p3 recto, the reader illustrated a pointing hand with a decorative cuff containing a notch at the base (Figure 107).¹²³ The index finger, like a pen, underlines lines of text, spoken by Faux Semblant to Male Bouche: 'Sire ce n'est pas evangile / Tout ce qu'on dit parmy la ville'.¹²⁴ Below, the reader underlined two additional lines of Faux Semblant's speech: 'Tous amans volentiers visitent / Les lieux où leurs amours habitent'.¹²⁵ At the right edge of these lines, the reader depicted another notch in the margin, which appears to fit into the above

¹²³ The sharp edges of the manicule's sleeve resemble the razor-like edges of a metal pen-nub. Like a stylus, one edge of the manicule's cuff is darker than the other, as if recently dipped in an inkwell.

¹²⁴ 'Sir, all they say around the town is not gospel'. The complete passage in Lecoy reads: 'Sire, tout n'est pas evangile / quan que l'an dit aval la vile / Or n'aiez pas oreilles sordes, / et je vos puis que ce sunt bordes. / Vos savez bien certainement / que nus n'aime enterinement, / por tant qu'il le puisse savoir, / tant ait en lui poi de savoir, / home qui mesdie de lui; / et si rest voirs, s'onques le lui, / tuit amant volentiers visitent / les leus ou leur amors habitent'. Lecoy, vol. 2, p. 123, lines 12247-12258.

¹²⁵ 'All lovers willingly visit the places where their sweethearts live'.

manicule's sleeve, like a peg in a hole. Similar to the lines of text they distinguish, this manicule and its corresponding link are slightly apart on the page. In the lines highlighted by the manicule, Faux Semblant attempts to convince Male Bouche that spoken words cannot be trusted. In this passage, Faux Semblant argues logically that without concrete evidence, Male Bouche must dismiss what he has heard about how Amant kissed the rose. Below, also highlighted by the reader, Faux Semblant asserts that, instead, Male Bouche must acknowledge evidence that all lovers visit the places where their sweethearts live. Thus, by pictorially relating lines of text, the reader underscored two parts of Faux Semblant's argument pertaining to the inferiority of intangible speech.¹²⁶ Additionally, by pairing Faux Semblant's advice with an illustration of a hand, the reader seemingly affirmed the importance of tangible perception—rather than hearsay—in knowledge.

Throughout, the reader revealed an awareness of the authorial and manual process of including manicules in this edition. In numerous instances, the reader depicted manicules in the process of drawing other manicules. For example, on sig. d3 verso, the pointed index finger of a manicule is connected to a line illustrating the knuckles of three sets of hands (Figure 108). The reader's depictions of hands creating hands in the book indicate the reader's awareness of the creative process of producing manicules. Similarly, many manicules appear alone, with thin lines emerging from their tips, suggesting that the index finger is a pen. These lines are sometimes connected to the text of the poem, as if the manicule is manually writing the words of the text (Figure 109). By illustrating manicules as writing tools, the reader not only indicated how

¹²⁶ Perhaps ironically, in this passage, Faux Semblant uses his powers of persuasion through speech in order to gain Male Bouche's trust before forcibly removing his tongue. The reader further annotated 'no [nota] loqua[e]' (nota talk) beside these lines to signify their importance. In this book, the reader illustrated boxes containing notched edges around other lines of the poem's printed text. These lines perhaps correspond to manicule placement, too. In these examples, however, the notched boxes might be fitted with manicules' extended index fingers, rather than their base cuffs. See, e.g., sig. i5 verso.

contours are produced in the margins—by hand—but further aligned with his or her *own hand* as an active agent of change within the book. Just as the reader's hand draws, so too does the manicule, which hovers beside the text on the page.

In this edition, manicules allude to physical contact between characters in the text. On sig. b5 recto, for example, Amant witnesses the dancing of the Carole in the garden, as well as the subsequent dispersal of the dancers to enjoy 'delices assouvie'.¹²⁷ As Amant watches and envies people revelling in their carnal desires, he explains, 'Il n'est nul moindre paradis / Qu'avoir amye a son devis'.¹²⁸ Beside this excerpt, the reader illustrated a manicule that is itself illustrating the knuckles of another hand which in turn clutches a thin, reed-like contour (Figures 110.1 and 110.2). As mentioned previously, in this edition, manicules either appear alone or grouped with several other manicules. In this instance, however, the reader depicted the pairing of only two hands. By linking two hands, the reader alluded to a union between two separate individuals, probably referencing the encounters between the dancers in the accompanying text. Like the dancers who steal away in the narrative, these two manicules unite, bonding in the marginal space.

The interior manicule further responds to a woodcut illustrated on the same page and perhaps serves as a prescient symbol. Above this passage describing the dancing of the Carole, a woodcut depicts Amour and Amant before a trellis of roses. In this image, Amour clenches his arrows in his left hand and his bow in his right hand, while Amant pivots away. Similar to Amour in the woodcut, the manicule's knuckles, which border the passage below the woodcut, vertically grasp a thin, narrow line. This line highlights the text, but also evokes Amour's arrow, as the gesture of the manicule emulates

¹²⁷ 'Satisfying pleasure'. 'Fox est qui n'a de tel envie!' Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 40, line 1294.

¹²⁸ 'For there is no better paradise on earth than any place where lover finds a maid for his desire'. Modified translation: Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, ed. Charles W. Dunn, trans. Harry W. Robbins (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2002), 27. 'Qu'il n'est nus graindres paradis / d'avoir amie a son devis'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 40, lines 1297-1298.

Amour's vertical grasp of arrow shafts in the woodcut above.¹²⁹ The interior manicule's grasp of a line/arrow could foreshadow the arrow that will later pierce Amant. As Amant yearns to experience desire like the dancers in the accompanying text, the manicule holding a line/arrow might also signify the way in which he will further long for his paramour: the rose. Similarly, elsewhere in the *Rose*, the reader depicted manicules clutching arrow-like shafts in conjunction with descriptions of Amour's arrows (e.g. sig. c2 recto). Although the meaning of the drawing is unclear, the illustration conveys the reader's preoccupation with physical contact.

On sig. b5 recto, the manicule drawing reflects the reader's desire to touch and engage with the woodcut. Within the woodcut scene, there is evidence that the reader manually altered—through rubbing—the area between Amour's face and his hand that clutches the arrows and the space in front of Amant's face (Figure 110.3). This is apparent from the now-discoloured, circular patches in those areas, indicative of the reader's manipulation of the page.¹³⁰ At this moment in the narrative, it is possible that the reader's fascination with the relationship between Amant and Amour prompted this active engagement with the page through rubbing.¹³¹ Although the reader's exact

¹²⁹ 'Il a tantost pris une floiche; / et quant la corde fu en coche, / il entesa jusqu'a l'oreille / l'arc qui estoit fors a mervouille / et tret a moi par tel devise / que par mi l'ueil m'a ou cuer mise / sa saiete par grant roidor.' Ibid., vol. 1, p. 52, lines 1687-1693.

¹³⁰ Although the lateral margin of this page has water damage along its edge, the woodcut (in the interior margin) and its surrounding text are unaffected by water discolouration. The colour of the water damage is different from the discolouration caused by the reader's handling of the book. Unlike the reader's rubbings which form separate, circular patches, the water damage forms a cohesive band with a rippled edge.

¹³¹ As other scholars have noted, the subsequent penetration of Amant with Amour's arrow infuses the *Rose* narrative with homoerotic connotations. In the woodcut on sig. b5 recto, the reader alluded to a union between Amour and Amant, and perhaps their eventual kiss, by stimulating the vacant, negative spaces in front of their faces—though, admittedly, the reader's intentions remain unclear. As the text describes the sensual liaisons between dancers, the reader's activation of this scene through rubbings suggests an intimacy between these figures. Later in the *Rose*, Amour embraces Amant, a commonly illustrated scene, e.g.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 195, fol. 15v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 22r; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 7, fol. 14r; New York, PML, Ms. M. 948, fol. 24r.

intention may be unknowable, the reader expressed the importance of feeling in the narrative scene through his or her finger and manicules.¹³²

In Narcissus's woodcut, the reader again rubbed an image (Figure 111.1 and 111.2), conveying an interest in emotional and physical separation. The woodcut portrays Narcissus at his fountain, leaning over the edge to admire his reflection. In the passage describing Narcissus, Echo prays that Narcissus might one day suffer from a love without joy:

Fust Narcisus sans nul sejour
Eschauffe d'une telle amour,
Et dont il ne peust joye attendre;
Si pourroit scavoir et entendre
Quel dueil seuffrent les amoureux,
Par refus dur et rigoureux.¹³³

Beside these lines, the reader appears to have depicted a manicule, though the drawing is difficult to perceive due to the book's tight binding (Figure 111.3).¹³⁴ In any event, the reader underlined and marked these lines to indicate their importance. In the accompanying woodcut, the reader further rubbed Narcissus's face as well as the space in the pool below where his reflection would probably appear (the woodcut does not depict his face in the fountain's water). As in the illustration of Amour with Amant, the

¹³² Like readers who ritually kissed and touched images, PML 553's reader possibly rubbed this scene repeatedly at different intervals, activating the illustration at each encounter. This practice may apply to other rubbed illustrations in this book. Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 139.

¹³³ 'In his hard heart should someday tortured be and burn with such love that he would find no joy in any thing; thus he might know and comprehend what woe a loyal maid had felt when she so vilely was refused'. Modified translation: Dunn, 30. Sig. b6 recto. 'Que Narcisus au cuer farasche, / qu'el ot trové d'amer si lache, / fust asproiez encor un jor / et destroiz d'autretele amor / dont il ne peüst mire atendre / Si poroit savoir et aprendre / quel duel ont li loial amant, / qui les refuse si vilmant'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 45, lines 1457-1464.

¹³⁴ As mentioned above, it is unclear whether this drawing is a manicule due to the book's tight binding; however, if we entertain the idea that the drawing is a manicule, it has a notable characteristic: it trails a long, wispy loop that does not connect with anything at all. Unlike the drawing of the two hands beside the passage describing the Carole, this drawing could allude to a separation or lack of connection between two hands (signifying Narcissus's engagement with the fountain). A woman, Echo, condemns Narcissus to his fate; the ability of women to punish men will be assessed further in relation to other manicules and their positioning in the text at the end of this case study.

reader's rubbings allude to his or her active engagement with the page and this Narcissus woodcut. The reader's darkening of these areas could correlate to Narcissus's interest in his own image, though the precise meaning of these traces is unclear.

At other important moments in the narrative, the reader portrayed manicules that hold figurative representations of speech, suggesting that words can be tangible objects in their own right. After the attack on the Castle of Jalousie and the rescue of Bel Accueil, Courtoisie reacts:

Courtoisie prent la parole,
Premier à bel acueil parole,
Car de bien dire n'est past lente:
« Beau filz, boult ay est dolent,
Moult ay tristesse au cueur eue
Dont tant avez prison tenue ».¹³⁵

Beside this passage, a manicule waves a flag-like banderole in the margin (Figure 112). This manicule depiction possibly simulates Courtoisie's first words to Bel Accueil, who was entrapped in the castle's fortress. This manicule illustration resembles contemporaneous portrayals of banderoles floating within illustrative cycles, sometimes serving as labels with characters' or authors' names. Moreover, in battles, banners displayed insignias, crests, and other heraldic devices. This hand emulates the gesture of transporting signage into battle, though at this moment in the text the defenders of the tower from which Bel Accueil was rescued have already fled.

Elsewhere, manicules paired with reed-like contours indicate violent penetration in the narrative. After Amour's arrow pierces Amant, Amant attempts to withdraw the shaft from his body, 'mais la sajette barbelee, / Qui beaulte estoit appellee, / fut dedans

¹³⁵ 'Courtoisie first addressed Bel Accueil, not slow to speak fair words: "Fair son, great sorrow has enthralled my heart since you so long have been in prison thus confined"'. Modified translation: Dunn, 453. 'Courtoisie prant la parole, / prumiere a Bell Acueill parole, / car de bien dire n'iert pas lante: / Biau filz, mout ai esté dolante, / mout ai tristece au queur eüe / don tant avez prison tenue'. Lecoy, vol. 3, p. 139, lines 21255-21260.

mon cuer si fichee'.¹³⁶ Next to 'Mais', the reader depicted a hand bisected by a line (Figure 113). Unlike other portrayals of manicules with lines in the edition, the contour wraps around the manicule's fingers and fans into two separate lines below. This manicule suggests Amant's encounter with Beauté, the barbed arrow which he is unable to pull from his heart.¹³⁷ Like the narrative description, the line intersecting the reader's manicule suggests the physicality of Amant's impalement.

In later descriptions of Amour's arrows, another manicule gestures in the manner of an archer toward one of the arrow's names (Figures 114.1 and 114.2). Archers used their middle fingers to direct arrows; when captured during battle, their middle fingers were reportedly amputated as punishment.¹³⁸ Next to the name of the arrow 'Franchise' (Openness or Generosity of Spirit),¹³⁹ the manicule's middle finger extends, to touch the underlined name.¹⁴⁰ The position of the hand parallels an archer's grasp, as it aligns, positions, and fires an arrow from a long bow: the thumb and small finger are curled inward (and consequently are unseen), and the index and ring fingers are aligned with the middle finger. In the reader's drawing, this middle finger also serves as a stylus; its tip underlines the arrow's name.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, the finger evokes the double connotation of drawing—both illustrating and firing—the arrow. The connection between the manicule's finger and the horizontal contour emulates not only the gesture

¹³⁶ 'But still the golden barb named Beauty stayed fixed in my heart'. Dunn, 35. 'Le fust a moi tot enpené; / mais la saiete barbelee, / qui Biauté estoit apelee, / m'ot si dedenz le cuer fichee'. Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 53, lines 1712-1715. Above this excerpt, the reader corrected the word 'main' (hand) in the text, adding an 's' to make the word plural: 'Je prins lors a deux main[s] la flesche'. Ibid.: 'Je pris lors a .II. mains la floiche'. Ibid., p. 53, line 1708.

¹³⁷ The adjoining contours below the hand possibly signify streams of blood from Amant's penetration wound or the arrow's broken shaft, but one can only speculate.

¹³⁸ During the Hundred Years War, English archers feared that their middle fingers would be amputated if they were captured. As a gesture of defiance, it has been said that they gestured towards the French with their middle fingers. Angus Trumble, *The Finger: A Handbook* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010), 219-222.

¹³⁹ Dahlberg translates 'Franchise'—both the arrow and personage—as 'Openness'. Dahlberg, *The Romance of the Rose*, 43; 77-78. However, it is difficult to translate 'Franchise' in a modern sense, as her personification/namespace embodies 'noblesse', or noble qualities.

¹⁴⁰ The transcription differs in Lecoy: 'Vers le boton qui m'atalante' ; Lecoy, vol. 1, p. 55, line 1779.

¹⁴¹ The Latin word 'calamus' means both 'arrow' and 'pen'; other *Rose* manuscript illustrations depict a feathered object that is *both* an arrow and pen. Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2001), p. 78, fn. 42. Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers*, 298.

of a hand releasing an arrow (the arrow being the underline), but also the text. It is as if the manicule intends to fire not only the arrow, but the name 'Franchise', suggesting the physicality in the text. In this respect, the reader dramatizes physical contact through interactions between manicules with words, associated contours, and simulations of movements.

The middle finger was a symbol of profanity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. During both periods, each finger was attributed with purpose and intention, and the middle finger was referred to as *impudicus*, or shameless and unchaste.¹⁴² There were prohibitions on the usage of this obscene gesture.¹⁴³ In PML 553, the reader depicted important meaning through the positions of fingers in order to communicate messages in the margins. By extending the middle finger only once in this book and toward the word Franchise, it is possible that the reader additionally intended to mock her personification or introduce humour. At this point in the narrative, however, Amant was already acquainted with the character Franchise, who had danced with Beauté, Courtoisie, Jeunesse, Largesse (Generosity), and Richesse. It is unlikely that the reader intended to direct a profane gesture toward Franchise, particularly since the manicule's index and ring fingers are also extended. Elsewhere the reader prominently asserts an interest in attributes that her character possesses (e.g. 'noblesse').

In fact, the reader added titles concerning honourable women at important junctures of the book. For example, on the title page, the reader wrote alongside the title of the *Rose*, 'où l'honneur des fem[m]es Repose' (Figure 115).¹⁴⁴ Below, in similarly

¹⁴² The thumb, or 'pollex' finger, signified virtue; the index finger, or 'salutaris' finger, was used for greeting; the ring finger, or 'anularis' finger, was used by doctors to apply salve; and the little finger, or 'auricularis' finger, cleaned ears. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (London: Yale UP, 2006), 32.

¹⁴³ Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Senses of Touch: Human Dignity and Deformity from Michelangelo to Calvin* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 23; p. 23, fn. 125.

¹⁴⁴ 'Where the honour of women rests'.

prominent, large letters, the reader wrote, ‘Après les gentils homes’.¹⁴⁵ Likewise, at the close of the book, following Jean de Meun’s *Testament*, the reader ended the poem by twice proclaiming, ‘Cy finist le romant de la rose où l’honneur des Dames Repose’ (Figure 116). The large script and grandiose display of these words at the beginning and end of the book indicate their significance to the book owner. Like Lawn d.49’s reader, PML 553’s reader appropriated space at the opening and close of the book, areas commonly reserved for editors to showcase printers’ marks and addresses in printed books. Through annotations in these spaces, the reader (like an editor) customized the tone of his or her book.

The meaning of the reader’s annotations, however, is puzzling. Frédéric Godefroy’s *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, defines ‘honneur’ as ‘estime glorieuse qui est accordée à la vertu, au courage, aux talents’.¹⁴⁶ The literal meaning of the reader’s title, therefore, is that the poem contains the virtue of women. Accordingly, the reader may have written these words to encourage reading the *Rose* as honouring women. Since there are negative portrayals of women through the course of Jean de Meun’s continuation of the poem, it is also possible that the reader intended to be ironic, engaging with the gender-related controversy in the *Rose* narrative. The phrase ‘Après les gentils homes’ does not help to clarify this particular reading: could the virtue of women be ‘après’, or following, ‘gentils homes’ (gentlemen)?¹⁴⁷ To whom was the reader referring with the term ‘gentils

¹⁴⁵ ‘After the gentlemen’. The reader does not appear to have included an abbreviation for ‘mm’ (in ‘homes’), though such an abbreviation may have been removed during subsequent cleaning of the book.

¹⁴⁶ Frédéric Godefroy also defines this word as ‘charges’ (burden and/or task); however, in this context, this definition seems less plausible. Frédéric Godefroy’s *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, vol. 4 (Paris: Vieweg, 1881-1902), accessed 8 Mar. 2013, <<http://www.classiques-garnier.com>>.

¹⁴⁷ Although the annotations about the ladies and ‘gentils homes’ are slightly apart on the page, I assume they were intended to be read together due to their similar lettering and close spatial relationship to the poem’s printed title. The reader appears to have written ‘Les bon foy’ below ‘Après les gentils homes’ on the title page and ‘Louviac’ below his or her annotations on the last page of the book’s text (sig. g6 verso). The meaning of these annotations is unclear; ‘Les bon foy’ and/or ‘Louviac’ could possibly be surnames.

homes’? ‘Gentils homes’ is plural and, thus, cannot refer solely to Jean de Meun.

Instead, ‘gentils homes’ is open to various interpretations and could signify: (1) both of the poem’s authors (Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun), (2) male readers of the *Rose*, or (3), as I suspect, male characters in the poem. In light of these different potential glosses, it is difficult to gauge how the reader understood the *Rose* as a whole, and, more specifically, its portrayals of men and women. This ambiguity lends intrigue to how the reader envisioned the poem and possibly encouraged contemplation of *both* positive and negative relationships between men and women in the poem. The *Rose* is not simply a misogynistic treatise against women, and the reader probably engaged with the poem’s varying portrayals of women in his or her annotations and drawings. Indeed, the reader’s drawings reveal a particular interest in narrative moments in which men and women attempt to deceive and manipulate each other.

The reader of PML 553 used manicules to indicate how men manipulate women, as well as to highlight portrayals of domineering women elsewhere in the book. In the following example, the reader’s manicule highlights a passage explaining how to control women (Figure 117). In Ami’s monologue, he advises Amant on how to overcome a woman’s defences:

Qu’il ne se peut d’elle deffendre
 Tant est esbahy, et surpris
 De leur beaulte et de leur pris.
 Car il n’est femme tant soit bonne,
 Vieille, jeune, mondaine, ou nonne,
 Ne si religieuse dame,
 Tant soit chaste de corps et dame,
 Se l’en va sa beaulte louane
 Qui ne se delecte en louant.
 Combien qu’el soit laide clamee,
 Jurent que plus belle est que fee,
 Et si le facent tellement.
 Qu’elles croyent legierement;
 Car chascune cuide de soy

Que tant ayt beaulte bien le scay,
 Combien qui soit laide pouvee,
 Que bien est digne d'estre amee.
 Ainsi à garder leurs amyes,
 Sans reprises de leurs folies,
 Doyvent tous estre diligens.¹⁴⁸

Ami's advice to Amant provides him with a lesson as to how to maintain power over women, regardless of age or appearance: through their vanity. The reader enclosed this passage in a continuous contour comprising numerous sets of knuckles—thus, the passage is confined both above and on either side by grasping, interconnected manicules.¹⁴⁹ In the reader's marginal drawing, the hands border the passage of Ami's advice, supporting it like a banner. By prominently surrounding this text with manicules, the reader suggested the importance of reflecting on this passage's instructions on how to control women. The clutched hands evoke authority and a poised stance. The reader's association of this passage with manicules could also imply that through carefully crafted words, or manipulation, men can obtain steadfast control.

Elsewhere in the text, the reader inserted segmented fingers in the margins to highlight negative portrayals of female-gendered figures (Figure 118). The reader, for instance, marked a passage describing Pecune (Riches) and her capacity to torture others:

Ainsi, pecune se revanche,
 Comme dame tresnoble et franche,
 Des serfz qui la tiennent enclose.
 En paix se tient et se repose,
 Et fait les malheureux veiller
 Et soucier et travailler.

¹⁴⁸ 'That you against her can make no defence so much abashed are you, and overcome by her desert and beauty. There's no maid good, bad, old, religious, secular—not even a nun, chaste in both body and soul—who'll not delight to hear her beauty praised. No matter though she be considered foul, swear that she is more lovely than a fay, and say it with assurance. She'll believe you easily; for each one thinks herself sufficiently possessed of loveliness, however ugly she may be, to gain a lover'. Dunn, 200. Lecoy, vol. 2, pp. 52-53, lines 9912-9931.

¹⁴⁹ This is the only three-sided border in this book. Other readers used outlines embedded with manicules in contemporaneous *Rose* printed editions. See, e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 194, sig. j6 recto.

Soubz pied si court les tient et dompte
 Qu'elle a honneur, et eulx la honte,
 Et le torment et le dommaige
 Qui en angoissent leur couraige.
 Dieu n'est pas de faire tel garde,
 Au moins à celluy qui la garde,
 Mais sans faille elle demourra
 A qui que soit quand il mourra.¹⁵⁰

In the lateral margin alongside this passage, the reader illustrated two segmented fingers (or, alternatively, one finger with a long flame-like nail). While the tight binding of the book makes it difficult to determine the precise shape of this finger (or, perhaps, fingers), the reader quite clearly emphasized this passage through his or her inclusion of this manicure—the largest manicure form in the book. This passage exudes a negative portrayal of Pecune, who, ‘comme dame tresnoble’, shames and subjugates.

Significantly, much of the language of this passage describing Pecune recurs in the reader's annotations describing women at the beginning and end of the book (e.g. ‘dame[s]’, ‘honneur’, ‘enclose’, and ‘se repose’). The shared language of the reader's titles and this passage describing Pecune suggests a puzzling association: did the reader intend to associate Pecune with the ‘Dames’ of the titles? It is impossible to know for certain, but the manicure signifies the need to probe the meaning of the accompanying passage in greater detail.

Indeed, the manicure's claw-like form could be interpreted on several different levels. The manicure's sharpened talon figuratively evokes a sense of hostility or danger. Accordingly, the sixteenth-century reader may have been offended by the

¹⁵⁰ ‘So, like a queen or highborn dame, does Wealth revenge herself on slaves who hold her fast. Reposing herself in quiet peace, she makes those wretches lie awake with toil and care. Close fettered at her feet she keeps them cowed so that she has all honour, they all shame, who languish in the torment of her rule. No profit comes to one thus bound to her, for she will live on when he who dares not rouse her to activity shall end his life’. Modified translation: Dunn, 112. ‘Au moins a celluy qui la garde ‘Ainsint Peccune se revanche, / comme dame et raïne et franche, / des sers qui la tiennent enclose. / En pez se tient et se repose / et fet les meschaanz vaillier / et soussier et travaillier. / Souz piez si cors les tient et donte / qu'ele a l'ennor, et cil la honte / et le torment et le damage / qui languissent en son servage. / Preu n'est ce pas fere en tel garde, / au mains a celui qui la garde mes sanz faille ele demorra / a qui que soit, quant cil morra’. Lecoy, vol. 1, pp. 159-160, lines 5175-5188.

depiction of a ‘tresnoble’ woman (Pecune) acting immorally and causing harm, accusatorily fingering Raison’s discourse in Jean de Meun’s continuation with blame; however, the reader may have taken offence at Pecune, criticizing her actions through the manicule. Another possibility is that the reader may have depicted the manicule as a witty visualization of Pecune’s manipulation of others, without agreeing or disagreeing with her behaviour. Like Case Study 1’s example of a large mouth drawing in Nature’s confession (signifying verbosity), the depiction of a large, sharp manicule beside Pecune could highlight her meddling and manipulative personality.¹⁵¹ Similar to the reader’s annotations at the beginning and end of the book, this prominent drawing exhibits unclear meaning. This ambiguity could result from our limited ability to understand the reader’s perspective, or the reader’s intention to evoke the multivalenced and equivocal connotations of a ‘tresnoble’ woman’s actions.

Although this case study only examines a small portion of the reader’s drawings, these images serve as provocative, visceral cues that signal passages worthy of further analysis. The reader’s manicules reveal a preoccupation with touch in relation to words, ideas, and characters. These drawings demonstrate an awareness of emotional and physical relationships in the narrative, informed by text-image relationships. While some of these drawings may remain unclear in meaning, they invite close observation due to their physical interaction with the text. By touching, writing, and underscoring words, the reader’s manicules command attention, suggesting the materiality of the text. In this way, the reader imagined physical actions with words themselves as participatory objects. Some of these gestures may have been mimicked by the reader, as indicated by fingertip rubbings in woodcut scenes. The reader’s drawings express a personal interest in certain discourses and characters in the book, as he or she physically highlighted

¹⁵¹ This distinctive manicule may serve as a cautionary reminder to be wary and vigilant of women. The reader’s focus on women as predators would reflect contemporaneous anxieties about women as deceitful, mercurial, and untrustworthy creatures.

names and couplets, distinguishing them from their context in the *Rose* text. Viewing the *Rose* as a compendium of stories, morals, and ideas, the reader's manicules demonstrate the reader's effort to connect these personages and narrative moments to a significance beyond the literal meaning of the accompanying text.

The reader's drawings and annotations, for example, suggest a concern with gender relations. Whether the reader expressed a biased opinion in favour of women or men is unknown and perhaps unknowable: nevertheless, the reader's drawings and titles highlight the poem's contradictory discourses and narrative patterns. Even though the reader's intentions remain unclear in this respect, he or she seemingly customized illustrations to communicate palpable sensation and to emphasize the manipulative tactics of men and women.

* * *

Both case studies in this chapter demonstrate how readers depicted (and sometimes eliminated) sensory motifs in order to communicate forms of oral and physical contact. Lawn d.49's mouths and PML 553's manicules serve to dramatize sixteenth-century books, revealing readers' reactions to and interpretations of passages. These drawings are instruments that selectively supplement text-image relationships, shedding further light on readers' interactions with the text. Perhaps due to their situation in marginal spaces, annotations and motifs such as manicules are often overlooked. Upon closer examination, these motifs are not simply markers; rather, they evoke voicing and physical contact in narrative content. Readers did not only read these books; they infused *sensation* into the page through these pictorial devices. These readers' responses were not impulsive, due to the forethought required to prepare,

structure, and add drawings to the page. Consequently, drawings of lips, manicules, and other sensory motifs deserve careful assessment of their patterns and placement. Unlike editors, readers were not concerned about how their annotations might affect the future sale of their books and readers thus could illustrate marginal spaces to demonstrate their personal interests and understanding of the poem. Just as Lawn d.49's and PML 553's readers annotated the wide margins of their printed books, contemporaneous readers could draw and fill in commentary in other books with wide margins—which were created this way for readers' use.

The prominence of mouth and manicule drawings in Lawn d.49 and PML 553 demonstrates the sensory biases of readers. Each book in this chapter includes drawings of predominantly one body part, suggesting that each reader desired to specialize in one form of sensory expression. Not unlike contemporaneous debates and scholarly jockeying as to the relative communicative powers of certain arts—such as oration, painting, or sculpture—the readers of Lawn d.49 and PML 553 created drawings to communicate interpretations of words and images. Certain scholars and artisans intently focused on the supremacy of particular skills and forms of communication (e.g. oration), and Lawn d.49's and PML 535's readers evoked a preference for using particular motifs (i.e. mouths and hands, respectively) to express and highlight meaning in their books. While the inclusion of lips, hands, or other similar motifs in books may reveal the professional backgrounds of readers, such drawings further indicate deeper trends as to how readers consciously specialized in and identified with certain channels of expressive communication within books and other objects. Renaissance readers' illustrations are under-examined in books. Yet with further exploration of readers' sensory drawings, it is possible to explore the role of readers as active agents, employing visceral cues to structure their own reading experiences.

Questions remain as to why readers made these sorts of interventions in the page. Did sixteenth-century readers intend their drawings to influence contemporaneous or future readers of their books? It is unclear how readers envisioned the legacy of their books. Although this chapter explores individual readers of printed editions, it is possible that these books were also read with others or even performed before an audience. Oral recitation of the poem's passages could alternately complicate or animate the ways in which sensation was perceived in the text. If performed before an audience, voicing would dramatize the narrative; however, listeners would be unable to touch the page and view illustrations, shifting the narrative's reception. Future study of how readers depicted mouths and hands/fingers in other books may reveal a broader network of readers who annotated books of other literary genres in similar and different ways. Analyses of how these images interact with the page could provide further clues as to how readers intended their books to be read by others. Scholarly interest in fragmented bodies should take account of sixteenth-century readers' drawings which contribute to our understanding of image-text reception and body part portrayals in visual culture. Upon detailed examination, readers' illustrations of mouths and hands provide clues as to how readers expressed their knowledge of a text and annotated books, giving voice and movement to the page.

Conclusion

This thesis has focused on the visual elements of *Rose* manuscripts and printed editions, broadening understanding of image production and reception in books in the decades following the advent of printing in France. Through in-depth case studies of *Rose* books, I have attempted to shed light on wider cross-disciplinary issues relating to the history of the book, the relationship between word and image, and readership practices *ca.* 1481-1538. A large body of evidence touching on these issues is present in the visual material of French books, but printed imagery is often overlooked despite its potential to offer insight into the practices of bookmakers and readers. This thesis has presented new approaches to analysing patterns of woodcut transmission and reception in books of that era, by closely examining the form and function of images.

Printed images inform our understanding of the ‘transition’ from manuscript to print in the late fifteenth through early sixteenth centuries. Manuscript makers and their products evolved alongside print technology, problematizing some scholars’ theory that manuscript production ceased following the advent of printing. Hand-illustrated and printed books share visual elements, indicating a vibrant period of book production in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. Manuscripts and printed books exhibit cross-fertilization, due, for example, to manuscript illustrators’ use of printed imagery. Indeed, late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts evoke the industrial characteristics of printed editions: the images in such manuscripts—which were sometimes made of paper—often resemble the compositions and stylistic elements of woodcuts. Artisans’ professional and personal collaborations during this era facilitated a rich overlap of craft specialisms, which enabled the makers of manuscripts and printed editions to share visual iconography in various forms (e.g. single-sheet relief prints and

printed books). Illustrators' usages of woodcuts may have been pragmatic—due to the accessibility of woodcuts, for instance—but illustrators may also have desired to rival or pay homage to printed visual programmes in their works.

The use of printed imagery in manuscripts and printed editions raises questions about how illustrators and editors creatively imagined and repurposed visual iconography in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The intersection of artistic techniques in manuscripts and printed editions sheds light on how illustrators demonstrated their creative talent and attempted to appeal to the fluctuating tastes of society. For example, illustrators, who were employed by editors, overpainted woodcuts in deluxe printed editions to portray contemporary costume elements and naturalistic style and perspective (characteristic of contemporaneous oil paintings). Accordingly, diverse artistic techniques and influences emerge in the visual programmes of books, blurring distinctions between late medieval and Renaissance aesthetics. Consequently, it is important to continue scrutinizing the terms 'late medieval' and 'Renaissance' in order to probe ambiguities which surface in discourses concerning the histories of the book and of art.

Printed images provide insight into the reception of visual and textual iconography. In printed editions, editors demonstrated the important relationship between text and image in books. Editors created patterns of borrowed and repeated woodcuts in their books, inviting readers to recall other usages of printed imagery, both in the book at hand and in other contexts. Borrowed and repeated woodcuts, which may at first appear to be misplaced or misused in books, in fact tapped into the reader's eagerness to detect patterns. 'Misused' woodcuts probably served to re-focus the reader's attention, but, through their placement in the text, also invited the reader to perceive differences and similarities between printed imagery and specific narrative

moments. Editors' use of illustrations was deliberate, though certain images suggest more meaningful relationships to the *Rose* text than others. By framing borrowed and repeated woodcuts with (and without) titles and rubrics, editors guided readers' reception of this imagery. The burgeoning production of printed editions enabled editors to reference their other publications (in a financially beneficial move), but readers, who were familiar with occurrences of printed imagery in other contexts and accustomed to thinking visually about both text and image, may well have intuited other meanings. Future research is needed to determine how editors possibly emphasized similar or different visual motifs through borrowed and repeated images in other early *Rose* printed editions, which have not been analysed in detail in this thesis.

My examination of readers' visual responses in books is relevant to wider academic discourses concerning image reception and readership practices. Readers' traces have been under-examined, and this thesis has attempted to provide strategies for deciphering how readers imagined visual iconography and annotated imagery in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. Editors invited readers to intervene in books' wide margins, and the sixteenth-century reader often assumed a role akin to the book's editor, framing printed texts with titles and rubrics and adding images. It is important to avoid broadly categorizing readers and their visual responses, as printed images and texts were susceptible to diverse readings in various contexts. Nevertheless, readers' drawings and annotations in certain books can shed light on readers' identities and how they responded to images and text. In the early sixteenth century, there existed an expanding readership due to the wider dissemination of printed editions (and growing literacy). *Rose* readers annotated books' margins, manifesting creative interventions and knowledge of the poem's literary references and voices. Certain readers located and dramatized sensation in books through their drawings of sensory motifs, which could indicate various

readership practices, e.g., Lawn d.49's reader's intention to voice the text or to enshrine a memory of older oral practices of reading aloud or mouthing words (through the depiction of mouths), or PML 553's reader's perception of tactile surfaces in both text and woodcuts (through manicule drawings). The reader relied on the visual in order to communicate his or her sensory reception of printed iconography (in woodcuts and texts), and other readers may well have depicted mouths and hands which function in similar ways. Questions remain about how readers read books and communicated meaning through drawings, requiring closer inspection of visual elements in other books: did readers annotate printed books in the same manner as manuscripts during this period? In addition, how did readers annotate woodcuts and texts in different contemporaneous books or narrative genres?

This thesis has undertaken to deepen understanding of the *Rose* and its visual iconography *ca.* 1481-1538, i.e. during the period of early *Rose* printed edition production. I have attempted to provide insight into the transmission and consumption of different *Rose* images during this era. Due in large part to the advent of French printing and the large number of woodcuts in *Rose* printed editions, late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts contain more images than earlier *Rose* manuscripts. *Rose* images of this era, however, were not used carelessly: illustrators, editors, and readers treated them with great attention. *Rose* book images, for example, were not simply tools for the unknowing (or illiterate) reader, as readers were expected to bring memories of other texts and images to their *Rose* reading experiences. In order to examine how illustrators and editors composed printed images in the decades following the advent of print, I have touched on examples of earlier *Rose* manuscripts and their illustrations. While it is important to have a broader understanding of representations of *Rose* imagery in other contexts, it has not been the aim of this study to

provide a survey of *Rose* imagery from its conception to the present day. Instead, I have attempted to contextualize the creation and consumption of printed iconography in *Rose* books, by analysing particular examples of images in a handful of books from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and by situating these examples within a framework of contemporaneous understandings of the poem and visual elements. Editors, illustrators, and readers used printed and hand-illustrated images to convey meaning and purpose in the *Rose* narrative, underscoring certain subjects and motifs, which could relate to contemporary preoccupations. As examined in this thesis's case studies, bookmakers and readers visually engaged with specific subjects pertaining to the role of the author, gender relations—as refracted through scenes of adultery, longing, and conflict—and scenes of battle, death, and punishment. Yet the reception of iconographic details in the poem's plot may have received different responses in other books, and it is important to avoid oversimplifying how different readers may have engaged with the same edition. Woodcuts vary in appearance, function, and placement in books' texts, revealing multivalenced connotations through their usages by bookmakers and readers. Although *Rose* printed editions remain difficult to access in digital archives, their visual programmes provide important clues as to how editors, illustrators, and readers understood the *Rose* and emphasized particular visual motifs and concerns in the decades following the advent of French printing.

Modern technology has made available abundant resources in this field, digitizing medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and some printed editions. Consequently, there exists a large body of visual material from books, newly accessible and deserving of future analysis, which has the potential to inform understandings of image, manuscript, and print production and reception. We must approach these books with an awareness of the contexts in which their texts and images

were produced and used (often in different, fascinating ways); however, our potential to understand these books will probably remain fragmented, due in part to damage in or later alterations to books. Although printed book imagery is often marginalized in studies of the book and of art, this imagery provides insight into broader cross-disciplinary issues concerning, for instance, the continuity, as well as differences, between manuscript and print and the use of different artistic techniques. Printed imagery inspired creative and imaginative uses (and re-uses) by illustrators, editors, and readers. As this thesis has shown through in-depth case studies of images, we are able to draw meaning and purpose from visual elements by placing them in their artistic, cultural, and textual contexts (even if these contexts are wide-ranging and sometimes ambiguous). This imagery provides an invaluable tool for our understanding of the past, invigorating studies of literature and the histories of art and of the book.

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- 46 'Convoitise', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. a3 verso.
- 47 'Convoitise', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. a3 verso.
- 48 'Samson and Delilah', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. i1 recto.
- 49 'Samson and Delilah/Judith and Holofernes', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. i1 recto.
- 50 'Two Figures Conversing', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. f7 recto.
- 51 'Two Figures Conversing', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f7 recto.
- 52.1 'Seneca Kills Himself', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. f5 recto.
- 52.2 'Detail of Seneca's Arm', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. f5 recto.
- 53 'Seneca Kills Himself', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f5 recto.
- 54 'The Dissection of Nero's Mother', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. f4 verso.
- 55 'The Dissection of Nero's Mother', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f4 verso.
- 56 'Nature Sends Genius to Deliver Her Message', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb.1493, Paris; New York, PML, PML 535, sig. r6 verso.
- 57 'Pauvreté/The Merchant's Wife', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. a5 verso.
- 58 'Pauvreté', *Rose*; Guillaume Le Roy, ca. 1487, Lyon; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald 396, sig. a5 verso.
- 59 'Vulcan Catches Mars and Venus in Bed/The Adulterous Wife with Her Loyal Husband and Lovers', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. n2 recto.
- 60 'Honte and Peur Speak to Danger/The Disgraced Girl with Her Former Lover',

- Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. d3 verso.
- 61 'Danger Deters Amant/The Frenchman Attacks the Ignorant Englishman', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. c6 recto.
- 62 'Beauté and Laideur Attack Chasteté/The Mocking of Christ', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. h7 verso.
- 63 'The Suicide of Dido', *Rose*; Fifteenth Century, France; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 332, fol. 124r.
- 64 'The Suicide of Dido/David Welcomed with Praise upon His Return from Killing Goliath', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. m5 verso.
- 65 'The Fall of the Castle of Jalousie/The Toppling of the Tower in the Battle of Beth-zechariah', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. t3 recto.
- 66 'Le Jaloux Beats His Wife/Michal Mocks Her Husband', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. i2 recto.
- 67 'Samson and Delilah/Judith and Holofernes', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. i1 recto.
- 68 'Pygmalion and His Statue/Eve and the Serpent', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493, Paris; Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. i2 recto.
- 69 'Author Paying Homage to a King and Queen', *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. a1 recto.
- 70 'Fraîche Mémoire Shows the Author the Tombs of His Predecessors', *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. a1 verso.
- 71 'Guillaume de Lorris', *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. a6 verso.
- 72 'Jean de Meun/Matheolus', *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. f3 verso.
- 73 'L'Acteur Humbly Apologizes to the Ladies/Matheolus', *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. p1 recto.
- 74 "'Cy finist le Rommant de la Rose'", *Rose*; Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, b28 P3(1), sig. f6 verso.
- 75 'Félonie', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. b2 recto.

- 76 'The Suicide of Nero', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. h4 recto.
- 77 'Le Jaloux Beats His Wife', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. l2 verso.
- 78 'Honte, Peur, and Danger Beat Amant', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. r2 verso.
- 79 'Amour Pierces Amant with His Arrow', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. c5 recto.
- 80 'Amant Plucks the Rosebud', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. z5 recto.
- 81 'Jason in Search of the Golden Fleece/ Galliot Du Pré's Printer's Mark', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. l4 verso.
- 82 'Venus and Her Chariot', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1531, Paris; New York, NYPL, Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. r6 verso.
- 83 'Dreaming Couple in Bed', *Rose*; Jehan Morin, ca. 1538, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, PQ 1527 A1 b31 (copy A), sig. a1 recto.
- 84 'The Adulterous Venus and Mars in Bed', *Rose*; Jehan Morin, ca. 1538, Paris; Aberystwyth, NLW, PQ 1527 A1 b31 (copy A), sig. h6 recto.
- 85.1 'La Vieille's Proscription on Laughter; Outline of Spectacles', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sigs. p3 verso-p4 recto.
- 85.2 'Detail of Mouth beside la Vieille's Proscription on Laughter', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. p3 verso.
- 86 'Fragment at the End of the Book', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, n.p.
- 87.1 'Amant Dreaming with Danger Looming', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto.
- 87.2 'Detail of Faded Rose by Amant's Slumbering Head', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto.
- 87.3 'Rose in Mouth', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto.
- 88 'Detail of the *Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*', Tempera and Oil on Wood; Netherlandish Painter [Goswijn van der Weyden], ca. 1515-20,

- Netherlands; 25.1 x 53.3 cm; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.290.3a-p.
- 89 'Detail of the *Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*', Engraving; ca. 1488, Spain; 40.6 x 30.5 cm; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957.57.526.
 - 90 'Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz', Rosary Pamphlet; H. Knoblochtzer, ca. 1480, Strasbourg; London, British Library, IA.2506, fol. 1v.
 - 91.1 'The Dissection of Nero's Mother', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. g5 recto.
 - 91.2 'Detail of Nero's and His Assistant's Excised Mouths', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. g5 recto.
 - 92 "'Male Bouche" Label in Margin', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. e3 recto.
 - 93 'Profile in Margin', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. c1 recto.
 - 94.1 'Profile in Margin', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a3 verso.
 - 94.2 'Detail of Profile's Mouth', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a3 verso.
 - 95 'Profile in Margin', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. d4 verso.
 - 96 'Lips or Partial Profile with Text Describing the Carole', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. a6 verso.
 - 97 'Corrected Side Note and Two Open Mouths', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. c4 verso.
 - 98 'The Beginning of Nature's Confession with Drawings of a Pointing Hand and Two Mouths', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. t1 recto.
 - 99.1 "'Chapitre no^{table}," and "Pg [Passage] notable"', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sigs. y5 verso and y6 recto.
 - 99.2 'Detail of "Chapitre no^{table}" above Genius's Speech', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. y5 verso.
 - 100 "'Pg [Passage] bon"', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. y6 verso.

- 101 'Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut of Raison Chastising Amant', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. d2 verso.
- 102.1 'Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut of Phania Speaking to King Croesus', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. h1 verso.
- 102.2 'Detail of Ink Removal on Phania's Face', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. h1 verso.
- 103 'Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut of Amant Clutching the Rose', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. d6 recto.
- 104 'Rhyming Couplets Added by the Reader', *Rose*; Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1526, Paris; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lawn d.49, sig. z7 verso.
- 105 'François Perdrier's Inscription and Added Rhyming Couplets', *Rose*; Fifteenth Century, Paris; Los Angeles, Ferrell Collection (Privately Owned), Ms. Ferrell Rose, fol. 136v.
- 106 'Manicule Underscoring the Name "Jeunesse"', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b4 verso.
- 107 'Manicule with a Decorative Cuff and Its Corresponding Link Below', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. p3 recto.
- 108 'Manicule Illustrating the Knuckles of Three Hands', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. d3 verso.
- 109 'Manicule Writing Words', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. c2 verso.
- 110.1 'Woodcut of Amour and Amant; Two Manicules in the Lower, Interior Margin', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b5 recto.
- 110.2 'Detail of Two Manicules', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b5 recto.
- 110.3 'Detail of Woodcut Rubbed by the Reader', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b5 recto.
- 111.1 'Narcissus at His Fountain', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b6 recto.
- 111.2 'Detail of Woodcut Rubbed by the Reader', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. b6 recto.
- 111.3 'Detail of Annotations', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML,

PML 553, sig. b6 recto.

- 112 'Manicule Clutching a Banderole', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. z2 verso.
- 113 'Manicule with Text Describing Amant's Impalement by Amour's Arrow', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. c1 verso.
- 114.1 'Manicule Drawing "Franchise"', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. c2 recto.
- 114.2 'Detail of Manicule with "Franchise"', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. c2 recto.
- 115 'Title Page', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. a1 recto.
- 116 'Annotations at the End of the Book', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. g6 verso.
- 117 'Knuckles Bordering Text Describing How to Control Women', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. m4 recto.
- 118 'Finger(s) with Text Describing Pecune', *Rose*; Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505, Paris; New York, PML, PML 553, sig. g2 recto.

Appendix

The Chronology of Early *Rose* Printed Editions

This table lists chronologically early *Rose* printed editions (ca. 1481-1538) according to their known or presumed place of publication, editor, and date of publication.

	Imprint	Format	ISTC Number
1.	Geneva: Jean Croquet, ca. 1481 Also attributed to Lyon: Gaspard Ortuin and Pierre Bouttellier (Schenck)	f°	ir00307000 ¹
2.	Lyon: Jean Syber, ca. 1485	f°	ir00308000
3.	Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, ca. 1487	f°	ir00309000
4.	Paris: Jean Du Pré, before 1493	f°	ir00310000
5.	Paris: Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493	f°	ir00311000
6.	Paris: Antoine Vérard or Jean Petit, after 1493 [ca. 1497]	f°	ir00312000
7.	Paris: Antoine Vérard, ca. 1494	f°	ir00312500
8.	Lyon: Guillaume Balsarin, ca. 1503 (<i>Rose moralisé</i>) ²	f°	
9.	Paris: Jean Petit and others, ca. 1505	f°	ir00313000
10.	Paris: Antoine Vérard, ca. 1505	4°	ir00314000
11.	Paris: Michel Le Noir, ca. 1509	4°	
12.	Paris: Antoine Vérard, ca. 1511 (<i>Rose moralisé</i>)	f°	ir00315000
13.	Paris: Michel Le Noir, ca. 1515	4°	
14.	Paris: Michel Le Noir, ca. 1519	4°	
15.	Paris: Jean Janot, ca. 1520-1	4°	
16.	Paris: la veuve Michel Le Noir, ca. 1521 (<i>Rose moralisé</i>)	f°	
17.	Paris: Galliot Du Pré or Jean Petit, privilege date 1526 (Clément Marot's recension) ³	f°	
18.	Paris: [Philippe Le Noir], ca. 1526	4°	
19.	Paris: Alain Lotrian, ca. 1528	4°	
20.	Paris: Galliot Du Pré, ca. 1529 (Clément Marot's recension)	small-8°	
21.	Paris: Galliot Du Pré or Jean Petit, ca. 1531 (Clément Marot's recension)	f°	
22.	Paris: Jean Longis and others, ca. 1537 and 1538 (Clément Marot's recension)	small-8°	

¹ Reproductions of *Rose* incunables and one printed edition (ir00312500) are available on microfiche: British Library, *Incunabula: The Printing Revolution in Europe, 1455-1500* (Reading: Research Publications, 2004-5), Romances Parts 1-3.

² 'C'est le romant de la rose, / moralise cler et net, / translate de rime en prose / par vostre humble molinet'. Jean Molinet 'moralized' the *Rose* in prose ca. 1500.

³ In 1526, the poem's text was modernized and corrected, possibly by Clément Marot. I refer to subsequent editions containing this version of the text as 'Clément Marot's recension' with the understanding that the attribution of this work is unclear.

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Los Angeles, Ferrell Collection (Privately Owned), Ms. Ferrell Rose.

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—— (Paris: Antoine Vérard, after Feb. 1493); Bonn, ULB Bonn, Inc. 4' 502 d. New York, PML, PML 535; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Incun. x. G974.

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Image, Manuscript, Print:
Le Roman de la rose, ca. 1481-1538

VOLUME II : IMAGES CITED

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Trinity Term 2013

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Figure 1

'Nature at Her Forge'

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Figure 2

'Nature at Her Forge'

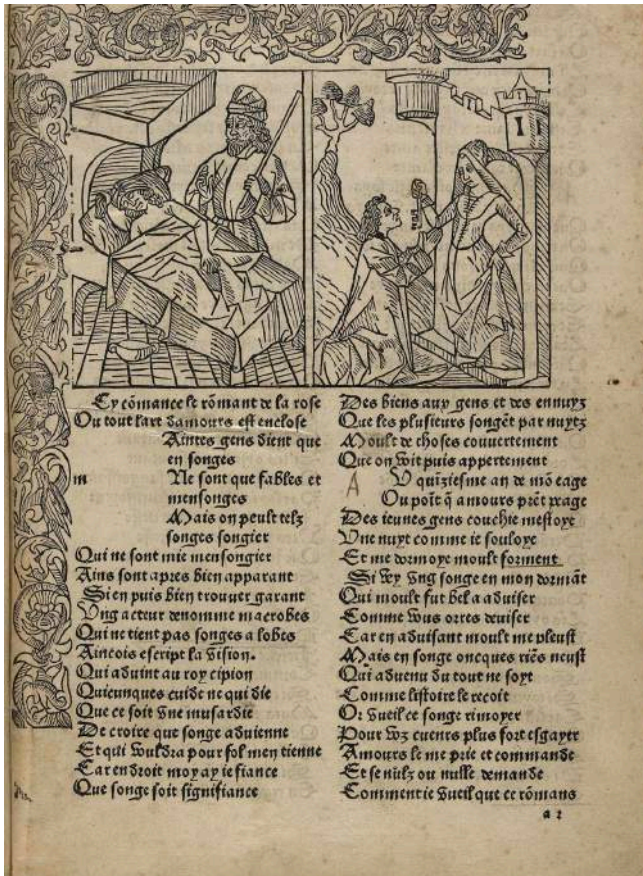
Guillaume Le Roy

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**Figure 3**

‘Amant Dreaming/Amant Approaching
the Garden of Déduit’

Guillaume Le Roy

ca. 1487, Lyon

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Figure 5
‘Haine’

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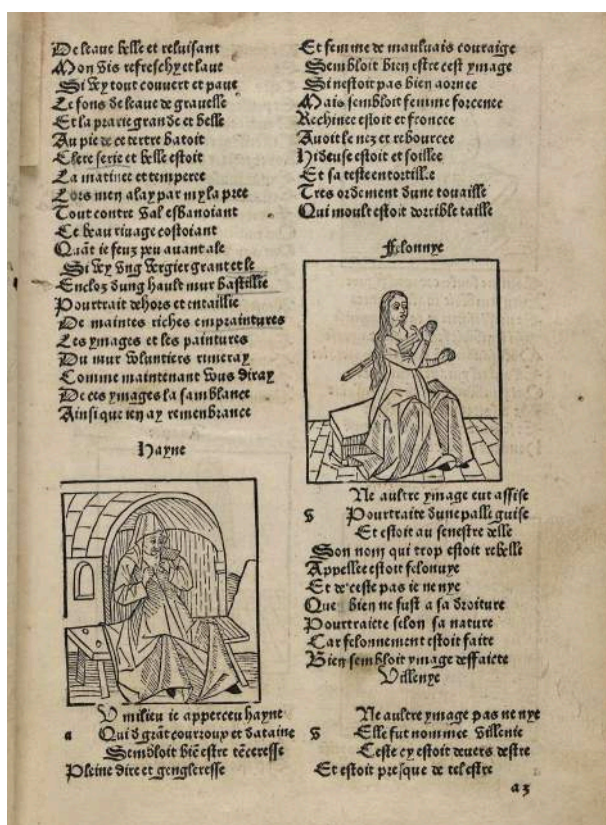


Figure 6
‘Haine and Félonie’
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon

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Figure 7
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to Amant'
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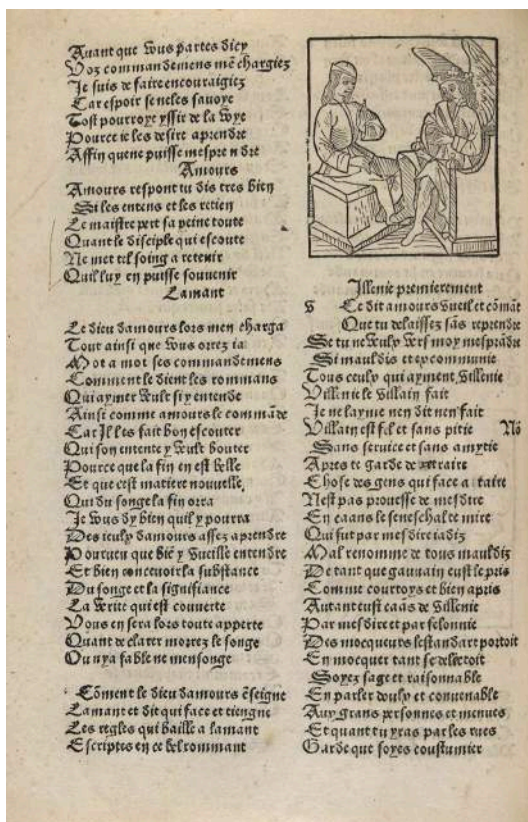


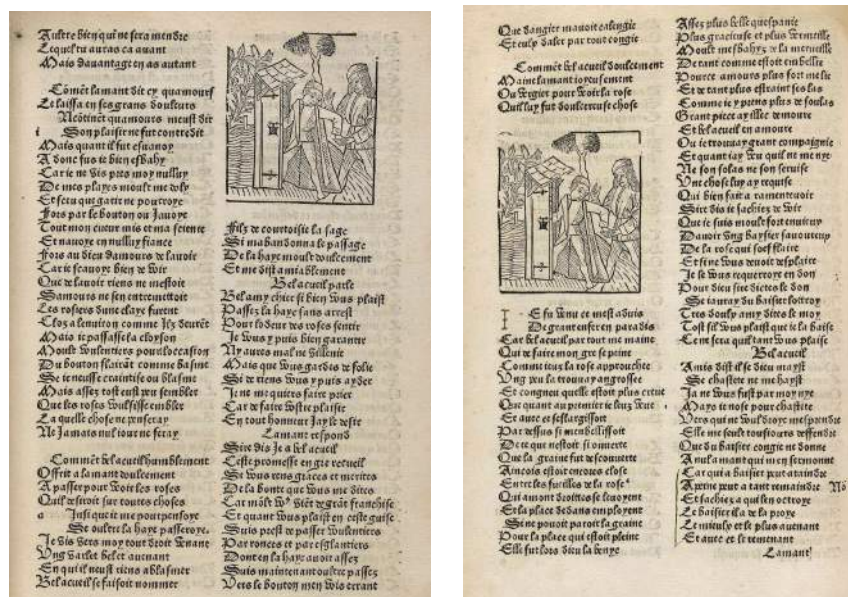
Figure 8
'Amour Explains His Commandments
to Amant'
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. b8 verso

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Figures 9 and 10
'Bel Accueil Leads Amant to the Rose'
 ca. 1490s, France
 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
 Ms. PA 25, fols. 17r and 22r

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Figures 11 and 12
'Bel Accueil Leads Amant to the Rose'
 Guillaume Le Roy
 ca. 1487, Lyon
 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
 Rosenwald 396, sigs. c5 recto and d1 verso

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Figure 13

‘Raison Scolds Amant’
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Figure 14

‘Raison Scolds Amant’
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. c6 verso

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital
Collections, May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

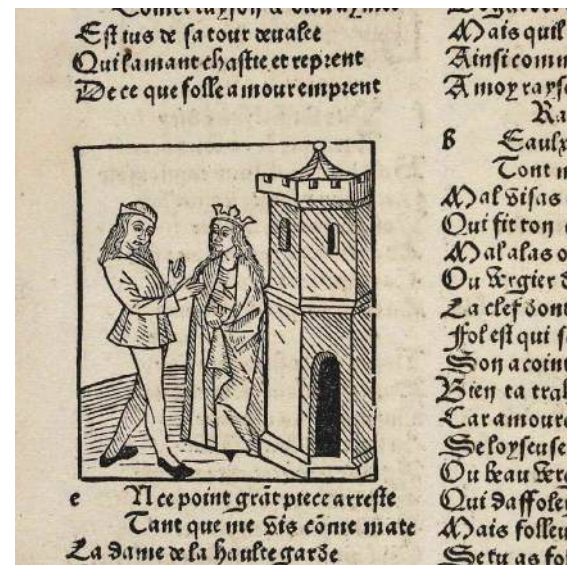


Figure 15

‘Raison Scolds Amant’
Fourteenth Century, France
Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. 270, fol. 22v

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library,
Aug. 2013: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.



Figure 16 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 16
 'Building the Castle of Jalousie'
 ca. 1490s, France
 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
 Ms. PA 25, fol. 26r

Consulted on the *Rose Digital Library*, May 2011:
 <<http://romandelarose.org>>.



Figure 17
 'Building the Castle of Jalousie'
 Guillaume Le Roy
 ca. 1487, Lyon
 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
 Rosenwald 396, sig. d5 recto

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital Collections, May 2011:
 <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.



Figure 18
 'Building the Castle of Jalousie'
 Fourteenth Century, France
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,
 Ms. 5209, fol. 28r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, Sept. 2013:
<http://romandelarose.org>.



Figure 19
 'Building the Castle of Jalousie'
 Fifteenth Century, France
 Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art – The Philip
 S. Collins Collection,
 Ms. 1945-65-3, fol. 30r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, Sept. 2013:
<http://romandelarose.org>.

Figure 20 has been removed due to
Copyright restrictions.

Figure 20

'Faux Semblant'

ca. 1490s, France

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 86r

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.

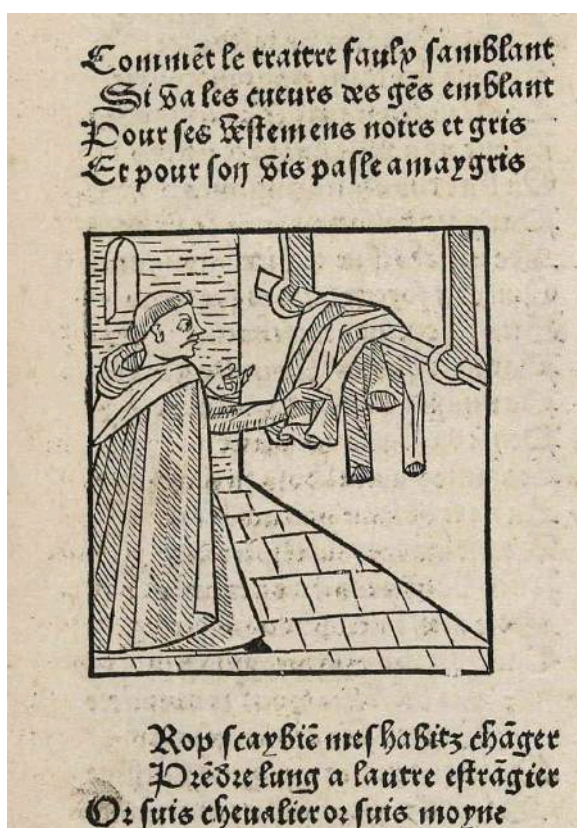


Figure 21

'Faux Semblant'

Guillaume Le Roy

ca. 1487, Lyon

Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. k7 verso

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital Collections,
May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

Figure 22 has been removed due to
Copyright restrictions.

Figure 22
'Seneca Kills Himself'
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 45r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.

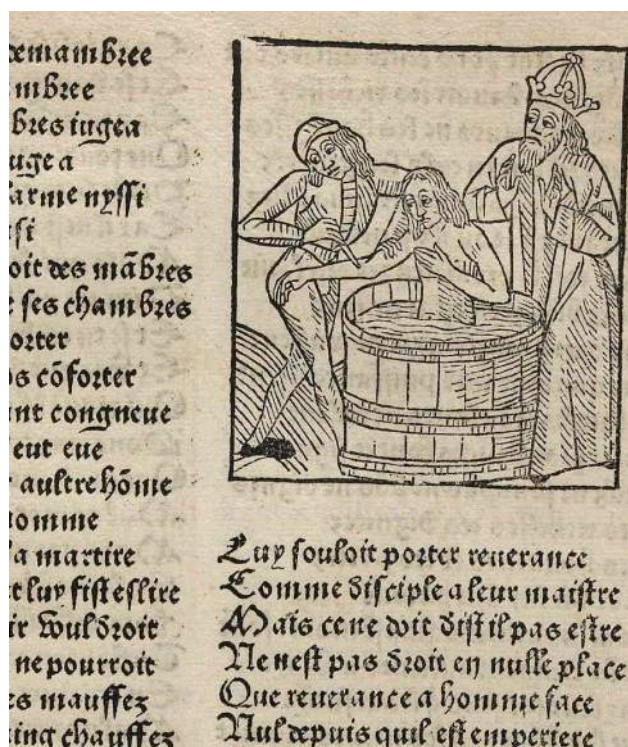


Figure 23
'Seneca Kills Himself'
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. f5 recto

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital Collections,
May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

Figure 24 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 24

‘Samson and Delilah’

ca. 1490s, France

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,

Ms. PA 25, fol. 69r

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.

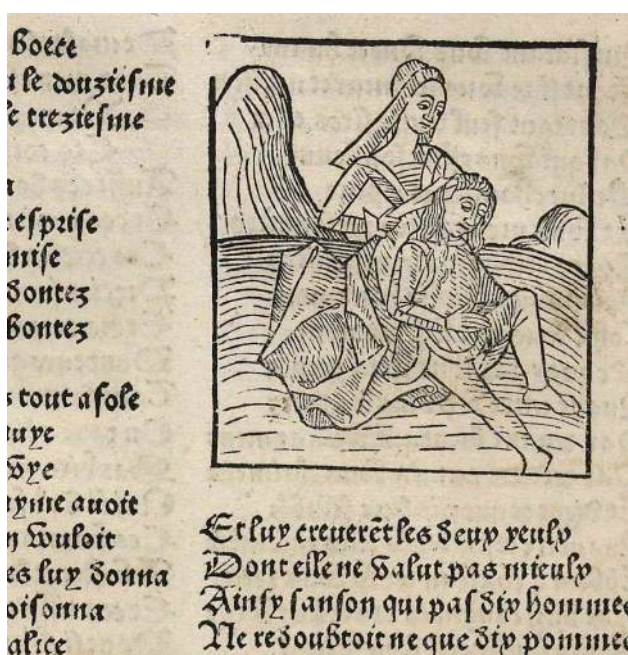


Figure 25

‘Samson and Delilah’

Guillaume Le Roy

ca. 1487, Lyon

Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. i1 recto

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital Collections,
May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

Figures 26.1 and 26.2 have been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 26.1

‘Amour and the Barons’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 80v

Consulted on the *Rose Digital Library*,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.



Figure 26.2

‘Detail of Amour’s Cloak’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 80v

Consulted on the *Rose Digital Library*,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.



Figure 27

‘Amour and the Barons’
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. k2 verso

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital
Collections, May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

Figure 28

‘Amour and the Barons’
Fourteenth Century, France
Manchester, John Rylands University Library,
Ms. French 66, fol. 87r

Copyright of the University of Manchester. Consulted
on the *Rose Digital Library*, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

Figures 29.1 and 29.2 have been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 29.1

‘Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 94r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

Figure 29.2

‘Detail of the Inside
of Faux Semblant’s Cowl’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 94r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

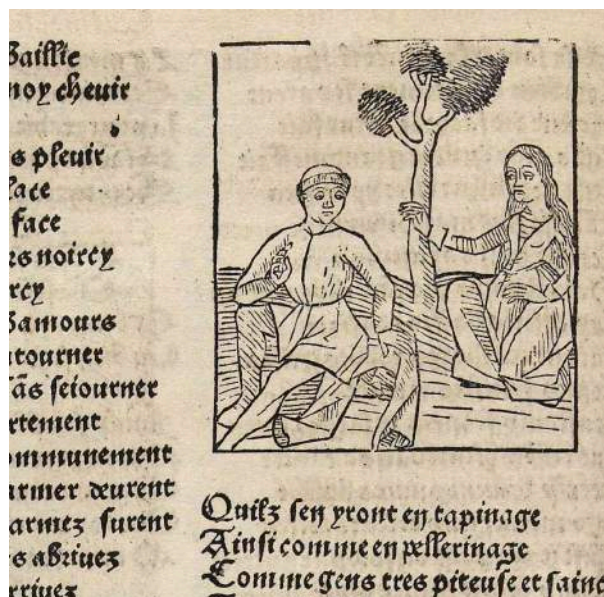


Figure 30

‘Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte’
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon
Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
Rosenwald 396, sig. l5 verso

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital Collections,
May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

**Figure 31 has been removed due to
Copyright restrictions.**

Figure 31
‘Nero Commands the Dissection
of his Mother’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 44v

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library,
May 2011: <<http://romandelarose.org>>.

Figures 32.1 and 32.2 have been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 32.1
‘Faux Semblant and Abstinence Contrainte Sever
Male Bouche’s Tongue’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 96v

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

Figure 32.2
‘Detail of Excision’
ca. 1490s, France
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
Ms. PA 25, fol. 96v

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

Figure 33.1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 33.1
 ‘Narcissus at the Fountain’
 ca. 1490s, France
 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
 Ms. PA 25, fol. 7v

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library, May 2011:
 <<http://romandelarose.org>>.

**Figure 33.2 has been removed due to
 Copyright restrictions.**

Figure 33.2
 ‘Detail of Blue Washes on Narcissus’s Collar’
 ca. 1490s, France
 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale,
 Ms. PA 25, fol. 7v

Consulted on the *Rose* Digital Library, Sept. 2013:
 <<http://romandelarose.org>>.



Figure 34
'Haine'

Antoine Vérard
after Feb.1493, Paris
New York, PML,
PML 535, sig. a3 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 35
'Tristesse'

Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
New York, PML,
PML 535, sig. a4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 36
'Haine/Tristesse'

Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
Bonn, ULB Bonn,
Inc. 4' 502 d, sigs. a3 recto and a4 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 37
 'Félonie'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. a3 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 38
 'Envie'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. a4 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 39
 'Félonie/Envie'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sigs. a3 recto and a4 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 40
‘Amant’

Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. a7 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 41
‘Detail of Amant’
Guillaume Le Roy
ca. 1487, Lyon

Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
 Rosenwald 396, sig. b3 recto

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital
 Collections, May, 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.



Figure 42
‘Amant/Avarice’

Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. a7 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 43
 'Narcissus'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. b4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 44
 'Narcissus/Avarice'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. b4 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 45
 'Narcissus'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
 Incun. x. G974, sig. b4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011.



Figure 46
‘Convoitise’
Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
New York, PML,
PML 535, sig. a3 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.

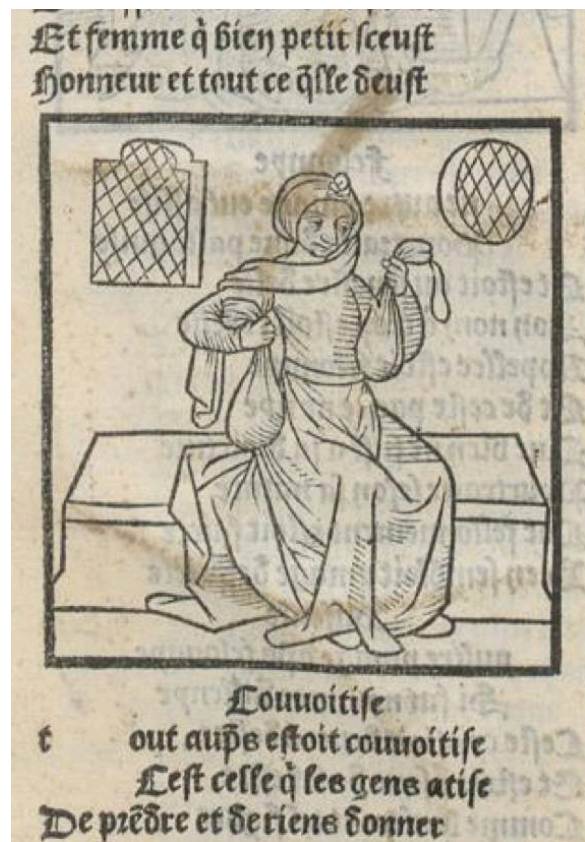


Figure 47
‘Convoitise’
Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
Bonn, ULB Bonn,
Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. a3 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 48
 ‘Samson and Delilah’
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. i1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 49
 ‘Samson and Delilah/
 Judith and Holofernes’
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. i1 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn,
 Digitale Sammlungen, Sept. 2013:
 <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 50
 'Two Figures Conversing'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. f7 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 51
 'Two Figures Conversing'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f7 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn,
 Digitale Sammlungen, Sept. 2013:
 <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 52.1
 'Seneca Kills Himself'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. f5 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 52.2
 'Detail of Seneca's Arm'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. f5 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.

Figure 53
 'Seneca Kills Himself'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f5 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.





Figure 54
 'The Dissection of Nero's Mother'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 535, sig. f4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 55
 'The Dissection of Nero's Mother'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. f4 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 56

‘Nature Sends Genius to Deliver Her Message’

Antoine Vérard

after Feb. 1493, Paris

New York, PML,

PML 535, sig. r6 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Jul. 2010.

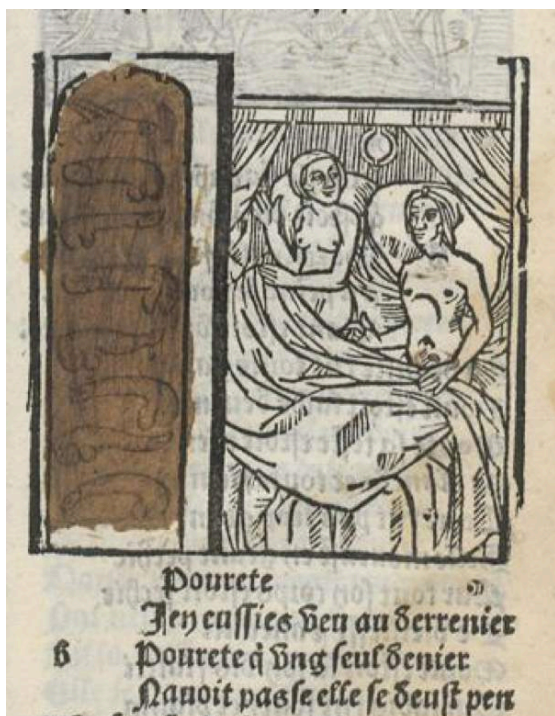


Figure 57
 'Pauvreté/The Merchant's Wife'
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. a5 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 58
 'Pauvreté'
 Guillaume Le Roy
 ca. 1487, Lyon
 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress,
 Rosenwald 396, sig. a5 verso

Consulted on Library of Congress Digital
 Collections, May 2011: <<http://hdl.loc.gov>>.

**Figure 59**

‘Vulcan Catches Mars and Venus in Bed/
The Adulterous Wife with Her Loyal Husband
and Lovers’

Antoine Vérard

after Feb. 1493, Paris

Bonn, ULB Bonn,

Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. n2 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 60**

‘Honte and Peur Speak to Danger/
The Disgraced Girl with Her Former Lover’

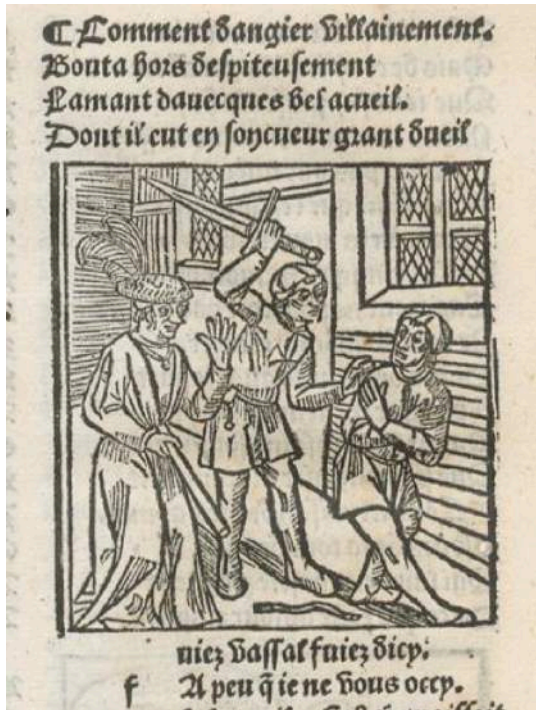
Antoine Vérard

after Feb. 1493, Paris

Bonn, ULB Bonn,

Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. d3 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 61**

'Danger Deters Amant/The Frenchman
Attacks the Ignorant Englishman'

Antoine Vérard

after Feb. 1493, Paris

Bonn, ULB Bonn,

Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. c6 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale

Sammlungen, Sept. 2013:

<<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 62**

'Beauté and Laideur Attack Chasteté/
The Mocking of Christ'

Antoine Vérard

after Feb. 1493, Paris

Bonn, ULB Bonn,

Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. h7 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,

Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 63**

‘The Suicide of Dido’
Fifteenth Century, France
Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Ms. Douce 332, fol. 124r

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, May 2011:
<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

**Figure 64**

‘The Suicide of Dido/David Welcomed with
Praise upon His Return from Killing Goliath’

Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
Bonn, ULB Bonn,
Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. m5 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 65**

'The Fall of the Castle of Jalousie/
The Toppling of the Tower
in the Battle of Beth-zachariah'

Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
Bonn, ULB Bonn,
Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. t3 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

**Figure 66**

'Le Jaloux Beats His Wife/
Michal Mocks Her Husband'

Antoine Vérard
after Feb. 1493, Paris
Bonn, ULB Bonn,
Inc. 4' 502 d, sig. i2 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 67
 ‘Samson and Delilah/
 Judith and Holofernes’
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. i1 recto

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.



Figure 68
 ‘Pygmalion and His Statue/
 Eve and the Serpent’
 Antoine Vérard
 after Feb. 1493, Paris
 Bonn, ULB Bonn,
 Inc. 4’ 502 d, sig. s8 verso

Consulted on ULB Bonn, Digitale Sammlungen,
 Sept. 2013: <<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de>>.

Figure 69 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 69

‘Author Paying Homage to a King and Queen’

Alain Lotrian

ca. 1528, Paris

Aberystwyth, NLW,

b28 P3(1), sig. a1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011

Figure 70 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 70

‘Fraîche Mémoire Shows the Author the Tombs of His Predecessors’

Alain Lotrian

ca. 1528, Paris

Aberystwyth, NLW,

b28 P3(1), sig. a1 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011

Figure 71 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 71
'Guillaume de Lorris'
Alain Lotrian
ca. 1528, Paris
Aberystwyth, NLW,
b28 P3(1), sig. a6 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011

Figure 72 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 72
'Jean de Meun/Matheolus'
Alain Lotrian
ca. 1528, Paris
Aberystwyth, NLW,
b28 P3(1), sig. f3 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011

Figure 73 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 73
'L'Acteur Humbly Apologizes
to the Ladies/Matheolus'
Alain Lotrian
ca. 1528, Paris
Aberystwyth, NLW,
b28 P3(1), sig. p1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011

Figure 74 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 74

“Cy finist le Rommant de la Rose”

Alain Lotrian

ca. 1528, Paris

Aberystwyth, NLW,

b28 P3(1), sig. f6 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: Oct. 2011



Figure 75
 'Félonie'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. b2 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 76
 'The Suicide of Nero'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. h4 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.

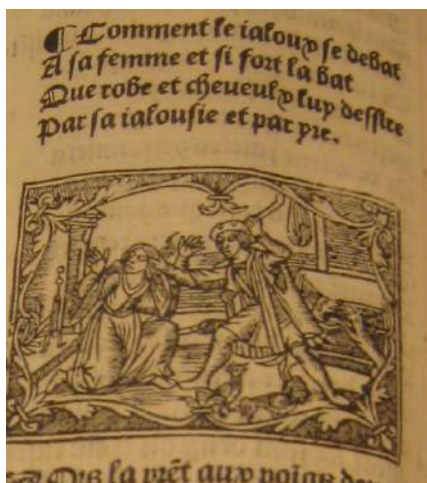


Figure 77
 'Le Jaloux Beats His Wife'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. l2 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.

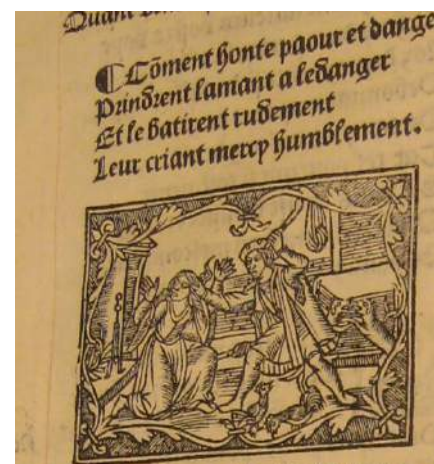


Figure 78
 'Honte, Peur, and Danger Beat Amant'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. r2 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 79
 'Amour Pierces Amant with His Arrow'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. c5 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.

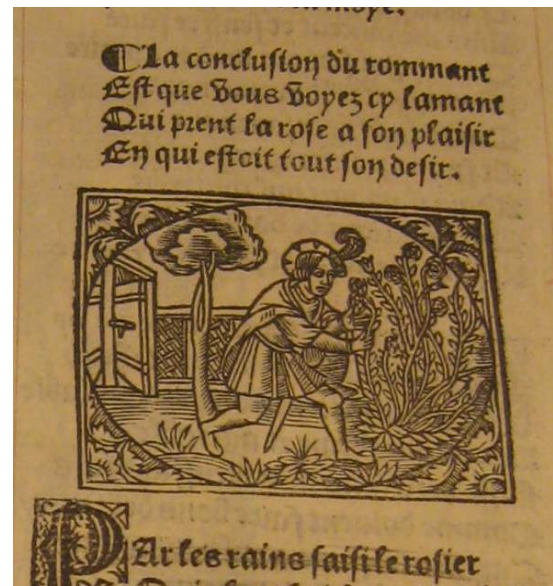


Figure 80
 'Amant Plucks the Rosebud'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. z5 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 81
 'Jason in Search of the Golden Fleece/
 Galliot Du Pré's Printer's Mark'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. l4 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.



Figure 82
 'Venus and Her Chariot'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1531, Paris
 New York, NYPL,
 Spencer Coll. French 1531, sig. r6 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2010.

Figure 83 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 83
 'Dreaming Couple in Bed'
 Jehan Morin
 ca. 1538, Paris
 Aberystwyth, NLW,
 PQ 1527 A1 b31 (copy A), sig. a1 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Oct. 2010.

Figure 84 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 84
 'The Adulterous Venus and Mars in Bed'
 Jehan Morin
 ca. 1538, Paris
 Aberystwyth, NLW,
 PQ 1527 A1 b31 (copy A), sig. h6 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Oct. 2010.



Figure 85.1

‘La Vieille’s Proscription on Laughter;
Outline of Spectacles’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sigs. p3 verso-p4 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

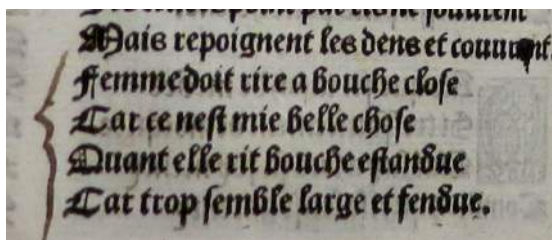


Figure 85.2

‘Detail of Mouth beside la Vieille’s
Proscription on Laughter’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. p3 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 86

‘Fragment at the End of the Book’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, n.p.

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 87.1
 'Amant Dreaming with Danger Looming'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 87.2
 'Detail of Faded Rose
 by Amant's Slumbering Head'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto



Figure 87.3
 'Rose in Mouth'
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. a1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 88

‘Detail of the *Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*’

Netherlandish Painter [Goswijn van der Weyden]

Tempera and Oil on Wood

ca. 1515-20, Netherlands

25.1 x 53.3 cm

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,

1987.290.3a-p

Consulted on Metropolitan Museum of Art – Collections, Sept. 2013:
<<http://metmuseum.org>>.

Figure 89 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 89

‘Detail of the *Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*’

Engraving

ca. 1488, Spain

40.6 x 30.5 cm.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,

1957.57.526

Bauman, ‘A Rosary Picture’, p. 137, fig. 2.

Figure 90 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 90

‘*Vnser liebē frowen rosenkrantz*’

Rosary Pamphlet

H. Knoblochzer

ca. 1480, Strasbourg

London, British Library,

IA.2506, fol. 1v

Bauman, ‘A Rosary Picture’, p. 141, fig. 4.



Figure 91.1
 ‘The Dissection of Nero’s Mother’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. g5 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 91.2
 ‘Detail of Nero’s and His Assistant’s
 Excised Mouths’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. g5 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

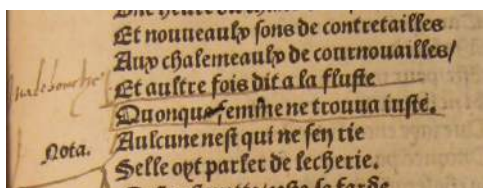


Figure 92
 “Male Bouche” Label in Margin’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. e3 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

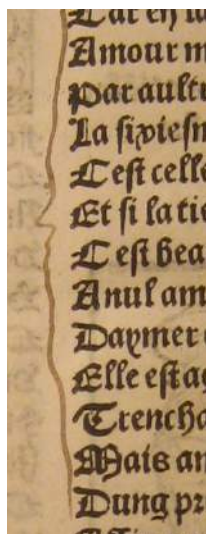
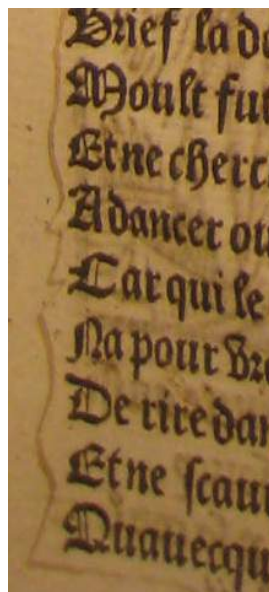


Figure 93
 ‘Profile in Margin’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. c1 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figures 94.1 and 94.2
 ‘Profile in Margin (Left);
 Detail of Profile’s Mouth (Right)’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. a3 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

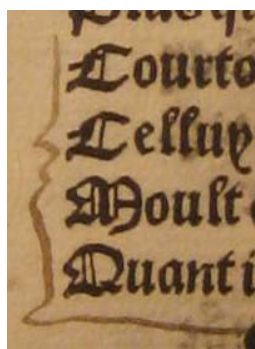


Figure 95
 ‘Profile in Margin’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. d4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

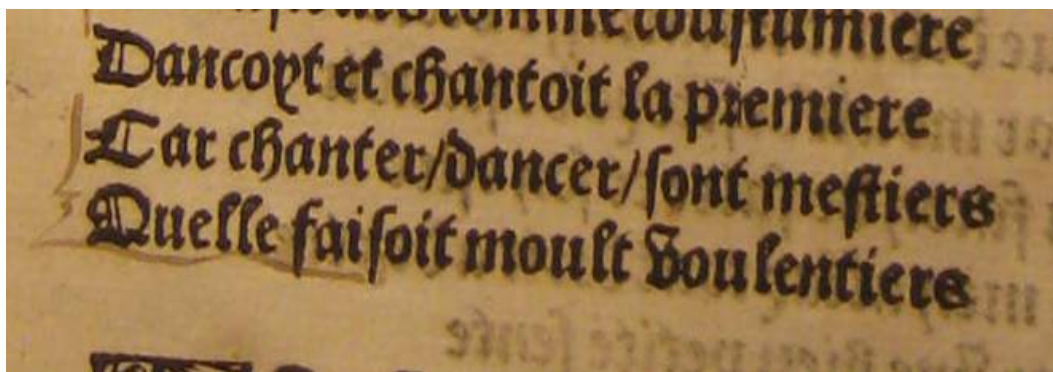


Figure 96

‘Lips or Partial Profile with Text Describing the Carole’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. a6 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

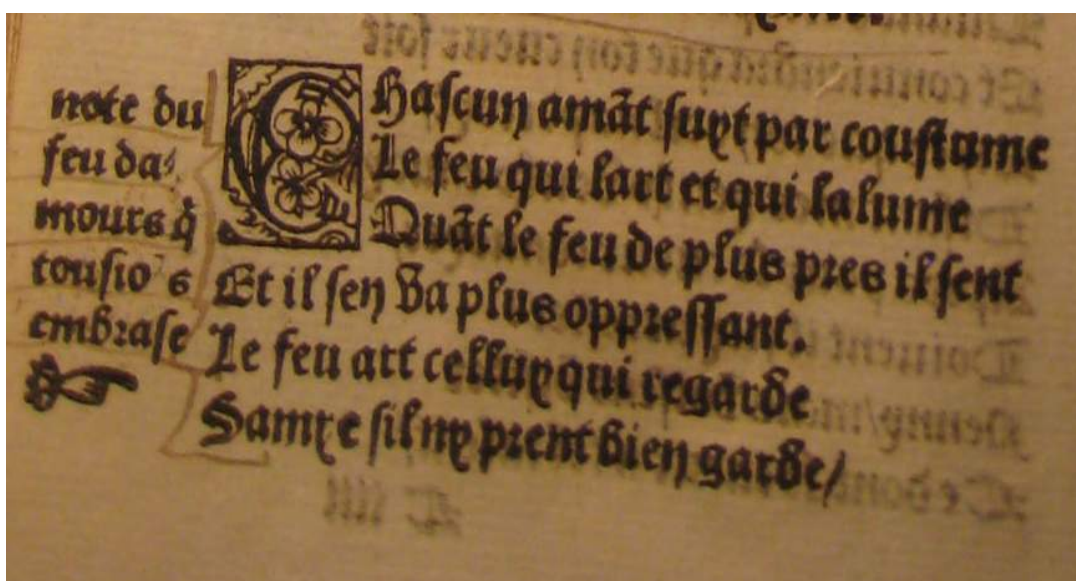


Figure 97

‘Corrected Side Note and Two Open Mouths’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. c4 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

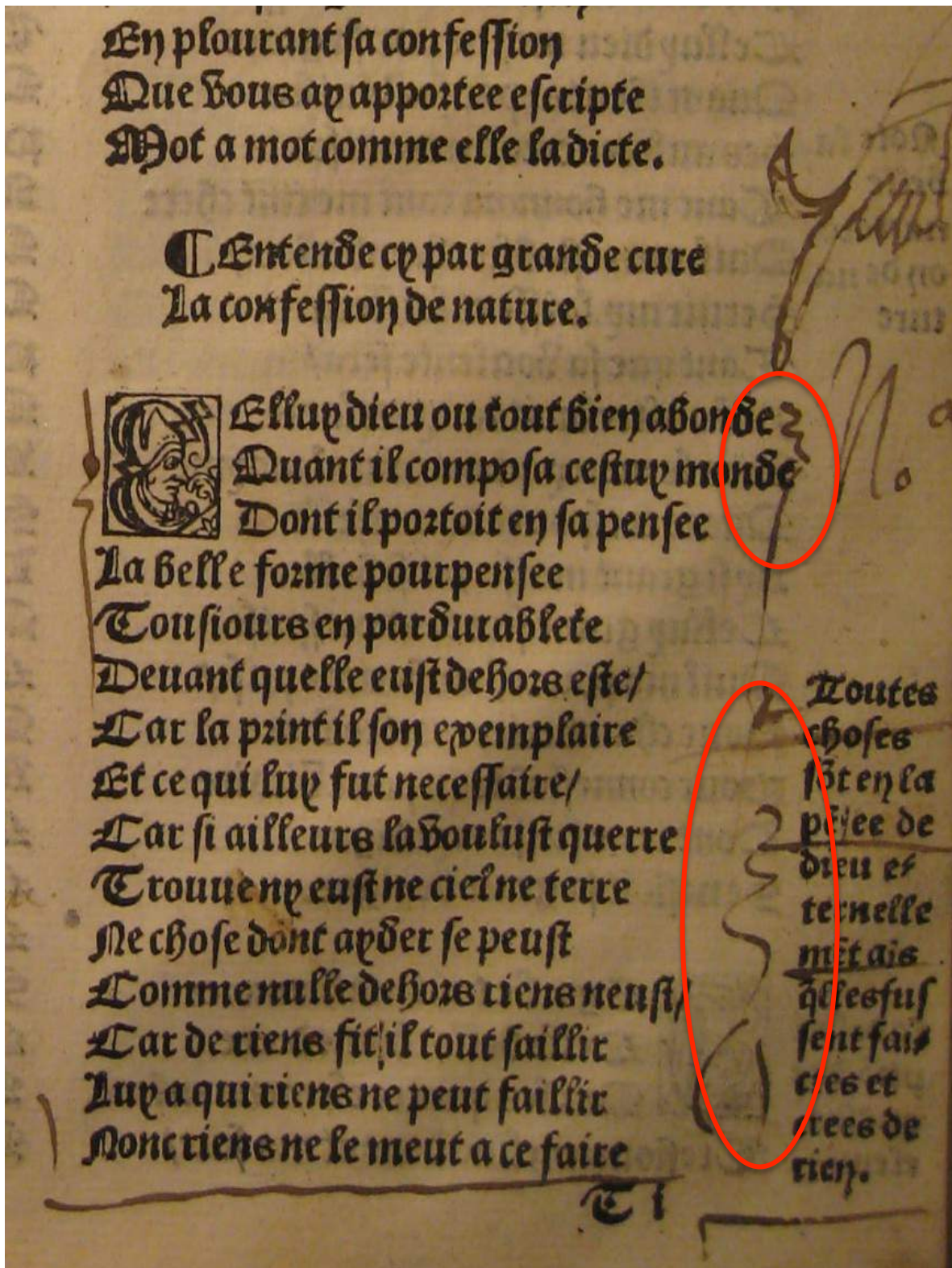


Figure 98

'The Beginning of Nature's Confession with Drawings
 of a Pointing Hand and Two Mouths'

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. t1 recto

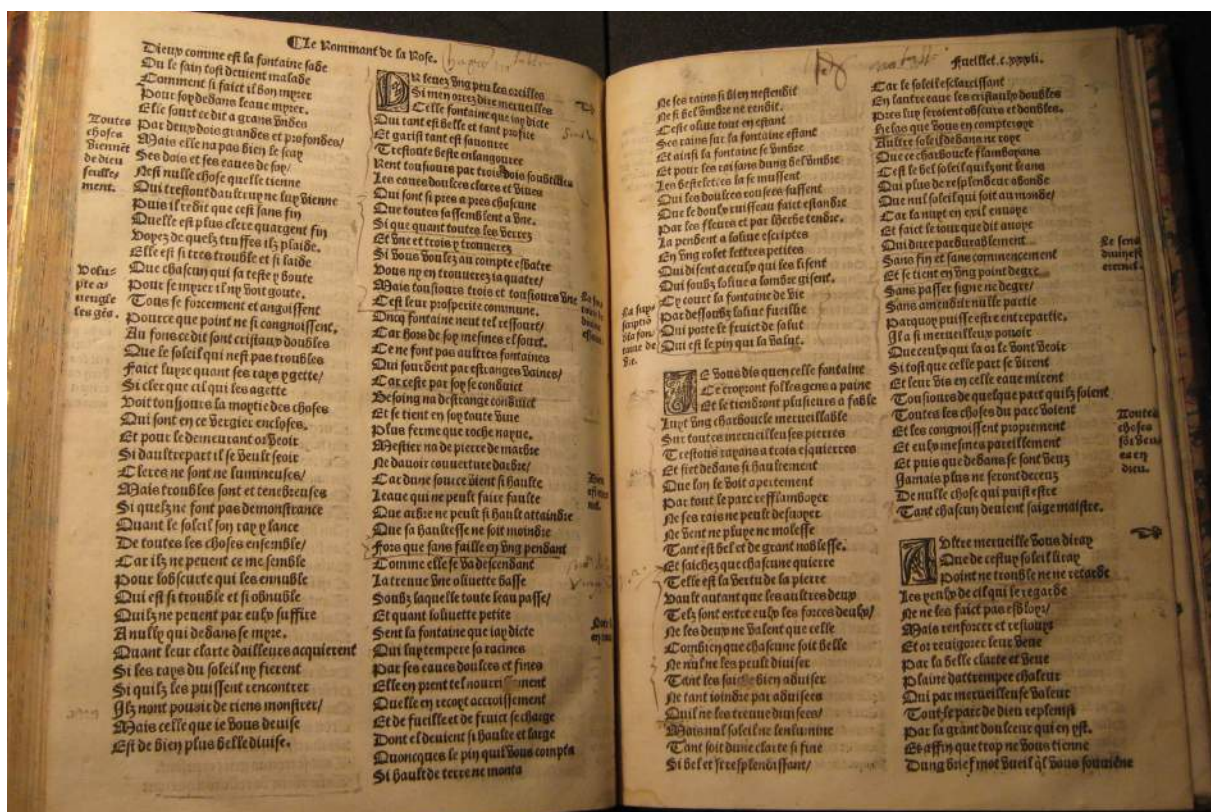


Figure 99.1
 “Chapitre no^{table}” and “Pg [Passage] notable”
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sigs. y5 verso and y6 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

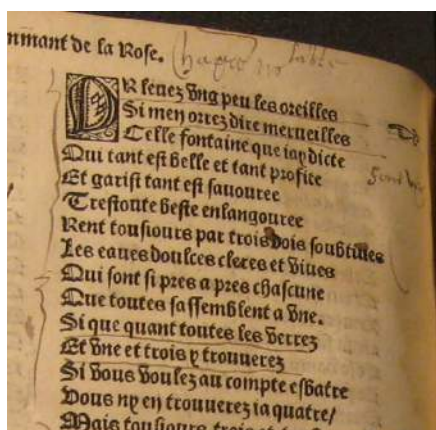


Figure 99.2
 ‘Detail of “Chapitre no^{table}” above Genius’s Speech’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. y5 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

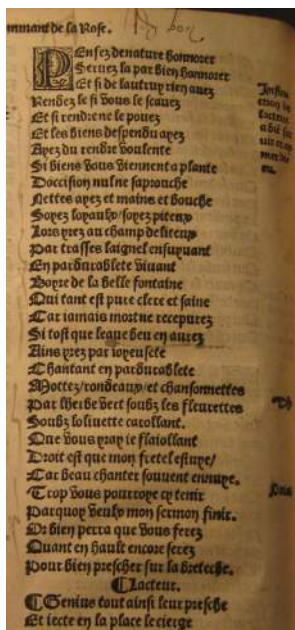


Figure 100
 “Pg [Passage] bon”
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. y6 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 101
 ‘Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut
 of Raison Chastising Amant’
 Galliot Du Pré
 ca. 1526, Paris
 Oxford, Bodleian Library,
 Lawn d.49, sig. d2 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 102.1

‘Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut
of Phania Speaking to King Croesus’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. h1 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 102.2

‘Detail of Ink Removal on Phania’s Face’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. h1 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.



Figure 103

‘Traces of Starch Paste over Woodcut
of Amant Clutching the Rose’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. d6 recto

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

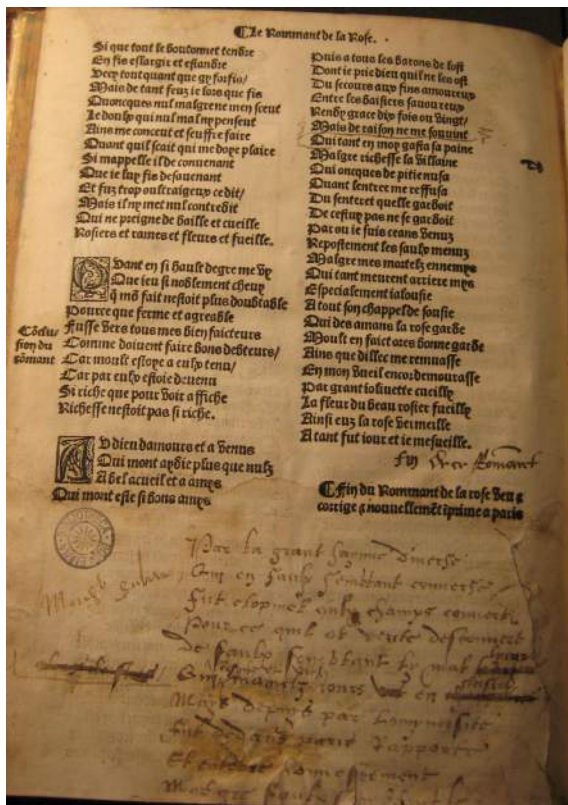


Figure 104

‘Rhyming Couplets Added by the Reader’

Galliot Du Pré

ca. 1526, Paris

Oxford, Bodleian Library,

Lawn d.49, sig. z7 verso

Personal photograph taken by the author: May 2011.

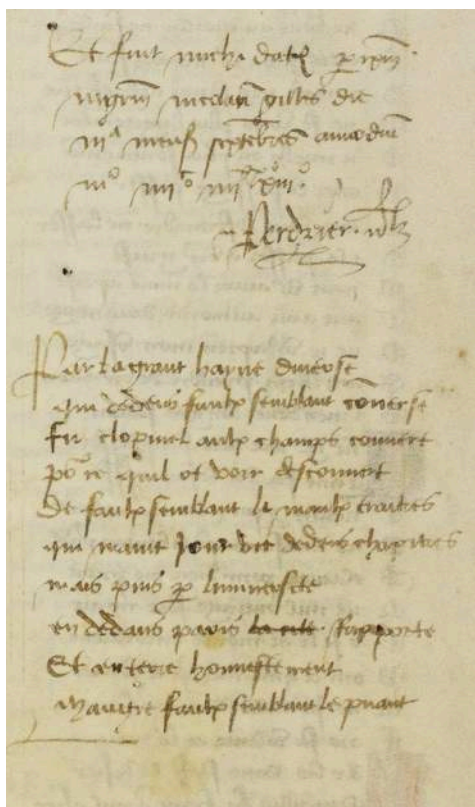


Figure 105

‘François Perdrier’s Inscription

and Added Rhyming Couplets’

Fifteenth Century, Paris

Los Angeles, Ferrell Collection (Privately Owned),

Ms. Ferrell Rose, fol. 136v

Consulted on the Rose Digital Library, Jul. 2013:

<<http://romandelarose.org>>.

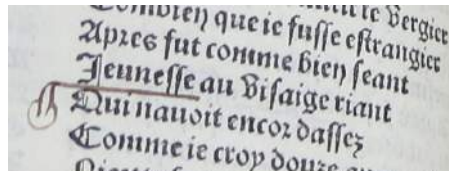


Figure 106
 ‘Manicule Underscoring the Name “Jeunesse”’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b4 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

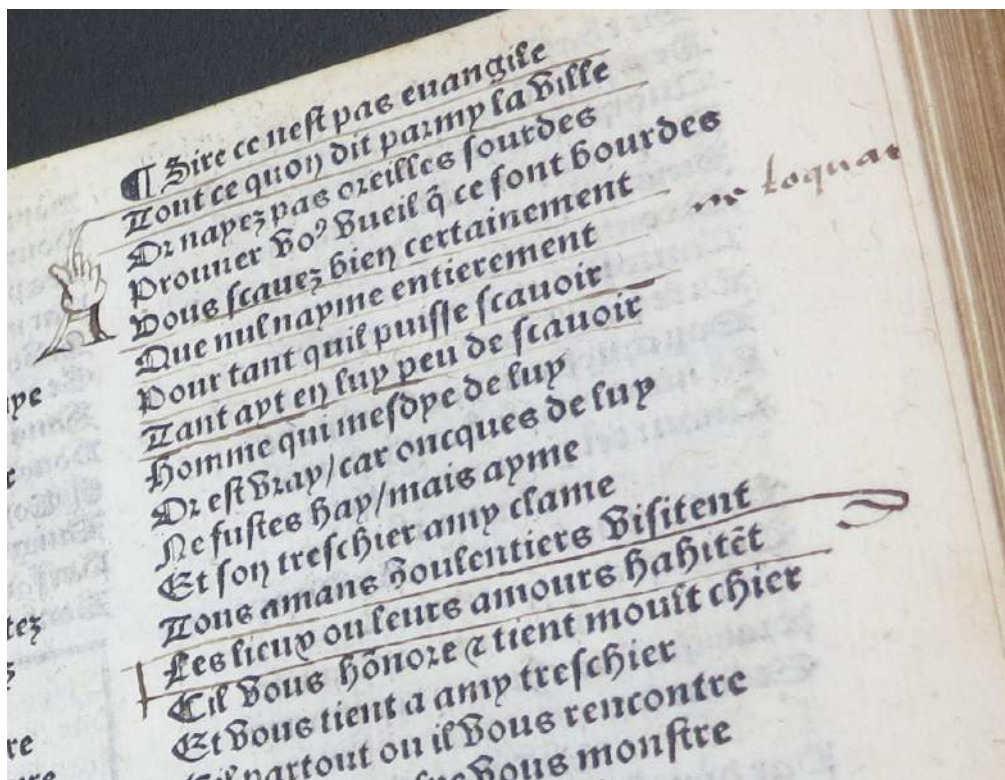


Figure 107
 ‘Manicule with a Decorative Cuff
 and Its Corresponding Link Below’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. p3 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

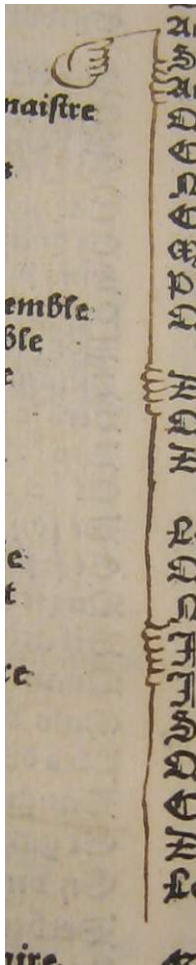


Figure 108

‘Manicule Illustrating the Knuckles of Three Hands’

Antoine Vérard

ca. 1505, Paris

New York, PML,

PML 553, sig. d3 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2011.

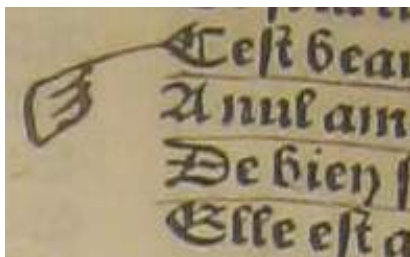


Figure 109

‘Manicule Writing Words’

Antoine Vérard

ca. 1505, Paris

New York, PML,

PML 553, sig. c2 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2011.



Figure 110.1
 ‘Woodcut of Amour and Amant;
 Two Manicules in the Lower, Interior Margin’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b5 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2011.

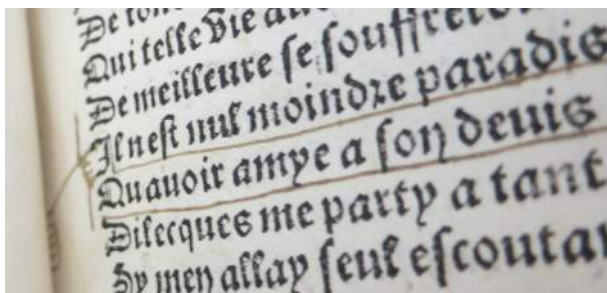


Figure 110.2
 ‘Detail of Two Manicules’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b5 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.



Figure 110.3
 ‘Detail of Woodcut Rubbed by the Reader’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b5 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.



Figure 111.1
 ‘Narcissus at His Fountain’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b6 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.



Figure 111.2
 ‘Detail of Woodcut Rubbed by the Reader’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b6 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

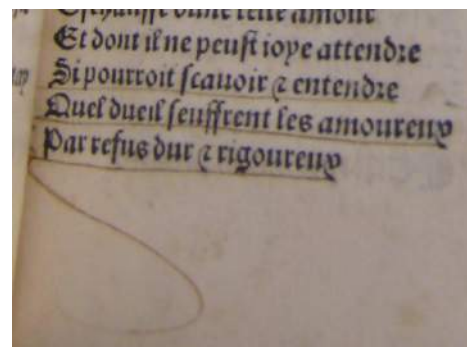


Figure 111.3
 ‘Detail of Annotations’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. b6 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

**Figure 112**

‘Manicule Clutching a Bänderole’

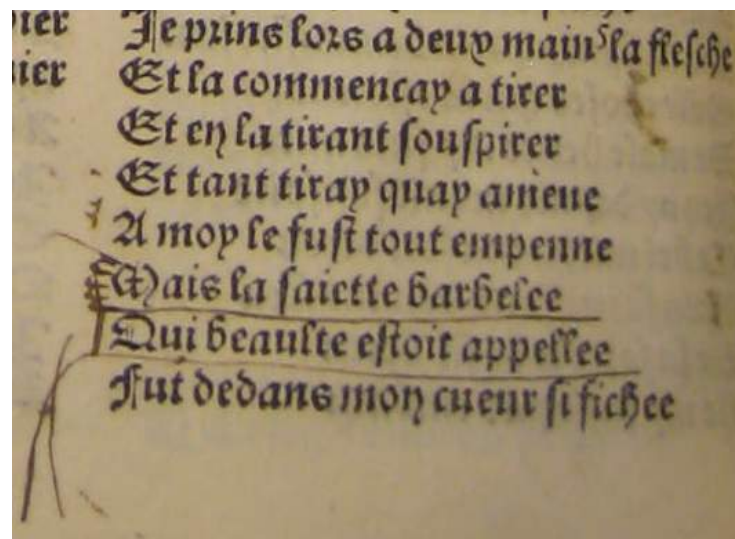
Antoine Vérard

ca. 1505, Paris

New York, PML,

PML 553, sig. z2 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

**Figure 113**‘Manicule with Text Describing Amant’s Impalement
by Amour’s Arrow’

Antoine Vérard

ca. 1505, Paris

New York, PML,

PML 553, sig. c1 verso

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2011.

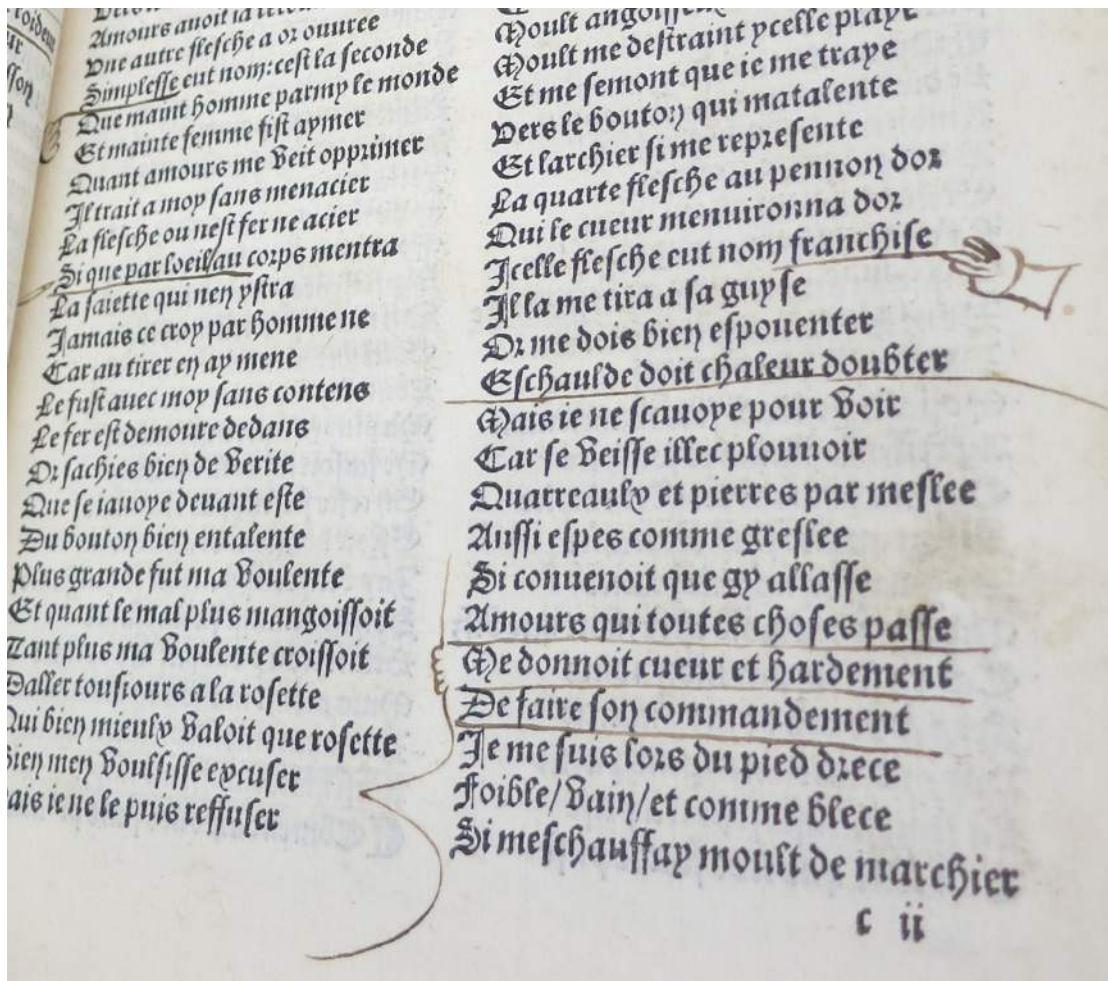


Figure 114.1
 ‘Manicule Drawing “Franchise”’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. c2 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

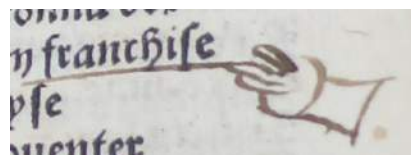


Figure 114.2
 ‘Detail of Manicule with “Franchise”’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. c2 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

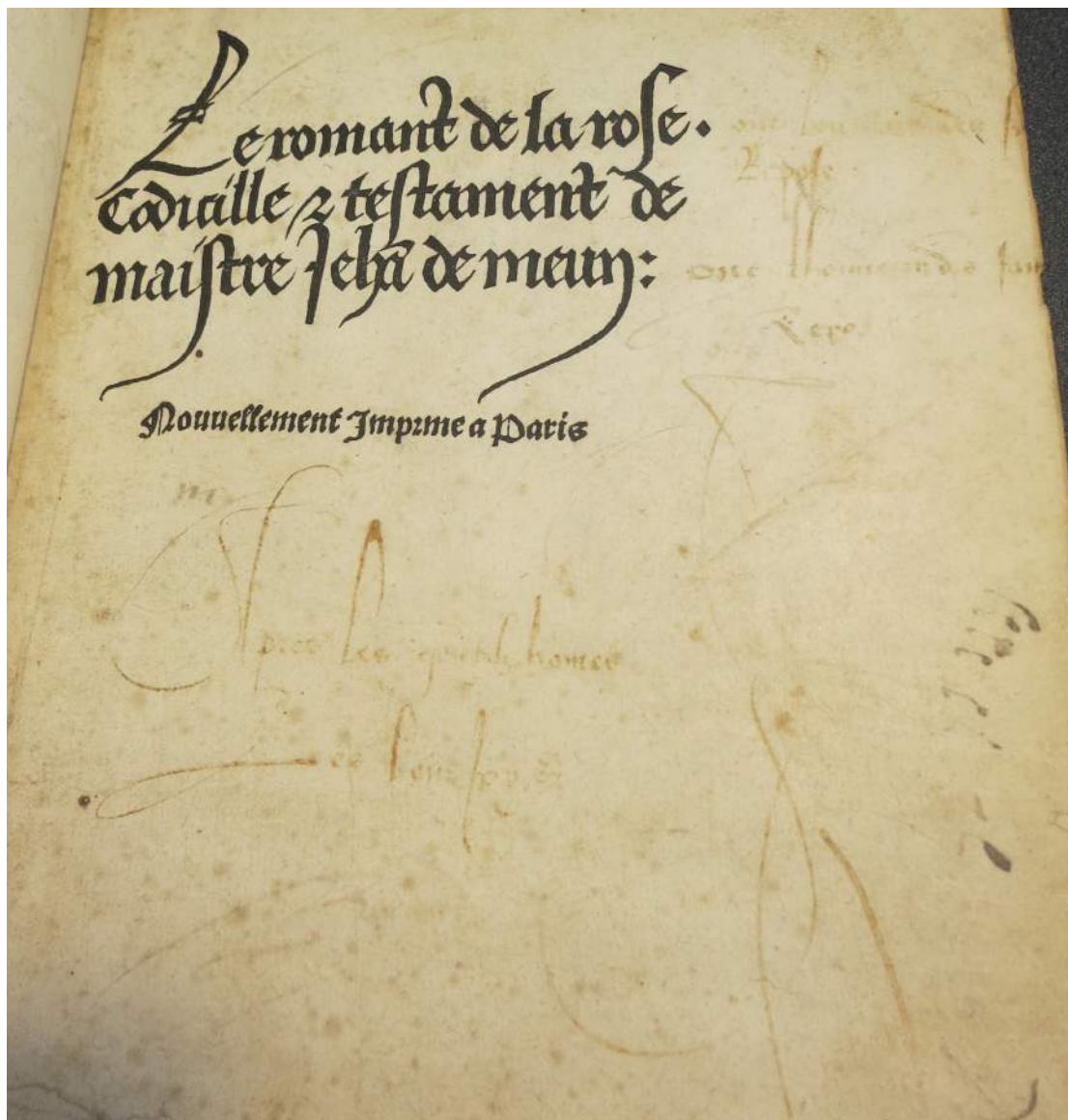


Figure 115
 'Title Page'
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. a1 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

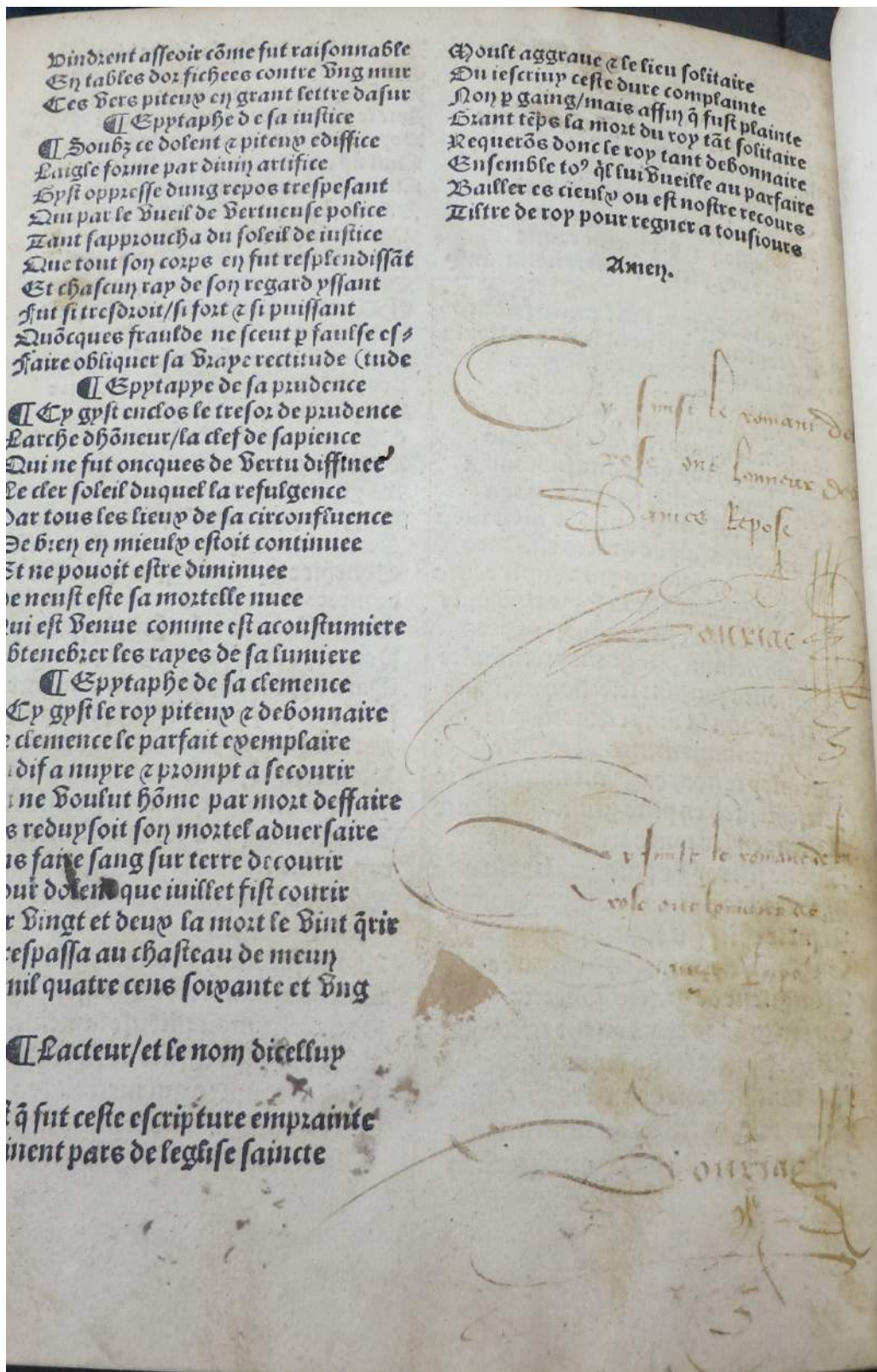


Figure 116
 'Annotations at the End of the Book'
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. g6 verso

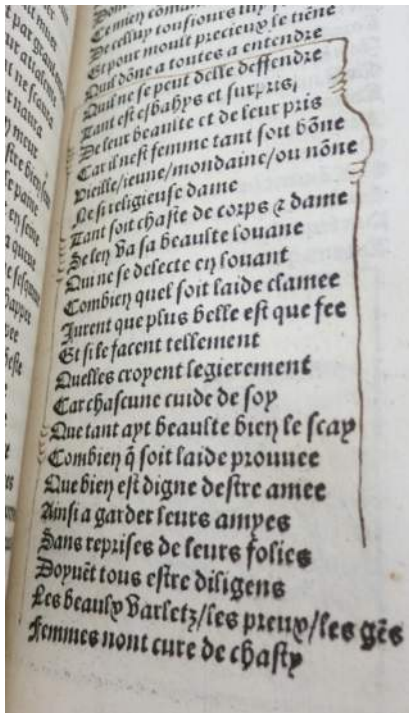


Figure 117
 ‘Knuckles Bordering Text
 Describing How to Control Women’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. m4 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.

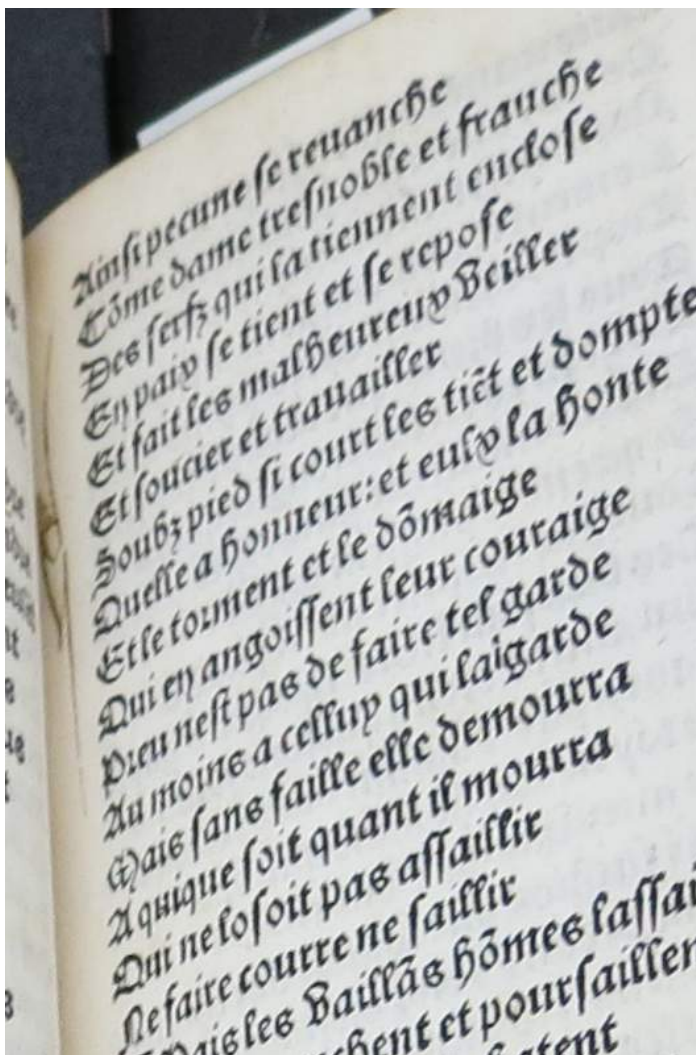


Figure 118
 ‘Finger(s) with Text
 Describing Pecune’
 Antoine Vérard
 ca. 1505, Paris
 New York, PML,
 PML 553, sig. g2 recto

Personal photograph by the author: Jul. 2012.